GUIDE TO THE AW60 TODA FILE

[The AW60 Toda file is concerned with the Toda of the Nilgiri Hills in southern India. The Toda are an unusual group in that they are pastoralists living in a close, almost symbiotic, relationship with two other neighboring groups, the agricultural Badaga and the Kota, who are artisans and mechanics. The Toda are dominant in this relationship and the other two groups recognize this ranking.

There are 13 sources in this file which were processed between the years 1954 and 1965. All of the sources are in English, three are by anthropologist, six by a linguist, and the remainder are by government officials. For a general introduction to Toda culture, read 6:Murdock, which is a secondary work by a noted anthropologist.

1:Rivers is the basic work in the Toda file. It is perhaps the earliest of the "standard" ethnographies, by a noted pioneer psychologist-anthropologist, and a classic in the field. Based on fieldwork during 1901-1902, the primary emphasis of the work is on religion and social organization - especially on the complex social, economic, ritualistic and ceremonial aspects of the dairy organization. 2:Marshall, by a British government official, contains a good deal of useful information dating from around 1870. It is an old-style travel monograph useful for supplementing the information in 1:Rivers. 3:Breeks, by a British Commissioner for the Nilgiris, is a general volume on the area from which a short account of the Todas of around 1870 has been taken. 4:King is a brief, generalized picture of the tribal system in the Nilgiri Hills around 1870 with some emphasis on a discussion of Toda racial origins.

5:Emeneau and 8:Emeneau-12:Emeneau are a series of articles written by an eminent linguistic who spent a long period in the late 1930's with the Todas. 5:Emeneau supplements and corrects earlier data by Rivers on marriage regulations and taboos. 8:Emeneau discussed Toda personal names and their derivations. 9:Emeneau

GUIDE TO THE AW60 TODA FILE

summarizes the available data on the Christian Todas who maintain their own villages within the general Toda tribal area. 10:Emeneau discusses the extent of acculturation and culture change during the period 1902-1937. 11:Emeneau compares Toda menstruation practices with those of the Kota and the Badaga. 12:Emeneau is a detailed study of Toda kinship systems and the two functioning sib-systems.

7:Thurston is a general article on the Todas taken from an encyclopedic survey of the tribes and castes of southern India by a government official-anthropologist. 13:Peter is a detailed Anthropological study of Toda polyandry, containing as well several brief life histories.

The primary data in sources 1, 5, and 7-13 are generally dependable; the primary data in the other sources are probably less so. The field data in the Toda file pertain to several periods in Toda history, which may be summarized as follows:

ca. 1870:	2:Marshall; 3:Breeks; 4:King
1900-1905:	1:Rivers; 7:Thurston
1935-1938:	5:Emeneau; 8:Emeneau-12:Emeneau
1939, 1949:	13:Peter.

In general, the AW60 Toda file is a useful one for comparative purposes. It should be kept in mind that much of the material dates from an early period in anthropological research, and that the data cover a range of about 80 years in time depth. The time focus of the individual sources should be kept in mind in making comparisons. There were no general marking decisions for the file. 1:Rivers contains a good glossary.]

Processed in 1954-1965 Guide written in 1974

1: Rivers
101, 103

Toda

[For names, locations and distinctive features of Toda villages, see category 116, pp. 644-678]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE TODAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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THE people whose manners and customs I am about to describe live on the undulating plateau of the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India. The hills were visited by a Portuguese missionary in 1602, and have been invaded by Indian tribes on various occasions, but, at the beginning of the last century, the plateau and its inhabitants were absolutely unknown to Europeans. The earliest definite information about the hills at this time is given in a letter from William Keys, an assistant revenue surveyor, written in 1812, but it was not till several years later that further information about the people began to be published.

Of the various tribes inhabiting the hills, the Todas excited the greatest interest, and this interest has continued, partly because the people are so different from any other of the races by which they are surrounded, but still more because both they and their customs are so picturesque and, in many ways, so unique.

A very large literature[1] has accumulated about the Todas and their customs. This literature is so extensive that when I determined to go to the Nilgiri Hills, I was reproached by more than one anthropologist for going to people about whom we already knew so much; and one even said that, so far as his department of knowledge was concerned, he was sure that we had all the information we could expect to get.

[1] The bibliography of this literature is given in Appendix II.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 not been complete, and that the hills have been invaded by strangers, especially from the side of the Wainad; but the isolation has probably been considerable, and, for long periods, it may have been complete.

101 177 In their isolation from the world in general, however, the Todas have not been alone. Two other tribes, the Kotas and the Badagas, occupy the plateau with them, and the peculiar relations between the three tribes are among the most interesting features of the social life of the Nilgiris. The Todas are a purely pastoral people, limiting their activities almost entirely to the care of their buffaloes and to the complicated ritual which has grown up in association with these animals. The Badagas are chiefly agriculturists; the Kotas are artisans and mechanics; and both supply the Todas with part of their produce. There is here a well-marked instance of division of labour, in which the labour of the Todas is reduced to a minimum. Their privileged position is usually held to be due to the tradition that they are the "lords of the soil," and the produce which the Todas receive from the other tribes is supposed to be of the nature of tribute.

The jungle on the slopes of the hills is inhabited by two wild, dwarfish tribes, the Kurumbas and Irulas, who have a general resemblance to the many other jungle tribes of Southern India. These people are much feared by the tribes of the plateau for their supposed magical powers, but they have little to do with the complex social life of the others.

101 131 177 The district in which the three tribes live is not extensive. The extreme length of the plateau, from east to west, is about forty-two miles, and its average breadth, from north to south, about ten miles, the maximum breadth being fifteen miles in the centre of the district. The total area of the plateau is less than 500 square miles. In this district there live about 800 Todas, 1,200 Kotas, and 34,000 Badagas. In addition, there are now extensive European settlements, the largest of which is Ootacamund, the seat of the Madras Government for six months of the year. The other large European settlements are Coonoor and Kotagiri, while Wellington, near Coonoor, is a military station.

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, 101
ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peran- 103
ganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by 131
the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the 162
part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr.

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the 121
outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the 124
investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information.

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able 124
to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I

618 621 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name from the chief of these villages, the *etudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

●101 174 616 618 The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad, and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol, Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 361 621 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season. 618 621 361

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position. 618 178

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans. 101 177 618 616

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nodrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

101 prise the remainder of the Tarthar clans—viz., those of Taradr,
177 Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm and Nidrsi. I could
618 obtain no direct information from the Todas which would
616 explain why the Badaga classification should differ from their own. It is possible that it is an old classification of the Todas, but this is unlikely, since it is probable that the intercourse with the Badagas is not very ancient. It seems to me possible that it may have arisen out of the constitution of the *naim* or council. This has four Toda representatives belonging to Kuudr (representing the Teivaliol), Kars, Nòdrs and Taradr. This would correspond to four of the Badaga divisions, and the fifth, the Melgarsol or Pekkan, would certainly be well known to the Badagas through their privileges as *mòrol*. It is possible that the Nòdrs representative used also to represent Pan, and that the Taradr member represented the remaining clans, and, if so, it would point to there having been some old five-fold division of the kind believed in by the Badagas. It is quite clear that the five-fold division has no influence on the marriage regulations and Peiki, Todi and Kuttan all marry freely within their divisions. Except in connexion with the *naim*, I could learn of nothing which would show that the five-fold division has any social significance, and I know of no other way in which the Panol are associated with the Nòdrsol nor of any other way in which the six clans included in the Kuttan are associated together. It is possible that the five-fold division is connected with some customs regulating the payment of the Badaga tribute to the Todas, but I could learn nothing of such customs.

618 Each clan has divisions of two kinds called *kudr* and *pòlm*. The *kudr* is a division of ceremonial, the *pòlm* of practical, importance.

THE KUDR

Normally each clan has two *kudr* and two only, and, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, these divisions become of the greatest importance in connexion with the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the whole regulation of which is dominated by the division into *kudr*. So far as I could ascertain, the *kudr* has now no

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 551 The various tribes on the hills have secret names; thus, both Badagas and Tamils are called *tutâr katvai*, he who wears or ties the turban; a Kota is called *kîmas ithvai*, he who is beneath; a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, the man who watches the way; a European is called *pelthpol*, or white man. A forest guard is called *petuni ütvai*, *petuni* being here used as a term for uniform, so that if a forest guard has come, they will say, *petuni ütvai podvuchi*.

195 198 Several of the words used in the secret language do not appear to have any other meaning and are not ordinarily used. Thus the ordinary word for tooth is *pars*, but in secret language *kâtô* or *kâtû* is used. This word is the name of the wall of a buffalo-pen and it is possible that it may mean stones, but I could not ascertain whether this was the derivation, and could only learn that it was another word for tooth. Similarly the ear, of which the ordinary name is *kevi*, is called *pertars*, and the question "Did you wear gold earrings?" becomes *pertarsk ütshia*? "to ear did you wear?"

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXVII

RELATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

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In this chapter I propose to put together the chief facts with which I am acquainted which throw light on the very difficult problem of the relations between the Todas and the other tribes of the Nilgiri Hills. The chapter could only be written with any degree of completeness by one who had studied the question from the point of view of each of the Nilgiri tribes separately. I have only been able to do so, and that incompletely, from the Toda point of view. My information is derived almost wholly from the Todas themselves, and gives their way of regarding the relations between themselves and the other tribes.

The five tribes inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills are shown in Fig. 68 (taken from Breeks), the Todas in the centre with the Badagas on their right and the Kotas on their left. Next to the Badagas are the Irulas, and next to the Kotas are the Kurumbas.

The tribes with which the Todas come into contact habitually are the Badagas and Kotas, while their points of contact with Kurumbas and Irulas are much less important. The Badagas are not only the agriculturists of the Todas, but are the constant intermediaries between the Todas and the extra-Nilgiri world. The two tribes regard each other more or less as social equals. The Kotas, on the other hand, who are the artisans of the Todas, are regarded by them as social inferiors. The relations with the former may be considered first.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Irulas. Badagas. Todas. Kotas. Kurumbas.

FIG. 68 (FROM BREEKS).—THE FIVE TRIBES OF THE NILGIRI HILLS.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

TODAS AND BADAGAS

101 The Todas call a Badaga *Mav*,[1] which seems to be a form of the Canarese word for father-in-law or maternal uncle. The origin of this term is said to have been that when the Todas first met a Badaga, they asked his name and he answered "*Mav*." A Badaga who performs certain services 177 for the *palol* is called *tikelfmav*. Certain elders of the 609 Badagas are also called *madtin*.

Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two which is represented in Fig. 69. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin*, you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas.

177 The Badagas perform definite services for the Todas and give what may be regarded as a tribute of grain at the harvest. 651 The tribute is called *gudu*. I did not myself investigate the nature of the *gudu*, and there is some difference of opinion among previous writers[2] as to whether a definite amount of grain

[1] *Mav* is also the Toda word for sambhar.

[2] According to Harkness, "each burgher, hamlet, or village" gives about two quarts (p. 108), or (p. 135) half a bushel to the *ti* and half a bushel to the other Todas. According to Breeks (p. 9), the *gudu* is about one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-fifth of the gross produce.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common. 762

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas. 177 754 787

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the Nilgiri Hills. Breeks[1] states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes. 177 174

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

Todas and Kotas

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kwu*. The relation between the two people is very different from that between Toda and [101] 177

[1] P. 4.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 Badaga. While a Toda regards a Badaga as his equal, or
186 perhaps even as his superior, he looks down on the Kota as
609 inferior, as hardly to be classed as a man with himself. In their secret language, a Toda speaks of a Kota as *kimas ithvai*, "he that is beneath," and in the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) the Kotas are the only hill tribe which is not thought worthy of mention—they are not thought to be of sufficient importance to be able to cast the evil eye. When a Kota meets a Toda, he raises both hands to his face and salutes from a distance. The two people do not touch one another in general, though I do not know that contact is definitely prohibited. A Toda will not sleep or take food at a Kota village in general, but makes an exception in the case of Kulgadi in the Wainad (see p. 200). It is usually supposed that the contempt of the Toda for the Kota is due to the flesh-eating, or even carrion-eating, habits of the latter, and this is certainly one of the elements which influence the relations between the two peoples.

177 The Kotas supply the Todas with the larger part of their pottery and ironware.[1] All the earthenware vessels of the
437 dairies, except those of the inner rooms of the *ti* dairies, are supplied by the Kotas, and the various knives and other metal objects of the Todas are chiefly obtained from these people. The Kotas supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals and they supply the music on these occasions.

Just as the Badagas do not supply grain to the Todas only, so the Kotas do artisan work for Badagas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Kotas are the artisans, not of the Todas only, but of the whole hill district.

101 The relations between the Todas and Kotas are strictly regulated, each Kota village supplying certain Toda clans.
177 There are seven Kota villages on the hills, of which the
437 following are the Toda and Badaga names:—

In the Todanad district:—

Tizgudr, Tizgadr, or Tizgwadr (Badaga, Tirichigadi), between Ootacamund and Kanòdrs, near the Toda village of Ushadr.

[1] According to Breeks, the Kotas who supply the Todas are known as *uwlfu* Kotas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kurguli (B. Padagula or Kuruvoje), near the Badaga village of Sholur. 101 177

In the Mekanad district :—

Kalmal (B. Kolamala or Kollimalai), not far from Kateri. 437

In the Peranganad district :—

Meilkukal (B. Melkotagiri or Perangada) in Kotagiri, one of the three chief European stations on the hills. Kikukal (B. Kilkotagiri or Kinnada), north-east of Kotagiri.

In the Kundanad district :—

Medrkukal (B. Menada).

The seventh is Kulgadi (B. Kalagasa) at Gudalur in the Wainad.

The village of Tizgudr is connected with the Toda clans of Kars, Melgars, Kanòdrs, and sometimes with the people of Kulhem. Kurguli supplies the clans of Nòdrs, Taradr, Kuudr, Piedr, and Kusharf, and occasionally Kulhem. Kalmal supplies Keradr, Nidrsi, Pàm, Kidmad, and Keadr. Meilkukal and Kikukal are both connected with Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, and Medrkukal is the Kota village of the Panol. Kulgadi is connected only with the village of Kavidi, near Gudalur, which belongs to the Piedrol. When there were several Toda villages in the Wainad, it probably served them all.

The connexion between clans and villages seems to depend almost wholly on geographical distribution. The clans are supplied by the Kota villages which are nearest to their headquarters. An outlying village such as Kavidi has not the same Kota village as the rest of its clan. The Kidmadol, who are a branch of the Melgarsol, have not the same Kota village as the parent stock; but, on the other hand, the Panol, who now live chiefly among other Todas near Governor Shola, are still connected with the Kundah Kotas.

Each Kota village is responsible for the supply of the clan or clans with which it is connected. Its inhabitants make the various utensils used in the household and in the less sacred dairy work of the Todas. At the funeral of any member of a clan with which they are connected, they provide the music and the following objects :— 177 437 764

At the *etwainolkedr*, a cloak in which the corpse is wrapped,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *ar kārthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them. 101 609

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood. 177 437

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge. 177 754

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *teuol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners. 177 787

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf, 177 773

177 according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were
773 deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

174 In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the
177 Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and
773 this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

TODAS AND IRULAS

101 The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and
177 have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by
609 the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted
754 in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

177 The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection
773 of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tên* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 9).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Toda clans take their names, the Tarthar villages being in Roman type and those of the Teivaliol in italics. I have omitted the chief villages of those clans which I know to have arisen in recent times by splitting off from other clans, and I have included two villages of which I can only give the approximate positions. These are Piedr and Kusharf, which are now rarely occupied, and are situated off the main plateau, near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I also give

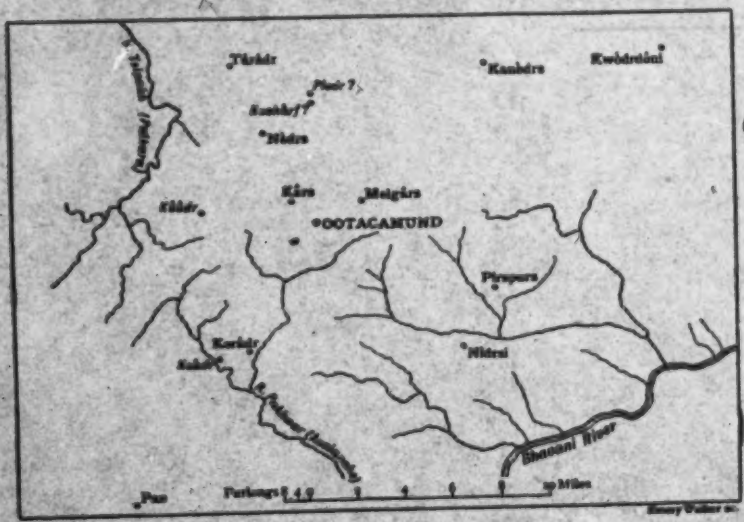

FIG. 73.

Pirspurs, the old *etudmad* of the Pämol. In Fig. 74 I give a second plan, showing the positions of all the villages which I know to be ancient, either because they possess sacred dairies or because they are mentioned in legend.

It will be seen that the greater part of the hills is occupied by the Tartharol, while the Teivali villages lie chiefly in the north-west part of the hills. The chief exception is the village of Keadr, which is situated some way south of the rest.

If, in coming to the hills, the Todas followed the routes now supposed to be traversed by the dead, the position of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference
616 in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

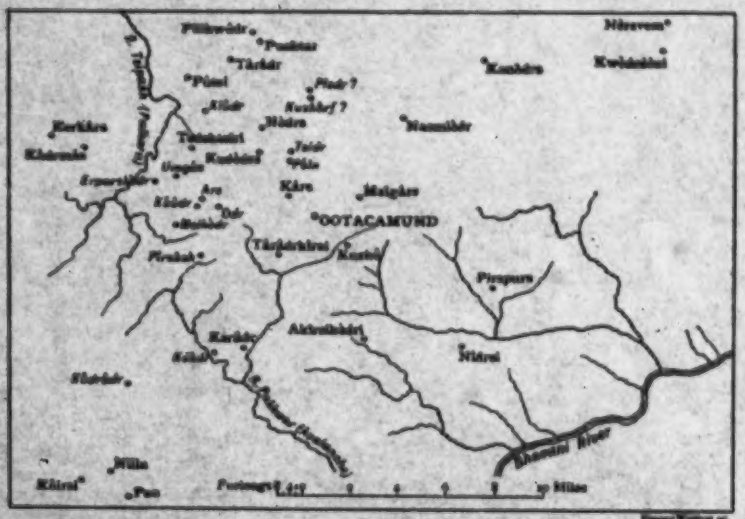

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnòdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a com-
616 munity, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards
791 of the community. At the present time the majority of the *teuol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 175

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

101 was larger than it is at present, and it is tempting to suppose
174 that we have here evidence of the route of the Toda migration.
There are, however, facts which make it improbable that this
361 clue is of any value. If the villages about Gudalur had been survivals of the migration they would almost certainly have been sacred villages, but it was quite clear that they had no sanctity whatever and were not even saluted when seen from a distance. Unfortunately I did not visit Kavidi, the only village which remains, and if I had done so I might have discovered some evidence of sanctity and antiquity, but from what I was told it is very unlikely that any such evidence exists. This absence of sanctity is further in agreement with the traditions of the Todas, who say that the settlement at Gudalur is recent. There are, however, other facts which point to an ancient connexion of the Todas with this district. Some of the buffaloes of the most sacred and ancient Nòdrs *ti* are said to have come from Perithi in the Wainad, and the Taradrol, in many ways an exceptional Toda clan, are said to have their own future world or Amnòdr at this place.

174 It will thus be seen that, in addition to the points of similarity in custom and belief, there are definite facts pointing
487 to connexion with Malabar, and if we suppose that the Todas migrated from this district we have next to conjecture the path by which they travelled. If any importance is attached to the belief in the paths taken by the dead, we should regard it as the most probable view that the Todas travelled over the Kundahs, the two divisions of the people travelling by slightly different routes. The Toda tradition that men were created on the Kundahs is perhaps in favour of this route, which would seem to correspond with the road to the Nilgiris known as the Sisipara Ghat. If, on the other hand, we attach importance to the settlement at Kavidi, the route followed would be that through Gudalur. At the present time the latter road is far the easier of the two, and, if the Todas had travelled during the last few years, it would have been the natural road by which to come, but it does not appear that there was any essential difference in the difficulties of the two routes before the roads were made. The evidence in favour of either route is very scanty, but if the Todas came from

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

A PHRENOLOGIST

AMONGST

THE TODAS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE.

Meaning of the Name Toda—Names of Clans—Kôls, the Aborigines of India—Todas are Drâvidians—Drâvidians penetrate India, and dispossess the Kôl Race—Affinities of the Drâvidians—Âryan Conquest; its Effects on the Kôl and Drâvidian Races—The mutual Influence of the Kôl, Drâvidian, and Âryan Races on one another—Positions in India now held by the three Races—Positions in the Dekhan of the Drâvidian Tribes—Affinities of the Toda Dialect—Last Migration of the Todas—Kairns and Kromlechs on the Nilagiris—Are the Kairn-builders allied to the Todas?

/8/

THE PEOPLE whose ancient customs and primitive habits form the topic of these pages are called by the English Todas; but in their own language an individual of the tribe is Todan,[1] the plural being Todaru.

The Badagas—of whom more hereafter—who for centuries past have lived in close proximity to the Todas, style them in the singular Todawanu,[2] and in the plural Todawaru: from which, by abbreviation, Todawan or Todawar. Hence

[1] Todan. Tamil, Toṛavan and Tôṛam = *a herd*. And thus Toṛavan or Tôṛan = *herdsman*. [POPE.]

On this note, Mr. Metz remarks: 'As the d in Toda is not a lingual ḍ, but dental, I do not believe the word means *herdsman*, as Toḍa in Old Tamil. I do not know the meaning of Toda with the dental d.'

[2] Todawanu. Tora = *a herd*, Wanu = *a person*. Drâvidian. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. I.

101

also have arisen other corruptions in English; as Torawar, Thautawars, Todars, Todies, &c. Dr. Hunter gives, in his Dictionary,[3] a Toḍuva variety of the Toḍu language; which is an error.

The Toda tribe is divided into five clans, called Pēiki, Pekkan, Tôdi, Kuttan, and Kenna.[4] The two first are very closely related, although they do not now intermarry; the former having become what might be termed a Levitical clan. All of the remaining four freely marry amongst one another.

194

We have very little positive information of the earliest inhabitants of India; but, so far as the existing condition of evidence enables us to determine, they were of a race whose speech, having analogies to the extensive Hô or Kôl group of languages, 'derived from a source common both to themselves and the Chinese,'[5] gives grounds for the belief that, at some extremely early prehistoric period, a migration of barbarians into India took place from over its north-eastern confines 'from the northern shores of the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Sea;'[6] thus *seemingly* earning for themselves the title of children of the soil, the aboriginal inhabitants of at least the central and north-eastern tracts of India.

The physical type of this race, judging from the many distinct tribes of the family still to be found in various hill ranges, partook of the main features of the Mongol—in the hairless face, broad and short, the spreading unshapely nose, small eyes and high cheek-bones: and evidences of the people exist even in the southern portion of the Indian peninsula, both in the presence of this peculiar stamp of countenance, and apparently in the names of places and of natural features of the country.

000

The Toda tongue is entirely apart from that of the Kôl

[3] Hunter, 'Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia.'

[4] Mr. Metz writes me that he believes he has found a sixth clan, called Târâl.; but the statement needs confirmation.

[5] Hunter. [6] Hunter.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

remain in their pristine barbarous state; innocent even of written characters; and there are said to be several other minor dialects or corruptions belonging to small sylvan families holding unimportant geographical positions in the Drâvidian area. 102 197

Remnants of the ejected Kôls are shown on the eastern limits, and Âryanised peoples are closed in on the entire northern boundary.

The Rev. Dr. Pope, in his contribution to this book,[12] gives it as his opinion that the Toda language was originally old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. He thinks that the language has dwindled to a mere skeleton, as a result of isolation and consequent degeneration of the people. 197

The early Indian history of the Todas has been as completely lost as that of the long protracted period which preceded their migration to the Dekkan. 173

We know, indeed, with a tolerable degree of certainty, both from their own legends and from those of neighbouring tribes, that until the last few hundred years they inhabited a jungle tract of inferior hills situated between the Kanarese and Tamilian districts, in the direction of Hâsanûr; which, on E. longitude 77° 20′ and N. latitude 11° 45′ form portion of the Eastern Ghats. And that they then divided into two or more parts, of which one settled in a northerly direction, near Kôlegâll, and the other migrated or was driven in the direction of the Nilagiri Mountain;[13] the greater number 101 131 173

[12] Vide Chapter XXIX., 'Outlines of the Tuḍa Grammar.'

At the time of recording this opinion, Dr. Pope had not had opportunity of perusing any portion of my descriptions of Toda life. Had he done so, it is possible he might have modified his views. I, who judge the Todas physically and through their antique customs and practices, fail to discover any degeneracy in the people; rather regarding them as not only without evidence of having been better, but with little appearance of having been materially different from what they now are, within any period whose length may be fixed or even approximated.

[13] Mr. Metz, who obtained this information from the Todas, is my authority for this paragraph.

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settling on its very topmost plateau, where we now find them, whilst a small remnant, winding behind its north-western slopes, remained on one of the lower plateaus, called the Wynâd.

This modern place of Toda residence is an isolated mountain, upwards of seven thousand feet above sea level, upreared on E. longitude 76° 45′ and N. latitude 11° 20′, amidst the plains of South India—the gigantic and sudden culmination of the minor mountain-chain system, called the Eastern and Western Ghats, which there meet.

These, their last movements, having been very small and of minor importance, I have included their past and their present places of residence in one area, marked VI. on the map.

Not only the summit of the Nilagiris, but the tops of the minor rounded eminences thereon, are studded with kairns, raised for the reception of ashes of the dead, by a race whose history has been so completely lost that not a tradition even of it remains. On the same plateau are also a few kromlechs, also many deserted circles of stones, situated near streams of running water; some manifestly constructed for pounding cattle, others, with equal certainty, not made for that purpose —being in exposed situations and having rocky beds.

These erections undoubtedly do not belong to the Todas, who not only do not regard them with reverence, but assert that they were of a people antecedent to themselves on the mountain. Moreover they are found in many parts of the Indian peninsula and of Western India. But I may do service in drawing attention to points in which the cremation customs of this unknown race are those of the Todas, and to those in which they differ from them.

In brief, we find, from relics exhumed from kairns, that their owners made use of the horse: that they practised agriculture, holding the buffalo in high esteem, and burying its bell with the manes of the deceased. We learn that they were acquainted with the use of the spear, bow and arrow:

183 of wood, dotted with isolated hummocks like giant ant-hills, and terminating in faint blue lines of mountains the furthest of which seems to hang half-way up the sky; perhaps on a tumbled mass of hills and valleys, a perfect dissolving view, for the eye has hardly traced the outline of some rocky ridge, glowing red in the sunlight, before a blue cloud-shadow blots it out, and a fresh series of crests and ravines starts into sight beyond. Broken peaks, hung with woods, frame the picture, and on all lies tropical sunlight, intensified by the keen thin mountain air.

132 The climate is temperate and equable. At Ootacamund, according to a series of observations, extending over seven years, the mean maximum temperature ranges from 60·06° in December to 68·76° in May. The hottest months of the year are April and May, the coldest, December and January. The hottest hours of the day in summer and winter do not vary more than nine degrees, and the extreme variation of temperature throughout the year is only 21·25°.

The climate of Coonoor and Kotagherry is warmer; no observations have been recorded for the Kundahs. The average rainfall at Ootacamund is about 45 inches, but it is much greater on the Kundahs, and generally on the western side of the plateau, which feels the full force of the S.W. monsoon.

Early in June this monsoon breaks with great violence on the western face of the mountains, but diminishes in violence as it extends eastward. At Ootacamund it is much milder than on the Kundahs, and at Coonoor and Kotagherry it is but slightly felt. It lasts until about the middle of September. The north-east monsoon, which commences in the middle or end of October, bursts heavily on the north-east corner of the plateau, and the first fall usually extends over the whole of it. At Ootacamund, from December to May, the weather is dry and very bright; the winter nights bring sharp frosts in the swampy valleys, but on higher ground these are little felt, and English garden and greenhouse flowers may be had in profusion all the year round. The average number of days on which rain falls at Ootacamund in the course of the year is said to be 100, of cloudy days without rain 28, and of clear fine days 237.

131 The Nilagiris are divided into four *nâds* or divisions, named respectively—

Todanâd.
Mokanâd.
Peranganâd.
Kundanâd.

They are inhabited by five native tribes, viz.:—

Badagas.
Todas.
Kotas.
Kurumbas.
Irulas.

Of these, the Badagas, although far the most numerous, not being an aboriginal or jungle race, do not come within the scope of the following pages, which will be devoted to an account of the four primitive tribes, and of the rude stone monuments, of uncertain origin, which are found in various parts of the plateau.

The Badagas are Hindus, chiefly of the Saiva sect, and are supposed to have migrated to the Nilagiris from Mysore, about 300 years ago, after the breaking-up of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. According to the last Census they numbered 19,476. They are an agricultural race, and cultivate various cereals of rather a poor sort. They hold their lands under Government at very easy rates, and of late years many of them have acquired considerable wealth, and own large herds of cattle. They pay a sort of tribute, in grain, to the Todas. Their language is a corrupt form of Kanaree. 101 177

000 the principle of the "Universal Alphabet" proposed by Dr. Lepsius.* The actual adoption of Lepsius's system seems to me undesirable, because the great number of sounds it comprises, and the consequent complexity of diacritical signs used, are not requisite for Indian vocabularies, and would be unnecessarily bewildering to amateur compilers.

I would suggest that the Government of Madras, for instance, should endeavour to obtain the services of such men as Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Pope, and Mr. Metz, to draw up a table of signs which should represent all the sounds to be found in the different dialects of the Presidency. This list might be then forwarded to the other Provinces, in order that philologists there might add letters expressive of any sounds in Northern languages which are not found in the Dravidian dialects. When a general alphabet had been agreed upon, it should be sent to every district as the basis for vocabularies of the ruder and less known dialects. If the vocabularies thus formed, were again submitted to competent philologists for correction of the orthographical errors, into which ignorance of derivation might lead compilers, they would afford a reliable basis for the comparative philology of India.

The vocabulary in the Appendix is simply an attempt to render correctly, with due regard to derivations, the sounds of certain words in the Hill dialects; it has no pretensions to anything more.†

173 The Todas have hardly a tradition or legend of any sort from which information as to their former condition can be obtained. They believe that their ancestors always inhabited these hills, that is (for their ideas on the subject seem chiefly negative) they have no knowledge or belief of their having migrated from elsewhere. Mr. Metz thinks the Todas came from the neighbourhood of Kāligāl (Collegāl), because he has often been asked for news of the relatives, who, they believe, still reside there. I cannot find, however, that any Todas are now known in that neighbourhood. Mr. Minchin informs me that there are three colonies of Todas in Wainād, one at Dēvāla, and two on the eastern slopes of the Neliyālam Peak range. Those at Dēvāla, he says, reside in houses of bamboo, built with gable ends, like the huts of the Paniers, and occasionally work as house-builders for the bazaar people, but live chiefly by the sale of ghee and milk. They are Peikis, and say that they left the Nīlagiris sixty years ago to find a better sale for their produce. This account of themselves is confirmed by the fact, that within my own knowledge the dry funeral of two of them has been celebrated at the funeral mand of the Peikis near Ootacamund. 101 L 7

174 Little more information is to be derived from foreign sources. The Badagas are said to have come to the hills in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, *i.e.*, about three centuries ago; but their songs and stories depict the Todas much as we see them now. I think, however, we may infer that the latter were more numerous, from the fact of their having been able to exact the *gūdu* in the first instance, whereas now, with all the help afforded by long custom, they have at times difficulty in collecting it. Moreover, there are still traces to be found of old mands

* Such an alphabet is not open to the objections which historians and geographers urge with much reason against every method of transcribing names of places and other well-known oriental words which will render them unintelligible to the ordinary reader, because it is simply wanted for philological purposes.

† I believe that since the above was written the Government of India have authoritatively prescribed a system of transliteration, how obtained I do not know.—*Editor.*

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW65 Toda AW60 Badaga AW50

fore, not hesitated to comply with the request made to me, that I would communicate such particulars concerning the hill-tribes of the Nilgiris as came under my own observation during a three years' sojourn on those hills, otherwise known as the Blue Mountains of the Deccan.

It is not necessary here to describe that well-known range further than to observe, for better understanding the situation of the tribes by whom it is inhabited, that it occupies a nearly isolated position, has a superficial extent calculated at between six and seven hundred square miles, and an extreme central altitude of 8,760 feet. Approaching them through the flat parched district of Coimbatoor, the great abruptness with which these mountains rise from the plain adds to their apparent height, and at a distance of many miles the grandeur of the lofty blue line elicits the admiration of the traveller. Arrived at the stifling village of Metapollium, at their base, and near the forest entrance of the ascent by the Coonoor Pass, gazing upwards on their hanging forests, rhododendron-sprinkled heights, and precipitous grey crags, towering almost perpendicularly to a height of 7,000 feet, one may fancy oneself enjoying a glimpse of another world. Notwithstanding the temptation which its lofty verdant summits must have offered to Europeans dwelling on the burning plains below, this range remained, chiefly on account of the then almost impenetrable belt of jungle, abounding in tigers and elephants, and surrounding its base on every side, unexplored till the year 1819, and it was not till two years later that any road was opened up to the summit.

Strange and unknown tribes were then found in possession of this favoured region, a region of green hills and sheltered hollows, of sparkling streams and tracts of primeval forest, with abundant vegetation and delightful climate. Todas and Khotas occupied the higher ranges, while Erulas and Kurumbas clustered here and there in the lower belts on the mountain sides.

These tribes I shall notice in order. Before, however, proceeding to do so, I may render my account plainer by briefly noticing another people who are located on the same ground, and in constant intercourse with the more immediate subjects of our notice, viz., the Vadacas or Badaghas, commonly called Burghers.

Though generally classed among the hill-tribes, they have, comparatively speaking, but recently come among them, having

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" 648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out [491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced [137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, 361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something 000 like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ä = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot		z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ö = word	u = blue	è = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	ù = cook	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
			r = rot	ü = French	

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

101 gods, are very close indeed; so close in fact that to know them really
648 well it would be necessary to make a special study of them from the
point of view of each of the five communities in turn. As others who
121 have worked solely on the Todas before me, I am, however, only acquainted with these relations from the Toda viewpoint, and consequently can only briefly account for them here as described to me from that angle.

648 Of the four, the Badaga community is the largest. It is said, too, that it is the latest to have arrived in the Blue Mountains, but even so, this must have been quite a long time ago, as there are Portuguese descriptions of it going back for more than three centuries. The Todas
[186] consider the Badagas as practically their equals, and their name for them is *Mav*. They depend on them for much of their livelihood, as
[439] they are the agriculturists who supply them with grain, and all relations with the outer world are conducted to a large extent for the Todas through their intermediary. They pay a specified grain tribute called *kur* (Rivers' *gudu*) to the Todas, and the priests of the latter's most important temples may eat only Badaga grain (which includes rice) and none other. Furthermore a Badaga from the village of Tuneri is by right a member of the Toda tribal council, when it decides questions of inter-tribal importance, and at certain ceremonies in the principal temples, a Badaga, known as a *tikelvmav* has to be in attendance.

[186] The Kotas, called *Kuv* by the Todas, are looked down upon by them
[439] and considered low-caste. They are the artisans who supply metalware and pottery to their neighbours, and, as is often the case with smiths in India, also music at festive occasions. They are indispensable at Toda funerals, where they have very distinct duties such as providing a band, giving cloth, grain, ceremonial bows and arrows, money etc. for the proper disposal of the corpse, besides taking away the sacrificed buffaloes which they eat.

The Kurumbas and Irulas are slight, dwarf-like aborigines who inhabit the forest-clad, malarial southern and western slopes of the Nil-
[186] giris. They are known respectively as *Kurub* and *Erl* by the Todas, who fear them greatly as sorcerers and magicians. It is on them, and
[439] principally the Kurumbas, that the tribe is dependent for its supply of bamboo vessels, of a certain long pole, the *tari*, used at funerals, and more especially of medicine, which appellation includes poison. The Todas make habitual use of the latter when they want to fight each other in personal or inter-clan feuds. In Toda mythology, the two last named of their neighbours as well as the Kotas, but not the Badagas, are mentioned.

4: Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
Toda AW60

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

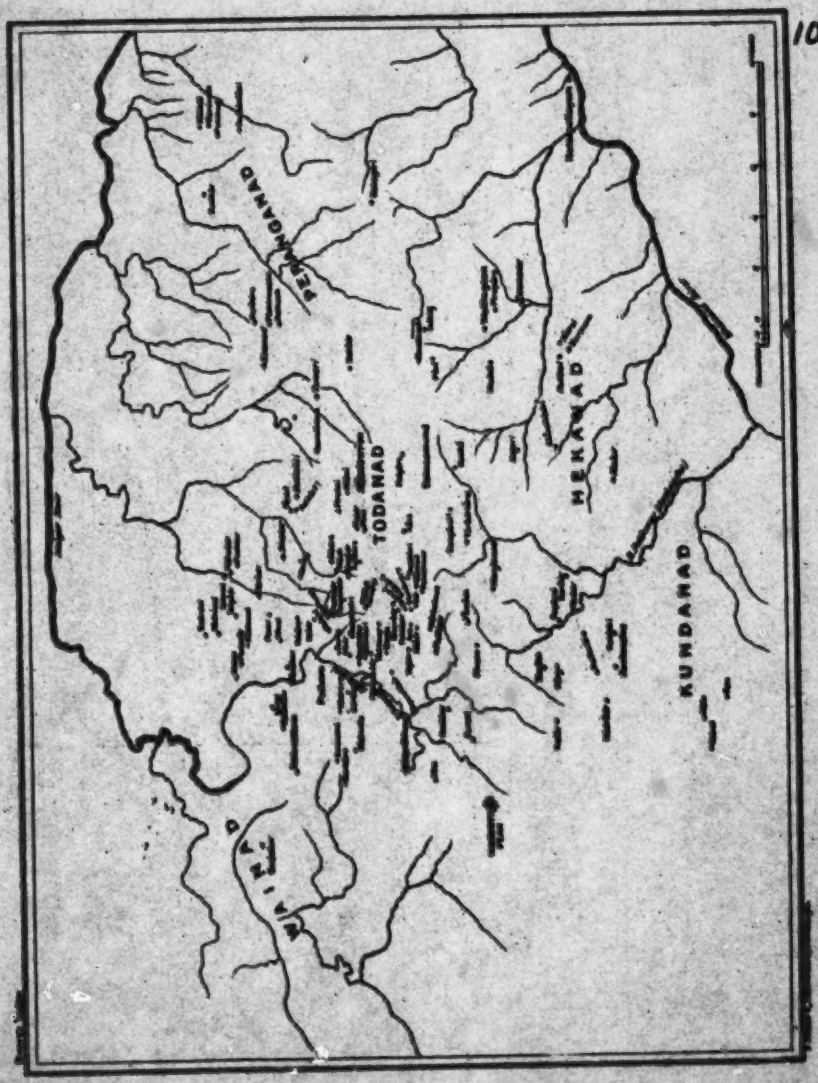
Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[2]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[2] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

opp. Title page



1: Rivers E-B (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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m,	as in English.	*t*,	as in English and also for the lingual *ṭ*.
n,	as in English.	*th*	the th both of though and throw.
ñ,	a nasal n, as in French.	*v*, *w*,	as in English.
p, *r*,	as in English.	*z*,	the z of zeal.
s,	a sound resembling the English s.	*zh*,	the si of occasion.
sh,	as in English.		

Sounds represented by *ch*, *s*, *sh*, and *th*, very frequently inserted euphonically in Toda words, have usually been omitted. I have also omitted the signs showing the long vowels whenever a word occurs frequently throughout the book, and the glossary should be consulted to ascertain the correct method of pronouncing such words. Similarly, Appendices III and IV should be consulted to ascertain the proper pronunciation of the names of places and plants.

I do not use the plurals of Toda words, either in the English form or in that proper to the Toda language; thus, I write "the two *palol*" and not "the two *palols*" or "the two *palolam*."

MAP.

102 The names printed in the same type as KÁrs are those of Toda villages; the names in italics, as *Nanjanad* are those of Badaga villages; the names in small black type, as Ootacamund are those of towns with a general population, or of *dák* bungalows.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. I.

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Turanian tree had first been biassed through the superior religious instinct of the Ârya.

If we consider that the many tribes of these three dominant races, brought into India the various habits, religious observances, and dialects of the diverse tracts of Asia whence they emigrated. When we further reflect on the different results which must have ensued during their residence in the country of their adoption, from the contiguity of certain of them to the progressive Brahmanical race, with its refined and copious vocabulary, its elevated moral code, with idealised pantheon of heroes and heroines; and the proximity of others to the carnivorous Kôl, his tutelary deities and bloody rites. Further, bearing in mind the isolation of tribes kept asunder by the lawlessness of the times, the pathless nature of the country, and the conservative nature of tribal barbarians;—we can readily comprehend why Drâvidian tribes have now concreted into separate nationalities, whose dialects are 'distinct though affiliated languages,'[11] and whose religion varies in every shade, from the simple but senseless, or perhaps cruel, observances introduced by original immigrants, to the complex rites of corrupted Hinduism.

102 197

The accompanying sketch map of the Indian peninsula describes the position in the country which the Drâvidians hold at the present day; when, after their wanderings and their wars, the various tribes of which the race is composed had settled down, then expanded into important nations, speaking distinct dialects, of which the following are now highly cultivated:—

i. Tamil. iii. Kanarese.
ii. Telugu. iv. Malayâlam.
v. Tuluva.

Three others, viz.,

vi. Toda. vii. Gônd. viii. Ku or Khond,

[11] Caldwell.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 6.

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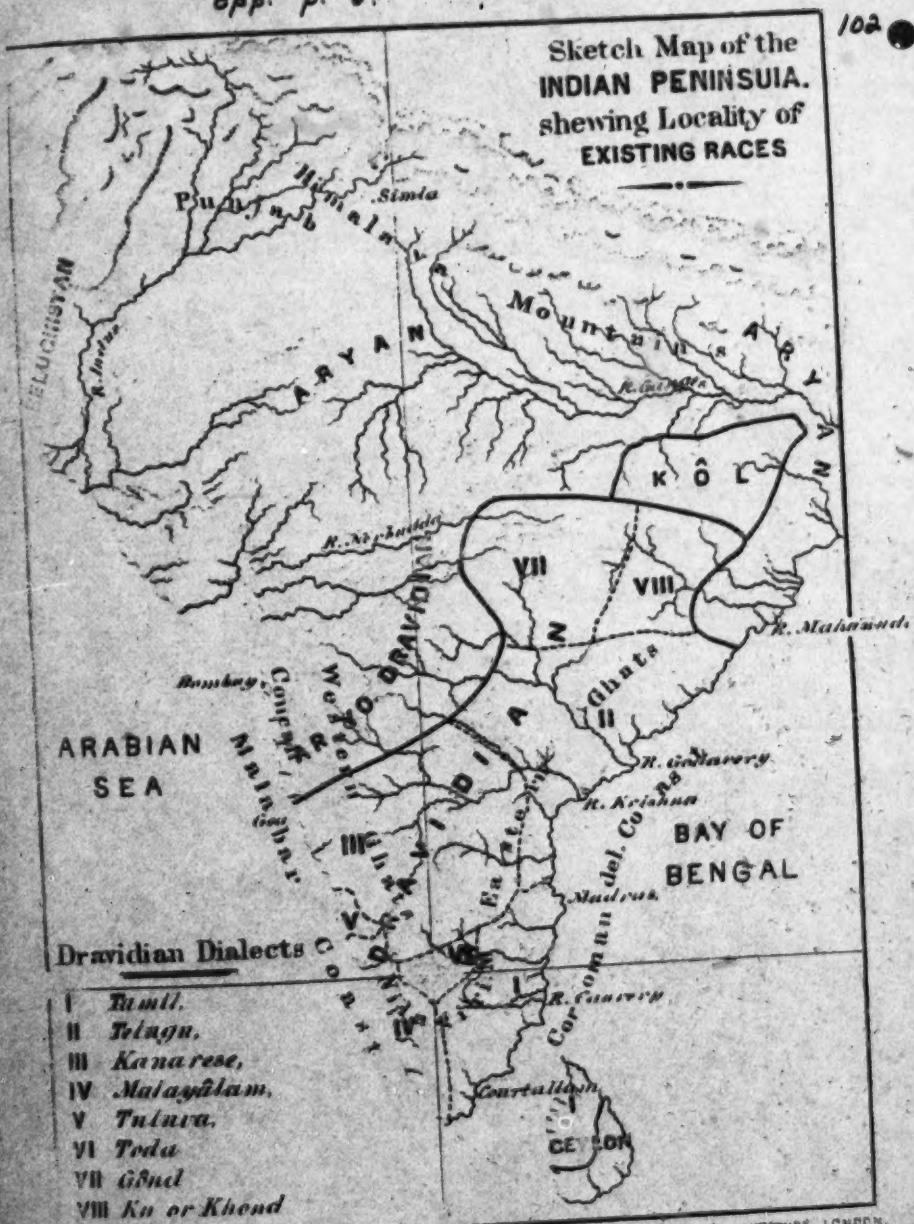

Drawn by Sheick Amir-oo-din.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

remain in their pristine barbarous state; innocent even of written characters; and there are said to be several other minor dialects or corruptions belonging to small sylvan families holding unimportant geographical positions in the Drâvidian area. CHAP. I. 102 197

Remnants of the ejected Kôls are shown on the eastern limits, and Âryanised peoples are closed in on the entire northern boundary.

The Rev. Dr. Pope, in his contribution to this book,[12] gives it as his opinion that the Toda language was originally old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. He thinks that the language has dwindled to a mere skeleton, as a result of isolation and consequent degeneration of the people. 197

The early Indian history of the Todas has been as completely lost as that of the long protracted period which preceded their migration to the Dekkan. 173

We know, indeed, with a tolerable degree of certainty, both from their own legends and from those of neighbouring tribes, that until the last few hundred years they inhabited a jungle tract of inferior hills situated between the Kanarese and Tamilian districts, in the direction of Hâsanûr; which, on E. longitude 77° 20′ and N. latitude 11° 45′ form portion of the Eastern Ghats. And that they then divided into two or more parts, of which one settled in a northerly direction, near Kôlegâll, and the other migrated or was driven in the direction of the Nilagiri Mountain;[13] the greater number 101 131 173

[12] Vide Chapter XXIX., 'Outlines of the Tuḍa Grammar.'

At the time of recording this opinion, Dr. Pope had not had opportunity of perusing any portion of my descriptions of Toda life. Had he done so, it is possible he might have modified his views. I, who judge the Todas physically and through their antique customs and practices, fail to discover any degeneracy in the people; rather regarding them as not only without evidence of having been better, but with little appearance of having been materially different from what they now are, within any period whose length may be fixed or even approximated.

[13] Mr. Metz, who obtained this information from the Todas, is my authority for this paragraph.

CHAP. I.

settling on its very topmost plateau, where we now find them, whilst a small remnant, winding behind its north-western slopes, remained on one of the lower plateaus, called the Wynâd.

This modern place of Toda residence is an isolated mountain, upwards of seven thousand feet above sea level, upreared on E. longitude 76° 45′ and N. latitude 11° 20′, amidst the plains of South India—the gigantic and sudden culmination of the minor mountain-chain system, called the Eastern and Western Ghats, which there meet.

These, their last movements, having been very small and of minor importance, I have included their past and their present places of residence in one area, marked VI. on the map.

Not only the summit of the Nilagiris, but the tops of the minor rounded eminences thereon, are studded with kairns, raised for the reception of ashes of the dead, by a race whose history has been so completely lost that not a tradition even of it remains. On the same plateau are also a few kromlechs, also many deserted circles of stones, situated near streams of running water; some manifestly constructed for pounding cattle, others, with equal certainty, not made for that purpose —being in exposed situations and having rocky beds.

These erections undoubtedly do not belong to the Todas, who not only do not regard them with reverence, but assert that they were of a people antecedent to themselves on the mountain. Moreover they are found in many parts of the Indian peninsula and of Western India. But I may do service in drawing attention to points in which the cremation customs of this unknown race are those of the Todas, and to those in which they differ from them.

In brief, we find, from relics exhumed from kairns, that their owners made use of the horse: that they practised agriculture, holding the buffalo in high esteem, and burying its bell with the manes of the deceased. We learn that they were acquainted with the use of the spear, bow and arrow:

3: Brooks. QS (no date) 1873 Toda

Map preceding p. 1 (A)

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3: Breeks Q5 (no date) 1873 Toda.

Map preceding p. 1 (B)

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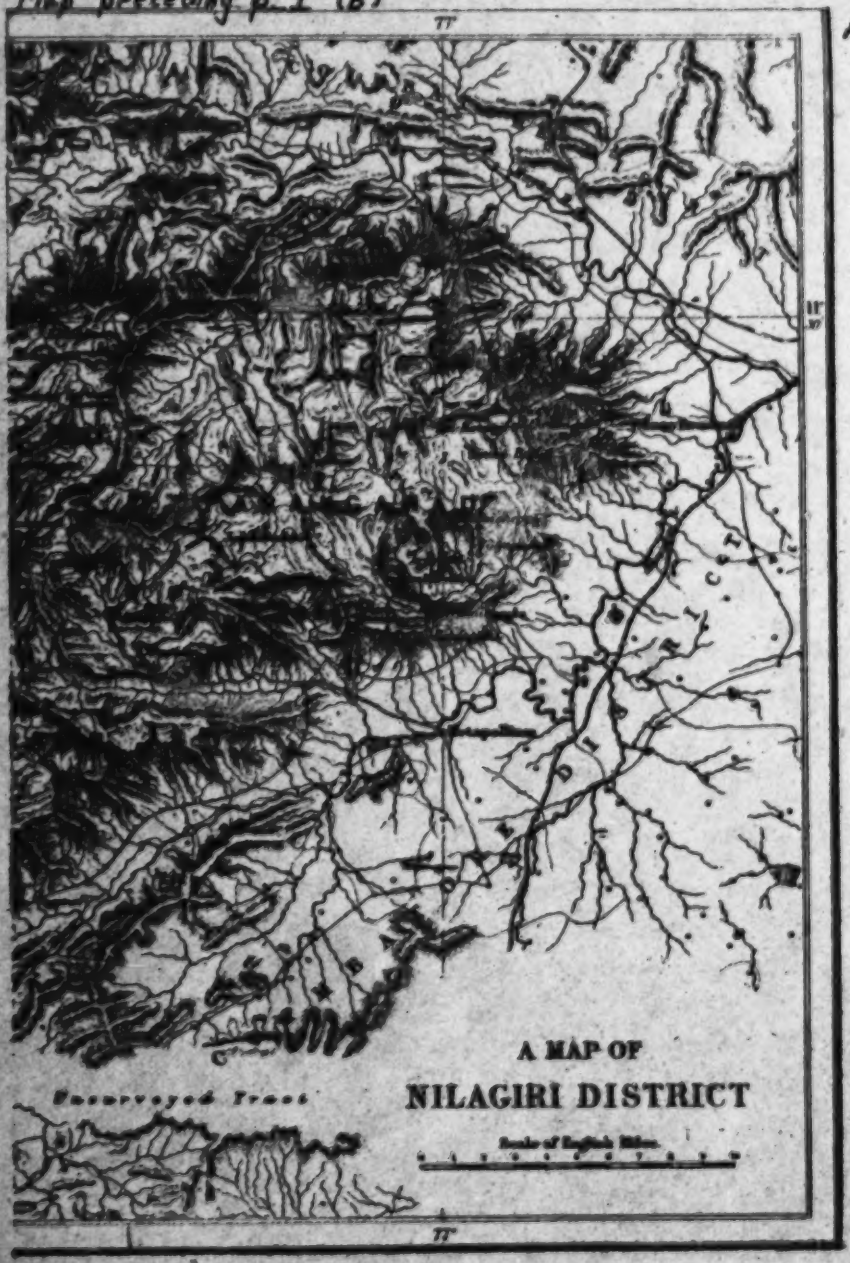
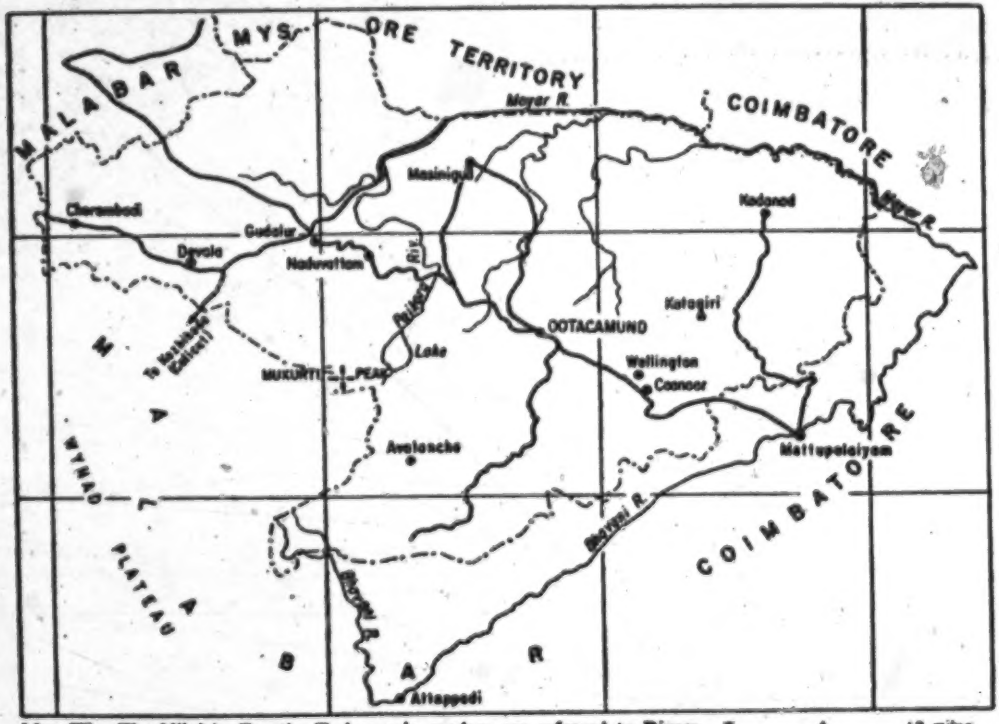


13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60



Map III. The Nilgiris. For the Toda *mads*, readers are referred to Rivers, *The Todas* (see Bibliography).

Toda

1: Rivers
101, 103

[For names, locations and distinctive features of Toda villages, see category 116, pp. 644-678]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peranganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr.

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information.

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation. 114 127

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people. 114 177 192

The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of 103 114 191

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the Todas, and similarly with the names of institutions such as clans, dairies, or ceremonies. The practice of giving Badaga names in their intercourse with Europeans has become so engrained that a Toda invariably uses these names when speaking to a European. During the first few weeks of my work, I received exclusively Badaga names, and to the end of my visit, whenever I visited a new district, the Badaga names would crop up till the people found that I wanted Toda and not Badaga. Kiunievan, who was the chief informant of Mr. Breeks in 1872, is still alive, and when I asked him why he gave Mr. Breeks the Badaga names in every case, he answered "He did not seem to want anything else," and this answer seems to me to give the clue to much of the error which has found its way into many of the accounts which have been given of the Todas.

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One of the most serious errors which has arisen in this way is one connected with the Toda clans. Every account which has been given of the clan-system of the Todas is that of a system which is current among the Badagas as the Toda system, but has only a limited correspondence with the actual system as it is in use among the Todas themselves. Every Toda, if asked by a European to what clan or division he belongs, will promptly give his division according to the Badaga classification, and this has led to the incorporation of this classification in all the accounts of the Todas which deal with their social organisation.

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Some words are necessary about the general plan of the book. I should have preferred to begin with the social organisation, and to approach the religious aspect of the life of the Todas through the ceremonies accompanying the chief incidents of life, including birth, marriage, and death. The ideas borrowed from the ritual of the dairy, however, so pervade the whole of Toda ceremonial, that I have been obliged to consider the ritual of the dairy at an early stage. After a preliminary chapter sketching the general character and life of the people, I have therefore given a full description of the elaborate ceremonial which centres round the dairy; and on this follow the accounts of other ceremonies and sacred institutions and a general discussion of the

551 frequently used by the Teivaliol than by the Tartharol, and in both divisions it is rare in older generations.

I do not know the meaning of the terminations in *-olv* and *-eidi*: it is noteworthy, however, that *-olv* is also a frequent ending of the names of dairies.

The termination *-ner* or *-ners* sometimes becomes *-ntr*, and it may be the word for water, possibly with the idea of 'spring.'

The usual terminations of female names are *-veli*, *-veni* or *-vani*, *-eimi*, and *-idj* or *-ids*. Of these, the first is by far the most frequent, being usually pronounced with a *th* sound, as in *-velthli* or *-vilthli*. It is possibly the same word as a frequent Indian name of Venus, which is also the Toda name for this planet. The word also means silver and in the form *pelthiti* is used for 'white.'

The termination *-veni* or *-vani* is probably derived from *pani*, which is said to be an ancient name for a Toda woman. Occasionally the latter form occurred, as in the name of Sinadapani (67), and one of the wives of Kwoten was named Kwaterpani. I know nothing of the derivation of the terminations *-eimi* and *-ids*.

The names of Todas are often derived from villages, dairies or dairy vessels, hills and their deities, and objects of various kinds. There seems to be no objection to use the names of deities or of such sacred objects as the *mani* as personal names, but only as those of men. Recently the Todas have [177] begun to use words of Hindu or even English origin for the names of their children.

● 103 It is the names of men which are chiefly derived from villages, and at least twenty examples occur in the genealogies. 551 In some cases the name of the village is used without any suffix, as in Ushadr (48) and Madsu (58); in other cases one or other of the customary terminations is used, as in Keradrkutan[1] (26), Nongarsivan (62), Kuirsiners (18), and Karseidi (8). The special point of interest here is that the names of villages which have now disappeared may be preserved as personal names; thus Harkness mentions the village of Kattaul as being near Ootacamund, and, though the

[1] This name also occurs in the story of Kwoten.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

village has now disappeared, its memory is preserved in the name Katolvan (44), borne by one of the Melgarsol, to whom the village belonged. Again, the village of Kepurs, an extinct village mentioned in the legend of Kwoten, is preserved in the name of Kepursvan (18), borne by one of Kwoten's clan, the Panol. 103 551

In general, when a man receives a name derived from a village or other place, the village or place is one belonging to his own clan. Names may be derived from *ti* places as well as from ordinary villages, of which Makars (10) and Pursas (42) are examples.

The special feature of interest about these sources of nomenclature is that personal names may thus preserve records of the past, and a full investigation of the genealogies from this point of view might bring to light the names of many other villages now extinct.

Names are also derived from dairies, buffalo-pens, stones, and other objects of the village; thus Tarziolv, the special name of the *kudrpali* of Kars, is borne by a member of the Karsol (15), and Tilipa (12) is probably a corruption of Tilipoh. A boy of Nidrsi is named Punatu (43) after the buffalo-pen of his village, and the men called Agar (7), Pepners (44), and Persinkudr (16), have received names connected with the operations of the dairy. 551

The names of stones occur in the examples Menkars (10) and Mutchud (45). Several men are named after the sacred bells, or *mani*, of which examples are Nalani (35), Kerani (35), Pongg (47), while Mudriners (57) is named after Mudrani, one of the *pataimani* of Kiudr. The name of Eshkiaguln of Kars (8) is very much like that of one of the bells of Nidrsi, Eshkiakudr, and in one case a man is called Maniners (62).

The *kwarsam* of the prayers form a frequent source of personal names. Thus the name of Puthion (64) occurs in the last clause of the Kuudr prayer, and no less than six men take their names, either directly or with some modifications, from the Kiudr prayer; these are Kil, Erai, Etamudri, Kwelthipush from Kwelpushol, Kishkar from Arsvishkars, and Keikudr, who was also called Parvakudr, derived from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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APPENDIX III

List of Toda Villages (not including *ti mad*)

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Akîrsikòdri	Nidrsi	Taranadmand	male funeral place.
Ârpâr	Pām		
Ârs	Kuudr	Anekkalmand	
Artol	Taradr	Aretalmand	
Âtimad	Taradr	Karadikottumand	
Eirgûdr	Nòdrs	Nerkodumand	
Erparskòdr	Piedr	Yeppakodumand	
Îdrtol	Kuudr	Edattalmand	
Inikitj	Pām	Bettumand	
Isharâdr	Kars	Kadimand	
Iûdi	Kwòdrdoni		male funeral place.
Îvigar	Kuudr	Kekidamand	in ruins.
Kabûdri	Pan	Tebbekudumand	male funeral place.
Kâkhûdri	Melgars	Kaggodumand	
Kalmathi	Kars	Kalmattimand	in ruins ten years.
Kalmad	Kars	Kulamand	in ruins.
Kanòdrs	Kanòdrs	Devarmand	*etudmad.*
Kapthòri	Keadr	Kunnapemand	in ruins.
Karars	Keradr		
Karia	Kuudr	Kariyamand	
Kârs	Kars	Kandalmand	*etudmad.*
Kârsh	Karsh		
Kashtkòdr	Kuudr	Kattikadumand	unoccupied.
Katerk	Nòdrs	Kaitarkemand	
Katikâr	Kwòdrdoni	Kodanadmand	
Katol	Melgars		in ruins.
Kâvâther	Nidrsi	Kabaiteraimand	
Kavîdi	Piedr		in the Wainad.
Keâdr	Keadr	Karrikadumand	*etudmad.*
Kebâr	Nidrsi		female funeral place.
Kedâr	Nòdrs	Kangatarmand	in ruins.
Keirod	Kuudr	Keradamand	[place.
Kerâdr	Keradr	Kannagimand	*etudmad*, also male funeral
Kerkârs	Taradr	Karrakalmand	
Keshkar	Kanòdrs		

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks*
Keshker	Kars	Kakerimand	also called Minikimand.
Kidmad	Kidmad		
Kîrsâs	Melgars		
Kîôdr	Kuudr	Kengodumand	*satimad.*
Kîûsh	Piedr	Karimulimand	
Kòdrers	Piedr	Hadamand	
Koers	Keradr	Kokimalmand	in ruins.
Koshber	Kuudr	Kasubiramand	disused.
Koshtûdi	Nòdrs		
Kûdimad	Tarsîdr	Kulimand	
Kudòdrs	Nòdrs	Kombutukkimand	
Kûdrâdr	Keadr	Kudukkadumand	
Kûdrmâs	Taradr	Kudimalmand	*halolmad.*
Kûdrnâkhum	Nòdrs	Kudinagamand	
Kugwuln	Kuudr		disused.
Kûirsi	Pan	Kolimand	
Kûlikâl	Kwòdrdoni	Kolikkalmand	in ruins.
Kulkòdri	Nòdrs	Kolakkadumand	in ruins.
Kûlmud	Kars	Malaividumand	female funeral place.
Kûlthpuli	Nòdrs		female funeral place.
Kûrkalmut	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Kurvâs	Nòdrs	Kurudamand	
Kushârf	Kusharf		*atudmad.*
Kûûdi	Piedr	Anaikundukulimand	(? Kôûdi).
Kûûdr	Kuudr	Kundakodumand	*atudmad.*
Kuzhû	Kars	Kunditolmand	
Kuzhû	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs: disused.
Kwarâdr	Keadr	Kugadodmand	
Kwatkash	Pîm	Marunallimand	female funeral place.
Kwîeg	Kuudr	Korangumand	
Kwòdrdûni	Kwòdrdoni	Kodedonnemand	*atudmad.*
Madûni	Pedrkars		
Madsû	Pîm	Manjathalmand	
Madsû	Kuudr		disused.
Marmers	Pîm		
Melgârs	Melgars	Manjakkalmand	*atudmas.*
Melkòdr	Kuudr	Mekkodumand	
Melûr	Pedrkars	Madaliyurmand	
Merkwadrvalth	Kanòdrs		
Meroln	Piedr		male funeral place.
Mîrsûi	Melgars		male funeral place.
Mûûni	Kuudr	Marlimand	
Molkash	Kuudr	Malkodmand	
Mûsanûthi	Piedr		female funeral place.
Malòrs	Nòdrs		funeral place for boys.
Muthûkòe	Kuudr		disused.
Nammiòdr	Kars	(Aganadmand)	
Nîtûrs	Pan	Natanerimand	
Nedrdoi	Taradr	Kilmand	in ruins.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badage name.*	*Remarks.*
Nelkûsh	Nòdrs	Neykadimand	in ruins.
Nerigudi	Nòdrs	Nergulimand	
Nerngòdr	Kuudr		dissed.
Nerwem	Kwòdrdoni	Nervenamand	in ruins.
Nerwem	Nidrsi	Nadutsand	in ruins.
Neshkwòdr	Kendr	Nedikodumand	
Nikrsi	Nidrsi	Nidimand	*etudmad.*
Nirkdtji	Kuudr	Nirkachimand	
Nirsht	Piedr		
Nirsk	Pîm		female funeral place.
Nòdrmad	Tarsdr	Nadumand	
Nòdrs	Nòdrs	Muttanadmand	*etudmad.*
Nongûrsi	Kars	Kettarimand	in ruins (? belonged to Piedr).
Nûln	Melgars	Nerigulimand	
Òdr	Nòdrs	Aganadmand	
Òrs	Tarsdr	Alaikudalmand	
Padegûr	Melgars	Kottapolmand	also called Kotapol, see p. 664.
Pâkhalkûdr	Kars	Bagalkodumand	
Paliners	Kuudr		
Pîm	Pîm		in ruins.
Pandrkal	Piedr		female funeral place.
Pan	Pan	Onnamand	*etudmad*: often called "One mand."
Panmti	Nidrsi	Banatimand	
Pastkadi	Nidrsi		in ruins.
Pathûdr	Nòdrs	Buddankodumand	
Pathmûrs	Pan	Bettumand	
Pôdrkdrs	Pedrkars	Badakalmand	*etudmad.*
Pegûrsi	Kendr	Attamand	in ruins.
Perwers	Kuudr		
Pekhòdr	Kendr	Ossamand	"new mand."
Peletkwur	Kars	Attakoramand	
Pêrg	Pan	Yeragimand	*halolmad.*
Perththo	Nòdrs	Perittitalmand	see p. 648.
Pushkimad	Pedrkars		female funeral place.
Pevar	Tarsdr	Pevarmand	in ruins.
Pidati	Nidrsi	Bendutimand	
Piedr	Piedr	Waragudumand	*etudmad.*
Pîtth	Kuudr		male funeral place, near Kuudr.
Pinesiwars	Nòdrs	Pinnapolamand	in ruins.
Pirshti	Nòdrs	Baggulamand	
Pirsûsh	Kuudr	Billanjikadumand	
Pishkwosht	Kanòdrs	Bikkapatimand	
Pòdrkwur	Kars	Narigulimand	or Pûshkwar.
Poln	Kusharf	Pagulimand	
Pônsad	Pemand	Kars	in ruins twenty years: near Peletkwur.
Pongûdr	Pedrkars		
Pûsh	Melgars	Onnekudimand	

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Pôti	Piedr	Pattimand	
Potvaili	Piedr		disused.
Pülkwûdr	Taradr	Olakkodumand	
Pulthkûln	Keradr	Bikkolmand	
Punmud	Kwòdrdoni	Bankudumand	female funeral place.
Punumikâtuni	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Purati	Nòdrs	Portimand	
Puretimokh	Melgars		female funeral place.
Purskudiâr	Pan	Porikodiyoramand	
Pushtar	Taradr	Pattaraimand	
Putamad	Kuudr		disused.
Pûtol	Nòdrs	Puttalmand	
Pûvars	Kars	Ammakoraimand	
Pûvi	Päm	Pudiyapalamand	male funeral place.
Sultar	Pedrkars		male funeral place.
Sudvaili	Piedr		male funeral place in the Wainad.
Täktut	Päm		place for small male funerals.
Taknin	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs.
Tâmûkh	Kuudr	Tamogimand	
Tärûdr	Taradr	Tarsadmand	*studmad*, and male funeral place.
Tärâdrkîrsi	Kars	Kavaikkadamand	male funeral place, also *kalolmad*.
Tarkòdr	Kuudr	Terkodmand	
Tavatkûdr	Piedr	Tavattakoraimand	
Tebenârs	Taradr	Urutharaimand	
Tedahteiri	Nòdrs	Talapatharaimand	
Teidr	Kusharf	Denadmand	
Telgûdr	Taradr	Telhodumand	*kalolmad*.
Tigòir	Piedr	Tukkaramand	
Tim	Pan		male funeral place: possibly another name of Kabûdri.
Tòthikeir	Nòdrs	Jegadevarmand	in ruins.
Tôvalkan	Keradr	Tuvalkandimand	
Tûdrkwur	Kusharf	Todakaraimand	
Tülchoven	Päm		male funeral place.
Umgâs	Kusharf	Yemmekalmand	
Uahâdr	Melgars	Kavaimand	male and female funeral place.
Wengûdr	Taradr	Yenakodumand	in ruins.

361 scape, an harmonious whole, very striking to visitors of cultivated tastes. CHAP. VI.

103 A knowledge of Drâvidian dialects would probably show the names of their villages, of which the following are a few samples, to be mainly descriptive of localities.

Diljavênu.	Bângâdu.[7]
Kakhodi.	Karshk.[8]
Beresthro.	Mênmadd.[9]
Koana-koar.[6]	Keshkir.[10]
Ebgodu.	Kirzho.

Melkarshk.[11]

[6] Koan = *male calf*; karr = *female calf*.

[7] Bân = *sky*.

Gâdu, or godu, or gudu, affixes to names of villages; from kudu = *come together*; the same as Mand, which is Tamil for *collection*. [POPE.]

[8] Karshk = *stone*.

[9] Mên = *wood, forest*; Madd = Mand. See above.

[10] Ir, or iri, or ari, affixes to names of villages; from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist*. Ûr, *a village* in Tamil, is from the same root. [POPE.]

[11] Mel = *upper*; karshk = *stone*.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.

778 (3.) Called *Tērzhva*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.

(4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mutterzhva*.

346 Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding 103 God and Bell, where there is one.

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Peiki Muimands (Etadmands).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mírzhan. Ertâtu. Kírzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf 2. Karzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu. Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

* Measurements:—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	8′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eaves to ground	3′ 5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Mûsdshyâld	Kérshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tîrzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nirzh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârzhtith	Kátĕtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângûar. / Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérkŏkrzh	Musdshyâldf.	
6. Kúramârzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor / Têkva / Pêshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. / Ârialdf.	
10. Kûĕrsh	Kénaldf.	
11. Pârzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peïkis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bĕtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkiah (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Bad. Tarrâi. *Pl.* vm.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly. 776 778 [821] [354]

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the kūasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kūasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toirūasoɨ̨ moiety, but not among the töūfiɨ̨joɨ̨), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tiɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of kūasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kūasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kūasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kūasm. 778 552 [788] [614] [103]

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and kūasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. ūwṣoiɾ of the meɨ̨gaisoɨ̨ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paing (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maikais of the kaisoɨ̨ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiɪ-places of this sib. toisjaɨ̨ of the kaisoɨ̨ (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kurpoɨ̨j dairy at the mund kais. komdūmi of the toiroiroɨ̨ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoɨ̨j dairy at the mund toiroiɾ. pepoib of the meɨ̨gaisoɨ̨ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuisais, a mund of the sib. köiroiɾxūmṭṇ of the köiroiroɨ̨ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second kūasm of the people of the sib. oitjaɾz of the puɾgoiroɨ̨ (34, Atiurz) has the second kūasm of the people of the sib. munombiɾ̆ṭj, son of koitsiöj (12, Kacheidi) has one of the kūasm of the buffaloes of his sib. 778 551 614

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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778 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this
551 is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has
614 been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæɾθj in §12 and tæɾθjxæm, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tuɪpuɪxɨ̃uɪṭṇ, son of tæɪpæx (20, Teipakh), and tuɪfnuɪ (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoʎj dairy at the mund toɪroɪɾ, which is named tuɪpuɪforũ. In the case of one man panuɪ (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is komuɪ, which is the first kũuɪm of the mund paʃtuɪr of the toɪroɪroʎ, but that a real kũuɪm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name panuɪ is based on the second kũuɪm of this mund, paɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged kũuɪm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. ɔɪkjaʎf (24, Irkiolv) after the kũuɪm ɔɪɾṇuɪ, ɔɪkjaʎf, and oɪxɨ̃uɪḷṇ (24, Orguln) after the kũuɪm oɪɾṇuɪ, oɪxɨ̃uɪḷṇ; the kũuɪm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
776 existent is clear, for kiɪɾṇuɪ of the niɾjoʎ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second kũuɪm of the mund niɾj, and oɪjxuɪ of the
614 mõɪroʎ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second kũuɪm of the mund pan. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always
551 clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of
103 compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. tõũmod (24, Teimad) < a valley (paʎ) called tõũmodʃoʎ. mogoj (24, Mogai) < mogojnæɪs "cubit (mogoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtsũuɪ of his sib.[6] kakaɪr (20, Kakar) < kakaɪrxũut, an open place in the middle of thickets (kũut) near the mund toɪroɪɾ. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiɾθjmuɾj (20, Kidimudri) < kiɾθjmum, a mountain; mum is the peak of a hill and muɾj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

[6] Rivers (p. 622) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

[114]

8;Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -kūuɪr. This is clearly the noun kūuɪr "stream," "path," or "horn." One man kūɪngūuɪr (63, Kwongudr) is named after kūɪngūuɪr, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. nonngūuɪr (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tögoɪr. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iṛṣxūuɪr (21, Idrshkwòdr) <iṛṣfal, a valley (pal) near the mund tonoɪr; ɪdzxūuɪr (23, Idjkudr) <ɪdzfal, a valley near the mund paʃtoɪr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. töɪsxūuɪr (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund æɪpuɪsgoɪr. In many other names however -kūuɪr can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word kūuɪr has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyze the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæɪnxūuɪr (62, Kangudr), where kæɪn refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxūuɪr (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoɪr, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms kūuɪr "stream" or "path" and kūuɪr "horn."[7]

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[7] I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

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The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

puʃymitʃ	paɟk æɪfus
flower-lime fruit	crowd-for I became
toʃjomod	tuɟk æɪfus
pole-who are-men	bushes-to they became

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The toʃʃa a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪ. It is found also in a number of kūarm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. mymj of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̨ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kūarm is paɪrnuɪ which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nūɪ) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭṇuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪ, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nul- "to stand;" the change of l to ɪ is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kūarm koɪnuɪ of the mund nyɪḷṇ of the meḷgaɪsoɪ̨ is to be interpreted as koɪn-nuɪ "the place of the god koɪn;" koɪn or koɪnṱōū is the mountain near this mund. The first kūarm of the mund meḷgaɪ is naɪsnuɪ, clearly to be connected with the two kūarm of the people of this sib, naɪsṱōɪr, naɪsfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrṱaɪsoɪ̨ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kūarm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsɪ̨ḷṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪ, naɪsrūuɪ (i.e. naɪs-tūuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪ is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kīuɪr of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̨ and kūaɪrṱyṇj of the puɪrgoɪroɪ̨, have kūatæmuɪ as their first kūarm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of kūatæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the möɪroɪ̨ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not kūarm, with this element are poɪ̨jnuɪ "the place of the funeral-ḥut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̨, and maɪnuɪ, a female funeral-place of the möɪroɪ̨, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪ is appropriate in place-names and kūarm of munds. A brother of moɪngiɪṱj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kīuɪdnuɪ, whose name is the first kūarm of the mund kīʃker of his sib. kaɪsnuɪ (56, Karsners) < the first kūarm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kiɪnuɪ (26, Kiner) is derived from kimuɪʃnuɪ, the first kūarm of the mund kötroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪ. For it is certain that -nuɪ is now felt as a

is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboo work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 180).

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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suitable ending for personal names. E.g. panuɪ and tuɪɪfnuɪ (§6); kūuɪɟnuɪ (25, Kudeners) < the relic-burning place kūuɪɟonoɪm at the funeral-place tyɟtaūuɪ; piɪḍjnuɪ (21, Püldenir) < piɪḍjxaɪfem, the slope of a hill near the mund kūuɪmaɪ; nertnuɪ (24, Nertiners) < nerpaʃt, an alternative name, or unerpaʃt, the first kūaɪm, of the mund tæɪlgūuɪɪ.

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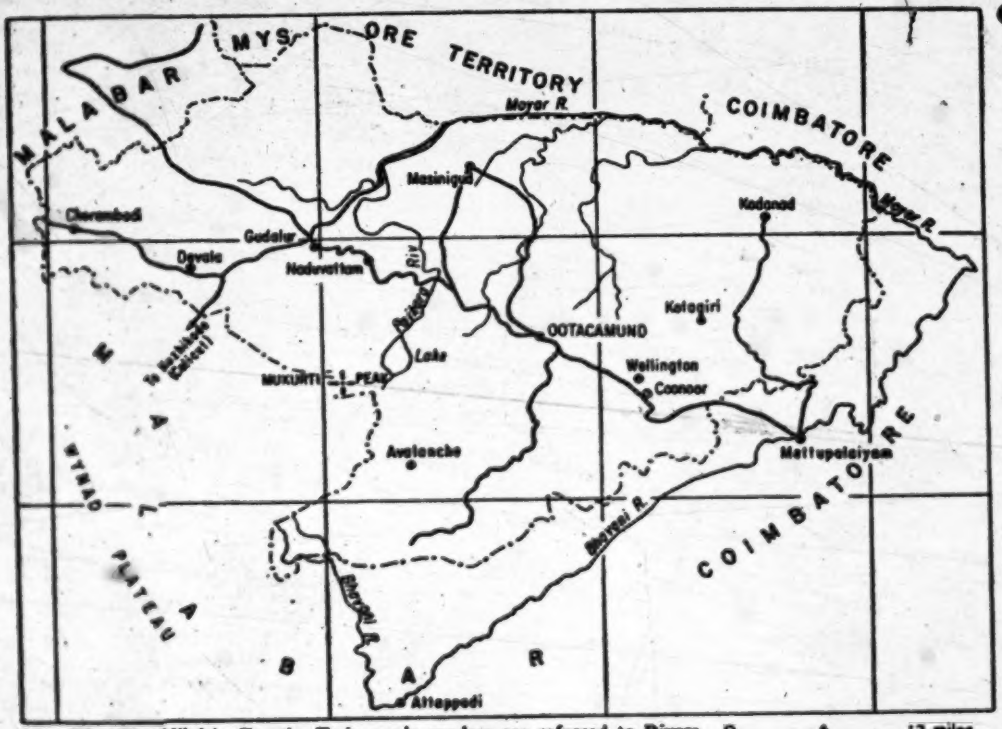
§12. Another suffix of quite unknown meaning, but probably originally at home in place-names, is -iɪθj. ertaiɪθj (20, Ircheidi) is taken without change from the name of a hill near the mund kaɪkoɪ. All the other names with this suffix that I can derive show it as a suffix or as a substitute for some other element; e.g. tuɪsiɪθj (20, Tirseidi) < tuɪkisjxōɪɪ, a pool at the mund toɪroɪɪ. He was a brother of ertaiɪθj, but his eldest brother, and so his name was not influenced by the latter's, but vice versa, and both were probably influenced either in formation or in choice by that of their father tæɪθj. This last name is puzzling, but is said to be derived from tæɪf, the name of the mountain near the mund toɪroɪɪ, and we may suspect that -θj is related to the suffix -iɪθj. Two other brothers of tuɪsiɪθj have names with the same formative -iɪθj, tuɪṇpiɪθj (Tanpeidi) < kūuɪṭθuɪṇp, the raised grassy mound (tuɪṇp) where the corpse is laid at the funeral-place tyɟtaūuɪ, and muɪḍbiɪθj (Madbeithi) < muɪḍbovθuɪṭ, a mountain near toɪroɪɪ. paɪkiɪθj (21, Parkeidi) < paɪkefem, the slope of a hill near the mund kaɪkoɪ. toɪliɪθj (24, Tòleidi) < toɪlfaɪu, a stream (paɪu) near the mund tæɪlgūuɪɪ. It was said that puɪlkiɪθj (22, Pulkeidi) was named after the mund puɪlkūuɪɪ and the mountain kiɪθjmuɪn near the mund kūuɪmaɪ; this is possible, but derivation from puɪlkūuɪɪ alone is possible in view of the preceding examples. kydsiɪθj (21, Kudstheidi) < kyd, a male funeral-place of the toɪroɪroɪɟ. kūuɪṭiɪθj (21, Kuteidi) < kūuɪṭθuɪṇp, see tuɪṇpiɪθj above. These two men were brothers, an elder brother was paɪkiɪθj (explained above), their father was petūuɪθj and another elder brother was oɪrdūuɪθj; the similarity of endings is striking, and is paralleled by various similarities of ending (such as that given earlier in this paragraph) or of beginning in various families. The ending found in the last two names is probably -tūuɪθj. I know it in these names only. oɪrdūuɪθj (Arthothi) derives from oɪrθoɪɟ, an open stretch of ground (toɪɟ) near the mund ɪrtoɪɟ. The origin of petūuɪθj (Perstuthi) is unknown.

§13. Another ending is -odɪ; e.g. kaɪnodɪ (21, Keinodɪ) < kaɪnaɟl, the ūuɪoɟj dairy at the mund kaɪkoɪ. This ending appears preceding another suffix in the name of tyɟjedɪxūuɪɪ, son of toɪliɪθj (24), named after tyɟjpuɪɟ, a path through a thicket near toɪroɪɪ; tyɟjxūuɪɪ would have been possible, but this name is borne by another man, as is also tyɟjodɪ (62, Tiljodɪ), which is derived from kaɪyɟj, the kūaɪm of the gateposts of the pen at the mund piɪɪ.



Map III. The Nilgiris. For the Toda *mads*, readers are referred to Rivers, *The Todas* (see Bibliography).

0 6 12 miles

13; Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, 304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the 291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *put-kuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103 No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
162 1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
621 3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the neces-
443 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
417 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

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The Dairy

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There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarsòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

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The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

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vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv. 104 196

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity. 234 463

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*. 621 778

[1] This word, in the forms *kas*, *kash*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

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GLOSSARY

104 Only the more important Toda words used in this book are included in the glossary. The words are arranged in alphabetical order, neglecting the quantity or other value of the first vowel. The numbers refer to the pages on which fuller descriptions of the terms are given.

Âdrpârs, coagulated milk, curd, p. 64.
agdr, a stand in the dairy, p. 60.
al, the deposit after the clarification of butter used as food, pp. 50, 242.
alug, a vessel of the *tl* dairy, p. 90.
Amnôdr, the world of the dead, p. 397.
an (*anna*), elder brother, p. 486.
ân, ancient clothing of the Todas, pp. 196, 342, 572.
Anto, a dairy, p. 112; also a god, p. 188.
ârpatmal or *ârpazmal*, a sacred day, p. 407.
ârs, house, p. 583.
ârzaitr, buffaloes of the Kwòdrdôni *tl*, p. 121.
ârzâp, a salt-giving ceremony, p. 175.
athkkârtpimi, a food used on ceremonial occasions, p. 580.
âtîr, buffaloes of the Nòdrs *tl*, p. 112.
âv (*âvf*), mother, p. 485.
âvdrum, the circle of stones in which the ashes are buried at a funeral, pp. 337, 379.
âvdrumthdr, the last part of the second funeral ceremony, pp. 337, 378.
Epatirikkthrs, a double hut, p. 29.
âr, a male buffalo, p. 47.
ârkumptthpimi or *ârkumptthiti*, the ceremony of sacrificing a calf, p. 274.
ârnhâr, sacrificial place at the *ârkumptthpimi* ceremony, p. 276.
ârs, leaf.
ârsiti, the act of making a leaf-cup, pp. 75, 148.
ertatpun, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
ertatmâr, part of the dairy where the less sacred vessels stand, p. 58.
ertatpur, the less sacred objects of the dairy, p. 58
ethâpali, chief dairy, p. 40.

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ettdmand, the chief village of a clan or other important village, pp. 24, 36, 419.
etmuzzlkdr, the first funeral ceremony, p. 337.
ickchil, a condition of impurity due to death or child-birth, pp. 102, 326, 368.
iqiis, "ice the skin or," p. 210.
fdrkmi, a vessel used at a *tl* dairy, p. 90.
fdrtul, part of a hut containing the sleeping-places, p. 583.
fmdrikdrs, stones at certain villages, p. 439.
in, father, p. 484.
ir, a female buffalo, p. 47.
irkarmati or *irkarmdti*, the milking-place, p. 53.
irkdrtpun (*irkdrithtpun*), milking-vessel, p. 58.
irmirtiti, the offering of a buffalo calf to the *tl*, p. 293; or to another division of the clan, p. 294.
irmdirthnol, the day of migration, p. 124.
irpdlmuthi, ceremony after the birth of a calf, p. 172.
irnankdti, a funeral ceremony, p. 381.
irthidithdtmol, the day of migration, p. 124.
Kaban, iron.
kakkdiiti, procedure in which the back is not turned to the contents of the dairy, p. 73.
kachdttkti, the cloth-giving ceremony at a funeral, p. 358.
kadr, the calf-pen, p. 26.
kdfkati, knife burnt at the *kdtramkdr*, p. 381.
kagdrs, the *tl* name of the *kdnu*, p. 103.
kaimdkkti, a salutation, p. 31.
kaishmatiti, the rite of pouring out buttermilk for the *palol*, p. 97.
kdkddrs, leaves of the *kdkdd* plant, p. 79.
kdkdl, stick used in the *pandp* ceremony, p. 178.
kalkuni, part of the dairy, p. 58.
kalmelpudfikti, a salutation, pp. 34, 496.
kalmnand, villages where women may not live, p. 420
kdkmakk, the attendant on a *palol*, pp. 42, 105.
kalmol, a path, p. 26.
Kamandpalam, legendary Todas, p. 195.
kandrmandr, the evil eye, p. 263.
kar, a young calf, p. 47.
karmdth, the calf-house of a *tl*, p. 85.
kdrpun, a milking-vessel of the *tl*, p. 90.
kdrs, stone.
kardd, younger, p. 485.
kardmdr, the mother's village, p. 547.
kdrmol or *kdrimol*, the day after a ceremony, pp. 105, 333.
kdtd, the wall surrounding a house or dairy, p. 24.
kamdpdn, a flower, p. 111.
kdpr, funeral, relics, etc., p. 368.
kattamkurstr, the *mdrmdtr* of Nidrni and Kwodrdöni, p. 71.
kapun (*kaipun*), vessel to hold water, p. 57.

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kurd, the name of the waist-string during the ordination ceremony, pp. 148, 572.
kôrtuḷḷr, a funeral place, p. 338.
kuṇḍrôt, mode of boring the right arm, pp. 31, 571.
kôṇ, the broom, p. 32.
kôtôn, bed on left-hand side of dairy, p. 57.
kô, stake used at the *trikunpttkpimi* sacrifice, p. 276.
kôgkîag, the name of the churning-stick at the *tl*, p. 89.
kôrôṇ, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
kukuttuni, the cloak of the *palol*, p. 103.
kudujtlr, the *ôdrsultr* of Pan, p. 71; also the sacred buffaloes of Pleḍr, p. 81.
kudi, a measure used for liquids corresponding to about four pints, p. 588.
kôḍr, horn, a division of a clan, pp. 37, 295, 542.
kôḍrpali, a Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 66.
kôḍrpalikôrtmokk, the dairyman of the *kôḍrpali*, p. 66.
kôḍrs mumi, the bells of the *pumîr* of the *tl*, p. 91.
kôḍrpurs, fireplace made of four stones, pp. 57, 583.
kudupal or kudubol, family, p. 545.
kôgô, daughter, p. 485.
kôgôlr, a buffalo whose horns bend downwards, p. 47.
kugvali, a sacred dairy of Tarkôr, pp. 41, 76.
kugvaltr, the buffaloes of the *kugvali*, pp. 41, 77.
kugvalikôrtmokk, the dairyman of the *kugvali*, pp. 41, 76.
kôlôtlr, buffaloes of the Nôḍrs *tl*, p. 113.
Kôlimôtrs, a god, p. 188.
kunugôti, funeral laments, etc., pp. 385, 600.
Kôrsô, a Kurumba, p. 641.
kôrumbôpôchiti, Kurumba sorcery, p. 262.
kuk (? *kôgôk*), structure for young calves, p. 26.
kutor, flour, pp. 62, 583.
kôton, the purificatory band, p. 30.
kôtum or *kôpum*, a vessel used at the *kugvali* of Tarkôr, p. 79.
kumôtr (*kumôtr*), the *tl* name of the *pumîr*, p. 103.
kumôtôl, stick used at the *pundp* ceremony, p. 178.
kumuruv, name used in prayer, etc., pp. 216, 384, 614.
kumi, the milking-vessel of the *tl* dairy, p. 89.
kumôtr spring supplying water for a *tl* dairy, p. 85.
kumôtrpal, a wand used by the *palol* when milking, p. 90.
kumôtrs, the calf-house, p. 26.
Kunton, a *tau* or god, p. 193.
Kunts, a god, p. 203.
kunttôn, seat, p. 29.
kunugg, the ordinary bell, p. 424.
K'nôrg, Coorg, p. 114.
Môd, village, pp. 24, 338; head, p. 282.
môdnol, sacred day of village, p. 405.
môdol, village people or clan, p. 36.
môdôk, the churning-stick, p. 60.

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maj, buttermilk.
majpartv, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
majvatitthhalvol, path reserved for women, p. 27.
majnatvaikdrn, spot on which women receive buttermilk, p. 28.
mairr, a barren buffalo, p. 47.
mani, the sacred bell, pp. 40, 66, 424.
mankdgd, er's daughter, 488.
manmakk, sister's son, pp. 484, 488.
marttr, the sacred buffaloes of the Kârs clan, p. 68.
mârâp, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
mârvainolkdr, the second funeral ceremony, pp. 337, 372.
masth, axe, pp. 57, 585.
matchuni, children of brother and sister, pp. 488, 512.
Mâv, a Badaga, p. 630; also sambhar.
meilkâdr, extra share, 560.
meitân, bed on right-hand side of dairy, p. 57.
merkalârs, double hut, pp. 29, 318.
merzgârstr, the *wârzullr* of Nôdrs, p. 71.
methkâdi, place of cremation, p. 343.
miniaptr, the *wârzullr* of Kerâdr, pp. 71, 192.
magdl, forearm, also segment of forelimb of calf corresponding to metacarpus, p. 281.
magui, a cubit, p. 588.
mokk, son, child, p. 485.
mokkthediti (*mokkthedvaiol*), mode of union between the sexes, p. 526.
mokkhdirtvaiol, man who gives away a wife, p. 494.
Mondtrubatipol, Toda name of a tribe living in the Wainad.
mdr, the name of buttermilk at the *tl*, p. 107.
mârkudrihi, a ladle of the *tl* dairy, p. 90.
mârol, privileged visitors to a *tl*, p. 107.
mârpan, a dairy vessel used to hold buttermilk at the *tl*, p. 90.
mârâp, the ordinary salt-giving ceremony at the *tl*, p. 175.
mâ, a name given to several kinds of dairy vessels, pp. 58, 422.
mâli or *mul*, a name for various plants, p. 145; also used for thorns, p. 194; and for the quills of a porcupine, p. 267.
malintrâditi, the ordination ceremony of the *palikartmokk*, p. 148.
mân, mother's brother and wife's father, pp. 487, 492.
mârn, the sleve, p. 32.
mârthedchi, anger, p. 260.
Naim or *naim*, the council, pp. 32, 550.
nâkk, a three-year-old calf, p. 47.
nan, a young shoot, p. 145.
nâmakud, a club, pp. 381, 586.
nârthpini, a game, p. 596.
nâskperthir, sacred buffaloes originally given to Nôdrs, p. 69.
nâjirkurzk, middle room of a three-roomed dairy, p. 57.
nâjrvol, intermediary, pp. 258, 527

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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nei, clarified butter or ghi, p. 50.
nersatiti, a salutation, p. 304.
neurûlpol, name of the *kâlmokh* at the migration ceremony, p. 139.
neurûlnkârz, stones of ceremonial importance, pp. 129, 140, 438.
nîpâ, stream, p. 26.
nîr, water, spring.
nîrôdibudnâdr, the initial stages of the ordination of the *kâlmokh*, p. 153.
nîrôdîti, the ordination ceremony, pp. 144, 157.
nîrzi, the fire-stick, p. 60.
nôdr, country, place; sometimes used for 'ceremony.'
nôdrkâtchi, ancestors of buffaloes, p. 112.
nôdrodchi, a ruler, pp. 183, 186.
nôdrvad, younger brother, p. 486.
Nôlrzi, a goddess, p. 189.
Ol or *ôl*, man, husband, p. 489.
oñ, a sacred syllable uttered in the dairy ceremonial, p. 65.
Ôn, a god, p. 184.
Pûiol, male relations-in-law, pp. 489, 492.
Pâkhnâr, a river, 418; also a god.
pali or *palthli*, the dairy, p. 26.
palikârmokh (? *palikârithmokh*), the dairyman, p. 39.
palinol, sacred day of dairy, p. 405.
pâlmân, staff used in churning, p. 52.
palol, the dairyman of a *tî*, pp. 42, 98.
panikp, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
pâpun, a water-vessel at the *tî*, p. 92.
pârkâl, stick used at the *pontâp* ceremony, p. 178.
pârzîrz, milk-leaves, p. 317.
parzîr, buffaloes of the Kârs *tî*, p. 117.
pârzhagrvenmâ, vessel to hold butter, p. 58.
pasîkîr, the sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol, p. 39.
pâtat, vessel to hold milk, p. 58.
pâtatmâr, part of the dairy where the more sacred vessels stand, p. 58.
pâtatpur, the more sacred objects of the dairy, p. 58.
patcherzki, the husked grain of *patm* (samai), p. 580.
pâtîol, one who has held the office of *palol*, p. 104.
pâtun, screen separating the two rooms of a *tî* dairy, p. 86.
pâv, threshold.
pâvnerzatiti, saluting the threshold, p. 65.
Padr, a Tamil.
polk, the lamp, p. 60.
polkhodickiti, the ordination ceremony, p. 144.
polkhatitthwashal, fireplace at a *tî* dairy used in lighting the lamp, p. 92.
pen, a plateau or a gradual slope of a hill.
pen, butter, p. 58.
penmâr, the string supporting the *kâvn*, pp. 30, 572.
pep, buttermilk used ceremonially, pp. 64, 166.

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pepeirthti, a rite at the *kûdrpali*, p. 67.
pepharichâ or *pepharichti*, the ceremony of making new *pep*, p. 166.
pepharmuz, the milking-place of a *tl*, p. 85.
pepîdrzum, a dairy vessel of the *tl*, p. 89.
pepûti, the rite of drinking buttermilk at the ordinary dairy, p. 78; also the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk by buffaloes, p. 135.
peritkîr, buffaloes of the Nôdrs *tl*, p. 113.
perkârzol, the lower stage in the office of *kâlimokh*, p. 105.
perol, an ordinary person, not ordained to any dairy office, p. 39.
persâzîr, sacred buffaloes originally given to Melgârs, p. 69.
persin, the vessel in which milk is churned at the *tl*, p. 89.
persinîr, the sacred buffaloes of a *tl*, p. 84.
perûd, elder, p. 485.
petuni, a piece of *tuni*, p. 105.
plau, grandfather, p. 485.
plâv, grandmother, p. 486.
pliikîrzn, sorcerers, p. 255.
pliimîrtiti, offering of a ring, pp. 294, 306.
pliiûtpol, a sorcerer, p. 255.
pliiûtvichi, sorcery, p. 255.
pinsiplr, sacred buffaloes originally given to Pan, p. 69.
pôdri, contributions from relatives by marriage, p. 396.
pôdrshtuni, the loin-cloth of the *palol*, p. 103.
pôh, the conical and other sacred dairies, p. 45.
pôhârtpol, the dairyman at Kanôdrs, p. 79.
pôkvelkârz, seat on which the *palol* sits, pp. 87, 96.
pôkvet (*pôkpet*), a wand used by the *palol* when praying, pp. 89, 96.
pôl, a calf of one to two years, p. 47.
pôlm, a portion, a division of a clan pp. 37, 544.
pôlmachok, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
pon, festival, pp. 85, 161; up, p. 383; see also p. 496.
ponkârtvaimokh, boy who takes a leading part at the *trnôrtiti* ceremony, p. 302.
ponnal, festival day.
ponûp, a salt-giving ceremony at the *tl*, p. 177.
pôrmunkursh, outer room of dairy, p. 56.
piûdrshtiplr, the *mûrsulîr* of Kârs and Târâdr, p. 71.
pûkârûpathâli, the ornamented cloak, p. 572.
pûl, surroundings or outskirts, p. 85.
pûliol, relatives with whom marriage is prohibited, p. 509.
punethalvol, path reserved for the dairyman, p. 27.
punîr, the ordinary buffaloes of a *tl*, p. 84.
punrz, a name for two days, p. 142.
pûrsîr, buffaloes of the Kârs *tl*, p. 117.
pursûtpini, the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow during pregnancy, p. 319.
pût, a stirring-stick, p. 60.
pûthpep, the buttermilk obtained in the *pepharichâ* ceremony, p. 169.
putilr, ordinary buffaloes, p. 39.

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puthâli, the cloak, pp. 30, 571.
pushârs, seclusion-hut, p. 313.
pushâtpimi, the ceremony of throwing earth at a funeral, p. 344.
Satimad, a village of especial sanctity, p. 421.
sudvaitazmokh, name of the woman in the *mokhthoditi* union, p. 526.
Tadri, pole used in funeral ceremonies, p. 376.
tadrp, the loin-cloth, p. 30.
tâf, fern.
tagârz, a chain.
tarsîr, buffaloes of the Pan *tl*, p. 119.
Târthârol, one of the two divisions of the Toda people, p. 34.
târâpunkudi, hole used at the salt-giving ceremony at a Tarthar village, p. 177.
târvali or *târpali*, the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 61.
târvalihârtmokh, the dairyman of the *târvali*, p. 461.
tasth, the bars in the opening of a pen, p. 153.
tazmokh, woman, wife, p. 489.
tefshk, a ring used in carrying dairy vessels. p. 60.
Teikîrzi, a goddess, p. 186.
teiks, stone or post at which a buffalo is killed at a funeral, p. 349.
Teipâkh, the Paikara river, p. 418; also a god, p. 187.
teirîlr, buffaloes of the Nôdrs *tl*, p. 112.
Teivaliol, one of the chief divisions of the Toda people, p. 34.
tek (*tekh*?), basket, p. 57.
thrersthi, custom of transferring wives, p. 523
tersamptpimi, a ceremony of childhood, p. 333.
tersantirikiti, the rite of putting curd or milk on the bell, p. 66.
tesherst, a qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol*, p. 154.
teshulr, the first stage of the ordination ceremony of the *palol*, p. 157.
teu, god, p. 182.
teukwai, clay vessel made at the *pondp* ceremony, p. 179.
teual, diviner, p. 249.
teutitusthchi, ceremony of lighting a fire on a hill, p. 290.
tl, the most sacred dairy institution of the Todas, pp. 42, 83.
tlîr, the buffaloes of the *tl*, p. 42; also used of a special group of these buffaloes at the Nôdrs *tl*, p. 112.
tlholfmâw, Badaga associated with a *tl*, p. 98.
tl mand, a village or place belonging to a *tl*, p. 83.
tôrutkwaskal, fireplace at a *tl* dairy used to cook food, p. 91.
tôrzum, the *tl* name of the *mâ*, p. 89.
tâ, the buffalo-pen, p. 26.
tâdr, a sacred tree, pp. 67, 433.
tâkitthkârs, stone lifted as a sport, p. 597.
tâkultr mani, a bell used in the funeral ceremonies, pp. 376, 424.
tûn, a seat or bed, p. 30.
tuni, the grey garment used by many dairymen, pp. 72, 572.
tuninôrtiti, offering of a *tuni*, pp. 294, 305.
tunituthkâltmokh, the full *kâltmokh*, pp. 105, 152.

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tûrûvali, the cooking-pot of a *tî* dairy, p. 90.
tûri, knife.
twaḍrinâr, material made by the Todas, p. 574.
Ûlêrwûrthkûrs, a wand, p. 60.
ulkkurzh, inner room of dairy, p. 56.
unîr, buffaloes of the Nòḍrs *tî*, p. 112.
ûppun, a vessel of the *tî* dairy, p. 90.
ûpunkudi (? *ûppunkudi*), hole used at the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 176.
ûrvatpimi, ceremony during pregnancy, p. 313.
ûtkòren, people who apply certain magical or medical remedies, p. 263.
ûtpol, medicine man, p. 263.
Wâk, vessels burnt at the *âzâramkhḍr*, p. 381.
warzîr, buffaloes of the Nòḍrs *tî*, p. 112; and of the Pan *tî*, p. 119.
wask, grain-pounder, p. 32.
waskal, fireplace of three stones, pp. 57, 582.
wûrsol, the dairyman of the *wûrsuli*, pp. 40, 72, 74.
wûrsuli, a Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 71.
wûrsulir, the buffaloes of a *wûrsuli*, p. 40.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

T 121 614 551

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

T [171]

C 614 551

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

C 593 551 [769] [553] [171]

T 551 614

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

T C 121 122 T 104

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *t*, *θ*, *x* should be read for *v*, *δ*, *γ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kiš̌ker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low
797 status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime.
794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the aban-
[177] doned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the
[341] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the
[346] more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts
[182] themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final
[162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[113] [2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small
[104] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ṣ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [r] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [š] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [c] and [ʒ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ö] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯi:] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [i:].

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[3] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[4] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in ɜɔo's generation based on age relative to that of ɜoo.[5] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to ɜoo. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of ɜoo's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, oɔɔ: in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okɔ: in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ɵɯɾ-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endɔ: in address. En-ɵɯɾ-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nɯn-ɵɯɾ-fed "your younger sibling," on-ɵɯɾ-fed (or on-don-ɵɯɾ-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ɵɯɾ-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ɵɯɾ-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nɯm-ɵɯɾ-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or oɵɔm-ɵɯɾ-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xuɪx (= kuɪx) a female.[6]

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[4] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 207–23, 1938), p. 207 fn. 1. In this paper I use ɜ, ɜ for palatalized alveolar affricates, c, ɟ for post-dental affricates and ʒ, ʒ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ɯ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1937–38 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[5] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and passim.

[6] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom ego would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

Types of cattle and associated dairy-temples and priest-dairymen

Cattle	Dairy-temple	Priest-dairyman
postir (sacred)	(poikhthli)	
1) tiir (most sacred)	1) ti	1) palol and kaltmokh
2) kugvalir	2) kugvali	2) kugvalikartmokh
3) nodrovair	3) kurpali	3) kurpalikartmokh
4) wursulir (least sacred)	4) wursuli	4) wursol
putir (ordinary cattle)	tarvali	tarvalikartmokh

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Arsh - house
Ker - family
Mad (Mund) - hamlet or village
Matchuni - cross-cousin
Modol - patrilineal clan, patrilineage
Mun - maternal uncle
Noim - supreme council
Polkhliol - matrilineal descent group, matrilineage
Polm - a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them
Putkuli - toga-like garment worn by both sexes
Shola - woods of short trees and bushes

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" 648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out [491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced [137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, 361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something 000 like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ä = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = wn
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot		z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ô = word	u = blue	è = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	ù = cook	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
			r = rot	ü = French	

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiarox: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXII.

RELIGIOUS CULTURE.

Toda Religion, a development from a Material Nucleus—The Milk-giver an object of Deep Reverence—Milkmen are Priests, then Gods—Todas have a bias in favour of Light as the Manifestation of Divinity—Not Idolatrous—Do not make offerings to a God—Believe in Transmigration—Callous on Demonolatry—Influenced in religious matters by other Races—Todas of Turanian stage of culture.

CHAP. XXII.

182 771 105

WHAT we have seen in Toda rites and ceremonies, is little else than the arrangements which a pastoral and communistic people have made for the provision and care of an article of food, doubtless at one time essential, not merely for due sustenance, but to their very existence in the land. These customs having through the course of ages so mellowed as to have acquired all the effect and influence of sanctity, we find ourselves now in the interesting position of actual witnesses to the growth of the earliest germs of religious belief and observance, as they develop in the mind of primitive man from the material nucleus whence they originated.

We note that stage, when the cow, the milk-giver and support on which the people have depended almost from all time, has grown from an object of the greatest solicitude, to become one of deep reverence, and—so far as they have yet learnt to express themselves—of worship. The flesh is not eaten. Its milk is almost sacred. The chattels of early herds—the cow-bell in particular—have matured into Gods, and dairies bear the conception of temples.

We find that common milkmen have, by virtue of the

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXII.

sacred nature of such office, advanced in popular estimation until they are viewed in the aspect of priests. The high priest, from being a servant of certain Gods, has become confused with Godhead itself. A family styling itself 'sons of the Gods,' has developed—though without arrogation to caste pretensions—into a Levitical clan, inheritors of the highest priestly office; its males being prepared and chastened thereto in sacred groves, by the use of a plant set apart for the purpose, and by abstinence from sensual pleasures; the females of the entire tribe, being not only excluded from participation in such duties, but debarred approach to all holy precincts.

These points appear to me to embrace the whole of what may be held to be Toda—performed—religion unadulterated.

They acknowledge the existence of Gods, *perhaps* even of a Supreme God—Ûsuru[1] Swâmi—but their ideas on the subject are quite undeveloped. I think I trace in them a partiality to the regard of *light*—apart from fire—as *par excellence*, the manifestation of divinity. Their beliefs, whatever they may be, are so little attended with formal signs of adoration, that we cannot, with any degree of confidence, assert this or that to be their creed. Still I believe I have grounds for the opinion that these people have a strong bias in favour of *light*;[2] the natural bent of their mind being such, that if any other race would work out for them the idea, connecting Ûsuru Swâmi with some such attribute of divinity as light, they could soon be brought to exalt Bêl into 'a king above all gods:' the more readily if deference to the cow was inculcated with such a teaching.

I submit the suggestion as one having a possible value in determining the ethnic affinities of the Toda race: and as

[1] See note 3 of Chapter XII.

[2] Note the Toda words in Chapter XXIX., showing how frequently the word 'bel' occurs, even in my small vocabulary; see *dawn*, *light*, *silver*, *bird*, *white*. Also, the names of men, and of Gods, given in previous Chapters.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

I 764 earthen floor. The opening into this hole is covered over with the trunks of young trees laid close together, side by side, with a mound of earth raised over them. This is removed for the reception of each fresh corpse, which is flung in headlong like that of a dog, without any ceremony or preparation whatever.

I 585 616 Like the Kurumbas, they[1] have no notion of marriage, but live promiscuously one with the other, save that the two classes keep tl.. mselves to themselves.

ooo Both these unfortunate races have doubtless retrograded, mentally and physically, under their long continued endurance of hardship, and are, probably, in a lower and more debased condition at the present day, than ages ago, on their first arrival in the locality.

T 144 105 In conclusion, it is difficult to believe that any of the tribes I have thus endeavoured to describe (excepting, of course, the Vadacas) can be in any way allied to the inhabitants of the plains; whilst it appears almost impossible as regards the Todas, a tribe as distinct from all its various surrounding neighbours as an oasis in the desert. Superior in physique, countenance, and character, free from the inherent thirst for blood so universal among all wild races, and yet brave and courageous, by moral influence alone exercising dominion over larger tribes, exclusively pastoral practising polyandry, speaking an unknown tongue, believing in an invisible deity,—they stand totally isolated in the very midst of an enormous population of civilised and progressing people, of an utterly different religion; and after, it may be, thousands of years, still retain unchanged their primitive character, and the observance of religious rites and customs practised in prehistoric times.

T 144 174 Ko 144 174 Ku 144 174 I 144 174 There is no doubt that all these hill-tribes are aborigines of the peninsula of India, the whole area of which was probably once occupied by them. Some have thought it possible that they may all have been originally of one race; and others, in like manner, have argued that, even in the extreme instances of the Toda and the Kurumba, the difference in physical character may be attributed to the nature of the regions they respectively inhabit. This is allowing extraordinary power to such influences, and is, moreover, entirely contradicted by actual fact in the case of the Khotas. That tribe, occupying precisely the same regions as the Todas, is as opposite to them in physical character as is

[1] [The Erulas -- Analyst]

CHAPTER V

THE TODAS OF SOUTHERN INDIA

105 In the south of India, from 11° to 12° north of the equator and from 76° to 77° east of Greenwich, rise the Nilgiri Hills. Though individual peaks reach an altitude of nearly 9,000 feet, the Nilgiris form, in the main, an undulating table-land about 500 square miles in extent, ranging from 6,000 to 7,000 feet above sea level. The tropical climate of southern India is here greatly modified by the altitude. The mean annual temperature is only 58° F.; the thermometer rarely rises above 70°, and frosts occasionally occur on cold winter nights. The heavy precipitation of the monsoons nourishes the vegetation of the grassy prairie and forested valleys; from December to March, however, comes a dry season, during which the grass is parched. The plateau is singularly isolated from the rest of southern India. On every side the land falls away precipitously 3,000 to 5,000 feet to the plains below, and the steep slopes are covered with a dense, malarious, and almost impenetrable jungle where tigers, leopards, deer, and other animals abound.

The most interesting inhabitants of this plateau are the Todas, a pastoral tribe of buffalo herders. Their culture, though unique, reveals certain points of similarity with that of the Nairs and other peoples of Malabar, and this may indicate a common origin. Nevertheless, they have certainly lived in isolation in the Nilgiris for a very long time. They preserve no traditions about the prehistoric cairns which dot the hills, and their culture was already fully differentiated when they were first visited by a European, a Portuguese missionary, in 1602. Attracted by the salubrious climate, the Europeans in southern India began, about 1820, to retire to the Nilgiris for relief during the hot season. After 1850 they

105 came in considerable numbers, founding sumner colonies at Ootacamund and other towns. They introduced venereal disease, from which the natives have since suffered severely. Today, however, the population of the Todas—about 800—is again slowly increasing.

The Todas speak a Dravidian tongue, akin to the languages of their neighbors. They frequently employ archaic or secret words and expressions in their ceremonial and in the presence of strangers. Though they possess no written language, they are able to count into the thousands. Time is reckoned according to a calendar with twelve months of thirty days each and a week of seven days.

Racially, the Todas differ markedly from their neighbors. They are lighter in complexion—the men a rich brown and the women still lighter. Their hair is thick, black, and wavy. The men, in contrast to the other peoples of India, have thick coarse beards and extensive hair on the body. Tall in stature, the men average five feet seven inches, the women six inches less. Other physical characteristics include a narrow head (cephalic index 73 to 74), a long oval face, brown eyes, a prominent nose of medium breadth (nasal index 75), and moderately full lips. The men are athletic and robust. One man seventy years of age, for example, used to walk fifteen miles to market in the plains, returning the same day to the hills, an ascent of 3,000 feet, with a heavy sack of grain. The young women with their bright eyes and ringlets of raven hair are sometimes distinctly pretty (see Fig. 31), but they rapidly degenerate in appearance. One observer describes the Todas as a race of superb men and hideous women.

Four other tribes also inhabit the Nilgiri Hills. The Badagas, who number about 34,000, and the Kotas, with a population of 1,200, share the plateau with the Todas, while two wild tribes, the Kurumbas and Irulas, occupy the encircling jungle-clad slopes. The mutual relations of these five tribes present an interesting example of an intergroup division of labor. The Todas practice no agriculture and few indus-

trial arts. They devote nearly their sole attention to their herds of buffaloes, supplying the other tribes with dairy products in return for various goods and services. The

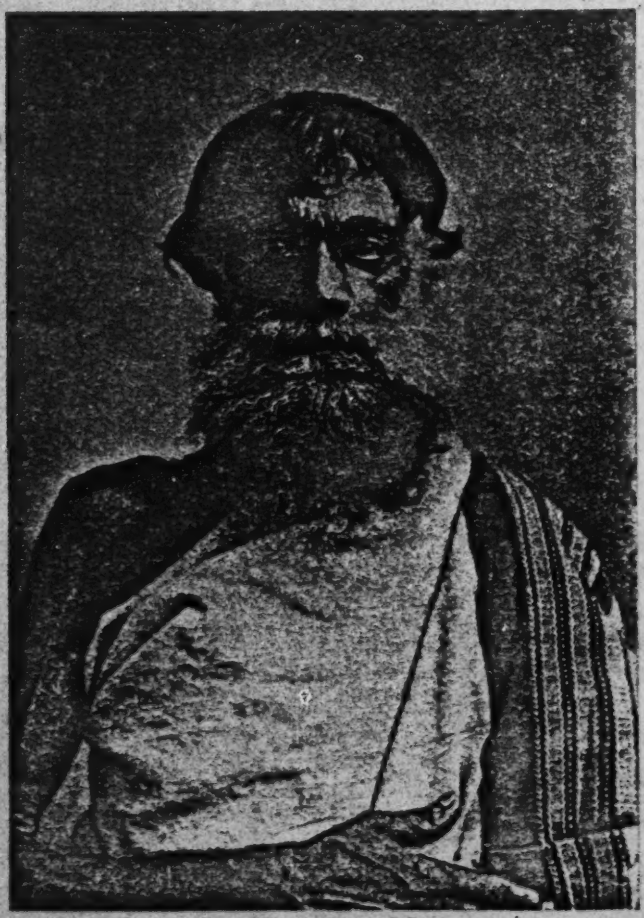

FIG. 28. A TODA MAN.
From Rivers, *The Todas*

Badagas, a predominantly agricultural tribe, provide their neighbors with grain and other farm products, and act as middlemen in the trade with the peoples of the lowland. They pay an annual tribute of grain to the Todas, partly

105 because the latter are considered the original owners of the land, partly from fear of Toda sorcery, and partly because it is immemorial custom. The Kotas, though they practice a little agriculture and possess a few buffaloes, are primarily an artisan tribe. They make and supply to the other tribes most of their pottery and ironware. They also provide the Todas with music and certain ceremonial objects, receiving in return the flesh of all sacrificed buffaloes as well as various dairy products. The Todas believe implicitly in their own superiority over all other peoples, and they regard the Kotas as definitely inferior. The Badagas, however, they treat in general as equals. The relations of these three tribes with the Kurumbas and Irulas are much less intimate, though the latter furnish certain forest products. Between all the tribes, however, complete peace prevails. War is absolutely unknown. The Todas, indeed, do not even possess weapons, save for degenerate clubs, bows, and arrows which survive in certain ceremonies.

The material culture of the Todas is surprisingly meager. Inasmuch as they neither till the ground, hunt, fish, nor wage war, they possess no tools or weapons for such purposes. They manufacture neither pottery nor textiles. They have knives and axes for cutting firewood, utensils of earthenware and bamboo for cooking and dairy operations, and brooms, sieves, and grain pounders for household purposes, but most of these articles they obtain from the Kotas. They generate fire by means of a simple fire-drill. Thorns serve them as needles, and leaves as dishes and drinking cups. Their fine arts are as undeveloped as their industrial processes. Decorative art is confined to simple adornment of the person and clothing. Occasional playing of the flute and the composition of songs for ceremonial events exhaust the musical attainments of the tribe. Their dances are rudimentary and confined to funerals. In general, the arts have been overshadowed by ceremonial.

The Todas clothe themselves in coarse cotton garments

obtained from the Hindus through the Badagas. Both sexes 105
wear a loin cloth and a long loose mantle or cloak thrown over the shoulders. The latter garment has a capacious pocket and is frequently embroidered. The men also wear a perineal band supported by a string about the waist. Head and feet are commonly bare. The women wear their hair in long ringlets, the men in a thick mop cut evenly at a moderate length. Children have their heads shaved at the sides and

FIG. 29. TODA DWELLING.

top, leaving locks of hair before and behind. The women load themselves with ornaments of gold, silver, and brass—earrings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, waist circlets. The men commonly wear silver rings and gold earrings, formerly also silver chains around the neck. Adult women are tattooed on the chest, shoulders, and upper arms. The men usually reveal raised scars on the left shoulder—the result of piercing with a hot stick as a magical cure for fatigue from milking. Circumcision is not practiced. The Todas paint the face very sparingly, the body not at all, but they smear themselves with ghee (the native butter), which soon becomes rancid and gives off an unpleasant odor.

Architecture is almost the only art at which individual Todas have become specialists. The ordinary dwelling resembles in shape a half of a barrel which has been split longitudinally. The side walls are merely a continuation of the curved roof; both are of thatch fastened with rattan to

105 curved bamboo rafters. They project some distance beyond the end walls, which are constructed of solid planks. One end serves as the front of the dwelling. Here a tiny entrance with a sliding door gives access to the interior. The atmosphere inside is usually intolerably stuffy, since a fire is kept constantly burning in the fireplace with no provision for the escape of the smoke. Raised platforms of earth, smeared over with a thick layer of dry buffalo dung, serve as beds. A hole in the center of the floor, where the women pound grain, divides the house into two portions; the women confine their domestic activities to the rear, while the men carry on their dairy operations in front. A village consists of from one to six such huts, usually situated at a slight elevation near a wood and a stream, and surrounded by a stone wall with openings large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo.

With the exception of a few cats, the Todas possess no domesticated animals save their buffaloes. These animals, a particularly fine variety of the common water buffalo of India, are tended exclusively by males. They graze by day, watched by boys, and are penned up at night. They are driven from place to place at different seasons, partly to secure better pasturage and partly to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations. The cows are individually named and their pedigrees remembered—only in the female line, however, for no attention is paid to breeding and no importance is attached to paternity. The bulls are unnamed and held in comparatively low esteem. Male calves are usually sacrificed or given away to the Kotas; a few only are retained for breeding. The Todas distinguish two classes of buffaloes—sacred and ordinary animals. The ordinary buffaloes are tended by the boys and men of the village without special ritual, and their milk is churned in the dwelling house. The sacred buffaloes, however, are tended by special dairymen alone, their milk is churned in special dairy buildings, and their care is surrounded with an elaborate ritual. Moreover, they are subdivided into herds of varying degrees of sanctity,

each with its own dairies, its own ritual, and its own class of dairymen. 105

The dairies associated with the sacred herds are usually situated at some distance from the villages, preferably adjacent to a separate water supply. Near each dairy is a circular inclosure for the buffaloes at night, a smaller pen for calves, and usually a small building for very young calves. The great majority of dairies resemble houses in architecture

FIG. 30. CHURN AND DAIRY UTENSILS OF THE TODAS.

except that they are surrounded by higher walls. A few very ancient and sacred dairies, however, are circular in shape with high peaked conical roofs. A partition divides the interior into two rooms. In the outermost, containing a fireplace and two beds, the dairyman sleeps and receives his friends. In the inner room, which he alone may enter, he performs the dairy operations and keeps, each in its special place, the various dairy utensils.

The principal dairy operations, milking and churning, are performed twice a day—in the early morning and late afternoon. The buffaloes are milked outside the dairy. In the bamboo milking vessel is placed a little whey from the previous churning, in order to cause a rapid coagulation of the

905 milk, for the Todas make little use of fresh milk or cream. The milk coagulates before the cream is able to rise—the morning's milk by evening, the evening's milk by the next morning. It is then churned in an earthen pot by means of a stick rotated by a cord. Churning separates the coagulated milk into a liquid part, whey, and a solid part, which may be called "butter" although it differs from our butter in containing the casein as well as the fat of the milk. The "butter" is heated over the fire and clarified by the addition of grain, which sinks to the bottom of the vessel along with the proteid constituents of the milk, forming a deposit which is a staple article of the Toda diet. The remaining liquefied portion, containing the fat of the milk, forms ghee or clarified butter, another staple product.

The Todas subsist solely on dairy and vegetable products. Except in a single ceremony, they never eat the flesh of their buffaloes. Nor do they eat any other meat with the single and rare exception of the sambar deer. They make considerable use of wild berries, thistles, nettles, and bamboo shoots, and they obtain grain and vegetables from the Badagas either in the form of tribute or by purchase. Their favorite dishes include rice boiled in milk or whey, vegetable broth, rice and jaggery (crude sugar) boiled in water, and a kind of curry. Millet is roasted and pounded, mixed with whey and jaggery, rolled into large balls, and eaten with ghee or honey. Whey is the usual drink; there are no native intoxicating liquors or other indigenous narcotics or stimulants. The men do the cooking and eat before the women. The Todas take two principal meals a day; they break their fast between nine and ten o'clock in the morning and dine between seven and eight in the evening. They are modest about allowing others to observe them eating—from fear of the evil eye.

The tribe is divided into two endogamous divisions or moieties, which in some ways resemble castes, although there are no restrictions against their mutual intercourse.

105 They reveal minor divergences in dialect and ceremonial, but they chiefly differ in the fact that the Tarthar division owns all the higher sacred herds and dairies while the Teivali division alone furnishes the sacred dairymen who tend them. The Tarthar division, which is much the larger, considers itself superior. Each moiety is subdivided into a number of exogamous clans, which are territorial rather than totemic in nature. The Tarthar division contains twelve clans; the Teivali, six. The clan is further subdivided into families. Expenses incurred by the clan as a whole, notably for the repair of dairies, are equally distributed among its constituent families, irrespective of their size or wealth.

The ownership of property may be vested either in the individual, in the family, or in the clan. Individuals hold title to clothing, ornaments, household possessions, and the like, never to land. Buffaloes, whether sacred or ordinary, are usually the property of individuals or families, though the highest of the sacred buffaloes, the *ti* herds, are owned by the clan as a whole. Houses and the smaller villages belong to the family. Land and the chief villages with their dairies are the common property of the clan, whose members migrate from one village to another at different seasons. The inheritance of property is patrilineal, *i.e.*, in the male line, and it always follows legal descent, which does not always coincide with actual paternity. The legal sons of a man either share in common or distribute equally the money, ornaments, and household possessions which he leaves behind. Grandsons inherit the portion of a deceased son. Daughters receive a dowry from their parents, but inherit nothing. If the sons continue to live together, as is customary, they hold their inherited buffaloes in common. If they separate, however, the buffaloes are equally divided except that the eldest and youngest receive an extra animal each; odd buffaloes after such a division are either sold and the proceeds distributed or taken by one son who recompenses the others. Debts are also inherited. Sons

105 must pay off the debts of their deceased father; in default of sons, the brothers must settle.

Each family has a head, who is responsible for the collection of its share in clan expenses. The clans possess informal headmen, who owe their positions to their personal qualities and lose them with sickness or old age. The tribe as a whole, however, has no chief. Its sole governmental institution is a council (*naim*) of five members. Seats in the council are privileges held by certain families in particular clans. One member is chosen from a Teivali clan, and three are similarly drawn from Tarthar clans. The fifth member is a Badaga, who usually sits, however, only in cases involving the relations of the two tribes. The council concerns itself chiefly with civil disputes between clans, families, or individuals, and in such cases a representative of each party sits with it. It also possesses wide powers in regulating ceremonial. A strong member frequently dominates the council either by the force of his personality or by the exercise of bribery or intimidation. The council has no voice in criminal cases. Indeed, crime seems to be absolutely non-existent. There is no recorded case of a theft or a murder by a Toda. On occasion, to be sure, a Kurumba is killed for sorcery, but this is regarded, not as murder, but as an act of self-defense. Certain acts which we consider crimes, *e.g.*, infanticide and adultery, are not so regarded by the Todas. Other acts, especially ritual offenses against the dairy, are viewed as sins rather than crimes. This striking respect for law simply reflects in one direction the extreme subservience of the people to ancient custom and tradition.

The Todas adhere to a classificatory system in reckoning kinship. Thus the term "father" includes not only one's actual or legal father, but also one's paternal uncles and all other males of the father's clan and generation, as well as the husbands of one's maternal aunts. "Mother" similarly embraces one's maternal aunts, other women of the same clan and generation as one's mother, and the wives of one's

various "fathers." "Son" and "daughter" are equally inclusive terms. Differences of age play a rôle in the terms for brothers and sisters, those older than oneself, those of the same age, and those younger being distinguished. Otherwise, however, these terms are equally inclusive. "Elder brother," for example, includes all older men of one's own clan and generation. A cousin, therefore, will commonly be called "brother" or "sister." A special term (*matchuni*), however, is used for "cross-cousins," *i.e.*, the children of a brother and sister as opposed to the children of two brothers or of two sisters. A man should normally marry his cross-cousin, *i.e.*, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother. Cross-cousins of opposite sex call one another "husband" and "wife," whether or not they are actually married, for they are potential spouses. The term "father-in-law" (*mun*) is applied also to a mother's brother and to the husband of a father's sister, for with cross-cousin marriage such persons are potential fathers-in-law. The terms for mother-, son-, and daughter-in-law have a similarly broad connotation. The Todas, though they follow a true classificatory system, have nevertheless advanced one step in the direction of a descriptive system. Thus the son of one's own sister is distinguished from the son of one's clan or classificatory "sister" by calling the former "*my* sister's son" and the latter "*our* sister's son."

This system of kinship affects social life in several ways. At certain ceremonies, notably funerals, kinsmen of various degrees have definite duties to perform. Again, kinship may involve taboos. Thus a man may not mention the name of his several "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law." Moreover, relatives when they meet must observe definite forms of salutation. Though these are usually verbal formulas, a woman must salute an older male relative by kneeling and raising his foot to her forehead.

Descent is patrilineal. In other words, a child belongs to the clan of its father. To the Todas, however, fatherhood

105 does not mean physical paternity but a legal relation established by a ceremony performed when a woman has reached the seventh month of pregnancy. The legal "father" of the child may or may not be the actual father. Indeed, he need not even be a husband of the woman, for if she is unmarried or her husband is unable to attend to the matter, another man may perform the ceremony and thereby become the "father." For the actual ceremony, the man and woman retire into the woods with certain relatives. The man cuts a niche in a tree, places in it a lighted lamp, fashions a crude imitation bow and arrow, promises the woman a calf, and presents her with the bow and arrow according to a definite ritual. She raises the toy weapons to her forehead and gazes at the lamp till it goes out. Then he cooks a meal; they eat together and pass the night in the woods. This ceremony must be performed during a woman's first pregnancy; thereafter it is performed only when it is desired to change the fatherhood of her children. Thus it happens that a man may become the "father" of several children after his death. But for a child to be born without benefit of a bow-giving ceremony constitutes one of the worst scandals of Toda society.

An expectant mother observes one other important rite. At about the fifth month of pregnancy she secludes herself for a month in a special hut at some distance from the village, submitting to certain ritual acts when entering and leaving. Childbirth itself, however, involves no special ceremonies, and any interested party may be present. A woman skilled in midwifery attends the mother, who kneels with her head on her husband's chest. Prayers and ritual acts facilitate a difficult delivery. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife, and the afterbirth buried. Unwanted children, especially girls, are suffocated at birth and buried like a stillborn child. The preponderance of a hundred males in a population of 800 reflects the prevalence of female infanticide, which is, however, declining today. If twins are born, one is killed.

even if both are boys; if both are girls, they are both 105
killed.

Shortly after childbirth, the woman retires once more to the seclusion hut, where, with ceremonies similar to those on her previous visit, she remains for approximately a month. Until a child is three months of age, its face is covered as a protection against the evil eye. Then, in a special ceremony, it is uncovered. Shortly thereafter, in another ceremony, the child is given a name and its head is shaved. The sexes receive different names, commonly derived from such things as prayer words, gods, hills, villages, dairies, buffalo pens, dairy vessels, and stones. Each individual also has a nickname, usually given by the Badagas with reference to some personal peculiarity. In addition to the current name taboos, the Todas show a certain reluctance about uttering their own names and an even greater reticence about their nicknames. A man may change his name in certain cases, *e.g.*, if illness or some other misfortune befalls him.

Children are born about three years apart on an average. They are suckled for two years or more, though after the naming ceremony mother's milk is commonly supplemented to an increasing extent by a gruel of boiled millet or rice in warm milk. Parents display much fondness for their offspring and look indulgently upon their games with wooden buffalo horns and little imitation buffalo pens. Neither adoption nor formal puberty rites prevail. In the case of boys, however, an analogous ceremony involving the piercing of the ears must be performed before a sacred dairy office may be held. It may take place, however, at any time from infancy to adulthood.

Todas are usually married during childhood, sometimes as early as two or three years of age. The father of a boy selects a suitable girl and arranges matters with her parents. The wedding takes place at the house of the bride with a simple ceremony involving the presentation of a loin cloth as a bridal gift. Thereafter the groom is expected to present

the bride twice a year with a loin cloth or, after she reaches the age of ten, with a mantle. These garments, small and cheap at first, gradually become larger and more valuable. The family of the groom must contribute a buffalo—now more commonly a sum of money—to the funeral of any member of the bride's family who dies. The child-bride, who continues to live at her own home, submits shortly before puberty to defloration by a man of another clan. To defer this ceremony until after puberty is a disgrace which will stigmatize the girl the rest of her life. When she reaches the age of fifteen or sixteen, she receives a dowry of clothing and ornaments and is conducted by her husband to his home, where she is inducted into his clan with a feast but no ceremony. Either party may annul the marriage at this time, the groom by payment of a single buffalo, the bride by paying a heavy fine of five, ten, or even more buffaloes. In either case the groom receives back any buffaloes previously given as funeral gifts.

The Todas observe a number of restrictions with respect to marriage. They never intermarry with non-Todas. The orthodox union is that with a cross-cousin, but in any case a man must marry a woman belonging to another clan in his own division, for, as noted above, the divisions are endogamous and the clans exogamous. Even though they belong to proper clans, however, persons may not marry if they fall within certain prohibited degrees of blood relationship. Thus a man, though he may and should marry his cross-cousin, may not marry an ordinary or parallel cousin, a cross-cousin of his parents, or a woman who would be a cross-cousin of his children. These restrictions, it should be noted, apply only to marriage, not to extramarital relations.

Though monogamy is not uncommon, and sporadic cases of polygyny occur, the prevailing and characteristic form of marriage among the Todas is fraternal polyandry. When a woman marries a man, she automatically becomes the wife

of his brothers, living or as yet unborn. They all live together with little jealousy or friction. One brother gives the bow during the wife's first pregnancy and thus becomes the legal father of her children, though the others are also considered fathers. When one brother is with the woman, he places a staff and mantle outside the door of the hut as a warning to the rest not to enter. In rare instances the husbands are not brothers, but even in such cases they are usually clan brothers. If they live in different villages, the wife usually visits them in turn for a month at a time, but disputes not infrequently arise. One husband gives the bow at the first pregnancy, and the first two or three children belong to him and his clan; then another husband performs the ceremony, and so on. Toda polyandry is unquestionably connected with female infanticide and the resulting scarcity of women. Even with the decrease of infanticide, however, the custom does not seem to be dying out. What ordinarily happens is that a group of brothers takes two wives instead of one. Even where different brothers take individual wives, they clearly hold them in common. 105

A man may divorce his wife on the grounds that she is lazy or a fool, not, however, for barrenness or adultery. He pays her family a fine of one buffalo and receives in return any buffaloes he has given as funeral contributions. It is a reproach to be a widow or a widower. If a woman survives all her husbands, she may either return to her parental home with her children, live with her grown sons or a married daughter, or remarry. If she remarries, her new husband must make a payment of buffaloes to the children of his predecessor. The death of a woman, in a community practicing child marriage and infanticide, is a serious matter. It leaves a man or several men without a wife and with no women available to marry. Toda custom provides for this situation by permitting widowers to purchase a wife from another man. They obtain the consent of the woman, her father, and her husband or husbands, and pay the latter a

105 number of female buffaloes fixed by the council with reference to their ability to pay. The wife is then transferred with a feast and ceremony. The majority of cases coming before the council arise from this practice, especially today, when abuses have crept in and any man who desires a woman seeks to have her transferred to him, even without her consent or that of her husband.

Though members of the opposite divisions are forbidden to intermarry, a special form of union is permitted between them. Sometimes a Teivali man and a Tarthar woman, for example, live together as man and wife, their relation differing from an actual marriage only in the fact that their offspring are regarded as the legal children of the woman's legitimate husband or of some other man in her own division who has performed the bow-giving ceremony. More commonly, however, the man simply visits the woman from time to time as her recognized lover, after obtaining the consent of her husband or husbands and undergoing a ceremony in which he makes them handsome presents.

Great laxity prevails in sexual relations both before and after marriage. In addition to her various husbands and recognized lovers, a woman may have authorized relations with certain sacred dairymen and others, not to mention more casual unions which, though not socially sanctioned, are nevertheless not frowned upon. There is, in fact, little restriction of any kind upon sexual intercourse, even between members of the same clan. As Rivers says, "the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity." They possess no word for adultery, and even the concept itself is totally alien to them. "Instead of adultery being regarded as immoral," says the same classic authority, "immorality attaches rather to the man who grudges his wife to another."

Women occupy a definitely subordinate status in Toda society. With a few minor ceremonial exceptions they may not approach or have anything to do with the buffaloes and

dairies. They are rigidly excluded from all political, religious, magical, and most ceremonial activities. They suffer at times, as when in the seclusion hut, from a stigma of uncleanness like that of a corpse. And they labor under other 105

FIG. 31. A TODA WOMAN.
From Rivers, *The Todas*

disabilities. For example, they must leave the village during certain ceremonies, and they may not use certain paths, especially those trodden by buffaloes. In spite of their distinct inferiority, however, they are not treated with cruelty or contempt, and they enjoy a considerable measure of personal freedom. Their low status may possibly be corre-

105 lated with their slight contribution to the economic life of the tribe. The men, in addition to their political, religious, and ceremonial functions, do the herding, milking, churning, fuel gathering, building, trading, and cooking. In the absence of agriculture and important domestic arts, the female share in the division of labor by sex is confined to such comparatively minor activities as fetching water, mending and embroidering clothes, pounding and sifting grain, sweeping the floor, and cleaning the furniture and household utensils with dry buffalo dung. There can be little doubt, at least, that female infanticide and polyandry represent an adjustment to this unequal distribution of industrial activities between the sexes. It is not surprising, moreover, that the Toda women, in view of their circumscribed lives and interests, have been described as markedly less intelligent than the men.

Recreation finds little place in the life of the Todas. To be sure, they derive considerable amusement from some of their ceremonies, and they enjoy visiting, but true games are few and little indulged in. In one game, a boy or man tries to crawl through a narrow tunnel of stones before another, starting with a handicap, can touch his feet. Another game resembles tipcat; a pointed piece of wood is propped against a rock, struck with a stick by one person, and caught at a distance by another. The Todas also occasionally hold lifting and jumping contests, and they are fond of riddles, but they have no mechanical puzzles or string figures.

Sickness may have various causes, prominent among which are sin, sorcery, and the evil eye. It bodes ill, for example, to be told that one looks well or that one's buffalo gives much milk. Indigestion, a common effect of the evil eye, is cured by a special class of medicine men, who rub the belly of the patient, put salt on his cloak, stroke the salt with a thorn, and burn the salt and thorn with an incantation. The same specialists treat headache, snake bite, and other ailments by

similar rites and formulas. When seriously ill and expected to 105 ● die, the patient is dressed up in jewels and finery to await the end. Occasionally an individual who has unexpectedly recovered may be seen strutting about proudly in his funeral raiment.

The Todas hold two funeral ceremonies for their dead. In the case of children, the second takes place on the same day as the first. With adults, however, it is usually postponed for several months or a year, and is often held for several persons at the same time. Kinship ties play a prominent part in determining who shall perform certain acts in the funeral ritual and who shall make contributions of buffaloes, money, and other necessary accessories. The chief mourner is a man's brother or son, a woman's husband, or a child's father. At the funeral of an unmarried boy, a female cross-cousin plays the rôle of wife and widow, and the usual pregnancy ceremonies are always performed in connection with the funeral of a girl or a childless woman. The Kotas participate by furnishing music and certain ceremonial objects, receiving in return the flesh of the sacrificed animals.

The first funeral is held, in the case of men, either at a dairy or at a special hut symbolically called a "dairy"; in the case of females, at a hut which similarly represents a house and is later burned. Thither, on the appointed day, the corpse is brought on a wooden bier. There follows a series of elaborate rites, including especially a sacrifice of buffaloes and a ceremony of cremation. The slaughtered animals—now limited by the British Government to two at a funeral—are dispatched to provide the deceased with a source of livelihood in the next world. The buffaloes selected for the sacrifice, infuriated by goadings, are caught in an exciting contest by the young men of the division opposite to the deceased, who rush at them, seize them by the horns, hang on their necks, and bear them to the ground. As the captive animal, smeared with butter and decorated with a sacred bell, expires from a blow on the skull, the corpse is brought up to its head. Every one weeps and laments in characteristic Toda fashion

105 —in couples, forehead to forehead—but whether they mourn the deceased or the buffalo is not certain. The funeral pyre is lighted from a fire generated by friction. Before cremation, however, the corpse, the pocket of its mantle filled with food, money, ornaments, and other gifts, is swung thrice over the flames, then temporarily removed and the valuables thriftily extracted and redistributed to their donors. A lock of hair and a piece of the skull, rescued from the ashes, are wrapped in a bundle and kept in state in the chief village of the clan until the second funeral. Those who have attended the funeral, or have come into contact with the corpse or the relics, are rendered unclean. They refrain, especially if they are younger relatives of the deceased, from mentioning his name. The widow or widower, in addition, cuts his hair, covers his head, and observes a number of food taboos.

The second ceremony repeats many of the rites of the first, including an even more lavish sacrifice of buffaloes, and adds a number of new ones. Within a circle of stones, after an elaborate introductory ritual, the relics, anointed with butter, are burned along with certain vessels, implements, and other articles of a ceremonial nature. The ashes are buried and covered with a stone. A man encircles the spot three times, ringing a bell and shattering a new pot on the stone. All salute the stone, break their fast, and cut off a lock of hair as a token of mourning. At the time of the next new moon, certain ceremonies of purification are held to cleanse contaminated persons and places.

After the second funeral the soul of the deceased, which has hitherto haunted the earth as a malignant ghost, departs for Amnodr, the spirit world in the west where the sun shines while it is night on earth. Here the dead Todas lead a life much like that on earth. They tend their buffaloes and dairies—free, however, from rats and other destructive animals. Curiously enough, as they walk about, their legs gradually wear down, and when only knee-length stubs remain, they are reborn into the world as new individuals.

Of superior spirits or gods, the Todas believe in a vast number. Invisible and somewhat vaguely conceived, they are reputed formerly to have inhabited the Nilgiri Hills and later to have retired to the summits of the hills, where they now live with their spiritual buffaloes and dairies. They intervene in the lives of men to punish sins and inspire divination. The Toda gods are not totemic, though each clan has its patron divinity; they are not the ancestors of men, though a few are deified heroes; nor are they personifications of the forces of nature, for there is not even a sun god. The outstanding deity, though by no means a supreme being, is the goddess Teikirzi, the divine ruler of this world. She instituted the characteristic customs of the Todas, but did not create buffaloes and men. The latter task fell to her younger brother, Ön, who now lives in and rules over the realm of the dead. Ön brought forth from the earth 1,600 buffaloes, the ancestors of the sacred herds, and the first man made his appearance clinging to the tail of the last buffalo. From one of man's ribs, woman was created. This original pair reproduced so rapidly that within a week there were already a hundred Todas.

Though they pay scant attention to omens, the Todas have faith in divination. To ascertain the cause of a misfortune, such as sickness, the burning of a dairy, or the death, disease, or drying up of a buffalo, they consult a special class of diviners, who are quite distinct from the medicine men. These specialists, who usually operate in pairs, frequently work themselves into a semi-hypnotic frenzy, during which they speak an alien tongue and are thought to be directly possessed or inspired by the gods. In this state they are able to reveal the cause of the misfortune, which is invariably either sorcery or sin, and to indicate the remedy.

The power of sorcery is transmitted in certain families, and its practitioners are distinct alike from the medicine men, the diviners, and the dairyman-priests. A sorcerer usually exercises his magical powers only against persons who have

•105 deceived him or quarreled with him. If, for example, a man has given him an evasive or deceitful answer to a request for assistance, he obtains some human hair, binds five small stones together with the hair, wraps them up in a cloth, pronounces an incantation over them, and hides them secretly in the thatch of his enemy's house. When misfortune overtakes the victim, he resorts to a diviner and learns the identity of the sorcerer. He then goes to the latter with a present of food and grants the original request, whereupon the sorcerer utters a magical formula of recantation and removes the articles from the thatch. The hair employed need not belong to the victim; nevertheless, the Todas are careful to hide their hair and nail clippings. Other similar forms of sorcery prevail, and the Todas are feared by their neighbors for their proficiency at the black art. An exceptionally intimate association between magic and religion is revealed by the fact that both sorcerers and medicine men, instead of relying merely on "the belief in the efficacy of like producing like," make use of formulas which specifically invoke the gods and bear a marked resemblance to prayers.

A diviner may decide, however, that a particular misfortune is due, not to sorcery, but to sin. To the Todas, sins are ritual offenses against the sacred buffaloes and dairies, in which the gods have a lively interest. They include such acts as theft of milk from a dairy, entering a dairy after sexual intercourse in the daytime, and approaching a herd or a dairy after visiting a seclusion hut or a funeral, or even after chewing tobacco. But a man does nothing, however flagrant his sin, unless the gods manifest their displeasure. Only when and if a misfortune befalls him, does he appeal to the diviner, who then advises him to make a sin offering of a buffalo or a piece of cloth, depending on the gravity of the offense. He makes this offering, strangely enough, not to the gods or their representatives or the dairy, but to the other section of his own clan, each clan being divided into two sections for

the sole purpose of satisfying this ceremonial requirement. A man may also make atonement by dedicating a buffalo to the gods. Instead of sacrificing or giving away the animal, however, he actually vows to do neither; he keeps it until it dies a natural death and meanwhile uses its milk. 105

Sacred days play an important part in Toda religion. Not only does every ceremony have its appropriate day, but each village observes once a week a special rest day, when certain activities are taboo. On these days, for example, women may not leave or enter the village and its inhabitants may not bathe, wash their clothes, clean the household furniture with dung, hold a feast or a funeral, or sell or otherwise dispose of any object in the village. The Tarthar clans, in addition, celebrate a special dairy day each week, with similar restrictions. In spite of the fact that these taboos are frequently evaded by subterfuges, the Toda rest days resemble in many respects an embryo Sabbath.

The outstanding characteristic of Toda religion, however, is the extraordinary emphasis placed on ritual. Worship has become formal; divorced from the ideas which originally inspired it, it survives, buttressed by the immense prestige of custom and tradition, in the form of an elaborate and often meaningless ceremonial. Ritual permeates every phase of the life of the tribe. We have found it in the ceremonies attending pregnancy, name-giving, marriage, and death. It reaches its highest development, however, in the conduct of the sacred dairies.

The dairy is the Toda temple. When a man visits a strange village, he first goes to its dairy, prostrates himself at the threshold, and utters a prayer. The sacred dairies fall into several classes, each associated with a particular grade of sacred buffaloes. They range in sanctity from the village dairies to the venerated *ti* dairies, the highest of all, and the elaborateness and complexity of their ritual varies with their sanctity.

Each class of dairy with its herds is tended by a special

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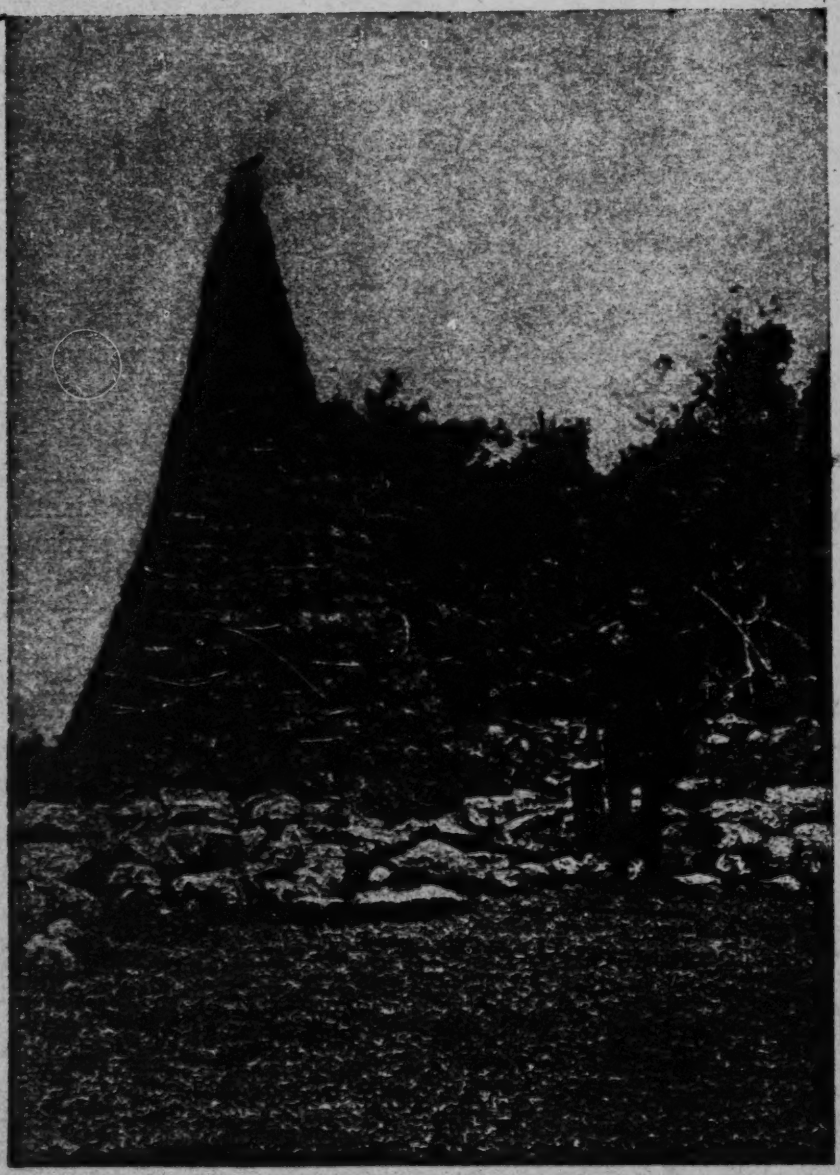

FIG. 32. A SACRED TODA DAIRY AND DAIRYMAN
From Rivers, *The Todas*

class of dairymen, the priests of the Todas. The assumption of the office of dairyman involves elaborate ceremonies of initiation, varying in complexity with the sanctity of the dairy. Thus to become a *palol*, the sacred dairyman of a *ti*, a man must first pass a qualifying ceremony, in which, naked, he receives food from an old Tarthar woman who has never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and then undergoes an ordination ceremony, lasting nine days, in which at various stages he drinks water from the leaves of a sacred tree and rubs his body with the bark—in accordance with a belief in sacred numbers—three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven times. Thus he acquires a high degree of ritual purity, which enables him to come into contact with sacred things. He must maintain this purity by keeping stringent rules of diet, sleeping, and dress, and by observing a variety of taboos. He must not, for example, cut his hair or nails, cross a bridge, attend a funeral, transact business in person with the outside world, or associate with a woman, even his own wife. He submits to these restrictions chiefly because of the profits he derives from the sale of the products of his dairy. If he serves his full term of office, eighteen years, he performs a ceremonial act which under any other circumstances would be considered highly immoral, namely, intercourse in the daytime with any Tarthar woman of his choice. None of the dairyman-priests exercises any governmental influence, nor are they ever consulted on mundane matters; their sanctity is purely ceremonial.

In the daily conduct of his dairy operations, the dairyman must follow a definite procedure, each minute detail of which is prescribed by custom. The daily routine of the *palol*, for example, begins at 5:00 A.M., when he rises. On stepping outdoors, he salutes the sun with his hand to his forehead. He washes his hands and face in a special vessel in front of the dairy. Then, taking water in his right hand, he pours it into his left hand and thence conveys it to his mouth, which he rinses. He ties up his hair in a prescribed manner, bows at the

●105 threshold of the dairy, and enters, reciting a formula. After transferring fire from the ordinary fireplace to a sacred fireplace, he doffs his cloak and dons a special loin cloth. Reciting a prayer, he kindles three special pieces of wood at the sacred fireplace and with them lights the lamp. Still praying, he touches with a particular bamboo stick the three special vessels containing the milk drawn the previous evening. Placing a special wand against the wall, he begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle vessel. Soon he pauses to "feed" the sacred bell, *i.e.*, to smear milk on it, repeating a sacred formula three times as he does so. And so on through the day. Space is here lacking for more than a sampling of such minutiæ, but the same complex and elaborate detail characterizes all Toda ritual.

Among the prominent features of the dairy ritual are the important part played by special utensils, bells, lamps, and other sacred objects, and the rigid separation maintained between the vessels and other articles which come into direct contact with the milk and those which come into contact with the outside world or with the finished products of the churning. Underlying the ritual seems to be the idea that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance. The sanctity of the buffaloes, apparently much greater formerly than now, seems to have been transferred to their milk. If, as appears probable, the sacred animals were not originally milked, the ritual may well have been developed as a prophylactic against the evils to be expected from the profanation of a sacred substance, in short, as a means of removing the taboo.

Prayer plays a prominent rôle in the dairy ritual. Toda prayers contain no direct invocation of the gods. They consist of two parts: an enumeration of the sacred objects (*kwarzam*) for the sake of which they are uttered, and a recitation of the blessings prayed for. The latter portion, considered much the less important, is frequently omitted. Since the *kwarzam* are frequently unintelligible, prayer is in

the process of being reduced to seemingly meaningless ritual words. 1050

The daily ritual by no means exhausts the ceremonial of the sacred dairies. New vessels introduced into the dairy must be purified by an appropriate ritual. Salt is given to the buffaloes several times a year in a special ceremony. Elaborate ceremonies attend the seasonal migrations of the buffaloes from village to village, probably in order to counteract the evil involved in conducting the sacred animals through the profane world. The procession moves in a definite order, the vessels are transported on poles in prescribed positions, stops are made for prayers, and the new dairy is purified according to a special ritual. At a ceremony held when a calf is fifteen days old, the people partake of the milk of the sacred buffaloes, which is ordinarily taboo to them. This suggests a sacrament of communion. If an especially sacred pot, which is buried in the buffalo pen, is broken, stolen, or tampered with, or if a foreigner enters the dairy or a dairyman uses tobacco, an elaborate ceremony must be held, involving the consecration of a complete new set of dairy utensils, the ordination of a new dairyman, and the purification of the dairy. At a notable ceremony, held annually or oftener, a young calf without blemish is ceremonially sacrificed, dismembered, roasted, and eaten—the only occasion on which the Todas ever eat the flesh of the buffalo. The basic idea, as in the ritual eating of the totem animal among the Australians, seems to be that the sacrifice of one animal will promote the welfare and increase of the rest.

This overemphasis on ritual, thinks Rivers, indicates a state of degeneration in religion, in which the underlying ideas and beliefs have become atrophied, with the result that the worship originally based upon them has become formal and largely meaningless. "The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order

105 than they possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels."

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1: Rivers, W.H.R. The Todas. London and New York: The MacMillan Company, Ltd., 1906.

Pp. xviii, 755; illustrations; 1 map; 4 appendices (including bibliography); glossary; index; 72 genealogical charts.

Omissions: Index (pp. 749-755). [Page numbers [749] to [788] have been assigned to the unpaginated genealogical charts.]

Yale: Nkd71.T7.906r.

[This standard ethnological study of the Todas is based on the author's field work among them in 1901-02. Rivers' primary emphasis has been placed on the religion and sociology of the people; their personalities and physical characteristics have been the subject of studies published by the author and others elsewhere. Full details are provided in this work on the complex social, economic, ritualistic and ceremonial aspects of the dairy organization. The importance of ritual in the dairy structure provides the basis for Rivers' theory that the Todas are a people who possess a religion in process of degeneration--that their religious orientation has been transferred from the formerly highly developed idea of "god" or "gods" to a series of almost entirely ritualistic practices and mechanical formulae applied predominantly

to the dairy animals, dairymen-priests, buildings, vessels and sacred bells. Among other distinctive features of Toda culture the author lists Toda relationships with neighboring tribes of the Nilgiri hills, polyandry, and female infanticide. The division of Toda society into moieties and the resultant cultural distinctions between the two groups, the organization of the clan communities, and the elaborate funeral customs, are also discussed in detail. The glossary on pp. 741-748, category 104, should be consulted for definitions of native words used extensively in the text. The genealogical charts frequently referred to will be found in category 601--Analyst]

Field date: 1901-02
Analyst: Mary L. Bartlett

Evaluation:Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1954

2: Marshall, William E. A Phrenologist Amongst the Todas. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1873.

Pp. xx, 271; 9 tables; 26 illustrations.

Yale: Nkd71.T7.873m.

[This volume contains a good deal of useful ethnographic information relative to the Toda village, the family, diet, religion, dairying and dairymen priests, funeral and marriage customs, infanticide and polyandry. Statistical demographic data are also supplied. Statements of phrenological theory and inferences about Toda character traits based on these principles have not been marked for categories but will be found with the complete text in category 116. The Reverend G. U. Pope was the author of the final chapter of this volume: A Brief Outline of the Grammar of the Tuda Language (pp. 239-269). --Analyst]

Field date: 1870
Analyst: Mary L. Bartlett

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1954

111 Toda

3: Breeks, James Wilkinson. An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris. London: India Museum, 1873.

Pp. viii, 137; frontispiece; 3 appendices; 82 plates; map.

Included in Files: pp. 1-39; map; plates III-XI; appendix B (pp. 117-123).

Yale: Nkd72.1455 873b.

[The portions of this volume included in the files deal specifically with the Todas. Information is provided on physical characteristics, mode of life, religion, rites and ceremonies, language, history and traditions. The author was Commissioner of the Nilagiris at the time of his death and the present volume was edited for publication by his wife. The plates follow the textual material and precede the appendix. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Mary L. Bartlett

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1954

4: King, W. Ross. The Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills. Journal of Anthropology, No. 1, pp. 18-51. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870.

Pages processed for other files: Badaga AW50, pp. 19-21; Kota AW55, pp. 39-44, 48-51; Kurumba AW56, pp. 44-46, 48-50; Irula AW53, pp. 46-50.

Yale: NK10.J826

[This article is based primarily on the author's own experiences in the field. It summarizes the main characteristics of the Todas and their neighboring tribes -- the Badagas or, as he calls them, Vadacas, the Kotas, Kurumbas, and Erulas. The author's purpose is to establish the racial origins of these groups. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Eve Glassberg

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1954

5: Emeneau, M.B. Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos. American Anthropologist, n.s. Vol. 39, pp. 103-112. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1937.

Yale: Nk10.Am37. II. 39.

[This article supplements and corrects earlier data provided by Rivers (Source No. 1 this file) pertaining to Toda marriage regulations and taboos. Abstracts of traditions and legends associated with the matrilineal kin groupings are also presented. The author is a linguist who spent three years among the Todas. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1935-37
Analyst: Mary L. Bartlett

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1954

6: Murdock, George Peter. The Todas of Southern India. Our Primitive Contemporaries, pp. 107-134. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1934.

Yale: Nkb60. 934m.

[This is a secondary source based on the works of early writers. It serves as a cultural summary of the Todas, and has been marked for category 105 only. --Analyst]

Date of research: 1932
Analyst: Mary L. Bartlett

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1954

7: Thurston, Edgar. Toda. Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. 7, pp. 116-167. Madras: Government Press, 1909.

24 plates

Yale: Nkd72 I3 909t v. 7

/This source is taken from the last volume of a general survey of tribes and castes in southern India, and since it is only one of the many other groups discussed by Thurston, it is not a complete nor overall study of the Todas. Although it is based on first hand observation and experience, the author makes use of much secondary material, (e.g., W.H.R. Rivers, W.E. Marshall, J.W. Breeks, and R.W. King, sources 1-4 of this file), as background for his own findings. In his original data the author discusses ornamentation, scarification, foreign relations, religion, clothing, funeral practices, games, descriptive somatology, land ownership and transactions, status of women, etc. -- Analyst/

Field Date: no date
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963-1964

8: Emeneau, Murray B. Personal Names of the Todas. American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 40, pp. 205-223. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1938.

HRAF Copy

/This source, written by a linguist, is primarily a discussion of the grammatical structure and derivation of personal names among the Todas. The author's purpose is to illustrate the relationship between the patterns of personal names and the patterns of sib names. He briefly discusses the Coorgs (AW5) to illustrate one type of relationship. With the Todas, he discusses the relationship of their personal names to sacred names or words (religious, sib, objects, places, etc.), sex differences, sexual connotation, songs, deities and borrowed words (English, neighboring tribes, Hindu). He refers to and includes Rivers' name tables (source 1 in this file) in his discussion. --Analyst/

Field date: 1935-1937
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1963

9: Emeneau, Murray B. The Christian Todas. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 81, pp. 93-106. Philadelphia, 1939.

Yale: A5 3p. 375 81

/This source contains specific material on the Toda Christian community and their relationship with the tribal Todas. Although the Christian Todas maintain their own villages, they have been treated as a sub-culture (category 184) in the marking. The author discusses those tribal elements retained and those discarded by the Christian Todas, the alteration of those retained elements by the converts, the attitudes towards and treatment of the converts by the tribal members, and the social and economic relationships maintained or broken between the two groups. He also cites the peculiarities of the Toda-Christian Toda relationship as compared to other tribal groups in the area who also have a sub-community of converted individuals. --Analyst/

Field Date: 1935-1938
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1963-1964

10: Emeneau, Murray B. Toda Culture Thirty-Five Years After: An Acculturation Study. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, Part II, pp. 101-121. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1939.

Yale: Fpal2 B46 v.19

/This source is a study of the Todas written by a linguist who is primarily interested in whatever changes may have taken place between the time of W. H. R. Rivers' study (1902) and the time of this survey (1937). The author only discusses those few cultural areas where changes were found (religion, marriage, economic system, land use, population figures, intertribal relations, the influence of the bazaar), concluding that most of these have been merely superficial additions. As a whole, he found the Todas in very much the same state as Rivers did and changes due to outside influences were found to be extremely slight. --Analyst/

Field date: 1935-1937
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1963-1964

11: Emeneau, Murray B. Toda Menstruation Practices. New Indian Antiquary, Extra Series, Vol. 1, pp. 82-84. Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House, 1939.

Yale: Bj41 7h 1

/The author, a linguist, describes the menstruation practices of Toda women and contrasts them to those of other Indian communities, specifically the Kotas and Badagas. He also discusses the association between menstrual regulations among the Todas and those regulations of the dairy-complex, as he finds restrictions in this area to be the most stringent. --Analyst/

Field date: 1935-1938
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1963

12: Emeneau, M. B. Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship and Dual Descent. In, Leslie Spier, A. Irving Hallowell, and Stanley S. Newman, eds., Language, Culture and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 158-179. Menasha, Wisconsin: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941.

Personal Copy of T. J. O'Leary.

[This source presents a detailed study of the kinship system of the Nilgiris Toda in South India, along with an analysis of the functioning of the two sib-systems (patrilineal and matrilineal) in relation to one another and to the society as a whole. In his description of the above aspects of Toda society the author attempts to use native songs which he considers as the Toda art form of highest prestige, to verify certain parts of his data (e.g., when two persons sing together, special care would be taken to use the correct kinship terms in the song relevant to the degree of relationship of the two participating singers). The source concludes with a critique of the theories of the "origin" of the Toda (especially Rivers' theory of a Malabar origin).]

Field date: 1935-1938
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1965

13: Peter, H. R. H. Prince. A Study of Polyandry. The Hague: Mouton & Company, 1963.

Pp. 601; introduction; 44 plates; 4 figures; 2 sketches; 6 maps; 48 tables; 2 appendices; bibliography.

Personal copy of C. S. Ford.

[Only pp. 240-300 and accompanying plates (figs. 18-33), map, and tables (21-25) have been processed for this file.]

[This section, which is only one of several on various polyandrous tribal groups contained in this volume on polyandry, was written on the basis of two field trips made by the author in the summer of 1939 and from May to September in 1949. The author, a professional anthropologist, presents in this source a general background study of Toda culture, covering briefly such aspects of ethnology as topography, settlement patterns, population, religion, relations with surrounding tribes, language, social organization, ceremonials during childhood, child care and feeding, infanticide, and the dairy complex. With this information as background, the author then proceeds to a more

13: Peter, H. R. H. Prince.

detailed discussion of Toda polyandry, much of which is based on his study of the village of Melgarsh (chief village of the Melgarsh modol). The source also contains several life histories (primarily of children's behavior), obtained from the study of the village above.

The bibliography for this source will be found in category 113 only.]

Field date: 1939, 1949
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964-1965

Golish, Vitold de. Primitive India. London: George E. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 1954.

Pp. 52; 82 plates

Library of Congress: DS430.G62 1954

/The text material is mainly derived from other sources already in the Toda file. Therefore, this source has not been processed. -- Analyst./

Thurston, Edgar. The Todas of the Nilgiris. Madras Government Museum, Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 141-184. Madras, 1896.

15 plates

Yale: Nk37 M3 v. 1

/This source is a brief survey of Toda culture, with some emphasis on physical anthropology. Since the same material is covered by another source in the Toda file (7: Thurston), this article has not been processed. -- Analyst/

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
18

CHAPTER II

THE TODA PEOPLE

[113] 141 I DO not propose to describe at any length the physical characters of the Todas.[1] It must be sufficient to say here that the people differ remarkably in general appearance, and perhaps still more remarkably in general bearing, from the other inhabitants of Southern India. The average height of the men is about 5 ft. 7 in., and that of the women 5 ft. 1 in.; both are well-proportioned, and the men robustly built. Their heads are distinctly dolichocephalic, the cephalic index of the men being 73·3. The shaved heads of the children show very well the great length, and probably owing to the special method of shaving (see Figs. 63 and 64), this feature is in them exaggerated so as to seem almost abnormal.

The nose is usually well-formed and not especially broad, the nasal index being 74·9. It is often distinctly rounded in 142 profile. The skin is of a rich brown colour, distinctly lighter than that of most of the Dravidian inhabitants of Southern India. The skins of the women are lighter than those of the men. There is much hair on the bodies of the men, who usually grow thick beards, and the hair of the head is 147 luxuriant in both men and women. The men are strong and very agile; the agility being most in evidence when they have to catch their infuriated buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies. They stand fatigue well, and often travel great distances. One day I met an old man about seventy years of age going to the market at Gudalur for a supply

[1] Those who wish for information on this point should consult the articles by Mr. Edgar Thurston in the *Bulletins* of the Madras Museum, vol. i., pp. 148 and 207, and vol. iv., p. 2.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

dead man, and Pòl, the son of Punatvan. In this case all 616
who threw earth were not only Kuudrol—*i.e.*, of the same 764
clan as the dead man—but were also of the same family, so
that their relation to one another can be traced in the 602
genealogies. Kuriolv, Piliar and Pöteners would all have called Pursevan "*aia*," or father, and were first cousins once removed according to our system of kinship. I do not know whether the earth-throwing is usually limited to the nearer relatives in the same clan. The family to which Pursevan belonged was unusually numerous, and it is probable that in most cases other families of the clan are called upon to take a part.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse[1] the earth was thrown 113
into a circle made of rough stones laid upon the grass with 764
an opening on one side, and Mr. Thurston[2] records a similar case in which the earth was thrown into a circle of stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been constructed for the occasion. This is probably done when the funeral is held at a place where there is no *tu*, and it is possible that these funerals were not being held at regular funeral places of the clan, and that the circles of stones were intended to represent buffalo pens. At the funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse the 'priest' handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to the stick with which they turned up the earth.

Each man, as he throws, kneels down, facing the opening of 764
the pen, and then bows down so that he touches the earth with his forehead, many saying "*Swami*" as they do this. Three handfuls of earth are thrown into the pen, and then three handfuls are thrown backwards on the corpse, the man standing up as soon as he has done this. Each man covers his head with his cloak before he throws, as shown in Figs. 49 and 50.[3]

[1] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 274.

[2] *Bull.*, 1903, iv., p. 12.

[3] These photographs were obtained from Messrs. Wiele and Klein, and I do not know the place or nature of the funeral which they illustrate, but there is no indication of a pen in the picture; they probably represent throwing earth at the entrance of a former pen. There is such a place at Taradrkirsi, the male funeral place of the Kars clan. Here earth is thrown by the side of a wood where the forest has grown over the site of an old *tu*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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APPENDIX II

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p. 1

THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF THE NĪLAGIRIS.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE NĪLAGIRIS—ALTITUDE AND GENERAL CHARACTER—SCENERY.—CLIMATE.—RAINFALL.—RECOGNISED GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.—FIVE NATIVE TRIBES.—THE BADAGAS NOT ONE OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES.

131
133

The Nīlagiris* are a lofty range of mountains in Southern India situated between 11° 10′ and 11° 32′ North latitude and 76° 59′ and 77° 31′ East longitude.

They may be said to form an abutment on the great belt of mountains, which, under the name of the Western Ghâts, runs down the western side of the Peninsula, from the River Tapti to Cape Comorin. They are bounded on the north, partly by the territory of the native kingdom of Mysore, partly by Wainâd, the upland division of the Madras

113

* Nīlagiris means blue mountains, from *nīla*, blue, and *giri*, a mountain or hill; the common, but corrupt, spelling is Neilgherries. Accounts of these mountains and their inhabitants will be found in the following works:—

1826. *Letter to the Calcutta Harkaru, by Rev. James Hough.*
1827. *General and Medical Topography of the Neilgherries, by Dr. Young.*
1832. *The Todas, by Captain Harkness.*
1834. *Notes through Malabar and among the Neilgherries, by Captain Mignon.*
" *Falls of Cauvery and Neilgherries, by Lieutenant Jervis.*
" *Neilgherries, by Dr. Baikie.*
1835. *Geological Sketch of the Neilgherries, by Dr. P. M. Benza.*
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Besides the above, notices may be found in different Literary and Scientific Journals.

Colonel W. Marshall has just published a book called *A Phrenologist among the Todas.*—ED.

105 than they possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels."

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7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

given a prominent place to industry in their schemes of progress and reform. Organisations for the purpose of educating the members of the community on the importance of increased industrial efforts have been formed. The success which has attended the Industrial Exhibition conducted by the members of the community at Quilon, in 1905, has induced them to make it a permanent annual event. Some of their young men have been sent to Japan to study certain industries, and, on their return, they hope to resuscitate the dying local industries, and to enter into fresh fields of industry awaiting development. Factories for the manufacture of coir matting and allied articles have been established by the Tiyas in some parts of Travancore and Cochin."

In 1906, the foundation stone of a Tiya temple at Tellicherry was laid with great ceremony. In the following year, a very successful Industrial Exhibition was held at Cannanore under the auspices of the Sri Narayan Dharma Paripalana Yogam. Still more recently, it was resolved to collect subscriptions for the establishment of a hostel for the use of Tiya youths who come from other places to Tellicherry for educational purposes.

Tiyōro.—The Tiyōros are described, in the Madras Census Report, 1901, as "Oriya fishermen, who also make lotus [illegible] platters. They have four endogamous sections, viz., Torai, Ghodai, Artia, and Kulodondia." It has been suggested that the caste name is a corruption of the Sanskrit tivara, a hunter. (*See* Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Tiyar.)

114 [113] **Toda.**—Quite recently, my friend Dr. W. H. Rivers, as the result of a prolonged stay on the Nīlgiris, has published * an exhaustive account of the sociology and

* The Todas, 1906.

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177 fellow tribesmen. To this man finger-prints came as no novelty, since his impressions were recorded both in England and America.

212 Writing in 1870,* Colonel W. Ross King stated that
191 the Todas had just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. At the present day, a few write, and many converse fluently in Tamil. The Nilgiri C.M.S. Tamil
797 mission has extended its sphere of work to the Todas, and I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a Toda version of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The English say that once upon a time a rich man and a poor man died. At the funeral of the rich man, there was a great tamāsha (spectacle), and many buffaloes were sacrificed. But, for the funeral of the poor man, neither music nor buffaloes were provided. The English believe that in the next world the poor man was as well off as the rich man; so that, when any one dies, it is of no use spending money on the funeral ceremonies. Two mission
797 schools have been established, one at Ootacamund, the
871 other near Paikāra. At the latter I have seen a number of children of both sexes reading elementary Tamil and English, and doing simple arithmetic.

797 A few years ago a Toda boy was baptised at Tinnevelly, and remained there for instruction. It was hoped that he would return to the hills as an evangelist among his people.† In 1907, five young Toda women were baptised at the C.M.S. Mission chapel, Ootacamund. "They were clothed in white, with a white cloth over their heads, such as the Native Christians wear. A number of Christian Badagas had assembled to witness the ceremony, and join in the service."

[113]

* Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills.
† Madras Diocesan Magazine, November, 1907.

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a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda
elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-
gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr.
Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their
appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the
absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the
ground that they were too poor to afford the expense
of the operation, or that they were always suckling or
pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation
would not be free from danger. The dots and circles,
of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked
out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the
spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and
decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in
the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells
on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with
cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger;
silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes
of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

234 372 *Wightiana.* Of these one, terminating in a blunt convex extremity, is about 2′ 3″ long; the other, with a hemispherical cavity scooped out close to one end, about 2½″ in length. A little nick or slot is cut on the edge of the shorter stick, and connected with the hole in which the spindle stick is made to revolve. "In this slot the dust collects, and, remaining in an undisturbed heap, seemingly acts as a muffle to retain the friction-heat until it reaches a sufficiently high temperature, when the wood-powder becomes incandescent."* Into the cavity in the short stick the end of the longer stick fits, so as to allow of easy play. The smaller stick is placed on the ground, and held tight by firm pressure of the great toe, applied to the end furthest from the cavity, into which a little finely powdered charcoal is inserted. The larger stick is then twirled vigorously, "like a chocolate muller" (Tylor) between the palms of the hands by two men, turn and turn about, until the charcoal begins to glow. Fire, thus made, is said to be used at the sacred dairy (ti), the dairy houses of ordinary [766] mands, and at the cremation of males. In an account of a Toda green funeral,† Mr. Walhouse notes that "when the pile was completed, fire was obtained by rubbing two dry sticks together. This was done mysteriously and apart, for such a mode of obtaining fire is looked upon as something secret and sacred." At the funeral of a female, I provided a box of tändstickors for lighting the pyre. A fire-stick, which was in current use in a dairy, was polluted and rendered useless by the touch of my Brähman assistant! It is recorded by Harkness‡ that a Brähman was not only refused

[113] * R. Bache. Royal Magazine, August 1901. † Ind. Ant., III, 1874.
‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, 1832.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghāt, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [184] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 178 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [164] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which, taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

[113]

* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

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Despite the hypothesis of Dr. Rivers that the Todas are derived from one or more of the races of Malabar, their origin is buried among the secrets of the past. So too is the history of the ancient builders of cairns and barrows on the Nilgiri plateau, which were explored by Mr. Breeks when Commissioner of the Nilgiris.* The bulk of the Breeks' collection is now preserved in the Madras Museum, and includes a large series of articles in pottery, quite unlike anything known from other parts of Southern India. Concerning this series, Mr. R. Bruce Foote writes as follows.† "The most striking objects are tall jars, many-storied cylinders, of varying diameter with round or conical bases, fashioned to rest upon pottery ring-stands, or to be stuck into soft soil, like the amphoræ of classical times. These jars were surmounted by domed lids. On these lids stood or sat figures of the most varied kind of men, or animals, much more rarely of inanimate objects, but all modelled in the rudest and most grotesque style. Grotesque and downright ugly as are these figures, yet those representing men and women are extremely interesting from the light they throw upon the stage of civilization their makers had attained to, for they illustrate the fashion of the garments as also of the ornaments they wore, and of the arms or implements carried by them. The animals they had domesticated, those they chased, and others that they probably worshipped, are all indicated. Many figures of their domestic animals, especially their buffaloes and sheep, are decorated with garlands and bells, and show much ornamentation, which seems to indicate that they were painted over, a custom which yet prevails in many

* J. W. Breeks. Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris, 1873.

† Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities, Government Museum, Madras, 1901.

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not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? 847
Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the open- 178
ing of the buffalo-pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were [732]
sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth with a cloth thus—here pantomimic action. It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The
kelachi got a present of four annas for the deed." The [465]
old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance to a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not.* The Missionary Metz † bears out the statement that the Toda babies were killed by suffocation.

At the census, 1901, 453 male and 354 female [162]
Todas were returned. In a note on the proportion of the sexes among the Todas, Mr. R. C. Punnett states ‡ that "all who have studied the Todas are agreed upon the frequency of the practice (of infanticide) in earlier times. Marshall, writing in 1872, refers to the large amount of female infanticide in former years, but expresses his conviction that the practice had by that time died out. Marshall's evidence is that of native assurance only. Dr. Rivers, who received the same assurance, is disinclined to place much confidence in

* Ellis. History of Madagascar.
† Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills. By a German missionary, 1856. [113]
‡ Proc. Cambridge Philosoph. Soc., XII, 1904.

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551 patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[3] mentions
[614] the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondoriidz. One of these is the daughter of ɪmuɪxfum (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxŭuɪr (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondur to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary
771 to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of
234 munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and
[192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as tŏŭ "god" or nŏɪr "sacred place" or by the compound tŏŭnoɪr, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and
776 noɪr when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some
778 extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the
[179] gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god ŏm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the tŏŭnoɪr, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund myɪnj.

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[113] [3] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619-37.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word *mod* to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543-60, 1937).

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THE CHRISTIAN TODAS *

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ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianised communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling [1] and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Dawn in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, ?1933). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

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797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kiśker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low
797 status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime.
794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the aban-
[177] doned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the
[341] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the
[346] more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equiva-
[182] lent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final
[162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research
[113] Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small
[104] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ʒ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [ʃ] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English *sh*). [c] and [ɟ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ə] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯi] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [i].

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about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaroɪn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuɪsodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

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term [kel] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas. 648 437 184

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing. 797 797 535 [562] [184]

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[7] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc- 797 533

[7] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 543-569. [113]

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797 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might
533 some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfusodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 I have shown elsewhere [9] that the personal names of Toda males are
797 in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and
[614] more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of
[533] each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytized from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When
553 we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is
797 different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no

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[9] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40. 203–223.

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794 184 563 177 [867] The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 184 564 783 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, 564 though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their cul- 648 ture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the 186 Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with [574] the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and [184] does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than [794] any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

[113] [15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 110, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

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The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfuuodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuuin], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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TODA CULTURE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER: AN ACCULTURATION STUDY [1]

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The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in South India have long been an object of interest to anthropologists. They became known to Europeans early in the 19th century when the hills were visited by Sullivan (1813), and since then they have been written about by many officials as well as by more casual visitors. Finally, in 1901–2 a close study was made of their institutions by W. H. R. Rivers, and his treatise *The Todas*, published in 1906, has been since then an anthropological classic, describing as it does a tribe of pastoralists with a culture very aberrant as compared with that of the rest of India. Centred upon the buffalo,

[1] My work on the Todas was done with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–7. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has read over the paper and given me the benefit of his suggestions and criticisms.

Bibliographical details of the publications referred to in the paper are:

W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*: London, Macmillan and Co., 1906.

M. B. Emeneau, *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 77, 543–560.

id., *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, Journal of the American Oriental Society 57, 277–292.

(*Continued on next page*)

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114 the care of which forms a very complex ritual, and containing within itself such an unusual feature as polyandry, this culture was bound to attract attention as a thing *sui generis* in the field of knowledge of anthropologists. Work on the language of the tribe in 1935–7 has given me an opportunity to study the culture as well. The present paper attempts to assess the amount and nature [121] of such changes as the culture has suffered in the thirty-five years since Rivers' visit.

197 In 1901–2, the Todas were already exposed to outside influences of several different kinds. Leaving aside their immemorial connexion with the Kotas and the Kurumbas, these three tribes regarding themselves as being the aboriginal inhabitants of the hills and as having been created there together, and their more recent but still ancient connexion with the immigrant Badagas, two other strong influences had been in a position to affect Toda culture from the time that the Nilgiris became accessible early in the 19th century. The English, who created three hill-stations, Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagiri, and a military station Wellington, provided one of these influences, and their Indian servants, minor officials, and tradespeople, an even stronger influence. Since Rivers' time conditions in the hills have changed so that outside influences have become potentially much stronger. A railway now connects Ootacamund and Coonoor with the Tamilian plains to the south and motorbuses connect the whole area with the Mysore plains. The possibilities of the Nilgiris as a suitable ground for growing vegetable produce and tea have been exploited to a high degree. Their attractions as holiday grounds for Europeans and a place of retirement at the end of official life have been certainly not more widely appreciated, but perhaps more widely used by Europeans from all parts of India. The climax of this tendency of the English to invade the Nilgiris

113 *id.*, *Personal names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, April 1938.

id., *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*, Journal of the American Oriental Society (not yet published).

Census of India, *1931*, vol. 14 (Madras), part 1 (report by M. W. M. Yeatts), 387–391.

[M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, American Anthropologist 39, 103–112. This completes the list of my papers on the Todas up to date, but is not referred to in this paper.]

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In general, 177 233 425 657

the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and prevent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic 177 life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the 657 interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in con- 177 nexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature 657 of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work 241 this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings 648 in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of 434 Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

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[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 3], 125. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri- [614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [193] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The res- 778 triction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of [462] stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12. [113]

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [778] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [776] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period. 841 778 234 [793]

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poɨy). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoɨy, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper. 764 841 778 [614]

One mund, kuu:sy of the sib called mö:r was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti:-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti:-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund. 778 183 562 [841]

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle). [113]
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

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616 Either the couple live together in the same *mad*, quite openly, or the
837 man visits the woman periodically at the house of her husband or husbands. In the case of a Tardharsh being *mokhthodvaiol* to a
[621] Teivilkh woman, because of the prohibition for those of her kind to visit the *mads* of the superior moiety, it always has to be her lover who visits her at her home. There is no objection on the part of the husbands as, in accordance with the formalities necessary to establish a *mokhthoditi* relation, they will have been consulted in advance and will have given their consent to the arrangement.

837 The usual way for a man to go about getting himself a *sedvaitazmokh* is, after having found the lady of his choice, to approach her husband or husbands, if she has any, or her father or fathers if she has none, and to obtain their consent to what he plans. He will agree to give the
[431] men a present (such as a piece of cloth or a *putkuli*) in exchange, whereupon, if the other party is in accordance, he becomes the woman's *mokhthodvaiol* without any further formality. (Rivers has it that a third party may be called in to seal the pact, (see *The Todas*, p. 527) but none of my informants said this was done nowadays.)

Some time later, he will make collective obeisance to the lady's *pailol*, that is, her male relations (fathers and brothers). This is as in
[588] a Toda marriage, there being no difference at all here between regular and irregular unions. On this occasion the man will promise to give the woman some pieces of jewellery, and her son, should she have one, a buffalo calf. It is after these promises have been made, that the *mokhthodvaiol* will perform the *kalmelpudithti* salution to the *pailol* and, significantly enough, after this has taken place, he will call his *sedvaitazmokh's* father *mun* as he would his wife's father or his maternal uncle.

While working at Melgarsh *mad*, I had the opportunity to see how such a *mokhthoditi* arrangement functioned. Amoniwuf, the common wife of the two brothers, Singharsh and Singhud, had a regular lover, a Teivilkh from Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol*, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded (his picture is shown on pages 56 and
[113] 57 of Lidio Cipriani's *I Toda, Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vol. LXVII, 1937). Things seemed to go very smoothly, and all three men as well as the woman appeared happy and on the best of terms. The Teivilkh used to come regularly to Melgarsh, at least twice a week in the afternoon, staying until the next morning when he would go home again early. I was told that he had given Amoniwuf a very
[431] nice gold necklace, which I was, however, never shown. The husbands

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[For a book review of 13: Peter, see 26: Berreman, AJl Tibet, category 116.]

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773 Konto or Konteu is the *nòdrodchi* of the Panol, and lives on
776 the hill Konto, to which fire is set by the *palol* of the Kars or Pan *ti* (see Chap. XIII).

Kòdrtho is the *nòdrodchi* of Nidrsi. He played a part in the history of Kwoto, and according to some accounts he was the *mun*, or maternal uncle, of this god.

Near the source of the Paikara river, there is a cave in which there is a pool called Alvoi. Sometimes this pool gives forth a loud bubbling noise, and this is believed to be due to a *teu* dipping himself in the water. The name of the god is Alvoi Kalvoi, Kalvoi, situated at some distance from the pool, being a hill on which the god usually lives.

There are other gods about whose histories I have no information. Tiligush is the *nòdrodchi* of Pàm and Karadr of Taradr. Pòrzo inhabits a hill near Nòdrs, and Karzo, a hill near Kars, and the names of other gods, such as Kaladrvan, Teikhun, Peigwa, Karmunteu, Kondilteu and Mundilteu, are mentioned in the prayers of the *ti* dairies.

●114 In addition to these, who are certainly true Toda gods, the
177 Todas also pay respect to the gods of the other tribes on the Nilgiris, while occasionally the names of Hindu gods are men-
776 tioned in their ceremonies. If a Toda be asked if he worships one of these gods, he will almost certainly assent, but at the same time he distinguishes them from his own gods. The only deity who seemed to be confused with their own gods by some of the Todas was Petkon, whose Badaga name was said to be Betakarasami. Breeks calls him Betikhan, and states that he is a hunting god; and according to some Todas Petkon was a son of Teikirzi.

Previous accounts of the Toda gods have been very erratic. Some writers have given the names of Hindu gods. Breeks gives the names of dairies as those of gods, though he also records abbreviated versions of several of the stories given in this chapter. The most curious account, however, of the Toda gods is that of Marshall, who gives[1] the following as the names of five gods which are muttered when milk is put on the sacred bells:—Ânmungâno, Godingâtho, Beligoshu, Dekulâria, and Kazudâva. We puzzled over these words for

[1] P. 142.

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a long time, and could not discover the names of gods even remotely resembling them. Finally it became clear that the last was "*kars ud âva*" ("Give me one rupee"). Similarly there was little doubt that "Beligoshu, Dekulâria" stood for "*beli karsu tudkersia*" ("Will you not give me a silver coin?"), the Badaga equivalent of the last word being very much like Dekulâria. The first two names we could not identify with certainty, but the first is possibly "*en mûn gânei*" ("Do not see my face"), and the second is possibly the name of a Badaga buffalo-pen.

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THE TODAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE people whose manners and customs I am about to describe live on the undulating plateau of the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India. The hills were visited by a Portuguese missionary in 1602, and have been invaded by Indian tribes on various occasions, but, at the beginning of the last century, the plateau and its inhabitants were absolutely unknown to Europeans. The earliest definite information about the hills at this time is given in a letter from William Keys, an assistant revenue surveyor, written in 1812, but it was not till several years later that further information about the people began to be published.

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Of the various tribes inhabiting the hills, the Todas excited the greatest interest, and this interest has continued, partly because the people are so different from any other of the races by which they are surrounded, but still more because both they and their customs are so picturesque and, in many ways, so unique.

A very large literature[1] has accumulated about the Todas and their customs. This literature is so extensive that when I determined to go to the Nilgiri Hills, I was reproached by more than one anthropologist for going to people about whom we already knew so much; and one even said that, so far as his department of knowledge was concerned, he was sure that we had all the information we could expect to get.

[1] The bibliography of this literature is given in Appendix II.

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114 A review of the literature, however, showed me that there were certain subjects about which our information was of the scantiest. This was especially the case in matters connected with the social organisation. Little was known of the system of kinship, and it was not known whether there was any definite system of exogamy. The Todas furnish one of the best existing examples of the custom of polyandry, but scarcely anything was known about the various social regulations which must be associated with such a practice.

114 121 I had not worked long among the Todas before I discovered the existence of many customs and ceremonies previously undescribed, and I was able to obtain much more detailed accounts of others which had already been repeatedly recorded. I found that there was so much to be done that I gave up an intention of working with several different tribes, and devoted the whole of my time to the Todas.

This book is not intended to be a complete account of all that is known about the Toda people. Their physical anthropology has been so ably dealt with by Mr. Edgar Thurston that I leave this subject almost untouched, and I omit all but a brief mention of my own psychological observations which I have published in detail elsewhere.[1] The book deals almost exclusively with the religion and sociology of the people. Even here, however, the account will be far from complete. After several months' work among a people about whom "we knew all there was to be known," I came away knowing that there were subjects of which I had barely touched the fringe, and many others on which my information could have been made far more complete with greater opportunity. About certain subjects the Todas are extremely reticent, and my information is in consequence very defective. There are many points on which I know my information to be far from complete, and doubtless there are far more numerous examples of deficiency of which I am not aware.

123 Some deficiencies of the record are due to certain untoward events which occurred during my visit. After I had been working among the Todas for about four months, various misfortunes befell some of those who had

[1] See *British Journal of Psychology*, 1905, vol. i., p. 321.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

been my chief guides to Toda lore. One man who had pointed out to me certain sacred places fell ill and made up his mind that he was going to die. Another man lost his wife a few days after he had shown me the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies. A third man who had revealed to me the details of the ceremonial of the most sacred Toda dairy, suffered the loss of his own village dairy by fire. 123

The Todas consulted their diviners, who ascribed these events to the anger of the gods because their secrets had been revealed to the stranger. In consequence my sources of information ran dry to a large extent, and the difficulties in the way of the investigation of the more sacred topics were greatly increased. By the time it was settled that I was to blame I was nearly at the end of my visit, but it was in the last two or three weeks that I had hoped to overcome the scruples of the people and to obtain information on many doubtful points about which I had to come away unsatisfied.

One of the subjects on which my material is defective is the folk-lore. I have a number of tales, but they are only a small part of the store of Toda legend. I regret especially the incompleteness of my work in this respect because I believe that the Todas are rapidly forgetting their folk-tales and the legends of their gods, while their ceremonial remains to a large extent intact, and seems likely to continue so for some time. 114 173 538 796

I was especially struck by this because, in previous anthropological experience in the islands of Torres Straits with Dr. Haddon, we had found the exact opposite to be the case. In these islands, the ceremonial had disappeared, and the only record of it to be obtained was that derived from the memories of the oldest inhabitants. Nevertheless in Torres Straits the store of legend was still ample, and the agreement of the stories obtained from different individuals was so great that it was evident that the people had preserved their folk-lore with fidelity.

The difference between the two communities is easily explained. In Torres Straits missionary influence is strong, and missionary effort is always directed to break down the practices 000

124 made use of so much of his evidence as I believe to be trustworthy. His knowledge was not deep or accurate, but he often told me enough to enable me to extract the full account from others, who, seeing I knew something, thought they might as well tell me all. On one or two subjects, the whole of my information is derived from this man, but whenever this is the case I mention the fact, so that my readers may know the doubtful nature of the evidence. I only give such information, however, when I believe it to be correct. The informant in question was one of the cleverest of the Todas, and his usual fault was not that he deliberately deceived, but that he supplied the lacunæ in his knowledge by having recourse to his imagination. In the matter of folk-tales, where the difficulties of checking an account are especially great, I was obliged wholly to reject his assistance.

[115] An altogether different type of witness was my constant attendant, Kòdrner. His special business was to bring me people as the subjects for my psychological work and to act as my guide in visiting various parts of the hills. He did not profess to any wide knowledge of custom or ceremonial, and was always diffident about the information he gave; but he was a good observer, and could give an excellent account of any ceremony which he had witnessed or of any procedure in which he had been involved.

Except in a few cases the Todas were quite unable to give any explanations of their customs, the answer to nearly every inquiry being that the custom in question was ordained by the goddess Teikirzi. In the few cases in which an explanation was forthcoming, it seemed to me that it was usually a recent invention. The explanations of customs given in this book are therefore almost invariably those arrived at by myself from the study of the available evidence.

114 127 While I was working I had by me the books or papers of Harkness, Marshall, Breeks, and Thurston, the chief previous writers on the Todas, and I inquired into most of the details mentioned by them; but I have not

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attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation. 114 127

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people. 114 177 192

The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of 103 114 191

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the Todas, and similarly with the names of institutions such as clans, dairies, or ceremonies. The practice of giving Badaga names in their intercourse with Europeans has become so engrained that a Toda invariably uses these names when speaking to a European. During the first few weeks of my work, I received exclusively Badaga names, and to the end of my visit, whenever I visited a new district, the Badaga names would crop up till the people found that I wanted Toda and not Badaga. Kiunievan, who was the chief informant of Mr. Breeks in 1872, is still alive, and when I asked him why he gave Mr. Breeks the Badaga names in every case, he answered "He did not seem to want anything else," and this answer seems to me to give the clue to much of the error which has found its way into many of the accounts which have been given of the Todas.

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One of the most serious errors which has arisen in this way is one connected with the Toda clans. Every account which has been given of the clan-system of the Todas is that of a system which is current among the Badagas as the Toda system, but has only a limited correspondence with the actual system as it is in use among the Todas themselves. Every Toda, if asked by a European to what clan or division he belongs, will promptly give his division according to the Badaga classification, and this has led to the incorporation of this classification in all the accounts of the Todas which deal with their social organisation.

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Some words are necessary about the general plan of the book. I should have preferred to begin with the social organisation, and to approach the religious aspect of the life of the Todas through the ceremonies accompanying the chief incidents of life, including birth, marriage, and death. The ideas borrowed from the ritual of the dairy, however, so pervade the whole of Toda ceremonial, that I have been obliged to consider the ritual of the dairy at an early stage. After a preliminary chapter sketching the general character and life of the people, I have therefore given a full description of the elaborate ceremonial which centres round the dairy; and on this follow the accounts of other ceremonies and sacred institutions and a general discussion of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Köji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkîsi, and Òrsum.

234 552 778 Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumpthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

232 234 778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

114 234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

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by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the *ti*, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place. 114 234

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by males, and males only are allowed to take any part either in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed. 173 234 462

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, Ön, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan. 234 773

Dairy Procedure

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the procedure. 234 512

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for 234
my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful.

The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Hark- 114
ness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the 782
ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed 796
by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gompts.*" A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself.

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the 773
sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way 782
in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh 796
of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf.

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

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621 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is
627 also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there
778 to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the
621 reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole
778 or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy
788 draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites. Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.
[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

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This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room. 234 778

In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops. [114]

The Threshold

As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination. 234 778 788

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kahar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

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CHAPTER XX

GENEALOGIES AND POPULATION

THE preceding chapters have dealt with the ceremonies and religious aspect of the life of the Todas. This and succeeding chapters will deal with the social organisation and the more secular side of the life of the people. 114

The social organisation has been studied largely by means of the genealogical record which is given in Appendix V. Before going to India I had worked out the details of the system of kinship, of the regulation of marriage, and of the social organisation generally of two Papuan communities on the basis of the pedigrees preserved by those communities.

It is a familiar fact that, both in ancient writings and in the memories of peoples to whom writing is unknown, long lists of ancestors may be preserved, going back in some cases to mythical times. Among existing peoples good examples of such genealogies are found in Polynesia and Uganda, but such a genealogical record is of little value for the investigation of social organisation.

The records which I obtained in Torres Straits were of a different kind; they only extended back for three or four generations, but included all collateral lines, so that a man was able to tell me all the descendants of his great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather, and knew the descent of his mother, his father's mother, his mother's mother, and his wife as fully as that of his father. By this means I was able to collect[1] a record of the great majority of marriages which had taken place in the community for the last three or four

[1] See *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 122.

114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same com-
173 pleteness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.
601 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to
551 whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they
784 had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

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accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative. 162 184

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk. 847

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children. 114 847 182

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which 161 847

[1] Pp. 194-5.

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588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
616 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give
837 the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[773] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming
837 a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage. A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.

[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the
234 existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXV

LANGUAGE

121 My chief purpose in writing this chapter is to give information which, I hope, may increase the value of the linguistic material which is scattered throughout this book, and especially to describe some of the doubts and difficulties which I encountered in my attempts to reduce the Toda language to writing.

At the end of the chapter I give some new facts relating to the sacred and secret languages of the Todas, and I will begin with a brief sketch of the views commonly held on the linguistic position of the Toda language.

197 The Nilgiri Hills are situated at the point of junction of three of the chief linguistic districts of Southern India. In the country on the South and East, Tamil is spoken; on the West, the language is Malayalam, and the people of Mysore to the North speak chiefly Canarese. The Todas live at this meeting-place of three languages, but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these, but has very definite and distinctive characters of its own, as might, indeed, be expected from the character of the people. The Badagas with whom the Todas have much intercourse speak a corrupt form of Canarese, and the Todas have undoubtedly borrowed many words from their language.

114 Previous writers have differed in their views on the special affinities of the Toda language. No one has now, I think,
197 any doubt that the language is Dravidian. Bernhard Schmid,[1] who wrote in 1837, appears to me to have known more of

[1] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1837, vol. v. p. 155.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the true Toda language than anyone who has written since, and he ascribed two-thirds of the Toda vocabulary to Tamil and was unable to trace the remaining third to any other language. Caldwell[1] believed the language of the Todas to be most closely allied to Tamil. According to Pope[2] the language was originally old Canarese with the addition of a few Tamil forms, but he has included in his vocabulary words which have probably been borrowed from the Badagas. 114 197

The linguistic material which I have collected is far more extensive than that which was available at the time Pope wrote his sketch, and though the material is in one way less satisfactory since it has been collected after thirty more years of Toda intercourse with the outside world, it is in another way more satisfactory than any previous material in that by far the larger part of it is derived from the formulæ used in the religious ceremonies and in magic. It is, of course, well known that an ancient language may linger on in religious and magical formulæ long after it has disappeared from ordinary speech, and when I discovered how many of these formulæ were preserved by the Todas, I made a point of collecting as many as possible in the hope that they might preserve relics of the ancient speech of the Todas.

In collecting this material I suffered under grave disadvantages; firstly in not being a phonologist, and secondly, in my ignorance of any Dravidian language. I had had, however, a fairly large experience in taking down unwritten languages phonetically, and, whatever the errors into which I have fallen, I hope that they are consistent throughout my record. As a matter of fact, I find my spelling to be fairly constant, words taken down from different individuals and on different occasions being written in the same way. 114 126

From one point of view my ignorance of Dravidian languages is not an unmixed evil. When anyone hears a language which is allied to one he knows, it is almost impossible to avoid being influenced by this knowledge. This

[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 557.

[2] *Outlines of the Toda Grammar* appended to Marshall's *Phrenologist among the Todas*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXX

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE TODAS

I HAVE now given the whole of the material which I have collected on the institutions of the Todas. In describing these institutions I have discussed various general problems suggested by their nature, but I have said little about the points of resemblance or difference between the customs of the Todas and those of other peoples either in India or elsewhere. It remains in this last chapter to see how far the evidence which I have given throws any light on the very difficult questions: Who are the Todas? How do they come to be living on the Nilgiri Hills?

The evidence which might be available for our inquiry is of three kinds: records of the Todas in the past, traditions preserved by the Todas, and, lastly, evidence derived from the comparative study of physical and psychical characters, language, beliefs, and institutions.

The evidence coming under the first two heads is of the scantiest. Our earliest record of the Todas is contained in a Portuguese manuscript now in the British Museum. It records the visit of a Portuguese priest named Finicio to the Nilgiri Hills in 1602. This manuscript was partially translated and published by Thomas Whitehouse in a book dealing with the Syrian church of Malabar, under the title "Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land." As the translation given by Whitehouse is incomplete, I had the manuscript retranslated, and it was then found that several interesting details had been omitted, and that there were several errors in the translation. The new translation is given on pp. 721–730.

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The account given by Finicio is very superficial, being the result of only two days' intercourse, but it is sufficient to show that there has probably been little change in the Todas and their surroundings in the three centuries which elapsed between his visit and mine. I have referred in the general body of the work to several of the points in which his account either corroborates or differs from my own. Perhaps the most important feature of his story is that it shows the relation between the Todas and Badagas three centuries ago to have been very much what it is at the present day, and shows clearly that this relation between the two tribes is of longer standing than has usually been supposed. Finicio's account is, however, so brief and superficial that it helps us little in our search for evidence on the evolution of Toda society. We know from it that the institution of the *ti* was in existence, and the scanty evidence goes to show that the life of the *palol* was much what it is now, but there is nothing to tell us whether the ritual had then reached the high pitch of development which it now shows, nothing to tell us whether since that time there has been development or degeneration.

From 1602 to 1812 we have, so far as I am aware, no record of the Todas. In the latter year William Keys, Assistant Revenue Surveyor, reported the existence of the Todas, or Thothavurs, and other tribes in a letter to the Collector of Coimbatore. His account gives little information about the Todas, except that they kept buffaloes and held it a sacred and inviolable custom to keep their heads uncovered. In 1819 "a Subscriber" wrote an account of the Nilgiri tribes which was published in the *Madras Courier*. Beyond a description of their appearance, the only information given about the Todas or Todevies is that it is against the custom to wear either turban or sandal, that they permit hair and beard to grow long, and that the Badagas pay a few handfuls of grain from each field as acknowledgment that they received their land from the Todas. In 1820 Lieutenant Macpherson reported the practices of polyandry and infanticide, and in the following year Captain B. S. Ward described the marriage customs more fully, and gave some account

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of the dairies and priesthood. In 1826 the Rev. James Hough addressed a number of letters to the Bengal Hurkaru, giving an account of the Nilgiris and their inhabitants, and these letters were republished in a book in 1829. A more elaborate and most excellent account of the Todas was given by Captain Harkness in 1832, in a work entitled *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, and since that time very many of those who have visited the Nilgiri Hills have had something to say about the Todas and their ways. As I have already pointed out, these records from the earlier part of last century differ but little from my own, and do not furnish us with any evidence that Toda customs underwent any great change during that century.

As regards the evidence from Toda tradition, we are in no better case. Several writers have stated that the Todas believe that they came to the Nilgiris from elsewhere, but whenever I made any inquiries on this point I was assured that they had always been on the Nilgiri Hills, the first Toda having been created on the Kundahs in the manner already described.

It seems most probable that those who have ascribed such traditions to the Todas have been misled by the account of the Kamasòdrolam. These are the people who are believed to have been driven away from Kanòdrs by Kwoten (see p. 195). The Todas have a very sincere belief in the existence of these people, and when I showed one man the frontispiece in Marshall's book, representing a Toda village and its inhabitants, something unfamiliar in the arrangement of the scene made the man think that it must be a picture of the Kamasòdrolam. Any Toda who is asked whether there are other Todas and where they live will at once think of the Kamasòdrolam and will tell of these people, and the story might easily be mistaken for a tradition of their origin.

The Todas are also said to believe in their descent from Rávan, and I was told by one man that they were descended from the Pandavas, but I have little doubt that such beliefs are only recent additions to their mythology.

In studying the origin and history of the Todas we have

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

PREFACE.

114 115 121 In the course of a furlough I took in the year 1870 to the Madras sanatarium of Utacamand, in the Nilagiri mountains,[1] I heard much of an 'aboriginal race' living in the neighbourhood; which, infanticidal and polyandrous, was said to be fast dying out.

I had long been curious to understand the mysterious process by which, as appears inevitable, savage tribes melt away when forced into prolonged contact with a superior civilisation. But, ignorant of all the languages of South India, I should have relinquished attempt to study the Todas, had I not the great good fortune to make the acquaintance of the Reverend Friedrich Metz, of the Basel Missionary Society, who had spent upwards of twenty years in labours amongst the primitive tribes forming the inhabitants of the Nilagiris; and who, in addition to being skilled in several Drâvidian dialects, was exceptionally practised in High Kanarese and Tamil. Above all, he was the only European able to speak the obscure Toda tongue.

Mr. Metz most readily agreed to co-operate with me in strict enquiry into the condition of the Todas, and

[1] Commonly called 'Ootacamund, in the Nilgherry hills'; it being the peculiar Anglo-Indian custom to style all mountains, hills. Thus the Himalayas are only hills, whilst in England, Ben Nevis and Snowdon are mountains.

114 henceforth became my sole associate in all expeditions
115 amongst them—save one or two.

121 It is the more proper and just that I should in this place render Mr. METZ the warmest acknowledgment of the very disinterested and important share he had in the undertaking, that there is so little in what I have written in these pages to recall his name. It was not only that his knowledge of Toda dialect was invaluable for minute and truthful investigation, but the personal respect in which he was held by the people, and the confidence they placed in his fidelity to them, obtained for us a more friendly welcome and complete exposure of their minds than would have been accorded had we been mere strangers. I must state, however, that my friend is not, even in the slightest degree, responsible for any opinions I have expressed.

A small Vocabulary, compiled and carefully revised by Mr. METZ, will be found as the groundwork of the last Chapter. It may be said, more entirely to consist of actual Toda words than any other existing.

121 Our operations began with a census of a portion of
124 the tribe, combined with an examination of each of the families that came before us. But in proportion as our work advanced, so did interest in the subject develop, until the scheme was entertained of enlarging the topic from its original design, so as to embrace 'a study of the manners and customs of a primitive race of man.'

With this evolution grew also the desire so to describe what I had seen, as to enable readers who could never have an opportunity of witnessing life amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

p. 240

NOTICE.

193 These outlines are the result of a good deal of personal intercourse with
114 the Tuḍas, during a residence of twelve years on the Nîlagiris. With the kind assistance of the late lamented J. W. Breeks, Esq., the First Commissioner of the Nîlagiris, the subject of the Tuḍa language was investigated a few years ago in connection with a small Archæological Society in Ootacamund. At the request of Colonel Marshall, I have put the results into this shape, to be printed in his work on the Tuḍas. I think that the facts of the language are here gathered together. It is becoming daily more difficult to ascertain what is originally Tuḍa and what is borrowed by that people from the later immigrants.

In one or two matters, I have ventured to differ from the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, whose Drávidian Grammar has invested such researches with a new interest. I advance my opinions with unfeigned diffidence. While agreeing in the main with that profound scholar, I yet think that the remarkable analogies between the Keltic and the Drávidian languages merit a more thorough investigation.

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and 773 from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriaris*. They themselves became *Pālāls*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āsāram*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnād Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Āmunād*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Āmunād*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Āmunād*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me 173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of 771 which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the 114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems 771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

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* *Pūjā*, worship.

174 discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may 771 be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their 797 desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars. I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nilagiris, nor can I find, in the customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of Christianity. Mr. Metz derives Peranganād (Toda *Pirgár*) from Feringhi; but we have no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

771 If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic; while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

171 Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mūndah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed; the Larkā Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the Peikis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawāni; and they break a pot at funerals, their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

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114 * While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.) has been published. In this work, page 133, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever "to believe that the Todas of the Nilagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or "Manichean settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of "Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Papuans applies word for word to the Todas:—

"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Uebungen welche, mit einigen anderen Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, "mit ihrem jetzigen Culturzustande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher "höhern Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem "quite irreconcilable with their present state of civilization, unless we recognise in them the traces of a formerly "higher culture."—*Trench's Study of Words, page 22, note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilization. The cases of the Todas and Kurumbas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primeval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay exist can hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be seen, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, to ascertain facts about the tribes in question seemed more germane to the matter than to discuss theories of civilization.—*Editor.*

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60Toda
AW60

Art. II.—THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE NILGIRI HILLS.*

By Major W. Ross King, F.R.G.S., F.S.A.S., etc.

121 The tribes which I am about to describe are doubtless not altogether unknown by report to various members of this Society, and I do not claim for myself the credit of bringing forward many new facts concerning them. My simple object is to promote attention to the subject in hopes of ultimately eliciting some more certain information than we possess as to the origin of races whose early history is shrouded in mystery and doubt.

114 All personal experiences, however slight, are of value as contributions to the general fund of information, and I have, there-

* Read before the Anthropological Society of London, the 3rd May, 1870.

P. 18

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW65 Toda AW60 Badaga AW50

fore, not hesitated to comply with the request made to me, that I would communicate such particulars concerning the hill-tribes of the Nilgiris as came under my own observation during a three years' sojourn on those hills, otherwise known as the Blue Mountains of the Deccan.

It is not necessary here to describe that well-known range further than to observe, for better understanding the situation of the tribes by whom it is inhabited, that it occupies a nearly isolated position, has a superficial extent calculated at between six and seven hundred square miles, and an extreme central altitude of 8,760 feet. Approaching them through the flat parched district of Coimbatoor, the great abruptness with which these mountains rise from the plain adds to their apparent height, and at a distance of many miles the grandeur of the lofty blue line elicits the admiration of the traveller. Arrived at the stifling village of Metapollium, at their base, and near the forest entrance of the ascent by the Coonoor Pass, gazing upwards on their hanging forests, rhododendron-sprinkled heights, and precipitous grey crags, towering almost perpendicularly to a height of 7,000 feet, one may fancy oneself enjoying a glimpse of another world. Notwithstanding the temptation which its lofty verdant summits must have offered to Europeans dwelling on the burning plains below, this range remained, chiefly on account of the then almost impenetrable belt of jungle, abounding in tigers and elephants, and surrounding its base on every side, unexplored till the year 1819, and it was not till two years later that any road was opened up to the summit.

Strange and unknown tribes were then found in possession of this favoured region, a region of green hills and sheltered hollows, of sparkling streams and tracts of primeval forest, with abundant vegetation and delightful climate. Todas and Khotas occupied the higher ranges, while Erulas and Kurumbas clustered here and there in the lower belts on the mountain sides.

These tribes I shall notice in order. Before, however, proceeding to do so, I may render my account plainer by briefly noticing another people who are located on the same ground, and in constant intercourse with the more immediate subjects of our notice, viz., the Vadacas or Badaghas, commonly called Burghers.

Though generally classed among the hill-tribes, they have, comparatively speaking, but recently come among them, having

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

114 121 IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

616 618 A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toɪrðas and töüviɭj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tɪɪmod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoɪɭ, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toɪrðas are reckoned to have ten mod, the töüviɭj 618 five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined 842 by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called pɪɪsɪɪtt, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

582 601 618 Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are poɭjoɪɭ. Membership in a group of people known as poɭjoɪɭ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the poɭjoɪɭ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

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[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319–23.

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Rivers' account of the general rule[6] is incomplete and in part incorrect. How this came about is of course not certain, but a guess may be hazarded on the cause. There is even now, when information is apparently more easily obtained on most subjects than it was thirty years ago, some reticence and embarrassment about the subject of poɭjoɪɭ. It seems to be connected in part at least with the taboos that surround the relationship, perhaps more with the general air of indecency and ridicule with which the Todas approach the subject. This will be made clear when an account is given of the names of the divisions and the stories behind them. At the moment it is necessary to criticize Rivers' account. He interprets the term poɭjoɪɭ (his püliol) as including both sets of prohibited affinities. This, being quite contrary to Toda usage, explains the impression he records that "it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his püliol included all the people of his own clan" (i.e. mod). It was a new and wholly erroneous idea. The list of püliol which he gives is in part a mixture of two sets of relationships, in part incorrect, and as a whole incomplete. A man may not marry the daughters of his father's brothers (Rivers' heading i) or the sisters of his father (heading iii), since they are ü̈ɯdmortkvæɪdvoj. The daughters of his mother's sisters (heading ii) and the daughters of his sisters (heading iii) are forbidden, since they are poɭjoɪɭ. His fourth head, the daughters of the sisters of his father's father, gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriages to such persons found in the genealogies.[7] The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poɭjoɪɭ to him, but ü̈ɯdmortkvæɪdvoj; they cannot have married his ü̈ɯdmortkvæɪdvoj, and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given[8] that a person must not marry the child of his motʂiṇj (matchuni, i.e. cross-cousin) is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him. If she has married outside his mod, there are no objections. Again, if a man's male motʂiṇj has married a woman who is poɭjoɪɭ to the man's mother, the motʂiṇj's daughter will be forbidden to the man; otherwise, not. The case in the last paragraph on p. 511 of Rivers' work, that of a man marrying a daughter of his sister's daughter, is impossible, since she would be his poɭjoɪɭ. The final case in this paragraph, the marriage of two brothers to the daughter of their sister's son, violated no rule; the disapproval that attended the marriage was undoubtedly due to the disproportion in age, not as such, but as depriving

[6] Rivers, pp. 509–11.
[7] Rivers, p. 511.
[8] Rivers, p. 511 *med.* and again p. 513.

582 601 618 114 some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poɭjoɪɭ are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

196 A note on the semantics of the word poɭjoɪɭ may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the poɭj." The most usual meaning of poɭj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called aɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ŭɯd-voɭjoɪɭoɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ŭɯd) poɭj (i.e. poɭjoɪɭ)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poɭjoɪɭ institution. The semantic development of poɭj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poɭjoɪɭ and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poɭjoɪɭ. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate paḷḷi, "building, temple."

613 539 As was said above, there are at present five sets of poɭjoɪɭ among the toɪrŝas. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinul of the kerusoɪɭ (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The kŭaɪæɪnboɭjoɪɭ or oɪrvuɪtγaɪkvoɭjoɪɭ is said to be descended from kŭaɪæɪn (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poɭjoɪɭ make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oɪr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called puɪt). A crow (kaɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moγŝuɪtkoɪtʃvojvoɭjoɪɭ, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

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Enquiry into the details of the moγδoɪtjt institution (called by Rivers mokhthoditi)[11] supplements Rivers' account in some important details. For all legal purposes, i.e. membership of mo*d* and the consequent relations to the tribe as a whole, Rivers is correct. Children of these unions are legally children of the man who has given the bow to the mother. In investigating restrictions on the freedom to form these unions it was found that there are two classes of union. In one the man who takes the woman gives only a cloak (puɪtγuɪj). Children of this type of union and the man's legal children may form moγδoɪtjt unions without any restrictions, except that such a union may not be formed while the parents are still living together in a union of this kind. When the union in the earlier generation ceases, a union in the next generation may be formed.

In the other class of union the man gives to the woman jewelry and makes to her male relatives the koɪlmilvuɖθt salutation ("act of falling on leg," i.e. kneeling and putting to one's head the other's feet in turn; of the one who raises his feet it is said, koɪlγoɪtj–, "leg-show"). Children of the union are then in the same relation to the man's legal children as if they were üu*d*mortkvæɪdvoj, and the same rules hold for unions between them and between their descendants as for unions between üu*d*mortkvæɪdvoj and their descendants. For example, a half-brother and a half-sister may not form the union; their children may form the union, for they are pseudo-motʃiɲj. Children of half-brothers may not form the union, but their children may. Rivers[12] mentions the union of küuɪsiaɟf of the töüviɟj with piɟj-mur*γ* of the toɪrδa*s*. He insisted on giving ter for her[13] as if she could be his legal wife, and lived with her for many years (which is unusual in these unions), having by her four children, who were regarded by everyone as his own except that they belong legally to the toɪrδa*s*. This seems to have been the first case in which ter was given in one of these unions, and there have been some later imitations of the precedent. This type of union is merely an extension of the type in which the koɪlmilvuɖθt salutation is performed, and the regulations governing unions of the descendants are the same.

The taboos described above operate also between all those who are in a pseudo-relation of üu*d*mortkvæɪdvoj because of a moγδoɪtjt union. In the first type of union they cease to operate when the union is dissolved, in the second they are permanent in their operation, just as is the prohibition against further unions.

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[11] Described in Rivers, pp. 526–29.

[12] Page 534 *med.*

[13] See Rivers, pp. 523–25.

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given a prominent place to industry in their schemes of progress and reform. Organisations for the purpose of educating the members of the community on the importance of increased industrial efforts have been formed. The success which has attended the Industrial Exhibition conducted by the members of the community at Quilon, in 1905, has induced them to make it a permanent annual event. Some of their young men have been sent to Japan to study certain industries, and, on their return, they hope to resuscitate the dying local industries, and to enter into fresh fields of industry awaiting development. Factories for the manufacture of coir matting and allied articles have been established by the Tiyas in some parts of Travancore and Cochin."

In 1906, the foundation stone of a Tiya temple at Tellicherry was laid with great ceremony. In the following year, a very successful Industrial Exhibition was held at Cannanore under the auspices of the Sri Narayan Dharma Paripalana Yogam. Still more recently, it was resolved to collect subscriptions for the establishment of a hostel for the use of Tiya youths who come from other places to Tellicherry for educational purposes.

Tiyōro.—The Tiyōros are described, in the Madras Census Report, 1901, as "Oriya fishermen, who also make lotus-leaf platters. They have four endogamous sections, viz., Torai, Ghodai, Artia, and Kulodondia." It has been suggested that the caste name is a corruption of the Sanskrit tivara, a hunter. (*See* Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Tiyar.)

Toda.—Quite recently, my friend Dr. W. H. Rivers, as the result of a prolonged stay on the Nīlgiris, has published * an exhaustive account of the sociology and

* The Todas, 1906.

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religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

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648 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous
464 success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it
461 beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former
[241] Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda
562 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad
512 or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described
[157] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of
[171] the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand,
177 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monoto-
609 nous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām).
[735] Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868,
114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most
177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who,
164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

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apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which 177
at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it 164
undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked- [114]
eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an [834]
absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection 628
with the question of the morality of the Toda women, 577
Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other 177
members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his [554]
fellow Tribesmen.

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At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539

At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.

At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793

He lights the lamp.

At eight he milks his buffaloes.

He puts on no cloth.

He places butter and ghi before the god.

Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.

Then he puts on his cloth.

At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.

He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.

He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.

He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.

He alone may sleep in the temple.

At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.

At seven he milks them.

The woman's house is down the hill.

The priest must not go in unto the woman.

He may not marry.

When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.

Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, etc. 771 114 771 177 788

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778 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this
551 is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has
614 been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæɵj in §12 and tæɵjxæɪn, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tɯɪpɯsxüɯṭṇ, son of tæɪpɯx (20, Teipakh), and tɯɪfnɯs (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoʃj dairy at the mund toɪroɪɣ, which is named tɯɪpɯsforü. In the case of one man pɑnɯs (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is koɪnɯs, which is the first küɑsm of the mund pɑʃtɑɪr of the toɪroɪɣoɪʃ, but that a real küɑsm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name pɑnɯs is based on the second küɑsm of this mund, pɑɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged küɑsm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. öɪkjɑʃf (24, Irkiolv) after the küɑsm öɪɣṇɯs, öɪkjɑʃf, and oɪxüɯlṇ (24, Orguln) after the küɑsm oɪɣṇɯs, oɪxüɯlṇ; the küɑsm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
776 existent is clear, for kiɪɣṇɯs of the niɪjoɪʃ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second küɑsm of the mund niɪj, and orjxɑɪs of the
614 möɪɣoɪʃ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second küɑsm of the mund pɑn. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always
551 clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of
103 compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. tööɯmod (24, Teimad) <a valley (pɑʃ) called tööɯmodɑʃ. mɑgoj (24, Mogal) <mɑgojnæɪs "cubit (mɑgoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtsüɯɪ of his sib.[6] kɑkɑɪr (20, Kakar) <kɑkɑɪrxüɯt, an open place in the middle of thickets (küɯt) near the mund toɪroɪɣ. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiɵjmɯrj (20, Kidimudri) <kiɵjmɯn, a mountain; mɯn is the peak of a hill and mɯrj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this exotive connotation.

[6] Rivers (p. 633) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

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193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -küwtṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in pwtʃofxüwtṇ (a son of sirjuɪr 20) < pwtʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in twɪpwsxüwtṇ (20; referred in §6) < twɪpwsfoɪü, the kogfoʃj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæmxüwtṇ, son of toɪliθj and nertnus (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners) < kæmoʃf, the üwsoʃj dairy at the mund karkos. A son of küɪroɪm of the pwrgoɪroʃ (34, Kwodron) is named asojxüwtṇ < asojwr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib. köɪkisjxüwtṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the [177] Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüwtṇ in table 25) < köɪkisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fun; e.g. in kurorfun (21, Karadrvan) < kurorθwt, name of a mountain (twt) near toɪroɪr; wɪrküwɪrfun (24, Idrkudrvan) < wɪrküwɪrfaɪw, a river (paɪw) near Mt. kuror; pwtʃefun (24, Pachievan) < pwtʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. pwtʃofxüwtṇ in §9); kergæɪrfun (25, Kerskedrvan) < kergæɪrfaɪw, a stream near the mund paʃtaɪr; asojfun < asojwr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the pwrgoɪroʃ, is another name of poɪwus (35, Patirsh; cf. asojxüwtṇ in §9); mupufun (16, Mopuvan) < mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoʃ or pæɪθoʃfun, kæmodz or kæmodzfun; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mun, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pun, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. 831 192 The three meanings given for pun belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fun derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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THE CHRISTIAN TODAS *

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ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianised communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling [1] and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Dawn in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, ?1933). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

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TODA CULTURE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER: AN ACCULTURATION STUDY [1]

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The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in South India have long been an object of interest to anthropologists. They became known to Europeans early in the 19th century when the hills were visited by Sullivan (1813), and since then they have been written about by many officials as well as by more casual visitors. Finally, in 1901–2 a close study was made of their institutions by W. H. R. Rivers, and his treatise *The Todas*, published in 1906, has been since then an anthropological classic, describing as it does a tribe of pastoralists with a culture very aberrant as compared with that of the rest of India. Centred upon the buffalo, 114

[1] My work on the Todas was done with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Pearce Fund) in 1936–7. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has read over the paper and given me the benefit of his suggestions and criticisms. [122]

Bibliographical details of the publications referred to in the paper are: 113

W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*; London, Macmillan and Co., 1906.

M. B. Emeneau, *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 77, 543–560.

id., *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, Journal of the American Oriental Society 57, 377–388.

(*Continued on next page*)

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114 the care of which forms a very complex ritual, and containing within itself such an unusual feature as polyandry, this culture was bound to attract attention as a thing *sui generis* in the field of knowledge of anthropologists. Work on the language of the tribe in 1935–7 has given me an opportunity to study the culture as well. The present paper attempts to assess the amount and nature [121] of such changes as the culture has suffered in the thirty-five years since Rivers' visit.

177 In 1901–2, the Todas were already exposed to outside influences of several different kinds. Leaving aside their immemorial connexion with the Kotas and the Kurumbas, these three tribes regarding themselves as being the aboriginal inhabitants of the hills and as having been created there together, and their more recent but still ancient connexion with the immigrant Badagas, two other strong influences had been in a position to affect Toda culture from the time that the Nilgiris became accessible early in the 19th century. The English, who created three hill-stations, Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagiri, and a military station Wellington, provided one of these influences, and their Indian servants, minor officials, and tradespeople, an even stronger influence. Since Rivers' time conditions in the hills have changed so that outside influences have become potentially much stronger. A railway now connects Ootacamund and Coonoor with the Tamilian plains to the south and motorbuses connect the whole area with the Mysore plains. The possibilities of the Nilgiris as a suitable ground for growing vegetable produce and tea have been exploited to a high degree. Their attractions as holiday grounds for Europeans and a place of retirement at the end of official life have been certainly not more widely appreciated, but perhaps more widely used by Europeans from all parts of India. The climax of this tendency of the English to invade the Nilgiris

113 *id.*, *Personal names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, April 1938.

id., *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*, Journal of the American Oriental Society (not yet published).

Census of India, *1931*, vol. 14 (Madras), part 1 (report by M. W. M. Yeatts), 367–392.

[M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, American Anthropologist 39, 103–112. This completes the list of my papers on the Todas up to date, but is not referred to in this paper.]

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648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:l), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!"). 581 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kum:ɣjaɬf made an 588 innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather 616 by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj 178 institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kum:ɣjaɬf or the children of this union. The example was followed in kum:ɣjaɬf's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kum:ɣjaɬf's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the tɔrθaŋ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the nirjoŋ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumŋ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new poɪm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 194

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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the po*l*o:*l*, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töuθmṭ and the töunoŋ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the *wrfo:lfmet*, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. kaθum, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hõ: at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as no:-n, after is as wr̥.

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθuṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (ṭuṭ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö·kiṛj created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noṛ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθuṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The töunoṛ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoṛ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as aṛ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noṛ "sacred place." Within the noṛ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noṛ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noṛ "sacred place" or töunoṛ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

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will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress. 177 178 791

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies ; the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution. 782 114 [129] [262] [564] [177]

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known; 177 [171]

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177 the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief
[791] in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage
[178] customs attempted by kum:ja*ll* and recorded by Rivers, which
[582] would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and
[425] that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of
[926] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made
[657] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

16 There remains the important question of the effect of outside
177 influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems
[114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women
[831] by the polyandrous system combined with the *manfoolj* institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

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irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931.[1] The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901–11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918–9 and relapsing fever in 1923–4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about 8¼ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931–41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of the tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

[1] See *Census of India, 1931*, reference given in note 1.

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LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL FORMS: A STUDY OF TODA KINSHIP TERMS AND DUAL DESCENT

By M. B. EMENEAU

121 THAT THE DATA obtained by linguistic investigation of any community is of indispensable value for the ethnographer studying that community has long been axiomatic for the anthropological school of which Sapir was a brilliant member. His statement of the point in *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* deserves to be quoted:

> Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. In a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society. Some day the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labors of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which he is describing.[1]

To go a little further and say that the culminating item of value that the linguistic student can give to ethnology is the study of a community's most highly verbalized cultural manifestations would be what Sapir would and undoubtedly did hold. It is here, in their verbal art-forms, stories, songs, oratory, or the like, that the members of the culture give the most overt and self-conscious expression to the patterns which they follow or profess to follow in their life. Linguistic study, if it is confined to its primary object of recording and analyzing the forms of utterances and never goes beyond that, can offer little to ethnology. It must, with that analysis as a basis, go on to a strict philological analysis of well-recorded and fully guaranteed texts in the forms most highly esteemed by the culture, and the results of such study should provide then "the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines [of a culture gained through sheer observation] significant and intelligible."

121 The following study presents the kinship system of the Todas of the Nilgiris in South
128 India. In a previous paper on *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, the existence was re-
614 ported of a complete division of the Todas into matrilineal sibs alongside of the previously
[114] known complete division into patrilineal sibs. In this paper I present, following on the kinship system, the material on the functions of the two sib-systems as against one another. In these sections an attempt has been made to use the evidence provided by the Toda art-form of highest prestige, the songs. Discussion based on this evidence is found on pp. 160–161 on the use of "friend" terms beside kinship terms, on p. 165 on the special kinship term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father, and throughout the Appendix, which presents the kinship terms; and again on pp. 169–172, where the data on the

[1] Edward Sapir, *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* (Language, Vol. 5, pp. 207–14, 1929), p. 209.

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emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[9] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[9] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in ego's generation based on age relative to that of ego.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to ego. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of ego's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, onoi in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okoi in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ŭwr-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endoi in address. En-ŭwr-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nun-ŭwr-fed "your younger sibling," on-ŭwr-fed (or on-don-ŭwr-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ŭwr-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ŭwr-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," num-ŭwr-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or oŭon-ŭwr-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xuix (=kuix) a female.[6]

[9] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[9] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 205–23, 1938), p. 205 fn. 1. In this paper I use ŝ, ẑ for palatalized alveolar sibilants, c, ǵ for post-dental affricates and ĉ, ǰ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ŭ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1935–36 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[4] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and passim.

[6] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom ego would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

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601 561 114 [576]

Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as ɐoo. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as ɐoo. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɨ̯ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɨ̯ or en-goɨ̯ "my friend" (in address -es is added), num-goɨ̯ "your friend," an-goɨ̯ or tan-goɨ̯ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193]

When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocxoɨ̯jɑɪ, eningoɨ̯jɑɪ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time to that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[114] [126]

[601] [561]

in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister terms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as ɐoo the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496–98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of ɐoo is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–60, 1937), especially pp. 545–49.

[114]

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526–29.

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song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song pîjaɪr (Pîiar, 92) and meṛṇuɪ (Mudriners, 97) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another sindwp (Sintharap), wife of kûwɪɪjaff (Kuriolv, 92), and koɪsɪr (Koser, 97) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: taɪrîjxaɪm, son of sirjaɪr (Sîriar, 20), and tûûûûuɪ, son of tokas (Tokas) and punuɪr (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter ejaɪ "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ego's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ego's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., man-moɪx "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ego" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and man-guɪx "daughter, etc." may be replaced by en-okng-fæ·dfoj-moɪx "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," en-ûuṛ-fed-moɪx-fæ·dfoj-guɪx "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference mocîṛj "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (en-in-mocîṛj "my father's cross-cousin," en-af-mocîṛj "my mother's cross-

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cousin;" sex may however be indicated by the addition of the respective sex-denoting words). In ego's generation sex is specified in referring to and addressing his siblings and parallel cousins older than himself, and in addressing cross-cousins, but not in referring to and addressing siblings and parallel cousins younger than himself or in referring to cross-cousins; in reference in the latter cases an optional reference is allowed. In descending generations sex is specified in reference but not in address.

In ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age older or younger than his own (see above), in the case of siblings and parallel cousins when referred to or addressed, and in the case of cross-cousins of the same sex as ego when addressed. In the first ascending generation ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's, in both cases by prefixing per-ɑuŋ "big-who is" and kur-ɑuŋ "small-who is" to the classificatory terms, either of reference or address.

The father is not distinguished in address or reference from his brothers and male parallel cousins, nor in address from his male cross-cousins; the mother is not distinguished in address or reference from her sisters and female parallel cousins, nor in address from her female cross-cousins. A step-parent is not distinguished in reference or address from a parent. [595]

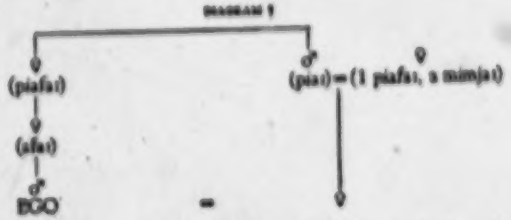
In ego's generation siblings by the same father are not distinguished in reference or address from children of the father's brothers or from children of the mother's sisters. There is a permissively used special term of reference for a man's brother who is a son of the same father, oṇtafn; e.g., oṇ en-oṇtafn-mji "he is my brother, the son of the same father as myself," oṇtafn-mox fatjoṭi "do not seize the wife of (your) brother by the same father (i.e. do not carry her off as you may do with other men's wives and then have compensation [ter] arranged by the tribal council)."[10] When special exactness is needed, descriptive phrases may be used.

In the first ascending generation there is a special term, both in reference and address, for the father's sisters and female parallel cousins, and this is also used for the mother's male siblings' and male parallel cousins' wives, and for ego's mother-in-law and her female siblings. Similarly, there is a special term for the mother's brothers and male parallel cousins, and this is used also for the father's female siblings' and female parallel cousins' husbands, and for ego's father-in-law and the latter's male siblings. In ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences, except those who are affines; a spouse's siblings are not classed as ego's cross-cousins, unless they are really so. In the first descending generation a distinction is made in reference between two groups: (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are all descriptively distinguished, e.g., on-mox "elder brother's son," en-ɑuŋ-fod-mozn-mox "my younger brother's son," moṭiŋj-ru tzn-mox "female cross-

[10] Rivers, pp. 323-25. It is possible that oṇtafn is the word meant by Rivers (p. 284), *ontafum*.

[114]

Piḍḍjnrs (Pūḍḍenir, 51) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to panrs (Panars, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumat. The wives of these men were sinmir (Sinmir) married to piḍḍjnrs, and pa·rgẽḷ (Pargveli) married to panrs. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmir would have called pa·rgẽḷ grandmother (piafat). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmir should have called pa·rgẽḷ minjat (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmir's mother ozeḷ (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pa·rgẽḷ, both being daughters of the same mother panbuf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmir called pa·rgẽḷ mother (afat). 601 614



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piat) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumat). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piafat), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (minjat) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[14] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[15] an account of the rules regulating 535 614 765

[14] Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.

[15] Pp. 367–71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight. 114 302

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojo1 relationship may be permitted to dance.[10] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[10] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words. 585 614 616 764 765

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[11] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other. [583] 614

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work nɔ:lkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɪr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɔrlɪtɪ had married pɪlkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mɔ̀ɪr patrilineal sib, whose mund pɔn is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is 539 614 775 196 114

[10] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kɔ:t(k)-kɔrtpoi "person who is waiting for a funeral." [10] See reference in note 12 above.

[11] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pɪtɪ-ɔtt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320. [576]

196 539 614 [775] [114]

pormaxθur,[*] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kajniɪ asked what it was he was told: il·θon·ɯji puɪrotj·noɪj yst "It is just here that the puɪrotj·noɪj [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poʎjoɪʎ·xuɪrjfojoɪʎ ɪund·mortk·fæɪdfoj·xuɪrjfojoɪʎ̣ puɪrotj·noɪj ysti; poʎjoɪʎ ṇoɪṇjti; oɪtoɪʎ xursti' udng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The puɪrotj·noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poʎjoɪʎ feel shame; the oɪtoɪʎ laugh.' " The word poʎjoɪʎ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɪʎ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poʎjoɪʎ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɪʎ, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poʎjoɪʎ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poʎjoɪʎ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪlkj (cf. the verb noɪṇjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These [764] included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the nor- [578] mally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kaɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

puɪlkɨɯɪrθoɪr poʎjoɪʎ·ṇoɪlkj oɪjxɨɯθɯn
pæɪθoɪr oɪtoɪʎ·ṇoɪṇ oɪjxɨɯθɯn
noɪʤoɪʎk·noɪlkj oɪjxɨɯθɯn
sɪɪmjoɪʎk·sig oɪjxɨɯθɯn

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poʎjoɪʎ, the oɪtoɪʎ, the people of the country (noɪʤoɪʎ), the people of the district (sɪɪmjoɪʎ; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poʎjoɪʎ and the oɪtoɪʎ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poʎjoɪʎ and oɪtoɪʎ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[*] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Podmakhsir: pp. 398–400); his account is in general incomplete.

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196 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

539 nɔlkɔnɯsk sydj-mil-sydj pɯtɯθik

614 poljoɨl-xoɪrjm oɪtoɨl-foṇt öštjɯḍoɪ ɯdɯθik

om arjen' enk öštoθ sotj-moɪḍkin ɯdɯθɯng noɪṛṇɯsfɯn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgɑɪs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poljoɨl.' Noɪṛṇɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poljoɨl, oɪtoɨl is used as demanded by convention, as is also poṇt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poljoɨl (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪrjm,[23] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɨl-foṇt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, [115] noɪṛṇɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly [609] knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by [114] shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poljoɨl, is to be explained.

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poljoɨl, oɪtoɨl did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poljoɨl, oɪtoɨl may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪṛṇɯs
835 to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[23] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

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 But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I
614 judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
[197] background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[26] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[27] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

197 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
174 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
[79] they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[28] that the model house
[787] or dairy used in the uɪr-foṭt ceremony, and called poɪl-poḷj (Rivers' pūlpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyḷj) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
595 some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar before comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
[114] ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Furthermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas
[171] of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[29]

174 The toɪtjfoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
837 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[26] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123–47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of
[114] more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611–40, 1907). [27] Pp. 693–718, especially pp. 698 ff. [28] Rivers, p. 702.

[29] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 574–83, 1938).

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The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[29] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[30] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[29] Rivers, p. 700.

[30] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kŭng. This is etymologically connected with Kota hogg in the same meaning, Tamil koṅku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa hoggu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koṅgu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kŭng and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

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Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation. 601 [576]

There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated. [114]

A further note should be added on the words mox and kuɪx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuɪx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuɪxjaɪ in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ-, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuɪx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯaɯxuɪxjaɪ, containing kuɪx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯaɯmoxjaɪ, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmoxubaɪ, enmerjubaɪ, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, morj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuɪx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯaɯmoxjaɪ "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained. 192 601

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CHAPTER 3

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

114 It has often been said that the Todas are the best known aboriginal community in the world. Every general treatise on anthropology is supposed to make at least a passing reference to them, and it is certainly true that data concerning them in very widely quoted in ethnological literature the world over. This, to a large extent, is due to the excellent work done among them by that distinguished British anthropologist, the late Dr W. H. R. Rivers. His book, *The Todas* (see Bibliography), is a classic on the subject, and its voluminous contents cover to a remarkable degree all those aspects of their culture which it was possible to investigate with the contemporary ethnographical means at the disposal of the author. Since then, much progress has been made in this field, and, as I was able to note when with the Todas, the store of information which they can offer is still very far from being exhausted. From this point of view, as from many others, they are truly a most remarkable people, worthy of continued anthropological attention.

[127] During my first visit to the Nilgiris, my time was mostly taken up with making the acquaintance of the tribe. I read Rivers on the spot and looked into the polyandry of the people in a general fashion. I also got to know the neighbouring inhabitants, without a knowledge of whom it is difficult to acquite a proper functional picture of Toda culture, so closely is the latter bound up with that of others, especially in ceremonial and economic matters. On my return, ten years later, I delved more deeply into polyandry, and, in order to get a thorough working knowledge of this form of the marriage institution as practised by the Nilgiri tribe, made a specialized study of one single family, in which two successive generations of men had had quite a considerable number of children born in this type of wedlock.

[128] In this chapter, on the polyandry of the Todas of the Nilgiris, I shall deal first with the general study which I made in 1939, and follow on

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with the special study that is the result of my second visit to south India in 1949. 114 128

A. GENERAL STUDY: THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

A general study of the culture of the Todas of the Nilgiris has been presented so well by Dr W. H. R. Rivers in his book that it is quite unnecessary to repeat it here. Readers who are interested in getting to know these people thoroughly are referred to the work, which they will find quite absorbing reading.

In the following paragraphs I propose to give only an outline of the principal traits of Tota culture so that what follows should be intelligible. Some of the Toda institutions are so unique, or as we would say anthropologically, aberrant, that it is absolutely essential to have at least some idea of what they are like in order to understand the nature of the whole. 128

I will, therefore, first give this outline of Toda culture with a brief description of the habitat and social organisation of the tribe, and go on next, in a second paragraph to describe those customs of the Todas which, in my opinion, have a direct bearing on their institution of polyandrous marriage. Being by inclination functionalist in anthropological outlook, I can quite see that their marriage customs are linked to the entirety of their culture, and even, to some extent, to those of their immediate neighbours, with whom their ties are very close. But it would be too long and too complex to attempt to give so vast a picture of the whole intricate and inter-related pattern, and I would ask my readers to content themselves with the choice of those items of culture which I consider relevant in this connection. [182]

A third paragraph, before we go on to the special study of one Toda polyandrous family, which I reserve for Part B of this section, will deal more closely with Toda polyandry, treating in a general description, all those aspects of it which I was able to gather during my first stay in the Nilgiris in 1939.

1. DESCRIPTIVE OUTLINE

The mountainous district of the Nilgiris is part of the State of Madras, in south India. The name, which means "Blue Mountains" in Sanskrit, is derived from the fact that, seen from the plains, the nearly 9,000 133

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In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

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economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad's*, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

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616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
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564

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwotan-Pöldh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörori or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Püth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhosi	

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modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvaylar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konari, his grandson and great-grandson.

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ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmel-pudithtl* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

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sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

[837] [684] [623] [115]

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 [114] A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

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therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

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had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment. [764]

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *ôn* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366). 837 764 [301]

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough". 648 837 [834] [684] [143]

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

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648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all.

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[625] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, viriloid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was
828 through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangur, son of Pillar (52), however, was a case

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595 her by Wunkwur. Kanvarsathi assured me that there were other such non-fraternal cases in outlying *munds*, but I did not come across any.

114 My impression was that the polyandry of the Todas is tending more and more to be restricted only to real brothers, in the way we use that word.
595 Rivers in his book does mention a number of instances in which non-brothers, not even classificatory, are married to the same woman (see *The Todas*, pp. 515–516), but although I searched for some, I was unable to find any in existence today. Rivers already remarked in his time: "It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present." (*The Todas*, p. 516.)

Rivers' description of the marriage of *matchuni* seems to imply that such weddings are monogamous, (see *The Todas*, pp. 512–513). I enquired about this when in the Nilgiris, and was told that it was not necessarily, although admittedly generally, so. There have been recorded cases of polygamous unions of this type, both polygynous and polyandrous, the latter being, rather naturally with the Todas, the more usual of the two. My informants could not take me to see any such case existing at the time, but assured me that they had known some. There was nothing in Toda custom to forbid it, they assured me (see also, *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers' Book, Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

648 Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf has shown, in his short
837 note about *Heriditary Friendships and Inter-Tribal Sex relations be-*
[114] *tween Todas and Mudugas* (see Bibliography), that such relations of the Todas with their Muduga hereditary friends are definitely not limited to one man, but include a number of brothers. In this case, of course, we are not dealing with a regular marriage. Inversely, the Muduga headman whom he mentioned has access to the common wife of the two Toda brothers who are his friends, whenever he pays back their call in the Nilgiris, although the Mudugas themselves, like most more primitive people, do not practise polyandry. The type of established, even institutionalized, sex relation described here, seems definitely to follow the Toda pattern and not the Muduga one.

595 About sixty per cent of the Todas are polyandrous. I did not actually take count of exactly how many there were, because as the community is continually in flux with regard to marital arrangements, principally because of the *terershti* institution, figures would not have meant very much anyhow. But Kanvarsathi worked it out that the number of polyandrous marriages must involve just about that percentage of the whole tribe's number, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of

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to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by 831
overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of
course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined pa- [848]
ternity through the *pursütpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent
guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting
children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and conse-
quently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it
would, I suppose, elsewhere.

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases 833
of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded
earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard,
but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while
catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as
contradicting these findings.

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris 114
has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited
by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities
Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows
with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry
within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the
subject of an addendum.

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in 614
many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to 616
W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and
he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that
originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe.

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh 614
at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the 554
subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh
people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples –
such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the
tipalol), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *ti-
mad* – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a

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is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

To 131 161 114

The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

To [161] 595 618 [121]

Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, *i.e.*, a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars,

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K 595 182 Ti 595 182 To 595 182

stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

To 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [847]

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

To 114

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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To 114 reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

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T, 162 792 To 847 162 As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162 As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

To 829 595 121 182 would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally T: 829 595 121 182 poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the K [121] Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes Ti 595 114 [182] [593] them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 Ti 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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relation, but it seems to me that the *tchamadoong* system is so close to such a relation that again it could easily be explained in this way.

In the final instance, as I say, polyandry "persists through isolation, in the case of the Tibetans, and as part of a defense mechanism in the case of the Todas." The Tibetans are very isolated and do not come in contact with other peoples and, for that reason, the system is well preserved, though in the border region it is breaking down. I was much struck by the fact that people there do not like mentioning polyandry. They are shy about it and think it does not sound very nice to other people, while as one gets into the interior among real polyandrous people they are very proud of it and boast of it. In the case of Tocktock, which I mentioned before, the old man was surprised that other peoples were not polyandrous. As far as the Todas are concerned, they are cooped up in the mountains. They are hemmed in by other peoples who have other customs, but they still feel that they are the people of the Nilghiris, and that they are a superior race. In order to assert this, they stick very "nationalistically" to their customs, and I think polyandry persists among them as one of the symbols of their superiority.

000 I hope that this explanation of polyandry may sound convincing in spite of its mainly psychoanalytical approach. I think that the results of this first expedition were satisfactory, and thoroughly justify the desire for a second expedition to find out more about it, for there are many gaps that still need to be filled in, in order to complete the picture.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1
Toda AW60

WT 114

We were accompanied on the whole journey from Kulu by Dölma, the Gya-kar K'hampa daughter of Tsewang Norbu. With her came two male members of her family, and a former Tibetan monk from the monastery of Tashi Lumpo (*bKra-shis Lhun-po*) in Tsang (*gTsang*), in central Tibet. This man's name was Lobsang (*bLo-bZang*) and he proved as knowledgeable a guide concerning everything Tibetan as I could have wished for. Married since he had left the monastery, he and his wife brought their two boys along with them, the youngest being only just over five years of age. From Leh onwards, we exchanged Dölma's two male relatives for new, Ladaki caravaneers under one Tashi (*bKra-shis*), and it was this man and five of his friends who supplied me with the twenty five pack ponies which we used to carry our belongings from Leh in Ladak to Srinagar. Joseph Gergan accompanied us as far as Kargil.

WT [115]

T 114

From our travelling companions I heard during our journey that there was much to study concerning polyandry in Tibet proper. They advised me to try to reach Lhasa and central Tibet if I could, assuring me that in the heart of the country there existed even stranger polyandrous customs than those we had seen on the fringes. They told me that Kalimpong, in the Darjeeling district of the Indian province of Bengal (then undivided), would be a good starting point. Taking their advice, after returning to Lahore from Srinagar in November, we set off in our car to cross practically the whole of northern India, arriving by road in Kalimpong just before Christmas, 1938.

In this very attractive town, situated at the beginning of the main Trade Route to central Tibet, I was able to gather much information concerning Tibetan customs and ways of life. So rewarding was the search and so pleasant did Kalimpong appear to us, that I resolved there and then to return some day for a longer stay. I also contacted those officials of the Government of India (then British) who were responsible for allowing foreign travellers into Tibet, and made arrangements for it to be possible for us to obtain permission to go to Lhasa when we next visited this part of the world. We then left for south India, to work among the Todas and the inhabitants of Malabar.

T9 114

Our way lay over Calcutta, by train to Nagpur and Bombay, where I purchased a new car, having sold the old one in Calcutta on our way through. We made excursions to Poona, Goa and Hyderabad, and from there went on to Bezwada and Madras. After our visits to Pondicherry and places of archaelogical interest in the Tamil country, we motored up to the Nilgiris, taking a house for the summer of 1939, in Coonoor.

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
Toda AW60

It was from there that I made my first research work among the Todas and other hill tribes of the district.

In August, we descended to the south-west coast, passing through Mysore and Mercara in Coorg. We arrived in Tellicherry, in Malabar, at the end of the month, when the clouds of war were already gathering fast on the international political horizon. The first days of September found us in this remote part of India, on a visit to the French possession of Mahé. On learning that World War II had started, we immediately packed and left, returning to Madras where we sought a passage home. After waiting some time, we were told that we might embark on a ship of the Danish East Asiatic Company in Colombo. We proceeded there in all haste, but were kept waiting sufficiently long in the Sinhalese capital to be able to visit the place and gather some anthropological information of value. We resolved to return here as soon as the war was over, should we survive it.

I spent the next eight years in the Greek Army. I was demobilized in 1947, and immediately took steps to resume my anthropological work. I was able to do this at the beginning of 1949, when my wife and I arrived back in Ceylon by air in the February of that year. This time I had the leisure and means to study Sinhalese polyandry and, after obtaining the necessary information, as I have said, put up our camp in the interior, in the Kandyan region of Ratnapura.

We remained here until April, and then moved to Cochin in south-west India. A short spell of work in Ernakulam and the surrounding country, including Travancore, yielded interesting data. But very soon, the temperature became excessive, and conditions of work insupportable, so that we drove up to the Nilgiris for the summer, resuming my investigations of Toda polyandry which I had left off ten years before. We stayed in Ootacamund from the beginning of May until the end of September, 1949.

In the autumn, we returned to Malabar, this time to Shoranur, in the Walluvanad taluk of the southern part of the district, as this appeared to be the best area in which to study polyandry in what was soon to become the State of Kerala. We were there until December of the same year, and get to know the people living all around us quite well.

While in Malabar, I did not only visit the polyandrous communities. I was desirous of getting acquainted with the other inhabitants of the country, on the principle that the elements of a society are interrelated and evolve in connection with each other. I also attended a Nambudri Brahmin wedding, visited a Nambudri *mana* (the name by which the

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the preparation of the various milk products are also relegated to the special priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products; in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry, polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "public" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology.*
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matri-lineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: " . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

[171] It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

114 The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
602 word, *puliol.* Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
614 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ, ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

> [Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him, [otherwise] there are no objections. (Emeneau, 1937, p. 105)

Emeneau's examples are clear enough. In fact, he also provides internal and conclusive evidence that the Toda disagree with him. About the use of the term *puliol* he says, in a later work (1941, p. 171): "Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and this branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before the matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way." And, he goes on, "we feel that the püliol (Rivers' spelling) relation between mother and daughter is perhaps is point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it." In fact, the Toda merely say that *puliol* includes all the relatives without reference to matri-sib.

114 602 196

The matter is not really very complicated. Emeneau comes surprisingly near but entirely misses the point. He notes (1937, p. 106) that the semantics of the word *puliol* means "man of the puli or palli," but, saying that "will not explain our word," he goes off in an entirely different direction trying to find exogamous "houses." In fact, the semantics are quite eloquent: *puliol* are the people who are sacred like the *palli* (dairy)—that is, no "entrance" is permitted.[3] They are precisely all the prohibited categories of kin; hence the term appears to stand opposed to *paiol* or "affines." Rivers does not juxtapose the two but makes the meaning of *paiol* abundantly clear in his treatment of Toda funerals (e.g., 1906, p. 358). The *paiol* (pp. 450, 459) are precisely the persons such as MB (or father-in-law), cross-cousins, ZS (or son-in-law) whom Dumont (1957*b*) has singled out as "affines."

114 602

Hence we see in the Toda case that Dumont's highly interesting structural juxtaposition of "kin vs. affine" is noted and culturally recognized by the Toda themselves in the opposition of *puliol* or *paliol* vs. *paiol*, or kin/affine.

It seems clear that what Rivers wrote in 1906 accords well with some of the best recent analyses of South Indian kin structures. Whatever we finally arrive at as the real meaning of the term *puliol*, we

[3] Prince Peter of Greece in a very interesting paper also notes these semantics and links the *puliol* with prohibited categories of kin which he describes, following Emeneau, as "matrilineal sibs." Yet the line of argument from the prohibition of sexual relations between children suckled by one mother to "matrilineal sib" is by no means clear. The Sinhalese, too, have similar ideas on milk kinship" (see above, p. 139) without corporate matrilineages. The evidence for "sibs" such as names which connote obscenity, joking, and simple myths seems curiously meager. This case, too, really rests on the sexual prohibitions which, as we have argued, permit interpretations of a nonlineal kind. I came across this material too late to incorporate it into the chapter. See Peter, Prince of Greece (1951). [614]

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 602 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitions we must also find exogamous lineages.

[171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda can be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligations between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 332) (BD named by FZ p. 332)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	S chief fourner at funeral
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	Cutting of lock of hair at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	
Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothers
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 582 601 602 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-

124 made use of so much of his evidence as I believe to be trustworthy. His knowledge was not deep or accurate, but he often told me enough to enable me to extract the full account from others, who, seeing I knew something, thought they might as well tell me all. On one or two subjects, the whole of my information is derived from this man, but whenever this is the case I mention the fact, so that my readers may know the doubtful nature of the evidence. I only give such information, however, when I believe it to be correct. The informant in question was one of the cleverest of the Todas, and his usual fault was not that he deliberately deceived, but that he supplied the lacunæ in his knowledge by having recourse to his imagination. In the matter of folk-tales, where the difficulties of checking an account are especially great, I was obliged wholly to reject his assistance.

[115] An altogether different type of witness was my constant attendant, Kòdrner. His special business was to bring me people as the subjects for my psychological work and to act as my guide in visiting various parts of the hills. He did not profess to any wide knowledge of custom or ceremonial, and was always diffident about the information he gave; but he was a good observer, and could give an excellent account of any ceremony which he had witnessed or of any procedure in which he had been involved.

Except in a few cases the Todas were quite unable to give any explanations of their customs, the answer to nearly every inquiry being that the custom in question was ordained by the goddess Teikirzi. In the few cases in which an explanation was forthcoming, it seemed to me that it was usually a recent invention. The explanations of customs given in this book are therefore almost invariably those arrived at by myself from the study of the available evidence.

114 While I was working I had by me the books or
127 papers of Harkness, Marshall, Breeks, and Thurston, the chief previous writers on the Todas, and I inquired into most of the details mentioned by them; but I have not

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

●115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

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The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

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The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pül*, and there is a special part of the *pül* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

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At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Môdr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mudadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tülladr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *badr*.

PREFACE.

114 115 121 In the course of a furlough I took in the year 1870 to the Madras sanatarium of Utacamand, in the Nilagiri mountains,[1] I heard much of an 'aboriginal race' living in the neighbourhood; which, infanticidal and polyandrous, was said to be fast dying out.

I had long been curious to understand the mysterious process by which, as appears inevitable, savage tribes melt away when forced into prolonged contact with a superior civilisation. But, ignorant of all the languages of South India, I should have relinquished attempt to study the Todas, had I not the great good fortune to make the acquaintance of the Reverend FRIEDRICH METZ, of the Basel Missionary Society, who had spent upwards of twenty years in labours amongst the primitive tribes forming the inhabitants of the Nilagiris; and who, in addition to being skilled in several Drâvidian dialects, was exceptionally practised in High Kanarese and Tamil. Above all, he was the only European able to speak the obscure Toda tongue.

Mr. METZ most readily agreed to co-operate with me in strict enquiry into the condition of the Todas, and

[1] Commonly called 'Ootacamund, in the Nilgherry hills'; it being the peculiar Anglo-Indian custom to style all mountains, hills. Thus the Himalayas are only hills, whilst in England, Ben Nevis and Snowdon are mountains.

114 henceforth became my sole associate in all expeditions
115 amongst them—save one or two.
121 It is the more proper and just that I should in this place render Mr. METZ the warmest acknowledgment of the very disinterested and important share he had in the undertaking, that there is so little in what I have written in these pages to recall his name. It was not only that his knowledge of Toda dialect was invaluable for minute and truthful investigation, but the personal respect in which he was held by the people, and the confidence they placed in his fidelity to them, obtained for us a more friendly welcome and complete exposure of their minds than would have been accorded had we been mere strangers. I must state, however, that my friend is not, even in the slightest degree, responsible for any opinions I have expressed.

A small Vocabulary, compiled and carefully revised by Mr. METZ, will be found as the groundwork of the last Chapter. It may be said, more entirely to consist of actual Toda words than any other existing.

121 Our operations began with a census of a portion of
124 the tribe, combined with an examination of each of the families that came before us. But in proportion as our work advanced, so did interest in the subject develop, until the scheme was entertained of enlarging the topic from its original design, so as to embrace 'a study of the manners and customs of a primitive race of man.'

With this evolution grew also the desire so to describe what I had seen, as to enable readers who could never have an opportunity of witnessing life amongst

CHAP. XXV. describe the connection between such brothers as follows: 'Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their mothers being sisters, they are brothers.' An uncle is styled 'my little father'; most significant.

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The marriage system I have described is elastic. It is capable of being modified in its internal working without change in the actual principle. Thus, when women are scarce, several men have to be content with one wife between them. But as women become more numerous, a greater proportion of men are able to procure a wife a-piece. This condition of permanent routine is supremely satisfying to the Toda mind.

192 The general expression for marriage is represented by the word kûdiken — I join.[8] Thus, 'Beliani is married to Nastufi' would be translated Beliani Nastufig kûdthchi, or they are joined to one another. But in addressing a man with the casual question of, 'Are you married?' the ordinary way of putting it, would be to say, 'Is there a son?'—Mokh vathchya? He would reply, Ha, mokh vathchi, 'Yes, there is a son:' or if married, but childless, he would detail, Ân kukh kûdthbini, mokh illade—'I joined a woman, a son is not.'

Similarly, the enquiry made of a woman would be, Belthta gavthchya?—'Is the neck-ring tied?'[9]

[115] 843 Mr. Metz has been so good as to describe for me a singular custom connected with weddings, which he learnt subsequently to my having left the Nilagiris: of which no sort of explanation can be supplied by the Todas.

When the wife has gone seven months with her first child, she retires with her husband alone, to the depths of the village wood, where at the foot of some tree she places a

[8] I am not certain that in the word 'join,' we have got the most primitive meaning of kûdiken. The Hindustani word kûdna, and its Sanskrit root kurd = *play*, might be compared.

[9] For the modes in which husbands and wives address one another, see Chapter VII.

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THE CHRISTIAN TODAS *

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ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianized communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling [1] and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Dawn in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Smith Press, 1922). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuanoɪn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuusodj] (14, Kunpuradi) had been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 507 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277-289.

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196 539 614 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

noḷkonmsk	aydj-mil-aydj	pmṭmθik		
poḷjoɩ̨-zoɪrjm	oɪɪoɩ̨-foṇt	öštjmḍoɪ	mḍmθik	
om orjen'	enk öštoθ	sotj-moɪḍkin	mḍmθmng	noɪrṇmsfmn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgmɪs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poḷjoɩ̨.' Noɪrṇmɪs (Nödrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poḷjoɩ̨, oɪɪoɩ̨ is used as demanded by convention, as is also poṇt "w rd," but to fit the pertinent word poḷjoɩ̨ (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪlkj was replaced by koɪrjm,[23] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪɪoɩ̨-foṇt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, [115] noɪrṇmɪs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly [609] knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by [114] shame, embarrassment (noɪlkj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poḷjoɩ̨, is to be explained.

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poḷjoɩ̨, oɪɪoɩ̨ did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poḷjoɩ̨, oɪɪoɩ̨ may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 835 It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪrṇmɪs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[23] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very [682] few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [648] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 682 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for [754] the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of [115] the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [123] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his [757] case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

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the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die. 578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed. 595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above). [115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursütpimi* was, however, performed for 595 614 595 587 595

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[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*. 425 428 [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512 [123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514] [296] [233] [234] [264] [291] [356] [515]

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
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was able to park my caravan in the compound of the factory, and from there to conduct my work in the surrounding villages, both in the Walluvanad taluk and in north Cochin. I am greatly indebted to the then Collector of Malabar, Sri Prasad, for the assistance rendered to me during my stay in Kerala, for without this help it would not have been possible to gather so much information in so short a time.

Thanks are also due to Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent of the Government Museum, Egmore, Madras, my fellow-student at the London School of Economics where we both attended the seminars and lectures of the late Professor Br. Malinowski. Through Dr. Aiyappan's never failing advice and active interest I saved considerable time and effort in going straight to that part of Kerala most propitious for the study of polyandry.

While working in the Nilgiris, both before and after World War II, it would have been good to have been able to speak Toda. It would have enabled me to gather information direct, which would have been an incomparable asset during my long period of research in that area. From the wider point of view, it did not seem worth while, however, to go to the trouble of learning Toda. It is spoken by only a very small number of individuals who, being themselves illiterate, have no literature at all. It is besides a Dravidian tongue, and therefore difficult for Europeans to master quickly. I felt that I would prefer to concentrate later on acquiring Tibetan, something which would be of far wider use to me in very many fields other than the relatively narrow study of polyandry.

I therefore turned down the idea of learning the language and, because of this, was obliged to work through an interpreter. In the choice of the latter, I was exceptionally fortunate. Very early, during the first months of my stay in the Nilgiris, in the summer of 1939, thanks to the help of Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission, I got to know Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, a Christian Toda convert, who had previously served Dr. M. B. Emeneau, of the University of California at Berkeley, in a like capacity, for three years, and who was to prove just as excellent an assistant to me as he had been to this predecessor of mine among the Todas.

Kanvarsathi, although belonging to the little colony of Christian Todas described by Emeneau (*The Christian Todas*, see Bibliography), was far from having developed an aversion for his heathen fellows. What was more, he was liked and accepted to a remarkable degree by the latter, a most happy state of affairs when it came to making use of

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
Toda AW60

115 him to delve into the intimate details of tribal customs. He was also a very intelligent individual who fully grasped the interest of anthropological research, and was keen to make use of the results in the hope of improving the material condition of the Todas. Without his assistance, it is doubtful whether I would have acquired so penetrating an insight into the Toda way of life, something for which I am extremely grateful to him.

[589] Kanvarsathi's father was a rather notorious character among the Todas called Kiunervan (Table 14 of Rivers' genealogical tables) who had no less than eleven wives, one after the other. Kanvarsathi was the only son of the eleventh wife, and was born in 1905 at the Toda village of Paletkwar (known as Attakoraimand in the language of the Badagas) near Or, on the left-hand side of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. Two months after his birth, his mother died, and his half-sister, Sinkup, later wife of Ujar (48, Rivers' Ushadz, one of my best informants), a daughter of his father's second wife, took him away with her and very grudgingly looked after him.

Six years later, Kiunervan also died, leaving one boy, Kanvarsathi, and two elder girls. The total number of his father's offspring had not been very great, despite the eleven wives. There were, altogether, only three sons and two daughters, of which two boys died before Kanvarsathi was born, and the two girls after, leaving him the sole survivor. Strictly speaking he became the only heir to his father's estate, which [550] consisted, at the time of death, of sixty buffaloes and some gold ornaments – quite a considerable fortune according to Toda standards. But [929] because he was a minor, his father's brothers' sons – his first cousins on his father's side – took the property into their custody until he should come of age. Being, however, most unscrupulous, and believing that Kanvarsathi would never find out, these cousins gradually disposed of the estate to their own advantage, so that when the time came for them to hand it over, all that he got were six buffaloes and two pairs of ear-rings.

115 When he was ten years old, he found out the real state of affairs and 691 how he was being done out of his legitimate inheritance. He appealed against this to the Toda Government Agent, the Monegar, and to the most influential Toda of his day, the famous Kuriolv (52, properly speaking, Kiusharf in Toda, the other name being Badaga), but to no avail. These important people could not be bothered with the complaints of so small a boy, and all he got for his trouble was to be made to look after their buffaloes. This unfairness deeply wounded him, and

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
Toda AW60

continued to smoulder in his heart until, in 1917, he decided to take the matter to Court, as a result of which he did receive the remaining property. 115 [691]

Before this episode, however, his half-sister had died leaving him all alone. It was then that Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission took an interest in him and removed him to the school which she ran close to his native village at the 8th mile of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. As a consequence of this, he was eventually converted to Christianity. After he had received the meagre remnants of his father's estate, Miss Ling sent him away to another school at Palamkottah in the Tinnevely district for further studies, and he passed there through the third form. In 1923 she sent him to Assam, to the Welsh Mission, with the idea that he should learn to be a motor mechanic, I do not quite know to which part of that large and distant province he went, as he was rather vague in his description of it, but he did say that it was wild and underdeveloped in the extreme, with no roads at all, let alone motor traffic. So, instead of being trained as a mechanic, he was made to look after the station missionary's horse as a groom, which enraged him since he had just come into what little there was left of his property and had been persuaded to leave the Nilgiris under what were apparently false pretences. [797]

After only a very few months of this most unsatisfactory situation, he ran away and managed somehow to reach Calcutta in search of work. But because of the language, Bengali, which he did not speak, he found this extremely difficult to obtain, and had to content himself with a hand-to mouth exsistence. In the end, he got a job as a junior gardener with a kind missionary, the Rev. H. Kehel. He remained a year with the latter, and when he had saved enough money to pay for the railway fare, he took the train and returned to Madras. In that city he joined the large motor transport company, Addison and Co., where after twelve months' apprenticeship, he eventually got his driver's licence and became one of the firm's mechanics, keeping his position until 1928.

At this time his health deteriorated. He underwent a serious operation for a gastric ulcer and had to give up his work. He returned to the Nilgiris the following year, and began to take a lively interest in the well-being and progress of the community from which he sprang, the Todas. He joined the Collector of the Nilgiris' Toda Amelioration Scheme and was trained as an agriculturalist. He thus became an agricultural consultant for the tribe, advising it on such matters, and using his newly acquired knowledge as a means of livelihood. [242]

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
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TO 115 In 1931, he married a Tamil woman (that is, someone not of his community) and his eldest son was born in 1932. He subsequently had two more children, two daughters, in 1943 and 1936.

It was in 1935 that he began acting as interpreter and "guide", as he termed it, to Dr. M. B. Emeneau, and he continued to do so until 1938. He also served others in the same capacity during this time, and his health, happily, remained good. In 1939, he acted as my interpreter, but in 1942 he became seriously ill again with his old affliction, and, in Travancore, in the American Hospital of Trivandrum, was successfully operated upon for a second time. On his return he became an influential member of the Toda Welfare Committee, a body set up by the Collector of the Nilgiris to assist the community.

Since then, he has been residing at the Toda Christian colony near Fern Hill, Ootacamund, where he has a small plot of land and a vegetable garden, the produce of which he sells in the local market. From the latest news that I have received from him, I understand that he is still carrying on with these same occupations, working hard and with a considerable measure of success to improve the lot of his fellow Todas, to whom he is attached with a devotion amounting nearly to a fanatical "nationalism", for he refuses to let his erstwhile connection with a Christian Mission "detribalize" him in any way.

T WT 124 115 Those who have helped me in the same way as the informants and interpreters mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, have been far greater in number in the areas of Tibetan affinity, in the Himalayas, than in any other of the fields which I visited. In addition to assistants and interpreters of the kind I have already described, they also include Tibetologists and teachers from whom I obtained, not only information about Tibetan polyandry, but also a general knowledge of everything Tibetan which has stood me in good stead.

WT 115 First and foremost among such helpers should be mentioned Dr. George Nikolaivitch Roerich. Initially, we became acquainted in 1938, when he was residing with his father, the late Professor Nicolas Roerich, his mother and his brother, Svetoslav, at Nagar, in the Kulu valley of the Punjab. It was through him that I met the Gya-kar K'ham-pa chieftain, Tsewang Norbu, and the former monk, Lobsang, from Shigatse. Through his intermediary too, my wife and I equipped ourselves properly for the 600 miles trek from Kulu to Kashmir over Lahul, Rupchu and Ladak.

WT [122]

T 115 Our second meeting was in Kalimpong, West Bengal, in 1950. Disturbances resulting from the partition of India into India proper and

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THE TODAS

BY

W. H. R. RIVERS

FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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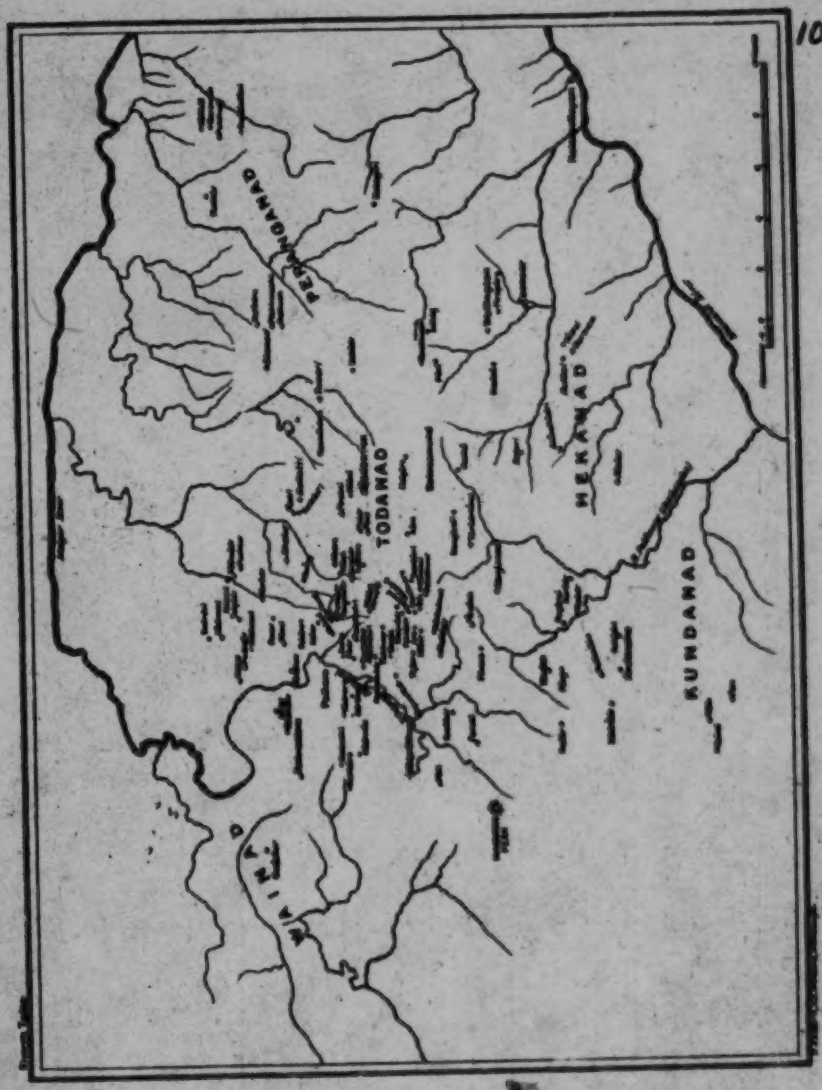

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PREFACE

121 It has been my object in writing this book to make it, not merely a record of the customs and beliefs of a people, but also a demonstration of anthropological method. The great need of anthropology at the present time is for more exact method, not only in collecting material, but also in recording it, so that readers may be able to assign its proper value to each fact, and may be provided with definite evidence which will enable them to estimate the probable veraciousness and thoroughness of the record.

With this idea in my mind I have tried to describe as fully as possible the way in which my account has been built up, and have been careful to point out the different degrees of trustworthiness of different portions of my story. Perhaps I have been so anxious to make it clear when my record is of doubtful value that sometimes I may have laid undue stress on its uncertainties and deficiencies.

121 I have tried to make a clear distinction between my
128 description of Toda custom and belief, and any theoretical conclusions drawn by myself, and have kept the latter for sections at the ends of chapters or for special chapters, of which those numbered xi, xix, xxix and xxx are the most important.

It may be thought by some that the book is unduly loaded with minute detail, and I am myself aware that I have often complicated, perhaps even obscured, the story I am telling by the mass of detail with which it is accompanied. I have had,

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121 however, no scruples on this score, partly because I wished
128 my readers thoroughly to grasp the nature of the material on which my account is based, but still more, because details which may seem insignificant or trivial are often of great importance in the comparative study of custom and belief.

I have not attempted such a comparative study of Toda institutions. It was often very tempting to suggest resemblances with the practices of other peoples of the present or the past, but the result would have been to swell the book to unwieldy dimensions, and perhaps to have obscured the description of the life of the people. In giving parallels for Toda custom I have therefore limited myself to examples from other parts of India, and even here I have only dealt with a few resemblances which illustrate certain suggestions made in the final chapter on the origin and affinities of the Toda people.

122 In conclusion, I am very glad to express my gratitude for help received from many sources. The researches on which the book is based were undertaken in consequence of the award to myself of the income of the Gunning Fund of the Royal Society for the years 1901–2, and my work was also assisted by a grant from the British Association. In India I received every assistance from those whose official positions gave them the means of helping me, and my thanks are especially due to Mr. Edgar Thurston, whose kind interest and assistance I cannot sufficiently acknowledge. I owe much to the care and attention with which my two interpreters, P. Samuel and Albert Urrilla, performed their duties, and I am greatly indebted to the managers of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society at Ootacamund for the services of the former, and to Mr. C. M. Mullaly and Mr. Hadfield for giving the latter leave from his forest duties in order that he might help me.

128 Of friends in England I am especially indebted to Dr. C. S. Myers, who kindly read nearly the whole of the book in proof; to Syed Ali Bilgrami for information on various points connected with Indian custom; to Don M. da Zilva

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Wickramasinghe for reading Chapter xxv, dealing with the language; and to Mr. H. N. Webber for help, especially in the revision of the genealogical tables. 128

Most of the illustrations in the book are from photographs taken under my direction by Messrs. Wiele and Klein of Madras, and I am indebted to H.M. India Office for permission to make use of illustrations from the late Colonel Marshall's work *Travels Amongst the Todas*. 126

W. H. R. R.

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PHONETIC SYSTEM

THE following is the phonetic system which has been used in this book. The use of many of the signs is more fully described in Chapter XXV. 126

Vowels.

ä, the a of father.
a, the u of hut.
ä, the a of hat.
é, the ei of their.
e, the e of met.
ī, the ee of meet.
i, the i of hit.
ô, the o of post.
o, the o of pot.
ö, the o of word.
ò, the aw of law.
ū, the oo of moon.
u, the u of full.
ü, the German vowel.
ai, the i of bite.
au, the ou of house.
ei, the a of date.
eu, the French diphthong.
oi, the oy of boy.

Consonants.

b, as in English.
ch, the ch of church.
d, used in the text for the English sound and also for the lingual consonant *ḍ*.[1]
f, as in English.
g, the g of sing.
gg, the g of finger.
gh, the ch of ich.
h, used for a sound of doubtful nature (see p. 611).
j, as in English.
k, as in English.
kh, the ch of auch.
l, used in the text for the English sound and for the lingual consonant *ḷ*.

[1] One of the most frequent consonantal sounds in the Toda language is *dr* which in the text always stands for *ḍr*; when *d* comes before *sh*, it also represents the lingual sound. In both cases the *ḍ* was hardly appreciated by my ear, and the European will perhaps most nearly imitate the Toda sound if he pronounces *dr* and *dsh* as *r* and *sh*.

b

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m,	as in English.	*t*,	as in English and also for the lingual *ṭ*.
n,	as in English.	*th*	the th both of though and throw.
ñ,	a nasal n, as in French.	*v*, *w*,	as in English.
p, *r*,	as in English.	*z*,	the z of zeal.
s,	a sound resembling the English s.	*zh*,	the si of occasion.
sh,	as in English.		

Sounds represented by *ch*, *s*, *sh*, and *th*, very frequently inserted euphonically in Toda words, have usually been omitted. I have also omitted the signs showing the long vowels whenever a word occurs frequently throughout the book, and the glossary should be consulted to ascertain the correct method of pronouncing such words. Similarly, Appendices III and IV should be consulted to ascertain the proper pronunciation of the names of places and plants.

I do not use the plurals of Toda words, either in the English form or in that proper to the Toda language; thus, I write "the two *palol*" and not "the two *palols*" or "the two *palolam*."

MAP.

102 The names printed in the same type as KÂrs are those of Toda villages; the names in italics, as *Nanjanad* are those of Badaga villages; the names in small black type, as Ootacamund are those of towns with a general population, or of *dâk* bungalows.

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THE TODAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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THE people whose manners and customs I am about to describe live on the undulating plateau of the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India. The hills were visited by a Portuguese missionary in 1602, and have been invaded by Indian tribes on various occasions, but, at the beginning of the last century, the plateau and its inhabitants were absolutely unknown to Europeans. The earliest definite information about the hills at this time is given in a letter from William Keys, an assistant revenue surveyor, written in 1812, but it was not till several years later that further information about the people began to be published.

Of the various tribes inhabiting the hills, the Todas excited the greatest interest, and this interest has continued, partly because the people are so different from any other of the races by which they are surrounded, but still more because both they and their customs are so picturesque and, in many ways, so unique.

A very large literature[1] has accumulated about the Todas and their customs. This literature is so extensive that when I determined to go to the Nilgiri Hills, I was reproached by more than one anthropologist for going to people about whom we already knew so much; and one even said that, so far as his department of knowledge was concerned, he was sure that we had all the information we could expect to get.

[1] The bibliography of this literature is given in Appendix II.

114 A review of the literature, however, showed me that there were certain subjects about which our information was of the scantiest. This was especially the case in matters connected with the social organisation. Little was known of the system of kinship, and it was not known whether there was any definite system of exogamy. The Todas furnish one of the best existing examples of the custom of polyandry, but scarcely anything was known about the various social regulations which must be associated with such a practice.

114 121 I had not worked long among the Todas before I discovered the existence of many customs and ceremonies previously undescribed, and I was able to obtain much more detailed accounts of others which had already been repeatedly recorded. I found that there was so much to be done that I gave up an intention of working with several different tribes, and devoted the whole of my time to the Todas.

This book is not intended to be a complete account of all that is known about the Toda people. Their physical anthropology has been so ably dealt with by Mr. Edgar Thurston that I leave this subject almost untouched, and I omit all but a brief mention of my own psychological observations which I have published in detail elsewhere.[1] The book deals almost exclusively with the religion and sociology of the people. Even here, however, the account will be far from complete. After several months' work among a people about whom "we knew all there was to be known," I came away knowing that there were subjects of which I had barely touched the fringe, and many others on which my information could have been made far more complete with greater opportunity. About certain subjects the Todas are extremely reticent, and my information is in consequence very defective. There are many points on which I know my information to be far from complete, and doubtless there are far more numerous examples of deficiency of which I am not aware.

123 Some deficiencies of the record are due to certain untoward events which occurred during my visit. After I had been working among the Todas for about four months, various misfortunes befell some of those who had

[1] See *British Journal of Psychology*, 1905, vol. i., p. 321.

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been my chief guides to Toda lore. One man who had pointed out to me certain sacred places fell ill and made up his mind that he was going to die. Another man lost his wife a few days after he had shown me the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies. A third man who had revealed to me the details of the ceremonial of the most sacred Toda dairy, suffered the loss of his own village dairy by fire. 123

The Todas consulted their diviners, who ascribed these events to the anger of the gods because their secrets had been revealed to the stranger. In consequence my sources of information ran dry to a large extent, and the difficulties in the way of the investigation of the more sacred topics were greatly increased. By the time it was settled that I was to blame I was nearly at the end of my visit, but it was in the last two or three weeks that I had hoped to overcome the scruples of the people and to obtain information on many doubtful points about which I had to come away unsatisfied.

One of the subjects on which my material is defective is the folk-lore. I have a number of tales, but they are only a small part of the store of Toda legend. I regret especially the incompleteness of my work in this respect because I believe that the Todas are rapidly forgetting their folk-tales and the legends of their gods, while their ceremonial remains to a large extent intact, and seems likely to continue so for some time. 114 173 538 796

I was especially struck by this because, in previous anthropological experience in the islands of Torres Straits with Dr. Haddon, we had found the exact opposite to be the case. In these islands, the ceremonial had disappeared, and the only record of it to be obtained was that derived from the memories of the oldest inhabitants. Nevertheless in Torres Straits the store of legend was still ample, and the agreement of the stories obtained from different individuals was so great that it was evident that the people had preserved their folk-lore with fidelity.

The difference between the two communities is easily explained. In Torres Straits missionary influence is strong, and missionary effort is always directed to break down the practices 000

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000 associated with belief. The ceremonial in Torres Straits had been swept away, while the stories of the legendary heroes were almost all that remained to the people of the old life and were in consequence still cherished.

177 Among the Todas missionary influence, whether of Christian or Hindu, has had little effect, and the ritual of the Todas in 538 some parts of the hills is almost, if not quite, untouched by 797. outside influences.[1] The effect of intercourse with other peoples seems to be showing itself largely in the form of loss of interest in the stories of the past.

171 One of the most striking aspects of the customs and ceremonies of the Todas is that these have in many cases no exact parallels in other places. Perhaps the most definite result which modern research in anthropology has brought out is the extraordinary similarity of custom throughout the world. Customs apparently identical are found in races so widely separated geographically and so diverse ethnologically that it seems certain the customs must have developed in total independence of one another. There seems to be an identity of idea actuating custom in peoples very different from one another in their surroundings and conditions of life.

The nearest parallels to Toda custom and ceremonial are undoubtedly to be found in the Indian peninsula, but even here, though there is often a general resemblance, this breaks down on going into detail. Even when the resemblance is so close as to suggest a common origin, the differences in detail are often very great.[2]

177 One clue to this exceptional nature of Toda custom and belief is to be found in the geographical position of the people, which has to a large extent isolated them from the world in general.

133 The plateau on which they live, broken by numerous hills and valleys, is the top of a scarp formed by the meeting of the Eastern and Western Ghats. Some of the hills project

[1] As we shall see later, this is only true of some parts of the hills and some institutions.

[2] With more exact knowledge of Indian customs and ceremonies which have lingered on side by side with, though often obscured by Brahmanism, it is possible that these differences would be found to be much slighter than the evidence at present available suggests.

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more than the rest above the general level of the plateau, which ranges from 6,000 to 7,500 feet above the sea, and the loftiest of these hills reaches the height of 8,760 feet. The plateau is so high that, though it is situated only about eleven degrees from the equator, the thermometer rarely rises above 70° F., and in the nights of the cold season may touch the freezing point. 133 [132]

In every direction the sides of the hills leading up to the plateau are steep and often precipitous. To the south-east, east, and north-east there is a rapid fall of about 5,000 feet to the plains of the Coimbatore district, though to the south this plain only forms a gap about twenty miles in breadth between the Nilgiri and the Anaimalai Hills. On the north-west the slope is more gradual and is broken by the Wainad district about 3,000 feet above the sea. To the north there is a steep fall, but only for about 4,000 feet, to the plateau of Mysore, which is about 3,000 feet above the sea.

The south-western part of the hills is known as the Kundahs and may be regarded as a range separate from the greater part of the plateau, from which it is divided by a wide valley, the Avalanche Valley. From the Kundahs there is an extremely precipitous fall to the Malabar district.

The steep sides leading up to the plateau on which the Todas live are clothed with thick, almost impenetrable jungle, which is extremely malarious, so that a night spent on the way to the summit is very likely to produce fever.

The hills appear to have been for long an object of reverence to Hindus on account of their height and inaccessibility. Dubois states that "as it is very difficult to reach the top of this mountain, a view of the summit alone (and it is visible a long way off) is considered sufficient to remove the burden of sin from the conscience of any person who looks at it."[1]

When the hills were first visited by Europeans, their use as a sanatorium was long delayed owing to the difficulty of making roads, and it was not till after many years that the hills became a regular resort of the European population. We shall see later that the isolation of the Todas has certainly 177

[1] *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, part ii., chap. v.

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177 not been complete, and that the hills have been invaded by strangers, especially from the side of the Wainad; but the isolation has probably been considerable, and, for long periods, it may have been complete.

101 177 In their isolation from the world in general, however, the Todas have not been alone. Two other tribes, the Kotas and the Badagas, occupy the plateau with them, and the peculiar relations between the three tribes are among the most interesting features of the social life of the Nilgiris. The Todas are a purely pastoral people, limiting their activities almost entirely to the care of their buffaloes and to the complicated ritual which has grown up in association with these animals. The Badagas are chiefly agriculturists; the Kotas are artisans and mechanics; and both supply the Todas with part of their produce. There is here a well-marked instance of division of labour, in which the labour of the Todas is reduced to a minimum. Their privileged position is usually held to be due to the tradition that they are the "lords of the soil," and the produce which the Todas receive from the other tribes is supposed to be of the nature of tribute.

The jungle on the slopes of the hills is inhabited by two wild, dwarfish tribes, the Kurumbas and Irulas, who have a general resemblance to the many other jungle tribes of Southern India. These people are much feared by the tribes of the plateau for their supposed magical powers, but they have little to do with the complex social life of the others.

101 131 177 The district in which the three tribes live is not extensive. The extreme length of the plateau, from east to west, is about forty-two miles, and its average breadth, from north to south, about ten miles, the maximum breadth being fifteen miles in the centre of the district. The total area of the plateau is less than 500 square miles. In this district there live about 800 Todas, 1,200 Kotas, and 34,000 Badagas. In addition, there are now extensive European settlements, the largest of which is Ootacamund, the seat of the Madras Government for six months of the year. The other large European settlements are Coonoor and Kotagiri, while Wellington, near Coonoor, is a military station.

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts,

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peranganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr. 101 103 131 162

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information. 121 124

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I 124

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minimised the danger by arranging that every man who came to me for work should receive a definite stipulated sum as a recompense for his time and trouble. I paid, not for the information, but for the trouble taken in giving a day or half a day to my service. As a general rule, anything like payment by results was carefully avoided. The sum paid was for coming to me, and if anyone was reluctant to talk about one subject, we passed on to another. Only at the end of my visit did I depart from this rule on a few occasions, and offered rewards to one or two individuals for certain items of information; but by this time I was in a position to judge the value of the information I received, and I only employed this procedure in cases where I knew the degree of trustworthiness of my informant.

Definite methods for the verification of the evidence obtained were the more necessary in my work among the Todas, in that I was obliged throughout to depend on interpreters. I was, however, very fortunate in my assistants. I first worked with a forest-ranger, Albert Urrilla, who knew the Todas very well, though he had no special knowledge of their customs. He translated faithfully, and, owing to his wide knowledge of the hills, he was extremely useful in helping me to become familiar with the names and positions of the many Toda villages. After about six weeks' work, Albert had to return to his forest duties, and, except for a week towards the end of my visit, the interpreter for the rest of my work was P. Samuel, a catechist who had been endeavouring for ten years to convert the Todas to Christianity, under the auspices of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. When he began to work with me, Samuel had a very limited acquaintance with Toda ceremonies, but he was very familiar with the general life of the people, and was especially acquainted with the actual working of many of their social customs. Some of the Todas at first objected strongly to his helping me, probably on account of his missionary efforts, but he soon overcame this initial difficulty and gained the general confidence of the people. He was well acquainted with the Toda language, and soon became a very careful inquirer into customs and beliefs, and I owe much to

his help. He often obtained independent information about customs, and I was put by him on the track of much that might otherwise have escaped me. I had hoped that he would have continued to make inquiries for me after I had left the hills, and soon after my departure, he forwarded to me a very valuable account of a ceremony which I had not been able to witness and other important material. While with me he had discovered, however, how little progress he had made with the people during his ten years' work among them, and how little he had known of their beliefs, and, soon after my departure, he asked to be given a new sphere of work and was removed to the Wainad, so that I have not had the opportunity for which I hoped, of making further inquiries into the many doubtful points which always arise in working up the notes of anthropological investigation.

One of the chief dangers arising from the use of interpreters is that they will often transmit, not what they are told, but their own versions of what they are told. They interpret the meaning as well as the words of the informants. I think I can be certain that this danger was avoided with both my interpreters, and that they gave me as accurate an account as possible of what the Todas told them. We always used the Toda names for all specific objects, individuals, and places, so that the information transmitted to me by the interpreters was often in such a form that nearly every noun was Toda in a setting of English verbs, adverbs, and pronouns. Thus, referring to one of my notebooks at random, I find the following: "After cleansing the *poh* in this manner, each *palol* puts salt in the *ponmukeri*, and takes it and the *karpun* to the *upunkudi*, taking also five pieces of *tudrpiil*, five sprigs of *puthimul*, and a bundle of *taf*." In fact, we habitually used so many Toda words that the Todas sometimes obviously knew the general drift of my questions before they were interpreted to them, and, similarly, I could often understand the general drift of the answer.

The first principle of my investigation was to obtain independent accounts from different people; I then compared these independent accounts and cross-examined into any discrepancies. The general result of this method was highly

124 satisfactory from the point of view of Toda veracity. The
184 general agreement of the accounts obtained from different individuals was very striking, and, whenever discrepancies occurred, it was nearly always found that they were due either to misunderstanding or to differences in the practices of different sections of the Toda people. These differences are so great that in many cases it made a rigorous application of the method of direct corroboration impossible. There are distinct differences in the ceremonial and social customs of the two chief divisions of the Todas and some differences in the practices of different clans. In the investigation of the dairy ritual, there were found to be great differences in the practices of different dairies, and, for the practice of any one dairy, I had sometimes to be content with the information of one native only; but I did not content myself with such independent accounts till I had satisfied myself of the trustworthiness of the witness, and had learnt enough of the customs in question to be in a position to weigh the evidence. As regards the differences in the customs of different sections of the community, many of my informants were able to describe the practices not only of their own section but also of others.

124 After a time I managed to put myself on such terms with my chief informants that they were always ready to confess any deficiencies in their knowledge and would refer me to others whose special experience would make them more satisfactory informants. Occasionally, however, they carried this a little too far and pleaded ignorance of a subject when they were really only reluctant to reveal the more esoteric knowledge.

Still more important than this method of direct corroboration of independent accounts is what I may call the method of indirect corroboration. By this I mean the method of obtaining the same information in different ways. Often this indirect corroboration occurred accidentally. The whole of Toda ceremonial and social life forms such an intricate web of closely related practices that I rarely set out to investigate some one aspect of the life of the people without obtaining information bearing on many other wholly different

aspects, and the information so gained often afforded 124
valuable corroboration of what I had been told on other occasions and by other individuals. Thus, in obtaining a prayer, various matters would arise which would confirm the accuracy of a legend obtained weeks earlier, or the investigation of a funeral custom would lead to the indirect corroboration of evidence concerning the regulation of marriage.

The most important way in which this method of indirect corroboration may be intentionally applied is by obtaining the same information first in an abstract form and then by means of a number of concrete instances. As an example of what I mean I may cite the method by which I inquired into the laws of inheritance of property. I first obtained an account of what was done in the abstract—of the laws governing the inheritance of houses, the division of the buffaloes and other property among the children, &c. Next I gave a number of hypothetical concrete instances; I took cases of men with so many children and so many buffaloes, and repeating the cases I found that my informant gave answers which were consistent not only with one another but also with the abstract regulations previously given. Finally I took real persons and inquired into what had actually happened when A or B died, and again obtained a body of information consistent in itself and agreeing with that already obtained.

By far my most valuable instrument of inquiry was that 124
provided by the genealogical method.[1] The Todas preserve 173
in their memories the names of all their ancestors and rela- 601
tives extending back for several generations. In the tables given at the end of this book I have recorded the pedigrees of seventy-two families, including the whole of the Toda community. Whenever the name of a man was mentioned in connexion with ceremony or social custom, his name was found in the genealogical record and the relation was ascertained in which he stood towards others participating in the ceremony or custom. By this means a concrete element was brought into the work which greatly facilitated inquiry.

[1] See chapter XX and *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1900, vol. xxx., p. 74.

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124 173 601 Customs and rites were investigated by means of concrete examples in which the people taking part were real people to me as well as to my informants. In a later chapter I shall consider more fully the *rôle* of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. I mention them here to give a preliminary indication of the extensive part they played in my investigations. In order to give my readers the opportunity of following my method in some measure for themselves, I have given after the name of any individual mentioned in the book the number of the genealogical table in which his name occurs; thus "Kòdrner (7)" means that Kòdrner is a member of the family of which the pedigree is recorded in Table 7.

124 I have already referred to the trustworthiness of the evidence given by the Todas. I must now speak of the great differences in this respect shown by different individuals. Some would give full and elaborate accounts of ceremonial which close investigation showed to be, so far as one could tell, thoroughly accurate. Others gave careless and slovenly accounts, full of omissions and inaccuracies of detail, though they rarely said anything which was distinctly untrue.

After some experience had been gained, one day's work was usually sufficient to enable me to make up my mind whether a man was a careful witness, and if he did not seem to be so, he was not again called upon for help. Different men were known to have especial acquaintance with certain branches of knowledge, and I always endeavoured to obtain such people. In the case of the religious ritual, it was not practicable to make use, to any great extent, of men actually holding any of the sacred offices, but I always had recourse to people who had held these offices and were personally familiar with the ceremonial.

Among the many aspects of social life and religion, I soon found that there were some about which there was no reticence, and these could be discussed in public with men, women, or children standing by and perhaps taking part. There were others which were of a more sacred nature, and, if they were approached in public, it was immediately obvious

that the people were ill at ease and their answers became hesitating and unsatisfactory. After a short time I adopted the practice of devoting the mornings to my psychological work and to the discussion of affairs of a non-sacred character. In the afternoons I had private interviews with one individual at a time, or occasionally two. If I approached any dangerous topic during the morning, my guide made me a sign and I changed the subject, to return to it at an afternoon sitting. 124

In the investigation of all the more sacred ceremonies, it was found to be best that the narrator should be alone. He knew that he was telling what should not be told and was embarrassed if any other Todas were there to hear him.

One of the difficulties of anthropological inquiry is that the good and trustworthy narrators are often the most reticent. They are trustworthy because they are honest and pious members of their community, and are therefore naturally reluctant to offend against the sanctity of their religious customs by talking of them to a stranger. Some of my best informants were such men, who were gradually led on to tell me far more than they had ever intended, and then, having told me so much about a given subject, they would sometimes throw reticence to the winds and tell me all. It was very instructive in such a case to start a fresh topic which I knew to be forbidden ground and observe the complete change of attitude. One old man who had entirely lost his scruples in our absorption in the details of dairy ritual absolutely refused to speak a word when I turned to the subject of animal sacrifice, and for this and some other topics I had to be content with less scrupulous but at the same time less trustworthy witnesses.

I only found one Toda who was deliberately untruthful, and yet he was so much less reticent and less scrupulous than others that I often had to have recourse to his services. After I had been able to convict him more than once of having given unsatisfactory evidence, he was more accurate, but I was especially careful to check and obtain independent accounts of everything he told me, and I have only

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124 made use of so much of his evidence as I believe to be trustworthy. His knowledge was not deep or accurate, but he often told me enough to enable me to extract the full account from others, who, seeing I knew something, thought they might as well tell me all. On one or two subjects, the whole of my information is derived from this man, but whenever this is the case I mention the fact, so that my readers may know the doubtful nature of the evidence. I only give such information, however, when I believe it to be correct. The informant in question was one of the cleverest of the Todas, and his usual fault was not that he deliberately deceived, but that he supplied the lacunæ in his knowledge by having recourse to his imagination. In the matter of folk-tales, where the difficulties of checking an account are especially great, I was obliged wholly to reject his assistance.

[115] An altogether different type of witness was my constant attendant, Kòdrner. His special business was to bring me people as the subjects for my psychological work and to act as my guide in visiting various parts of the hills. He did not profess to any wide knowledge of custom or ceremonial, and was always diffident about the information he gave; but he was a good observer, and could give an excellent account of any ceremony which he had witnessed or of any procedure in which he had been involved.

Except in a few cases the Todas were quite unable to give any explanations of their customs, the answer to nearly every inquiry being that the custom in question was ordained by the goddess Teikirzi. In the few cases in which an explanation was forthcoming, it seemed to me that it was usually a recent invention. The explanations of customs given in this book are therefore almost invariably those arrived at by myself from the study of the available evidence.

114 While I was working I had by me the books or
127 papers of Harkness, Marshall, Breeks, and Thurston, the chief previous writers on the Todas, and I inquired into most of the details mentioned by them; but I have not

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attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation. 114 127

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people. 114 177 192

The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of 103 114 191

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the Todas, and similarly with the names of institutions such as clans, dairies, or ceremonies. The practice of giving Badaga names in their intercourse with Europeans has become so engrained that a Toda invariably uses these names when speaking to a European. During the first few weeks of my work, I received exclusively Badaga names, and to the end of my visit, whenever I visited a new district, the Badaga names would crop up till the people found that I wanted Toda and not Badaga. Kiunievan, who was the chief informant of Mr. Breeks in 1872, is still alive, and when I asked him why he gave Mr. Breeks the Badaga names in every case, he answered "He did not seem to want anything else," and this answer seems to me to give the clue to much of the error which has found its way into many of the accounts which have been given of the Todas.

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One of the most serious errors which has arisen in this way is one connected with the Toda clans. Every account which has been given of the clan-system of the Todas is that of a system which is current among the Badagas as the Toda system, but has only a limited correspondence with the actual system as it is in use among the Todas themselves. Every Toda, if asked by a European to what clan or division he belongs, will promptly give his division according to the Badaga classification, and this has led to the incorporation of this classification in all the accounts of the Todas which deal with their social organisation.

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Some words are necessary about the general plan of the book. I should have preferred to begin with the social organisation, and to approach the religious aspect of the life of the Todas through the ceremonies accompanying the chief incidents of life, including birth, marriage, and death. The ideas borrowed from the ritual of the dairy, however, so pervade the whole of Toda ceremonial, that I have been obliged to consider the ritual of the dairy at an early stage. After a preliminary chapter sketching the general character and life of the people, I have therefore given a full description of the elaborate ceremonial which centres round the dairy; and on this follow the accounts of other ceremonies and sacred institutions and a general discussion of the

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religion of the people. I then turn to the social aspect of life, and consider kinship, marriage, and the various factors upon which the social organisation depends. Then, after some chapters on diverse topics, I describe the relations of the Todas with the other tribes of the Nilgiris, and in the final chapters discuss certain special problems, including the origin and affinities of the Toda people.

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CHAPTER II

THE TODA PEOPLE

[113] 141 I DO not propose to describe at any length the physical characters of the Todas.[1] It must be sufficient to say here that the people differ remarkably in general appearance, and perhaps still more remarkably in general bearing, from the other inhabitants of Southern India. The average height of the men is about 5 ft. 7 in., and that of the women 5 ft. 1 in.; both are well-proportioned, and the men robustly built. Their heads are distinctly dolichocephalic, the cephalic index of the men being 73·3. The shaved heads of the children show very well the great length, and probably owing to the special method of shaving (see Figs. 63 and 64), this feature is in them exaggerated so as to seem almost abnormal.

The nose is usually well-formed and not especially broad, the nasal index being 74·9. It is often distinctly rounded in 142 profile. The skin is of a rich brown colour, distinctly lighter than that of most of the Dravidian inhabitants of Southern India. The skins of the women are lighter than those of the men. There is much hair on the bodies of the men, who usually grow thick beards, and the hair of the head is 147 luxuriant in both men and women. The men are strong and very agile; the agility being most in evidence when they have to catch their infuriated buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies. They stand fatigue well, and often travel great distances. One day I met an old man about seventy years of age going to the market at Gudalur for a supply

[1] Those who wish for information on this point should consult the articles by Mr. Edgar Thurston in the *Bulletins* of the Madras Museum, vol. i., pp. 148 and 207, and vol. iv., p. 2.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of grain, and in the evening I met him on his return carrying a large and heavy bag. He had travelled over thirty miles, had gone down and again come up some 3,000 feet, and most of his journey had been in a climate much warmer than that of his native hills. 147

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FIG. 1.—TODA MAN. FULL FACE.

My guide at the end of the day would sometimes go a distance of eight or ten miles and back to arrange for my supply of men for the next day's work, and I have seen him on these occasions running at a steady pace which he would keep up for miles. In going from one part of the hills to another, a Toda always travels as nearly as possible in 147 481

147 a straight line, ignoring altogether the influence of gravity,
481 and mounting the steepest hills with no apparent effort.

153 In all my work with the men, it seemed to me that they were extremely intelligent. They grasped readily the points of any inquiry upon which I entered, and often showed a

[142]

FIG. 2.—TODA MAN. SIDE FACE.

marked appreciation of complicated questions. They were interested in the customs of other parts of the world, and appeared to grasp readily the essential differences between their own ways and those of other peoples. It is very difficult to estimate general intelligence, and to compare definitely the intelligence of different individuals, still more of people of

153 different races. I can only record my impression, after several months' close intercourse with the Todas, that they were just as intelligent as one would have found any average body of educated Europeans. There were marked individual differences, just as there are among the more civilised, and it is probable that I saw chiefly the more intelligent members of the community.

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FIG. 3.—TODA WOMAN. FULL FACE.

151 My time was largely devoted to experimental work, espe-
153 cially on the nature of the sensory and perceptual processes. The people entered readily into this work, quickly grasped the nature of the methods employed, and showed the same power of close attention and careful observation which, as I have found in other races, enable even more definite and con-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

[151] 153 sistent results to be obtained from uncultured races than from most classes of a civilised community.

I had slighter opportunities of estimating the intelligence of the women than that of the men, but, as a general rule, it seemed to me that there was a very marked difference between the

FIG. 4.—TODA WOMAN. SIDE FACE.

two sexes. Some of the younger women, when examined by various tests, showed as ready a grasp of the methods as any of the men, but most of the elder women gave me the impression of being extremely stupid. It was often obvious that they were not attending and were thinking far more of their personal appearance and of the effect it was having on the men of the party than of the task they were being set, but even when a liberal discount was made for this, it seemed

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the neces-
443 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
417 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

FIG. 5.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING TWO DAIRIES IN THE FORKGROUND AND THREE HOUSES IN THE BACKGROUND.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 351 361 417. the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

312 Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 487 562 In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

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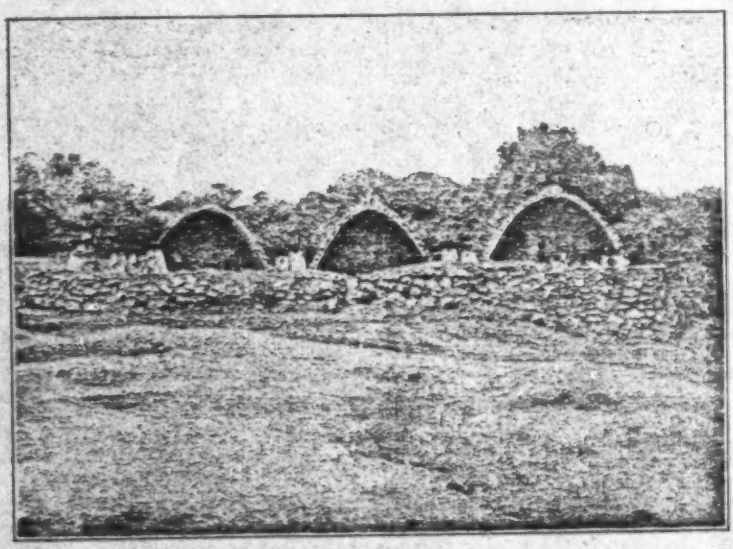

[342 351]

FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punethkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

211 363 562

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

211 out by the dairyman, and when going for this purpose they
365 must keep to the *majvatitthkalvol*. This path is sometimes
562 indicated by a stone, the *majvatitthkars*, and the spot where the women stand to receive the buttermilk is called the *majvatvaiidrn*.

At many villages there are other stones which have definite

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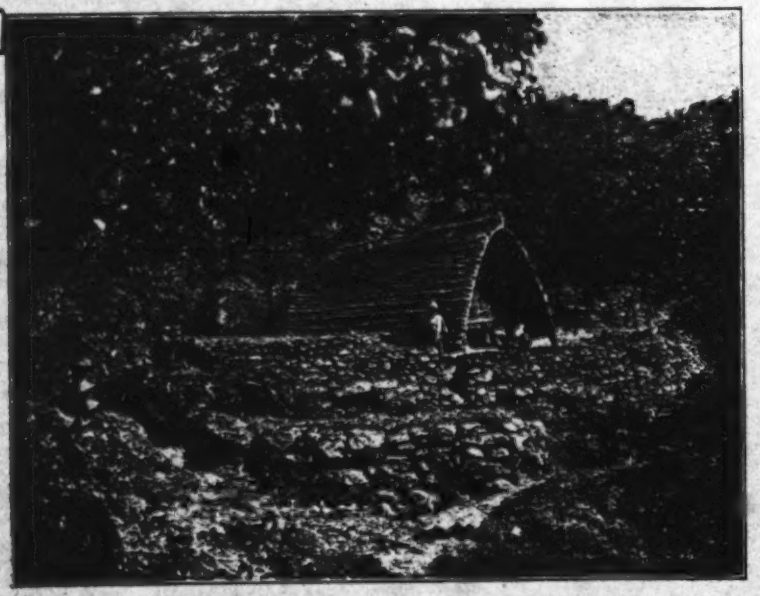

FIG. 7.—THE CHIEF HOUSE OF THE VILLAGE OF KIUDR.

names and mark the sites where certain ceremonial functions are performed.

342 The house is called *ars*, and is of the kind shown in Fig. 7. It is shaped like half a barrel, with the barrel-like roof and sides projecting for a considerable distance beyond the front partition containing the door. The size of the hut is by no means constant; in some cases it is sufficiently roomy to enable people to move about with ease and comfort, while in others it is so small that it is unbearably stuffy, and the smoke from the fire, which is always burning, makes it difficult to believe that anyone can long live in it. The entrance to

342 the hut is always very small, and is closed by a door which slides over the opening on its inner side.

Some houses are much longer than others, with a door at each end and a central partition, so as to form a double hut which is called *epotirikhthars*, *i.e.*, "both-ways-turned house." This kind of hut did not seem to be common, and I only saw three or four examples, of which one is shown in Fig. 8.

A much more common kind of double hut is called *merkalars*, *i.e.*, "other-side house," in which the back part of the hut is partitioned off, with a door at one side.

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FIG. 8.—THE VILLAGE OF PEIVÒRS, SHOWING A DOUBLE HUT (IN THE BACKGROUND). THE TWO BUILDINGS ON THE LEFT ARE DAIRIES, AND THE STRUCTURE IN THE CENTRE IS A CALF-HOUSE.

166 In some Toda villages there may now be found huts of the
177 same kind as those of the Badagas. In the cases in which I
342 found such huts, I was told that they had been built by Badagas who had lived in the villages while the Toda occupants were away. Todas may also occasionally be found living away from their own villages, usually near tea plantations. They do this because there is a demand for buffalo manure at the plantations, and when living in this way they not uncommonly use huts of the Badaga pattern.

342 In front of the hut on either side of the door there are
352 usually raised seats called *kwottün*, and there are similar

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342 raised portions, called *tiin*, within the huts on which the people
352 sleep. The floor of the hut is divided into two parts, which are marked off from one another by the hole in which grain is pounded by the women. The part in front of this is often used for churning, and with this part women have nothing to do, their operations being limited to the hinder part.

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FIG. 9.—A TODA MAN, SIRIAR (20), WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILD, SHOWING THE ORDINARY METHOD OF WEARING THE 'PUTKULI.'

There is little difference between the dress of men and women. Each wears a mantle called the *putkuli*, which is worn thrown round the shoulders without any fastening. Under it is worn a loin-cloth called *tadrp*, and the men also wear a perineal band called *kuvn*, corresponding to the Hindu *languti*. The *kuvn* is kept in position by a string round the waist called *pennar*, a string which, we shall see later, is of considerable ceremonial importance.

There are various ways of wearing the cloak which will be

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291 more fully described in Chapter XXIV It will be sufficient to say here that when showing reverence, a Toda bares his right arm, this method of wearing the cloak so that the arm is exposed being called *kevenarut*. It is shown in Figs. 1 and 10.

The Daily Life of the Todas

234 463 512 The daily life of the Toda men is largely devoted to the care of their buffaloes and to the performance of the dairy operations. As we shall see later, much of the dairy work is the duty of certain men set aside to look after the sacred buffaloes and the sacred dairies connected with them. A large proportion, however, of the Toda buffaloes are not sacred, and their care falls on the ordinary Todas. The milking and churning is chiefly the duty of the younger men and boys, but the older men also take their part, while the head of the family exercises a general superintendence.

FIG. 10.—KÒDRNER PERFORMING THE SALUTATION CALLED 'KAIMUKHTI.' HIS RIGHT ARM IS BARED ('KEVENARUT'), AND HE HAS REMOVED HIS TURBAN.

512 788 On rising in the morning, the men salute the sun with the gesture called *kaimukhti*, shown in Fig. 10, and then they turn to their work of milking the buffaloes and churning the milk.

512 When the dairy operations of the morning are over, the buffaloes are driven to the grazing ground, the people take their food and go about any business of the day. Some may

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 While the men are doing their work, the women will have 356 been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented 412 in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently 462 woman's work.

512 They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 Though these are the three operations which are regarded 296 as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things 356 to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside 462 the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to 531 cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the 574 visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

visits a village in which he has any female relatives younger than himself, these will go out to meet him as he approaches the house, and each bows down before the man, who raises his

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FIG. 11.—WOMEN POUNDING AND SIFTING. THE BROOM IS ON THE GROUND TO THE RIGHT.

foot, while the woman places her hand below the foot and helps to raise it to her forehead, and the same salutation is repeated with the other foot. This mode of greeting is

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

574 called *kalmelpuditkti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually
576 a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

234 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the
512 milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated.
788 When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adubuddiken*.

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FIG. 12.—THE 'KALMELPUDITHTI' SALUTATION TAKING PLACE AT THE VILLAGE OF NÒDES. ON THE LEFT IS THE HOUSE; ON THE RIGHT IS THE LESS IMPORTANT DAIRY OF THE VILLAGE (THE 'TARVALI'), AND IN FRONT OF IT IS THE STONE CALLED 'MENKARS.'

618 621 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name from the chief of these villages, the *etudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

101 174 616 618 The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad, and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol, Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 361 621 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ing to the need for pasturage, and the villages in the Kundahs and other outlying parts of the hills appear only to be visited during the dry season before the south-west monsoon sets in.

Each clan is further subdivided, these subdivisions being of two kinds. One, called the *kudr*, is only of ceremonial importance, and we shall meet with it first in the chapter dealing with offerings. The other, called the *pòlm*, is of more practical importance, and is the basis of the machinery for regulating any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole.

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CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form
234 the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the
771 Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their
778 buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as
more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial.
793 The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed. 181 234 771 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life. 793

The Dairy Organisation

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. 825 234

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*. 234 621 463 778 192

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *palli* and was usually pronounced *palthli*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or
621 young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh*
463 is in far more general use, and is often employed even when
778 the dairyman is an elderly man.

At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies;
192 a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursulir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the dairyman, or *wursol*, must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpalikartmokh* and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the *wursol* must be taken either from the members of the other chief division of the Todas or from one special clan of the Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between Tartharol and Teivaliol.

234 621 463 778 192

The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali*, meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh*, who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh*.

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs*, which is called a *poh*, and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol*. The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti*.

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali*. The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli*, and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, and *wursuli*. Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli*, others *kudrpali* and *wursuli*. At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali*.

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234 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages
621 where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess
778 dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of the *ti* or the *tiir*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mad* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who
778 is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmokh* or, more rarely,
463 *kavelol*. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti* should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of
793 buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mad* had two dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmokh* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *poh*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tirieri*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE DAIRY

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There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarsòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

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The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

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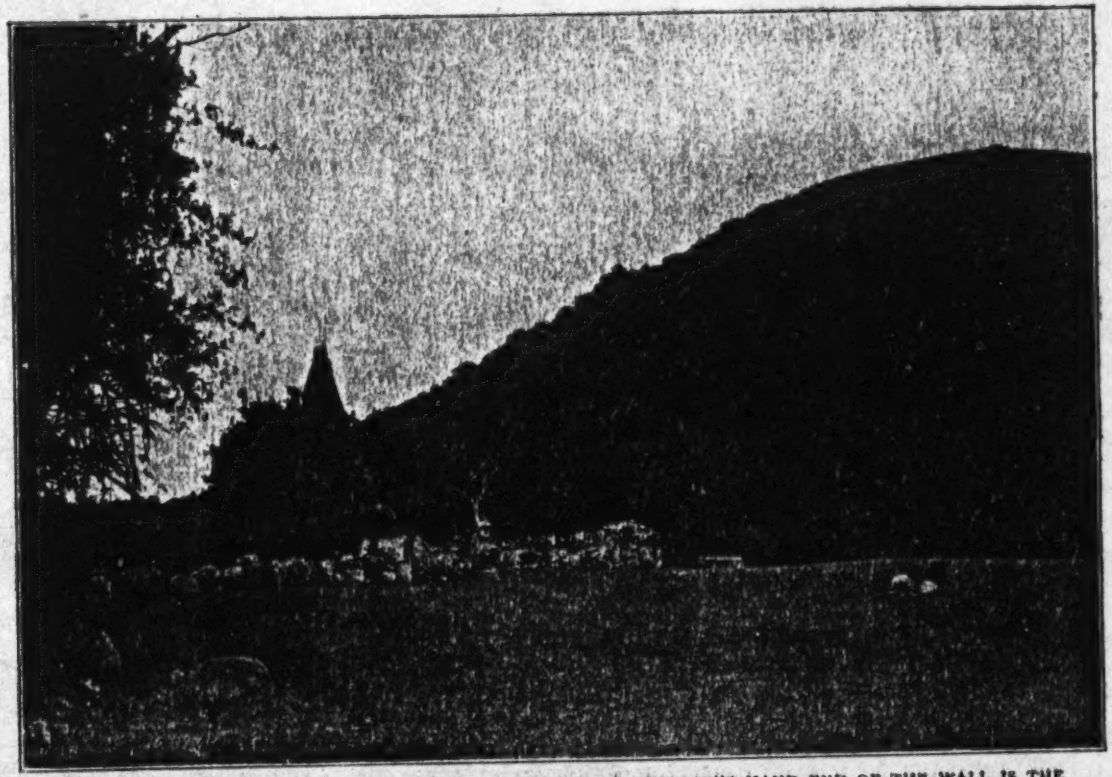

FIG. 13.—THE CONICAL DAIRY OF NÔDRS. THE STONE AT THE RIGHT-HAND END OF THE WALL IS THE 'TEIDRTOLKARS' (see p. 439).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv. 104 196

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity. 234 234 463

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*. 621 778

[1] This word, in the forms *boa*, *boath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

343 There is a considerable degree of uniformity in the orientation of dairies of all grades. The doors usually face in an easterly direction, and in the majority of those I observed

FIG. 14.—THE LOWER PART OF THE CONICAL DAIRY OF NÒDRS, WHICH IS HIDDEN BY THE WALL IN FIG. 13. THE 'WURSOL' IS SHOWN EATING 'AL' FROM A LEAF-PLATE.

the door faced north of east, the most frequent direction being some point between east and north-east. In one case, that of the *ti pok* at Mòdr, the door of the dairy faces south-east; but in front of the door there is a screen, and on leaving

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his dairy the *palol* always turns to the left, so that he faces north-east as he goes towards his buffaloes. In a few dairies the door faces directly west, and, according to Breeks, this is the case at the conical dairy of Anto. 343

THE TODA BUFFALO

The Toda buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo, but the life on the hills seems to have produced a much finer animal than that of the plains. Although thoroughly under the control of the Todas, the buffaloes are semi-wild and often attack people of a different race from their owners, and Europeans have frequently been severely injured by the onslaught of these animals. 136 231 234 825

The Toda name for the male buffalo is *er*, and for the female *ir*, but either term may be used when the people speak of buffaloes collectively. Calves have different designations at different ages. A young calf is *kar*, one from one to two years of age is *pòl*, and a three-year-old calf is *nakh*.

Defective buffaloes, and especially those with only one horn, are called *kwadrir*, and those whose horns bend downwards are *kughir*. Barren buffaloes are called *maiir*.

There are considerable differences of colour among the buffaloes. Those much lighter than the rest are called *nerir* or *pushtir*, and there is a legend about the origin of these buffaloes, which, however, I failed to obtain. The only obvious way in which the animals differ from one another in marking is that some have a black stripe running down either side of the neck very much in the position which would be occupied by the chain suspending a bell.

There do not seem to be any physical differences between the buffaloes of different classes, and, as we shall see shortly, the nature of the breeding of the Toda buffaloes is such as would have entirely destroyed any distinctions of the kind if they had ever existed.

Every adult female buffalo has an individual name, which is usually given when her first calf is born. The number of buffalo names is limited, so that many buffaloes bear the same name. 234 552

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234 552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Kōji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkîsi, and Òrsum.

234 552 778. Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumpthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

232 234 778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

114 234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the *ti*, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place. 114 234

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by males, and males only are allowed to take any part either in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed. 173 234 462

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, Ön, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan. 234 773

Dairy Procedure

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the procedure. 234 512

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

234 512 and then the churning is continued till the milk separates into a solid part, which I shall speak of as 'butter,' and a liquid, which I shall call 'buttermilk.' It must be remembered, however, that these do not correspond to the butter and buttermilk of a European dairy. The milk coagulates before the cream has risen in any quantity, and there is no skimming. The 'butter' consists of both the fat and casein of the milk, while the 'buttermilk' ought perhaps rather to be called 'whey.'

In order to avoid this ambiguity in the use of the words 'butter' and 'buttermilk,' it might have seemed desirable to use the Toda terms for these products; but I have not done so, partly in order to avoid the too frequent use of Toda words, partly because the names are not constant among the Todas themselves, different terms being used in different dairies.

When the churning is finished, the butter and buttermilk are put into their appropriate vessels, and the dairyman goes out to milk the buffaloes, using for this purpose a bamboo milking-vessel, into which he has put some buttermilk from the previous churning. The newly drawn milk is poured into the earthenware vessels, in which it stands till the afternoon. By this time the milk will have become solid, and is churned as in the morning.

The 'butter' is used chiefly in the form of ghi, or clarified butter, for which the Toda name is *nei*. The butter is clarified by keeping it over the fire after the addition of grain or rice. The latter sinks to the bottom of the vessel, while the *nei* consists of the liquefied fat of the milk. The *nei* or ghi is partly used by the Todas, but is largely sold at the bazaar. The deposit of grain or rice is called *al*, and is one of the chief Toda foods. It is, no doubt, mixed with part of the proteid constituents of the milk precipitated during the process of clarification.

234 415 The milking-vessel is of bamboo, and several of the small vessels used in the dairy procedure are also made from bamboo of various sizes. The vessels into which the milk is poured and in which it is churned are of earthenware, and the vessels in which the butter and buttermilk are kept are also

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FIG. 15.—OD (26) CHURNING.

234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to
177 the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain
412 a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground
415 outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkati*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There
171 are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

The Care of the Ordinary Buffaloes

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda
463 terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

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234 released from the pen, or *tu*, in which they have been enclosed for the night, and the animals make their way at once to the place where they are accustomed to be milked, the *irkarnus*. At the same time, or a little later, the calves are released from their enclosure, the *kadr*, and each calf runs to its mother. The milk of the previous night is churned in the interior of the dwelling-hut, usually by one of the youths of the family.

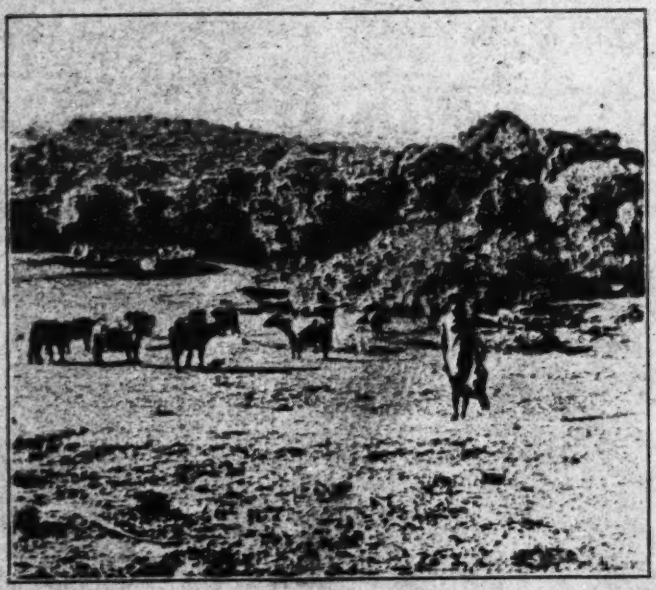

FIG. 16.—THE MORNING MILKING AT THE VILLAGE OF MOLKUSH. IN THE BACKGROUND IS A MODERN 'TU' MADE OF WOODEN PALINGS.

In the dairy one man has to carry out all the dairy operations, and here the churning is always finished before the milking begins; but in the case of the ordinary buffaloes, where many take part in the work, the two operations may go on simultaneously, and while one man or boy is churning, others will be milking the buffaloes and carrying the milk into the hut. Usually it seemed that each of the males of the family was taking his part in the proceedings.

Whenever I watched the milking operations, I saw one

234 man, the head of the family, walking about and superintending the operations, while several other men and youths were milking the buffaloes or churning the milk within the hut. It seemed as if in general each buffalo gave very little milk, and a man soon left one buffalo to go to another, and as the bamboo milking-vessels are small and have soon to be emptied, there was a constant moving about from one buffalo to another

FIG. 17.

and from the milking-place to the hut. A typical milking scene is shown in Fig. 16. Each man carries a stick, with which he keeps off troublesome calves who may come to suck while the milking is going on (see Fig. 17). If a buffalo and its calf are troublesome, milk is sometimes smeared on the back of the calf, and the buffalo occupies herself with licking the calf, a process which keeps both quiet. At other times, a man may pour milk into his hollowed hand which he gives to one of the buffaloes to drink.

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When the milking is over, the buffaloes are driven to their grazing-ground, where they remain till the afternoon, when they return, often spontaneously, to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. 234 857

While at the pasturage, one or two small boys are often in attendance to keep the buffaloes from straying beyond the proper grazing-ground.

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CHAPTER IV

THE VILLAGE DAIRY

234 THIS chapter will be devoted to a description of the various kinds of dairy which are found at the Toda villages. An account will be given of the daily course of the dairy operations and of the ritual accompanying it. The description of special ceremonies which occur in connexion with the dairy will be reserved till future chapters, in which ceremonies of the same nature occurring in all grades of dairy can be considered together.

234 343 621 A village dairy is often situated at some little distance from the huts in which the people live, though sometimes it is in their immediate neighbourhood. When of the same form as the hut, it may not at once be distinguished from the latter, but it is usually enclosed by a higher wall which surrounds the building more closely, so that there is very little room between the two. The door seemed to me to be usually smaller than that of most of the huts, and it is always capable of being closed by a shutter on the inner side.

The dairy is usually divided into compartments completely separated from one another by a partition extending to the roof, one room being entered from another by a small door of the same kind as that by which the dairy itself is entered. The majority of dairies have two rooms, an inner room called *ulkkursh* and an outer room called *pòrmunkursh*. Many dairies, especially among the kind called *wursuli*, have only one room. At five Tarthar villages, viz., Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi, Keradr, Akirsikòdri, and Tim, there are dairies which have

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tün*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitün* (*meiltün*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitün*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waskal*. [354]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 The room of the dairy which contains the dairy vessels
343 is divided into three parts: the *patatmar*, the *ertatmar*, and
352 the *kalkani*.
412 The *patatmar* takes its name from the *patat*, an earthenware
415 vessel into which the milk is poured from the milking vessel and in which it is churned. The vessels kept in this part of the inner room, which are known collectively as *patatpur*, are those which are actually used in the milking and churning.

The *ertatmar* takes its name from the *ertat*, a bamboo vessel used to carry buttermilk or butter out of the dairy. The *ertat* and the vessels kept with it, known collectively as the *ertatpur*, are those which receive the products of the churning or are used to convey these products out of the dairy. The lamp and the fire-sticks used for making fire by friction are also kept in this part of the dairy.

In the third part of the room, called the *kalkani*, are kept leaves, firewood, knives, and various sticks or wands. According to some accounts, the vessel called *penpariv* is also kept here.

When the dairy vessels are taken into a new dairy (see Chap. VI.), they are placed on ferns. I do not know whether they always rest on a bed of ferns or whether the ferns are only used when the vessels are first placed in the dairy.

234 The following is a list of the *patatpur*, the vessels and other
412 objects which are kept in the part of the dairy called
415 *patatmar*:

Patat or *tat*. Earthenware vessels into which the freshly drawn milk is poured and in which it is churned (Fig. 18, F). There are several of these vessels, one of which may be used to hold water.

Irkartpun or *patatpun*. The bamboo milking-vessel (Fig. 18, I).

Parskadrvenmu or *parskadrpenmu*, *i.e.*, milk churn butter [illegible] (Fig. 18, H). This is also sometimes called *kashmu*, and is a small earthenware vessel in which is kept the butter (*pen*) which is added while churning. Except when the churning is in progress, it is used as a cover for the *patat*.

Adimu. An earthenware vessel (Fig. 18, K) into which

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FIG. 18.—THE CHIEF DAIRY VESSELS.

A. The *palmûn*.
B. The *pallati*.
C. The *mudrh*.
D. A *tedshi*.
E. The *ersatpun*.
F. The *patat*.
G. The *pîlwachel*.
H. The *parshadwunun*.
I. The *irkartpun*.
K. The *adimu*.

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some of the coagulated milk may be poured while churning. It may also be used to fetch water from the dairy stream.

Madth or *parskartmadth*. Churning-stick (Fig. 18, C).

Palkati. Bamboo rings for holding the churning-stick while churning.

Parskurs or *ularwurthkurs*. Stick or wand used chiefly for driving off calves while milking.

Tatkich. The cut-up ends of a churning-stick, used for cleaning the *patat*.

Tedshk. Rings made of rattan (Fig. 18, D), used in carrying the dairy vessels.

The garment of the dairyman, called *tuni*, is also kept here. and when there is a *mani* (bell), it is kept on the *patatmar*. The churning-stick is kept on a stand called *agar*.

The following are the objects kept on the *ertatmar*:

Majpariv. Vessel in which buttermilk is kept.

Penpariv. Vessel in which butter is kept. (According to some, this vessel is kept in the part called *kalkani*.)

Ertatpun. Vessel used to take buttermilk or butter out of the dairy (Fig. 18, E).

Majertkudriki. A small earthenware pot used like a ladle to take buttermilk out of the *majpariv*. It is also called *ashkiok*.

Pòlmachok. A bamboo vessel (Fig. 18, G) used to hold the buttermilk which is distributed to the people of the village.

Nirsi. The fire-sticks for making fire by friction.

Pelk. The lamp.

Tòratthadi. Cooking vessel which may be used for anything except barley.

Put, a stirring-stick.

When there is only one room, the *masth*, axe for cutting firewood, may be kept on the *ertatmar*; otherwise it is kept in the outer room.

The vessels and other objects of the *patatmar* are those which come directly into contact with the milk of the buffaloes or which may at any time come into contact with the buffaloes themselves.

The vessels and objects of the *ertatmar*, on the other hand, are those which contain the dairy products which are going

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out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another. 415

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often a 618 621

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

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FIG. 19.—THE 'WURSOL' OF NÔDRS CARRYING THE 'ADIMU' AND 'PATATPUN' TO FETCH WATER.

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lamp in the morning unless it is dark, nor does he pray. The milk poured into the *patat* overnight will have coagulated, so that it forms a solid mass called *adrpars*. The dairyman puts the churning-stick into the *patat* and churns for a little time till he has broken up the *adrpars*.[1] Then he pours off most of the semi-fluid milk into another vessel (also a *patat*), leaving about one *kudi*[2] in the churning-vessel. He adds to this some butter from a previous churning, which he takes from the *parskadrvenmu*, adds also some water, and churns the mixture till butter is formed. He pours out the buttermilk into the *majpariv*, keeping the butter in the *patat*, adds more coagulated milk and water, and churns again, transferring the buttermilk to its vessel when butter is formed. He continues in this way till all the milk has been churned, and he then transfers the butter which has been formed to the vessel called *penpariv*, also putting a small portion in the *parskadrvenmu*.

The *palikartmokh* then goes out to milk, with the *irkarthpun* and the wand called *parskurs* or *ularwurthkurs*. He puts into the milking-vessel some buttermilk, the buttermilk used for this purpose being called *pep*, and he also smears some butter on the edge of the vessel to put on the teats of the buffaloes. When he goes out, he salutes by raising the *irkarthpun* and *parskurs* to his forehead in the same manner as is shown in Fig. 27. When he has filled the milking-vessel, he goes into the dairy and empties the milk into the *patat* and returns to the buffaloes. This is repeated till all the buffaloes have been milked, after which the dairyman takes food and buttermilk, but with no prescribed ritual as in the case of more sacred dairies. He also gives out buttermilk to the people of the village. After the work of the morning is over, the *palikartmokh* may go out to look after the buffaloes, or may collect firewood, leaves, or other things [461] necessary for his work. During the later hours of the morning the *palikartmokh* may often be seen lying down taking a rest before he begins the work of the afternoon, which is more ceremonial than that of the morning.

[1] This is literally 'cooked milk.' It probably receives this name because the coagulation is often hastened by heating.

[2] About four pints.

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About three o'clock in the afternoon he goes to the dairy, bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead (*pavnersatiti*, Fig. 20), enters and touches a vessel on the *patat* side, and then a vessel on the *ertat* side. He then lights the fire and inspects the milk drawn in the morning. If it has not become solid, he puts it on the fire for a few minutes to hasten the coagulation. He lights the lamp and prays,

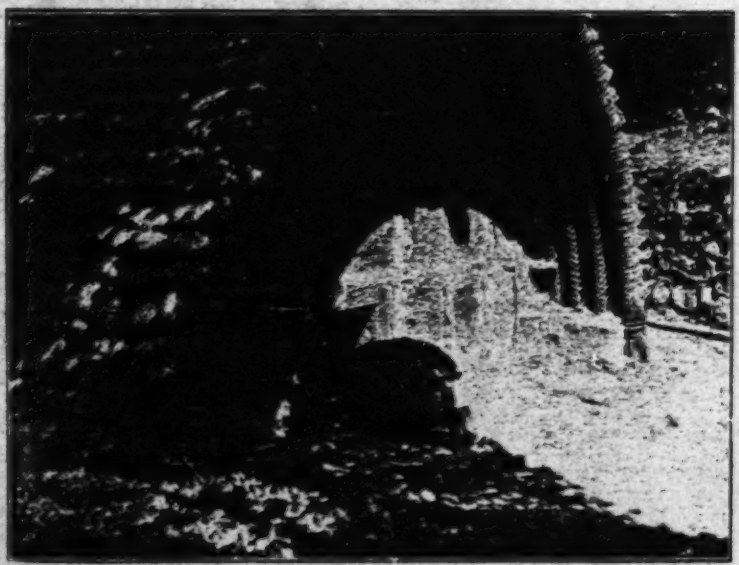

FIG. 20.—THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' SALUTING THE THRESHOLD OF THE DAIRY AT KIUDR 'PAVNERSATITI.'

using the prayer of the dairy (see Chap. X), and then churns as in the morning. When he has finished churning, he clears the churning-stick of the butter clinging to it, and after holding it to his forehead and uttering the sacred word "*Oh*," he puts it in the stand called *agar*. He then goes out to milk as in the morning, taking buttermilk in the milking-vessel. When the milking is over, he shuts up the buffaloes in the pen for the night, and as he does so, he repeats the prayer of the dairy, the prayer being exactly the same as that used when lighting the lamp. He then takes food and

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

788 Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

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234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
778 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of

FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Oh*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
513 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,
784

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

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called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, *pineipir*; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given being called in general *nòdrodvaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who rule." 173 234 618

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan have passed into the possession of other clans. This has happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds. 425 431

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*. 234 778

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The *nashperthir* of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the *martir*. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be 234 618 621 778

234 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its
618 reception and the *pincipir* would then be milked at this dairy.
621 At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in
778 constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail
421 the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There
618 were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six
621 places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7)	possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwur	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kuzhu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

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Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62). 234 421 618 621

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *püdrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeipir*; at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi. 173 234 618

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 234 463 554 618

[1] See Chapter XXIII.

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Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*, [834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may [558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

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as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters. 562 784 793

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursoi* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

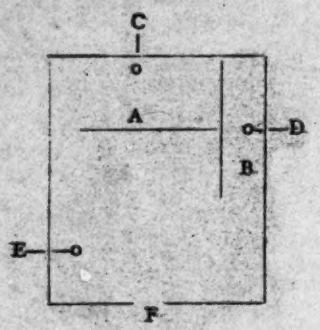
The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokli* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms. 234 343 778 788

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 343 352

343 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made
352 by Kodrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Pûtatmar*.
B. *Ertatmar*.
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Waskal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

357 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same
512 general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and
788 method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepru*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to
272 the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to
415 the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

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234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *wursol*
788 and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes. Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPISI (56), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *wursol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *wursol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahman engaged in prayer.

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234 512 788 In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*, touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursuli* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

THE KUGVALI OF TARADR

234 618 621 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village and the institution to be described in the next chapter—the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*pòlm*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmokh*. This dairyman must be a

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234 member of the Taradr clan, but need not necessarily be a
343 member of the family in charge.

618 Each of the chief Taradr villages has a special dairy for
621 the *kugvalir*. It is called the *kugvali* (*kugpali*) or chief dairy (*kug*=*etud*=chief), and it was said to be the chief of all the dairies. All these dairies have one room only, except that at Taradr itself, where there are two rooms. These dairies do not at present differ in form or general appearance from

FIG. 24.—THE 'KUGVALI' OF TARADR. ON ITS LEFT IS THE 'KWOTARS,' AND ON THE EXTREME RIGHT, UNDER THE TREE, IS THE 'KUSH.' THE FLAT STONE TO THE RIGHT OF THE 'KUGVALI' IS THE 'PÜDRSHTIKARS' (see p. 654).

dairies of other kinds. The *kugvali* at Taradr is shown in Fig. 24, and it is the dairy on the right-hand side of Fig. 5.

234 The *kugvalir* have one feature peculiar to themselves. They are never recruited from any other herd. Even the buffaloes of the *ti* often have additions to their number, especially through the ceremony of *irnörtiti* (Chap. XIII), but in no circumstances are any additions from outside made to the *kugvalir*.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

2/1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oh*" each time. 234 415 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *panpariv* by means of the same vessel.

The Dairy of Kanòdrs

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph. 343

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those called *nashperthir*. 234 463 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used. 778

234 554 778 784 793 When a *pokkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pokkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 23.—THE 'POK 'OF KANODA. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tôs*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pokkartpol* may only wear the *tasi*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pokkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

292 793

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must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudeipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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palikartmokh, and it does not appear to have any special complexities of ritual except in connexion with certain bells which this dairy contains. There are six of these bells, two kept on the *patatmar*, called *patatmani*, and four kept on the *ertatmar*, called *ertatmani*. During the dairy ceremonial these bells are 'fed' by the *palikartmokh*, the *patatmani* receiving milk and the *ertatmani* buttermilk. I only became aware of the existence of these bells incidentally, and had not the opportunity of ascertaining their history or meaning. It is clear, however, that they differ from the *mani* of the Tartharol and from those of the Piedr clan among the Teivaliol in that they are never used at a funeral (see p. 352).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER V

THE TI DAIRY

THE *ti* is the name of an institution which comprises a herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing districts tended by a dairyman-priest or priests called *palol* with an assistant called *kaltmokh*. Each dairy with its accompanying buildings and pasturage is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village. 234 793

In most cases there are two kinds of buffaloes at each *ti*, and each kind should properly be tended by its own *palol* and *kaltmokh*. There is, however, only one *ti* which possesses two *palol* at the present time, and they share a *kaltmokh* between them, though a second is appointed on certain ceremonial occasions. In other cases one *palol* tends both kinds of buffalo, and in others, again, the dairies are unoccupied for the greater part of the year and the office of *palol* is only filled for certain limited periods.

Each *ti* is regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, but the *palol* has to be taken from the Teivaliol, the choice being in some cases restricted to one or two Teivali clans; thus, the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must belong either to Piedr or Kusharf. The *palol* is chosen by the Tarthar owners, but the latter do not seem to gain any material advantage from their possession. In fact, it involves them in some expense owing to the necessity of giving certain feasts, and this expense was put forward as one reason why a *ti* is often unoccupied. Never- 184 234 616

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184 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the
234 institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I
616 asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, dis-
778 tinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 I obtained most of my information from people connected
124 with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds
234 of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its 124
essential accuracy. 234

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape 234
may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more 343
than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the 793
work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead 234
of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed 417
so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary 778
people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pül*, and there is a special part of the *pül* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source 234
from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This 312
source is called *kwoinir*, and at Mòdr, where there was a 778
kwoinir for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mukadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tülk-kadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

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234 At Mòdr, the diary place I know best, all the buildings
343 and objects of the *ti mad* are shut off from the outer world
351 either by walls or by the natural configuration of the ground or forest. Within this screen, partly natural and partly artificial, there is the large milking-ground which may be entered by the buffaloes from two directions, and on one side of this are the three pens, the two dairies, and other buildings.

The more important of the two dairies has situated close to it the sleeping-hut and two huts for the calves, and this small group of buildings, shown in Fig. 27, is surrounded by a wall like that round the ordinary village dairy, leaving little space between the wall and buildings. These buildings, being within the outer boundaries of the *ti mad*, are already well screened from the world, and in consequence the surrounding wall is low. The other dairy is situated on the boundary, so that it can be seen by anyone outside the *ti mad*, and the wall around it is therefore high, so that a person standing outside can see nothing of the proceedings of the dairyman. At Mòdr the water springs are at some distance from the dairies and there is a special path by which the *palol* goes from the dairy to fetch water.

At another dairy, that of Anto, there is one path by which the *palol* goes to fetch water and another by which he returns, but I do not know if this is so at all dairies.

Although I visited Mòdr on many occasions, I never had an opportunity to investigate the buildings closely. I was never allowed to go within the walls enclosing the dairies, much less to go inside these buildings. If the annual programme of the *ti* had been carried out, the buffaloes would have left this place before the end of my visit, and I intended to make a thorough inspection after they had gone; but owing to various causes I mention elsewhere (see Chap. VI) the herds stayed at Mòdr till after my departure, and I had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact plan of the dairies and their surroundings.

234 The dairy of a *ti* always has two rooms, an inner room, the
343 *ulkkursh*, and an outer room, the *pòrmunkursh*. These are
352 divided from one another by a screen, or *patun*, which stretches

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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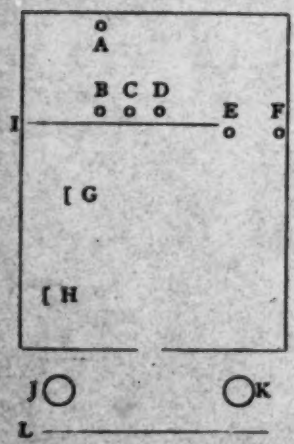
about two-thirds of the way across the breadth of the building and is about three feet high. The *palol* stands in the outer room and performs the dairy operations proper to the inner room leaning over the top of the screen. The object of the screen is to keep the sacred objects of the dairy from the gaze of anyone who may look in, and especially from that of the *kaltmokh*; but in the only dairy of the kind into which I had the chance of looking, the screen was made of vertical sticks with wide intervals between them, so that I could easily see through. This dairy was, however, unoccupied, and if dairy vessels had been there, it is possible that they would



A. *Mani.*
B, C, D. The three *persin.*
E. The *idrkwoi.*
F. The lamp.
G. The *pelkhatitthwashal.*
H. The *tòratthwashal.*
I. The *patun.*
J, K. The *pohvelkars.*
L. The screen in front of the dairy.

FIG. 26.—SHOWING THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE TI DAIRY.

have been screened from view in some way. In this dairy the screen extended from the right-hand wall as one looked in, but at Mòdr I was told that the screen was attached to the left-hand wall, and there were certain facts which make it almost certain that this statement is correct, though I had not the opportunity of confirming it by actual observation.

I did not discover whether there were any differences between the internal arrangements of the conical dairies and those of the dairies of the ordinary form. Breeks has given a description of the conical dairy at Anto, and from this it would seem that the dairy is divided into two rooms by a

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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partition extending to the roof, the two rooms communicating by a door. There are two possibilities as to procedure. It is possible that only one room of this dairy is used for the ceremonial and that it is again divided by an incomplete screen into inner and outer rooms, or it may be that the dairyman churns in the inner room. I have no information on this point, but the general nature of the churning procedure at the *ti* dairy makes it highly probable that the former supposition is correct and that the inner room is divided into two parts.

In the plan on p. 87, I have adopted the arrangement in which the *patun*, or screen, is attached to the left-hand side of the building, but this is certainly not the case in all diaries. In some dairies also the fireplaces are on the other side.

The Contents of the poh

(*a*) In the inner room.	One *mani*. Three *persin*. Two *tərunn*. Two *bòghlag*. One *persinkudriki*. One *pohvet* or *pohpet*. One *kwoi*. One *kwoinörtpet*. Several *tedshk*.
(*b*) Between inner and outer rooms.	*Pelk*, or lamp. *Idrkwoi*.
(*c*) In the outer room.	Two fireplaces { *Pelkkatitthwashal*. / *Tərattkwashal*. } Several *alug*. *Uppun*. *Mòrkudriki*. *Karpun*. *Turavali*. *Gudubei*. Unused *bòghlag*.

Another vessel, the *mòrpun*, is kept in the sleeping-hut, where two or more horns are also kept which are blown by the *kaltmokh* every night before going to rest.

The things of the inner room correspond in general to those of the *patatmar* in the ordinary dairy, and the things of the outer room correspond to those of the *ertatmar*. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 things of the outer room are sometimes called the *alugpur*,
343 just as those in the village dairy are called *ertatpur*, but I
352 did not hear of any corresponding term for the things of the inner room. I have no record of the place where the fire-sticks (*nirsi*) are kept, but they will almost certainly belong to the outer room, since, in the village, they belong to the *ertatmar*.

234 The nature of each of the vessels and other objects of the
412 dairy[1] is as follows:

415 *Persin*. This is an earthenware vessel containing about five *kudi*, *i.e.*, 2½ gallons. The freshly churned milk is poured into and churned in three of these vessels. The *persin* corresponds to the *patat* of the village dairy.

Tòrzum. This is an earthenware vessel containing two or three *kudi*. Two of these vessels are kept in the inner room, one, called the *karitòrzum*, to hold water, and the other to hold the butter added while churning. The latter is called the *peptòrzum* because it is also used to give butter-milk to the buffaloes on certain occasions. When not in use the two *tòrzum* are placed on and act as covers for two of the *persin*. The *tòrzum* corresponds to the *mu* of the ordinary dairy.

Kòghlag. This is the churning-stick which corresponds to the *madth*. Both *kòghlag* and *madth* are alike in having the peculiar shape shown in Fig. 18 (see also p. 111). The thong by means of which the stick is turned, ordinarily called *palv*, is here called *poinurs*, and consists of a strip of the skin of a male calf. The *kòghlag* is made by the *palol* from bamboo growing on the Nilgiris. In addition to two used and kept in the inner room, five or six new churning-sticks are kept in the outer room.

Persinkudriki. This is a small piece of bamboo with a handle called *tutth*, used to knock against the *persin* when praying.

Pokvet (*pokpet*). A wand used when praying.

Kwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about three *kudi*. It is the vessel taken out by the *palol* to milk the buffaloes. It corresponds to the *irkartpun* of the village dairy and is made by the *palol* from bamboo obtained by the *kaltmokh*.

1 [The Poh.. Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali,* where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir,* or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun,* kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni,*
292 he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *pòdrshtuni,* is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti,* one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani,* are

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kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions. 234 778

There were several points of interest about the lamps used to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspoh*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *öuavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*ponnol*), and on most days only one is used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is butter. 234 354 [314] [177]

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *tòratthwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The

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234 other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkaftth-*
354 *waskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

THE DAILY LIFE AT THE TI

234 The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably
512 about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say
788 "*ekirzam meidjam*."[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open
793 the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *tòratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *pòdrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the Pan *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

234 prayer, but after I had settled on the foregoing description as
512 correct I was allowed one day by the *kaltmokh* to go near
788 the dairy while the *palol* was praying, and was able to hear
793 the beating on the earthenware vessel with each word of the prayer.

The next step is to take up the *pokvet* and place it against the wall, and then the *palol* begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle *persin*, milk in this state being here called *kudabpol* instead of *adrpars*, as in the ordinary dairy.

In those cases in which the *mani* is 'fed,' the *palol* puts *kudabpol* on the bell shortly after beginning to churn. This is done three times, the syllable *On* being uttered each time. When the *palol* does anything three times in this way, he says that he does it *mushtiu*. This expression for 'thrice' is not used in the ordinary dairy.

The next steps are to pour into the *kwoi* and *karitòrzum* most of the coagulated milk which has been broken up by the churning, to add to the milk remaining in the *persin* some *persinpen*, or butter especially kept for the purpose in the *peptòrzum*, to add water, and to churn the mixture of coagulated milk, water, and butter in the middle *persin*. When the new butter is formed, the *palol* pours out the buttermilk into the vessel called *idrkwoi*, keeping back the butter with his hand. The buttermilk is transferred from the *idrkwoi* to one of the *alug* in the outer room. Some of the milk which had been put into the *kwoi* or *karitòrzum* is then poured back into the middle *persin*, more water is added, and the mixture is churned, after which the buttermilk is again transferred by means of the *idrkwoi* to the *alug*, while the butter is kept in the *persin*. This procedure is repeated till all the milk of the middle *persin* has been churned.

The *persin* on the right-hand side of the *palol* is then taken, and its position exchanged with that of the vessel hitherto used, and the churning is continued in exactly the same manner. The buttermilk is transferred to the *alug*, but the butter when formed is transferred to the *persin*, which had been originally in the middle. When the contents of the second *persin* have been churned, the third *persin* is placed in the middle and the same procedure is followed, so that when

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234 the churning is over all the butter which has been formed will
512 be in the *persin* which was originally in the middle. Some
788 of this butter is put into the *peptòrzum* to act as *persinpen* on
793 another occasion, and the remainder is transferred to the butter *alug* by means of the *idrkwoi*. The two *tòrzum* are then put on the tops of two of the *persin* as covers, the *peptòrzum* being placed on the middle *persin* and the *palol* takes the milking-vessel (*kwoi*) and wand (*kwoinörtpet*) in his right hand and goes out to milk, having first put some buttermilk, called *pep*, into the *kwoi*.

When the *palol* leaves the dairy, he raises the milking-vessel and wand to his forehead and salutes in the way shown in Fig. 27. The Todas say that he is saluting the sun and the buffaloes. It is probable that, in general, the *palol* faces approximately east as he salutes, but there is no doubt that, at the present time, his salutation is chiefly to the buffaloes. He salutes in the same direction both morning and evening, and certainly pays no attention to the direction in which the sun lies.

This salutation is now often done in a very perfunctory manner. The vessel and wand may be raised hastily to the forehead for a few seconds only as the *palol* goes towards his buffaloes, and I am doubtful whether the salutation is ever performed exactly as shown in the figure, for the vessel contains some of the buttermilk called *pep*, which might be spilt if the vessel were held quite horizontally.

When the *palol* salutes, he says "*Ôn*" three times, and repeats two or three clauses of the dairy prayer, usually the *kwarzam* of the more important gods of the dairy.

When going to milk and when going from one buffalo to another, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* are always held together in the right hand. When the *kwoi* is filled, it is taken into the dairy. If it is the custom of the dairy to put milk on the *mani*, this is now done three times, saying "*Ôn*" each time, and then the milk is poured into the middle *persin*, the *kwoi* being held in the left hand, and the *palol* goes out again to refill the *kwoi*. When all the *persinir* have been milked, the milk of the three *persin* is mixed together by pouring from one to the other. The reason for this is that the buttermilk, called *pep*,

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234 is only taken out in the *kwoi* on first going to milk, and
512 in consequence the *pep* would affect the milk of the middle
788 *perzin* only if its contents were not mixed with those of the
vessels filled later.

793 The *palol* next goes out to milk the *punir*, taking for this

FIG. 27.—THE 'PALOL,' KARKIEVAN, SALUTING AT MÒDR. HE IS STANDING IN THE 'PEPKARMUS.' THE BUILDING NEXT TO THE 'PALOL' IS THE 'TI POH'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'KARENPOH,' AND BETWEEN IT AND THE 'TI POH' CAN BE SEEN THE HUT WHERE THE INHABITANTS OF THE 'TI MAD' SLEEP.

purpose the vessel called *karpun* and an ordinary wand, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* being only used for the more sacred buffaloes. There was some difference of opinion as to what should be done with the milk of the *punir*. According to

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234 some it may be used to fill the *persin* if these are not filled
512 by the milk of the *persinir*; according to others it is wrong
788 to do this, and the milk of *punir* should on no account be put
793 in the more sacred vessels of the inner room. I think there is no doubt that at the Nòdrs *ti* at any rate the first procedure is followed. At this *ti* the *punir* outnumber the *persinir* by far, and it is probable that the milk of the former is used to supplement that of the more sacred buffaloes, although it is contrary to tradition that this should be done.

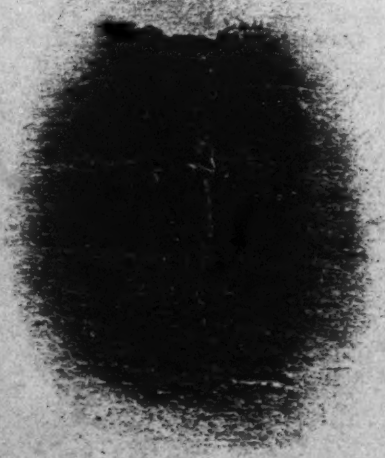

FIG. 28.—TO SHOW THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE 'PALOL' WHEN PRAYING.

The three *persin* being filled, the *tòrzum* are again put on as covers, and the *palol* takes up the wand called *pohvet*, and prays, standing in front of the screen (*patun*) with his hands lying over one another crosswise on the top of the stick as shown in Fig. 28. He recites the full prayer of the *ti*, then replaces the *pohvet* between the *persin* and the *patun* and this act of replacing the wand marks the end of the more sacred part of the dairy operations. If a Toda wishes to ascertain if the work of the dairy is over, he asks, "Has he taken the *pohvet*?"

The *palol* now unties his hair, sees to anything necessary in connexion with his food, fills the *uppun* with buttermilk, and then leaves his dairy and goes to sit on the seat called *pohvelkars* on one side of the door of the dairy, viz., on the opposite side to that on which the *mani* is placed. At Mòdr he sits on the stone on the right side of the door when going

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in (K in Fig. 26), and the fact that he does so is one of the reasons which make it probable that the arrangement of the *pok* of that place is as I have given it in the plan.

When the *palol* has seated himself on the *pokvelkars*, he calls out to the *kaltmokh* "*Kaizhvatitva*," "Come here and pour buttermilk!" When the *kaltmokh* comes, the *palol* gives the *uppun* to the boy, who says three times "*Kaizhvatkina*," "Shall I pour buttermilk?" and the *palol* replies each time, "*Vat*!" The *kaltmokh* pours from the *uppun* into a cup made of the leaf called *kakuders* held by the *palol*, who drinks after raising to his forehead. This is repeated till the *palol* is satisfied, when the leaf-cup from which he has been drinking is thrown away,[1] and he goes again into the outer room to get food. He gives food to the *kaltmokh*, who eats it in the sleeping-hut, while the *palol* himself eats sitting on the *pokvelkars*. If any *mòrol* (see p. 107) are present, they are fed at this stage with buttermilk and food by the *kaltmokh*, who gives them the buttermilk out of the *mòrpun*, pouring it into leaf-cups as when giving to the *palol*.

The rest of the morning is passed in looking after the buffaloes, cutting firewood, plucking leaves used as cups and plates, or doing any other work connected with the *ti*.

In the afternoon the *palol* returns to his dairy and goes through the same operations as in the morning, except that he fetches water from the *kwoinir* early in the proceedings, usually bringing enough for the work of that afternoon and of the next morning. He churns the milk drawn in the morning, and when the time for milking has arrived, the buffaloes will have returned to the milking-place, and as soon as they arrive their calves are let out from the house (*karenpok*) in which they have been kept.

When the churning and milking are over, the buffaloes are shut up in the *tu* for the night. The *palol* then takes buttermilk as in the morning, and both he and the *kaltmokh* take their food. The latter eats his food in the sleeping-hut as in

[1] In the story of Kwoto and the Kendr *ti* (Chap. IX) the *kaltmokh* has to pour away buttermilk at an appointed spot. It is probable that this buttermilk is that unfinished by the *palol*, and possibly this custom is still followed but was not mentioned by my informants.

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234 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oh*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
793 times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

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ti was not allowed to do so and had to use a ford nearer to the dairy at Mòdr. 784 793

The *palol* must be celibate, and if married, he must leave his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers. According to the account given by Finicio in 1603, the *palol* could send for his wife and meet her in a wood every week or so and might also send for the wives of any other Todas. It is possible that this may still happen, but I failed to obtain an account of it and understood that the *palol* was really celibate. According to Finicio the restriction to which the *palol* is subject is that he may not touch a woman in the house. We have seen that in the lowest rank of the dairyman-priesthood intercourse with women in the house is allowed at any time and in the higher ranks only on certain days of the week. It is quite consistent with this that in the highest rank intercourse in the house should be altogether forbidden, but might still be allowed in the forest, and it is quite possible that Finicio is correct. I was unacquainted with his account at the time of my visit, and all other writers had been so unanimous as to the complete celibacy of the *palol* that I did not press my inquiries on this point very closely. 785 833

If a death occurs in the clan of a *palol*, he cannot attend any of the funeral ceremonies unless he gives up his office. If he resigns he is not again eligible for the office till the second funeral ceremonies have been completed. When a man of one clan gives up his office in this way, his place must be taken by a man of some other clan. Karkievan of Piedr was *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* eighteen years ago and resigned when his wife died, his place being taken by Tulchievan of Kusharf. Two years later Karkievan resumed office and has been *palol* continuously since that time. Though there have been many deaths among the Piedrol, he has not attended a funeral, and has not, therefore, had to resign his post again. 234 463 784 793

In old times, it seems probable that it was usual to give up the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan. According to tradition, the division of the Keadrol into the Keadrol and Kwaradrol by Kwoten (see Chap. IX) was ordained in order that there might still be men to undertake the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan, the men of the

234 Keadrol taking office when there was a death among the
463 Kwaradrol and *vice versa*.

It has been stated by several writers on the Todas that the
556 *palol* does not profit in any way by his sacred office. I made
784 most careful inquiries on this point, and there seemed to be no
793 doubt that the *palol* may often make a considerable income from the sale of the ghi made from the milk of the herd under his charge; one *palol* was stated to make six rupees a week in this way, and while he has been in office is said to have increased his own herd (*i.e.*, that of his own family) by no less than twenty-five buffaloes. In one recent case, a man has resigned the post of *palol* to the Pan *ti* because he found the income was too small.

234 According to my informant, Kaners, a man used always to
463 accept the office of *palol* unwillingly. When the offer came
554 to him, he would say, "I cannot leave my buffaloes; I cannot
556 leave my wife and my children." Then the people would say,
793 "You are born for the *ti*; it is your birthright; you must not refuse"; and the man would reluctantly consent. Now the Todas are in more need of money than they used to be, and there is no difficulty in obtaining candidates for those dairies at which the pecuniary advantages are sufficiently great, so that people will now beg to be appointed as *palol* to certain dairies, and it is even whispered that bribes have been offered in order to obtain office. There is no doubt whatever that the pecuniary reward is the chief inducement to people to undertake the charge.

234 The Nòdrs *ti* has the largest herd of buffaloes, and I was
463 told that this *ti* is very much coveted, while others which
554 have few buffaloes are unable to obtain a *palol* at all. My
793 Teivali friends invariably talked about the *ti* in exactly the same kind of way that an Englishman talks about a benefice.

At the present time there are several instances in which the office of *palol* is vacant, and there seems to be a growing difficulty in filling many of these places. There is little doubt that the chief reason for this is that the herds have become very small, so that the resulting profit does not offer sufficient inducement; but there is also no doubt that the exclusion from the home and the limitation of intercourse

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with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *warsir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Baň*," and the Tarthar man replies "*Ir kaûdâ*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarzam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 793 576

793 *kûtmeii teu idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches,
576 the *palol* says "*Pekein*," but all the Teivaliol reply with the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil*, *i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was
576 said that he might not approach the *palol*. I had an interest-
783 ing example, however, of the way in which a regulation of
788 this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil*, owing
793 to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol*. He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol*.

437 There are several regulations concerning the food of the
439 *palol*. Any grain he eats must be that provided by the
784 Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was
793 formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir*. He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pohvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *mani*. He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh*. If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *iikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*. 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the daytime with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakaseri. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

786 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns
793 to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining
833 wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia*!" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *pohvelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *papun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Karkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*.
554 It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his
793 sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social importance from having held the sacred office. I could find
234 no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women only refer to this ceremony.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *piil* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558 784

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 793

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 554 558 784 793

the forbidden things, or even if he is likely to be in such a position that he may have to do these things, he becomes *perkursol*. This he does by throwing off the *petuni* and dipping one leg either into the pool of water called *tarupunkudi* (see p. 177) or into the dairy stream (*pali nipa*) of an ordinary dairy (if he dipped his leg into the *ars nipa*, or part of a stream used for ordinary household purposes, he would at once lose his office entirely and become an ordinary person). As soon as he has dipped his foot, he becomes *perkursol* and may do the following things summed up in the general expression *tarskwarârkûdthodi*. He may pass a village where there is a woman in the seclusion-hut (*puzhars*), or where the relics of the dead are being kept between the two funeral ceremonies; he may go to a place where the people have been in communication with a village in which either of these conditions exist; he may pass a river by a bridge, and he may go to the *wursuli* of a Tarthar village. If the full *kaltmokh* does any of these things, even unwittingly, he would at once become an ordinary person (*perol*). The *kaltmokh* degrades himself to the rank of *perkursol* even when there is merely the danger that he may infringe any of the restrictions; thus, one day when there was a woman at Karia who was in seclusion after childbirth, the *kaltmokh* at Mòdr, Katsog (55), was going to the hut of the forest guard near Paikara. He would not have to pass Karia, but there was a chance that the forest guard might have been in communication with the people of Karia, and therefore Katsog became *perkursol*. A *perkursol* is regarded as of the same rank as a *wursol*, and the people spoke of *perkursol* as a *ti* word for *wursol*—*i.e.*, a *wursol* at the *ti* was called *perkursol*, just as a *madth* (churn) at the *ti* was called *kòghlag*. In order to regain his rank as full *kaltmokh*, the *perkursol* has to perform the same ceremony as that which takes place at the end of the ordination to this office (see Chap. VII).

While the *kaltmokh* is degraded to the rank of *perkursol* he may not touch any dairy vessels; he may not pour buttermilk for the *palol*, nor may he blow the horns—*i.e.*, he may do none of the more important and sacred duties of his office.

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THE MÒROL

I have said that no ordinary Toda is allowed to approach the *palol* except on certain days, and then may only go to a certain place in the surroundings of the *ti*. There is, however, one very remarkable exception to this rule, the members of certain clans having the privilege of going to the *ti* at any time and taking buttermilk (*mòr*). Owing to the latter privilege they are always known as *mòrol*. 184 618 554 234

The most important *mòrol* are the members of the Melgars clan, and at the Nòdrs *ti* they are the only people possessing these peculiar rights. A Melgars man may go to the *ti* on every day of the week, when he enters the small enclosure in which the dairy is situated, going, however, by a special opening at the back so that he does not actually pass the dairy and sits down in front of or may enter the sleeping hut. He is given buttermilk by the *kaltmokh* after it has been given to the *palol*, and he also receives food. At the Nòdrs *ti* the two *palol* divide the responsibility of providing food between them; if four *mòrol* come, each *palol* gives food for two men.

The rights of the Melgarsol appear to be exercised very constantly. I rarely visited the Mòdr *ti* without finding several *mòrol* present, and so far as I could observe they made the most of their privileges and enjoyed themselves well. It was very remarkable to see several Todas making themselves quite at home at the *ti*, while other Todas were standing outside wholly prohibited from entering into the life of the place. On one occasion when I visited Mòdr, the brother of one *palol* was standing without at the appointed spot waiting till the business of the morning was over, while several *mòrol* were within enjoying their privileges to the full.

The Melgarsol have certain other rights and duties in connexion with the *ti*, and especially on the occasion of the procession which takes place when the buffaloes migrate from one place to another (see Chap. VI), after which ceremony the *mòrol* sleep at the *ti mad*. At some dairies members of other clans may act as *mòrol*, but in no case do they occupy quite so privileged a position as the people of Melgars. Thus, at

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

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called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kôli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*. 234 314 322 415

It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day. 793

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*On*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday. 234 412 415 783

The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrzum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *idrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

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234 The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not
412 purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel
415 all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the
778 outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.
783 All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

The Five Ti

173 At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to
234 the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The
621 Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was
773 spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tikîrs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

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THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Püv died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr. 173 234 773

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpuv*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpuv*. [415]

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the *ti* buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu. When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *tòrzum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti poh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other 173 234 773 778

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[778] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh*
173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.
234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr,
773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given
221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the
234 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to
621 the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil,
773 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tîdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tîdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *unir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tîdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

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are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

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which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

173 234 618 773 793 The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vĕdrmâ, kârs wadrth vĕdrmâ, mân mas vĕdrmâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

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followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf. 173 234 618

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55). 773 793

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.' 234 552 778

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Önâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost. 234 354 552

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.) 773 778

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

+ One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not
234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

THE KARS TI

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I
621 could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
773 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs. The story runs that Anto created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit. 173 234 621 773

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarzam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri. 234 793

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and [552] 234 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûztheniz ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

The Pan Ti

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Tarzhva. Its special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

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The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Neràdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirsiol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the *warspoh*.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

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THE NIDRSI TI

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This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi*. When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti*. The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti*. There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

AT certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
778 Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
788 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
796 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
621 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irshidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]
234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
221 from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
796 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda
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FIG. 29.—TO SHOW THE METHOD OF CARRYING THE CONTENTS OF THE DAIRY. THE BOY KALMAD (64) IS CARRYING THE 'PATATPUR'; KARSÜLN (15) THE 'ERTATPUR.' IN FRONT OF KALMAD IS THE ENTRANCE OF THE PEN AT KARS CALLED 'ALTHFTU' (see p. 649).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary
221 work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the
796 women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpun*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*ekirzam meidjam*," the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray,
[415 using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the
482] milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütusht*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

[562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

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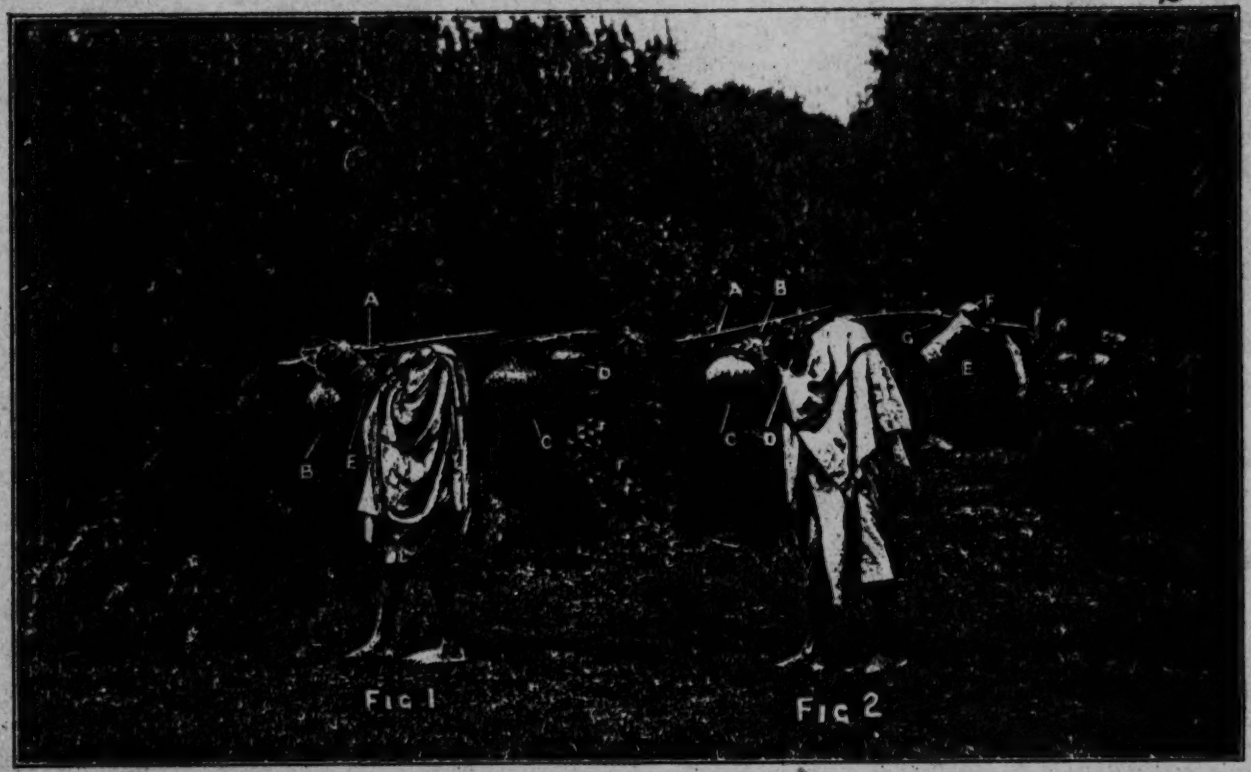

FIG. 30.—1. A. The *madth*. B. A *patat*. C. Another *patat*. D. The *parshadrvenmu*. E. The *irkartpun*.
2. A. The axe. B. The fire-sticks. C. The *majpariv*. D. The *pòlmachok*. E. The *ertatpun*. F. A *tsh*. G. The lamp.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On reaching the new village, the
234x palikartmokh purifies
221
796

the dairy by throwing into it water mixed with *tudr* bark.[1] The dairy things are taken off the sticks at an appointed spot. The *palikartmokh* salutes the sun with *irkarthpun* and *madth* as in the morning, and then all pray. After the prayer, the *palikartmokh* takes some ferns (*taf*) and puts them on the place within the dairy where the things of the *patatmar* are to stand, and these are put in their places on the ferns. The things of the *ertatmar* are then arranged in the same way. The *palikartmokh* makes fire by friction, lights the lamp, and then goes to milk the buffaloes. If he has brought milk with him, he will churn it. Meanwhile a ceremony called *nòtiteiti* will have been performed by a little girl about six or seven years of age in those cases in which all the inhabitants of the village are migrating. Before leaving the village from which the people are coming this girl will have been given food in the dairy. On reaching the new place, the girl plucks three blades of the slender grass called *kakar* and goes to the front of the dairy and sweeps the threshold with the grass. She does this with her right arm outside her cloak, and when she has swept she bows down with her forehead to the threshold three times. If there is more than one dairy, she sweeps the threshold of each. The *palikartmokh* then gives her a small handful of butter and the girl goes to the huts. Up to this time the women will have been waiting near the village, but when they see that the girl has performed her ceremony, they go to the huts and prepare the food called *ashkkartpimi*.[2]

When the *palikartmokh* has finished milking, he also prepares food, and when it is ready he throws some into the fire, *tòrtütrsersthi*, "food into the fire he throws," and then gives out the food to the people, and they eat both this and that prepared by the women.

At some places the ceremonial is more complicated than at others, the degree of elaboration depending on the sacredness of the dairy to which the buffaloes are going. When they migrate to the especially sacred village of Kiudr the extra

[1] This is probably only true of Teivali dairies.

[2] This is a special food used on important ceremonial occasions, the mode of preparation of which is given in Chapter XXIV.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234x 221 796 complexity seems to depend on the presence of the bells of the dairy of that village. When the *palikartmokh* reaches Kiudr, he puts the dairy things he has brought with him at the back of the dairy. Another *palikartmokh* goes into the inner room and brings out the bells called *patatmani* and lays them by stones called *neurzülnkars* at one side of the dairy (see Fig. 31). He enters again and brings out four *ertatmani*, which he lays by the side of another group of stones called *neurzülnkars* (see Fig. 32). The second *palikartmokh* then

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FIG. 31.—THE DAIRY OF KIUDR WITH THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' ETAMUDRI (58); ON THE RIGHT OF THE DAIRY ABOVE AND TO THE LEFT OF THE HEAD OF ETAMUDRI IS THE STONE CALLED 'NEURZÜLNKARS,' BY WHICH THE 'PATATMANI' IS LAID.

purifies the dairy with *tudr* bark and puts the vessels which have been brought to Kiudr in their places on a bed of ferns in the way which has been described. After all the vessels are in their places, he takes the *patatmani* to the dairy stream, while the first *palikartmokh* brings *tudr* bark. The *tudr* bark is pounded and the juice squeezed over the bells. The two *patatmani*, having thus been purified, are then put on a forked 000 stick and carried to their usual place in the dairy. The same

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234* the same procedure is repeated with the *ertatmani*, which are strung on
796 a piece of bamboo and hung on another piece of bamboo which projects from the wall on the *ertat* side of the dairy. Then milk is put on the *pâtatmani* and buttermilk on the *ertatmani* as usual.

[778]

FIG. 32.—THE 'NEURÊLWKARS' OF KIUDR, BY THE SIDE OF WHICH THE 'ERTATMANI' ARE LAID.

MIGRATION OF THE TI BUFFALOES

234* I obtained a very full account of the migration of the
233 buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* and will first give an account of
221 the proceedings for this herd.

796 The Toda year begins during October with the ceremony of *trattitustkki* (see Chap. XIII) and at this time the buffaloes should be standing at Mòdr, near Paikara. Soon after this ceremony, the herd goes to Anto, the most important and sacred of the *ti* places. They stay here for a month and then go to Majòdr, not far from Makurti Peak, where they

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

stay during the dry season, stopping about three months or longer, according to the nature of the weather. It is often not until May is reached that the buffaloes return to Mòdr and stay there till August, when they cross the Paikara river to the two dairies, Òdrtho and Kudreiil, on the opposite bank. The *tiir* stay at Òdrtho and the *warsir* at Kudreiil for a month and then both return to Mòdr.

234v 233 221 796

In 1902 this plan[1] was very much disturbed. In order to go from Mòdr to Òdrtho and Kudreiil the herds and their attendants have to cross the river, and under no circumstances is the *palal* allowed to cross by the bridge. He usually watches his opportunity till the river is low enough at a certain ford to allow him to cross, but the summer of 1902 was unusually wet and the river was never sufficiently low to allow the passage, and in consequence Òdrtho and Kudreiil were not visited in that year.

[123]

Later it was arranged that the migration to Anto should take place on November 2nd. I was told that I might accompany the procession for part of the way, and was looking forward greatly to the occasion, as it was evident that it was my only chance of seeing and photographing the contents of the dairy. As the day approached, the migration was postponed because Teitnir, who was celebrating the funeral ceremonies of his wife and was therefore *ichchil*, had crossed the way by which the procession would have to pass. The ceremony was next arranged for November 23rd, but was then further postponed till the 30th. This was the last Sunday before the day on which I intended to leave the hills, and again I made arrangements to see the proceedings. No sooner had I done so than I was told that the procession was postponed for a week and was to take place on the day after I had left Ootacamund. I at once altered my plans and arranged to see the procession on December 7th. A new obstacle at once intervened, and I was told that the journey to Anto was deferred indefinitely, and, as I learnt afterwards from Samuel, the buffaloes did not go to Anto at all that year, but went direct from Mòdr to Majòdr on Wednesday, January 7th. All this occurred after the misfortunes had happened to

[1] [of buffalo migration — Analyst]

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were
234K believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—
221 and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements
233 and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due
796 to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certainly vanish.

234K As we have seen, the migration to the relatively un-
221 important dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday,
796 but when going to the more important places a Sunday must be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the
177 new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also accompany the procession. [177]

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take part in the procession must go without food on the morning of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual. The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the *pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere, is in or near the wall of the *tu*. 234x 221 796

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*. The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions. 234x 284 415 482

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the *pütusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug* is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar* are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back, one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy, and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi* is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate between those of the inner and those of the outer room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its 796

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 burdens is carried by the *palol* on his left shoulder in the
284 same way as is shown in Fig. 29, illustrating the method of
415 carrying the things of the village dairy.

482 The *mani* is carried by the *palol* on his right side. A staff
796 of *kiaz* wood is cut, about five cubits (*mogoi*) in length, which must be perfectly straight with a fork at one end. The bell is covered completely with *kiaz* leaves tied with rattan fastenings, and put on the fork of the staff by its ring. The staff is carried upright in the right hand of the *palol*; if he becomes tired he may rest it on his shoulder, but this must be done in such a way that the forked end of the stick carrying the bell comes in front of his body, otherwise the *palol* would be presenting his back to the sacred object.

At the Nòdrs *ti* there is an exception to the ordinary rule in the case of the *mani* of the *tiir*. It will be remembered that this bell is reputed to have been born in a *persin* during the migration from Amnòdr, and the bell is therefore carried in one of the *persin* during the migration from one dairy to another. In its place the *palol* of the *tiir* carries in his right hand the churning stick with its churning end upwards.

The *mani* is the only object of the inner room which is covered with leaves, so that it may not be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The lamp is also hidden from view within the *idrkwoi*, but I do not know whether this is for the same reason or merely because it is a convenient way of carrying it.

The *mòrol* carries the large earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*), which are at least four in number. They are tied on a staff by means of *tedshk* in the same manner as are the *persin*. This is done by the *kaltmokh*, who puts the staff and its burden on the left shoulder of the *mòrol*, taking particular care that the vessels do not touch the man. The *mòrol* carries one of the horns in his right hand.

Before the procession starts each *mani* is hung on the neck of a calf, left on for a minute or so, taken off and put on its staff. The *mani* of the *tiir* called Persin is put on the neck of a two-year-old calf of the *unir*, and that of the *warsir*, Keu, is put on the neck of one of the *perithir*.

If any dairy vessels or implements are not taken with the buffaloes, they are not left in the dairy, but hidden in a wood.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The procession then starts with the *mòrol* at its head. In some cases a halt is made when passing certain places, and prayer is offered by the *palol*. In going from Mòdr to Anto the procession stops first at Pòrstib near Tedshteiri village (belonging to the Nòdrsol), where the *wars palol* puts the staff carrying the *maui* on a stone and prays while touching the staff with his hands. The next halt is made at Ponvtüt, where the buffaloes separate from the *palol* and follow a slightly different route, and here the *wars palol* again prays. The procession halts for a third time at a place called Teirpül, near Anto, but this time it is the *ti palol* who prays after having placed the churning stick and bell on a stone. 234k 221 796

On its way to Anto the procession passes near the village of Kiudr. When the buffaloes are seen to be coming, the women leave the house and go to the outskirts of the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve and broom, and wait there while the procession is going by. All the people of Kiudr fast on this day till after the buffaloes have passed.

It was said that on this day the *palikartmokh* of Kiudr used to rub clarified butter on the stones called *neurzülnkars*, but there was some doubt about this, and if the custom ever existed it seems to have fallen into disuse.

According to some accounts, certain clauses especially referring to the migration of the *ti* buffaloes are used in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see Chap. X).

On reaching the outskirts of the new place, the Todas who have accompanied the procession go away. The staff carried by the *mòrol* is taken off by the *kaltmòkh*, who is again very careful that the vessels do not touch their bearer. Although the *mòrol* is allowed to carry some of the less sacred vessels, care is taken throughout that the vessels shall not be contaminated by touching his body or his clothing. 234k 221 796 415

All the dairy vessels are taken off and laid by a stone called the *perskars*, and then follows the ceremony of *peputi*. Each *palol* has carried with him some milk in one of the *persin*. Some of this is poured into the *peptòrzum*[1] and given to certain buffaloes, one of each kind belonging to the *ti*; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti*, the milk is given to five buffaloes, to three by one *palol*

[1] The vessel derives its name from this ceremony.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234* and to two by the other. The milk may be given to buffaloes
221 directly from the *tòrzum*, or it may be poured into the hands of the *palol* from which the appointed buffaloes drink.

796 The next business is the purification of the dairy, called
415 *nòdrkorsi arspishpimi—i.e.*, we wash with *nòdrkorsi*. The *palol* goes to the dairy spring or *kwoinir* with the *karitòrzum*, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm. He throws *tudr* bark into the spring, fills the *karitòrzum* and returns. He puts *tudr* bark into the *karitòrzum* and also into the *idrkwoi* and then pours the water from the *karitòrzum* into the *idrkwoi*, which he takes to the dairy and throws the water with his hands first over the dairy vessels and then well into the dairy itself so that it penetrates to the inner room. He throws the water first on the floor, then to the roof and to the sides, three times to each. Next he takes three sprigs of the plant ordinarily called *kabudri* (*Euphorbia Rothiana*), but at the *ti* called *nòdrkorsi* and ties it over the door of the dairy.

The dairy vessels, which have been untied and placed on the ground near the *perskars*, are then purified and put in their places. The *palol* first takes up the *peptòrzum* with the *persinkudriki* within it, the *kòghlag*, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet*, all in the right hand, and carries them to the front of the dairy, where he repeats certain *kwarzam* of the prayer, then turns to the east and says the whole prayer of the dairy, salutes the dairy holding the four things to his forehead, enters, puts the things except the *kwoinörtpet* in their places, comes out with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without turning his back to the interior of the dairy, and shuts the door of the building. He then takes in the other vessels of the inner room, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without repeating the prayer. One *persin* is taken in first, then the others, the *karitòrzum* and the *tedshk*. Then the *mani* is taken, being carried in the right hand and laid temporarily on the floor near the *persin*; when taking in the bell certain *kwarzam* are said.

234* The wand called *pokvet* is next taken in and laid in its
796 place, and then the things intermediate between the inner and outer room—viz., the lamp, which is hung in its place, and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the *idrkwoi*, which is put exactly at the line of junction of the two rooms. 234x

After this the things of the outer room are put in their places. Fire is made by friction, and the *tòratthwaskal* lighted, light transferred from this to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and with the fire so made the *palol* lights the lamp. 796

In most cases the buffaloes are then milked, but at Anto and Òdrtho, before milking, the *palol* begins an extraordinary ceremony, in which the *kaltmokh* is concerned, which is continued till the following day. 234x 793 796

For this ceremony food is especially prepared by the *palol*. He mixes husked grain (*patcherski*), brought by the Badagas who accompany the procession, with buttermilk and jaggery,[1] spreads butter on the mixture, and, putting it on a *kakud* leaf, takes it out to one of the two *kaltmokh* who is sitting in a given place about ten yards from the dairy. The *kaltmokh* must now stay on this spot till the evening.

After the *palol* has milked, he takes food himself and gives it to the *mòrol*. Before going to rest for the night a ceremony is performed called *irtupadrchiti*, "he prays for the buffaloes at the *tu*." The two *palol* go to the front of the *tu*,[2] in which the buffaloes have been put for the night and they pray, using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and of the gods only. They then go to the sleeping hut, where the second *kaltmokh* has swept the floor and prepared a fire, When the *palol* come to the hut they bawl out in a high key three times and the *kaltmokh* does the same and they go to bed, the two *palol* occupying one bed (*tüu*) and the *mòrol* and the second *kaltmokh* the other. After they have been in the hut some time, the first *kaltmokh*, who has been sitting till now outside at the place where he was given food, creeps into the hut and lies down to sleep between the two beds without any covering. No notice of him must be taken by the other occupants of the hut.

The following day is called *punirsnol*. In the early morning, before the others are awake, the first *kaltmokh* must get

[1] Palm juice sugar.

[2] At Anto, and probably at some other dairies, there is a special *tu* for use on this occasion.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234* up, light the fire, warm himself, and then go out and sit
793 on the same spot as on the previous evening. He remains
796 there till the two *palol* come to him to continue the ceremony in which he is concerned.

539 When the *palol* rise they do their usual work, and when they have milked they perform a ceremony called *karkutkîr-siti*,[1] in which the calves are prayed for in the same way that the buffaloes were prayed for on the previous evening. The second *kaltmokh* collects the calves in the *pepkarmus*, or milking-place of the buffaloes, and the two *palol*, each with empty *kwoi* and with *kwoinörtpet*, pray as on the previous evening using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and some of the *kwarzam* of the gods, and then bawl out in a high key three times in order to scatter the calves.

The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* is then continued. Each of the *palol* takes the vessel used for ladling buttermilk (*mòrkudriki*); one *palol* fills his vessel with the milk of *punir* and the other fills with *nei* (clarified butter). Each leaves his dairy, and they both call to the *kaltmokh*, who comes to the threshold of the *ti poh*, and stands there while the two *palo*, mix the milk and *nei*. The *kaltmokh* is then told to hold out his hands, and each *palol* pours out the mixture into the hands of the boy, who rubs it over his head first, and then all over his body. After the *kaltmokh* has thus been bathed in milk and *nei*, the three people walk in procession to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been sitting, the *kaltmokh* going first, followed by the *wars palol* and the *ti palol* in order. As they walk, the two *palol* say the following words:—

Kōda	*mâ;*	*pîrui*	*puti*	*vurmâ;*	*pob*	*ers*	*vurmâ;*		
die	may (he);	tiger	catch	(him) may;	snake	bite	(him) may;		
par	*pûdith*	*vurmâ*	*pâkh*	*pûdith*	*vurmâ*	*pudi*			
steep hill	fall down	(on him) may;	river	fall	(on him) may[2];	wild boar			
eri	*mâ;*	*kâdr*	*pat*	*mâ;*	*keirman*	*par*	*mâ.*		
bite	may;	wild beast	hold (catch him)	may;	bear	carry (him)	away	may.	

[1] This word was translated "he prays for the calves." One verb is used in naming the ceremony of praying for the calves and another in the case of praying for the adult buffaloes.

[2] Probably this should be translated "may the river (when in flood) swallow him.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

When they come to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been given the food, the boy remains standing there while the two *palol* turn round and walk back in the dairy, saying:— 234x 793 796 539

Kōda mâ, idvaik, ultâmâ; pîrzi par mâ,
die may (he), as was said, may he be well; tiger carry away may,
idvaik para vômâ; per pur mâ, idvaik,
as was said, carry away may not; steep hill fall may, as was said,
puva vômâ; pòb eri mâ, idvaik, eria vômâ; pâkh pur mâ,
fall may not; snake bite may, as was said, bite may not; river fall may,
idvaik, puva vômâ; kâdr pat mâ, idvaik, pata
as was said, fall may not; wild beast catch may, as was said, catch
vômâ; kadrman par mâ, idvaik, para vômâ;
may not; bear carry away may, as was said, carry away may not;
pudi eri mâ, idvaik, eria vômâ.
wild boar bite may, as was said, bite may not.

The *ti palol* then enters his dairy and brings out an especially large ball of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, more than can possibly be eaten at one sitting. It is given to the *kaltmokh*, who sits on the same spot as before, and eats as much of it as he can. 234x 793 796

All this ceremony has been done after milking, and before drinking buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*), which is now poured out by the second *kaltmokh* for the *palol*, who then go about their usual business. When the first *kaltmokh* has eaten as much as he can of his ball of food he leaves it on the spot where he has been sitting, and goes with the *palol*. The Todas say that the food left behind will never be touched by the crows, who will eat any other food.

In the afternoon the *palol* transact their ordinary dairy business and the *kaltmokh* returns to his place and resumes the consumption of his ball of food, staying on the spot till the end of the day. When the two *palol* have gone into the sleeping hut for the night, the *kaltmokh* goes into the hut after them and may then talk to the other occupants, and after this follows the usual routine.

During the whole of this ceremony the *kaltmokh*, who takes so prominent a part in it, is called the *neurzutpol*.

At the other dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* a ceremony which is obviously closely connected with that which has been

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 described is performed at certain stones called *neurzülnkars*.
793 At Mòdr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably
796 by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *palol* takes a *mòrkudriki*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *nei*, as when rubbed on the *kaltmokh*). The two *palol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kaltmokh* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kaltmokh*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *neurzutpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *neurzülnkars*.

778 The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* which follows the migra-
783 tion to the dairies of Anto and Ödrtho is one of the most extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of
789 the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kaltmokh*,
793 followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony
796 from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kaltmokh* is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the very sacred dairies of Anto and Ödrtho. The *kaltmokh* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.

It is possible that the *kaltmokh* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kaltmokh* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kaltmokh* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mani* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

FIG. 33.—THE FOUR 'NEURZÛLNKARS' AT MÒDR. BEHIND THE STONES ON THE RIGHT IS KARKIEVÂN, THE 'PALOL' OF THE 'TIIR'; ON THE LEFT IS NERPONERS, THE 'PALOL' OF THE 'WARSIR'; IN THE CENTRE IS THE 'KALTMOKH,' KATSOG, CARRYING A SICKLE-SHAPED KNIFE.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Ȯdrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234x At some time during the day following the arrival at the
221 new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung. Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nȯdrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nȯdrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—*i.e.*, "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that *erdpunrs* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the day following the migration. 234x

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*. 221 796

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season, returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*. 234x 221 233 621 796

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *mani* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neurüilnkars*. I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*. [778]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER VII

ORDINATION CEREMONIES

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BEFORE a dairyman enters upon office he has to undergo certain initial rites, which may fitly be spoken of as "ordination ceremonies." These ceremonies vary greatly in their elaborateness, according to the dairy in which the candidate is to serve.

In the case of the ordinary dairyman, or *palikartmokh*, the proceedings are simple and may be accomplished in a few minutes, while for the highest grade of the priesthood they are extremely elaborate and prolonged over more than a week.

The essential feature of all the ordination ceremonies is a process of purification by drinking and washing with the water of a stream or spring used for sacred purposes only (*palinipa* or *kwoinir*). In every case the water is drunk out of certain leaves, and the body is rubbed with water mixed with the juice of young shoots or bark.

A general name for ordination is *pelkkodichiti* or *pelkkatthtiti*, "lamp he lights." This name is derived from the fact that the first act in connexion with the dairy work which a new dairyman has to perform is to light the lamp of the dairy. The former of the two names given above was used especially in the case of the ordinary dairy and the latter in the case of the *ti*, but I am doubtful whether there is any strict limitation of the terms in these senses.

Another general name used for the ceremony of ordination is *niròditi*, which in a more limited sense is applied to the drinking and purification at the dairy stream or spring which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is the essential feature of the ceremony. This term was very often used for the ceremony of ordination to the office of *palol*.

234x 783 793

THE PALIKARTMOKH

The ceremony of ordination of the *palikartmokh* is called *pelkkodichiti* and very often *mulinirôditi*, the latter being derived from the *muli* leaves used in the ceremony. The ordination may take place on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday. On the day before the ceremony the candidate goes to the dairy, takes his food there, and sleeps at night in the outer room. His food is prepared and given to him either by the outgoing *palikartmokh* or by some other man holding this office.

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On the morning of the ceremony the candidate washes his hands in the *pali nipa* and goes to the front of the dairy, having a piece of the ordinary mantle round his waist. The assisting *palikartmokh* will have placed a small piece of the dark cloth called *tuni* on the threshold of the dairy, this small piece being called *petuni*. The candidate bows down (*nersatiti*), as in Fig. 20, at the threshold to the *petuni*, which he then raises to his forehead and puts in the string of his *kuvu* on the left side.

The candidate then plucks seven leaves of the kind called *muliers*—*i.e.*, leaves of a plant called *muli* (*Rubus ellipticus*). This plant is also often called *pelkkodsthmul*, after the ceremony in which it is used. He also plucks a handful of young shoots or *nau* of the same plant, and takes the leaves and shoots to the dairy stream. At the stream he pounds the shoots with water on a stone, takes up some water from the stream with the pounded shoots, drops this water into one of the leaves three times, raises the leaf to his forehead, drinks (see Fig. 34), throws the leaf over his head and puts the shoots down on one side. When he squeezes the water from the shoots into the leaf-cup he holds the former in his right hand and the latter in his left, but when about to raise the leaf-cup to his forehead and drink he transfers it to his right hand. The candidate then takes a fresh piece of the pounded shoots and repeats with a second leaf, and so on till the seven leaves are

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finished, throwing the leaf over his head in each case after drinking.

He then takes all the pounded shoots which he has placed on one side, dips them in water, rubs them over his face and body three times, and puts them in his back hair, whence they are allowed to drop anywhere. In the only case in which I saw this ceremony I noticed that they remained in the hair till the end of the day.

The candidate then goes to the dairy, bows down at the

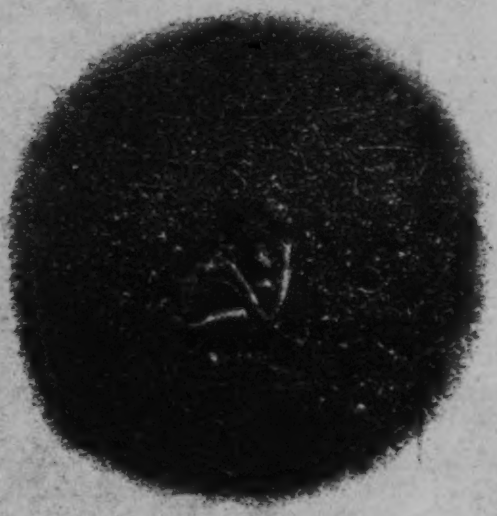

FIG. 34.—PUNATVAN (53) DRINKING DURING HIS ORDINATION AS 'PALIKARTMOKH' OF KARIA.

threshold as in Fig. 20, and enters. If there are two rooms, he bows down in the same way at the threshold of the inner room. If there is a *mani*, he salutes it (*kaimukhti*) with hand to forehead. He next bows down to the *patatmar* and to the *ertatmar*, and finally touches a vessel of the *ertatmar*, usually the *majparin*, and a vessel of the *patatmar*, the *patat*, and by doing this becomes a full *palikartmokh*. He proceeds to light the fire and the lamp and goes to milk the buffaloes.

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There are a few small points in which the ordination of a Teivali dairyman differs from that of the Tartharol. The Teivaliol use three pieces of the grass called *kakar*, with which the candidate sweeps the threshold of the dairy before bowing down and entering, the grass being left on the threshold. Among the Teivaliol also the place of the *petuni* may be taken by the special kind of cloth called *twadrinar*, which is manufactured by the Todas, and in the case in which I saw the ceremony, the candidate wore this instead of *petuni*. The Tartharol must use *petuni*.

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In the only case in which I saw this ceremony the ordination was to a Teivali dairy and the candidate was completely naked except for the *kuvu*. The Tarthar *tarpalikartmokh* wears part of an ordinary mantle as a loincloth during his ordination. The ceremony is the same for the *kudrpalikartmokh* as for the *tarvalikartmokh*, except that the former is quite unclothed except for the *kuvu* and that he alone has a *mani* to salute.

THE WURSOL

The ceremony begins either on Tuesday or Friday and lasts two days. On the first day the candidate goes early in the morning to the ordinary dairy of the village at which he is to be *wursol*; at Kars he goes to the *kudrpali*. He receives food from the *palikartmokh* and eats it sitting on the seat (*kwettin*) outside the dairy. He stays near the dairy till the afternoon. When the *palikartmokh* has finished his afternoon work and has distributed butter and buttermilk, one of the men of the village comes to the candidate and says, "*Nirôd!*" The candidate throws off his cloak and is given either a full *tuni* or a piece of this garment called *petuni*. The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the door of his dairy, and the candidate stands opposite to him and asks three times "*Twinathina?*"—"Shall I put on the *tuni?*" The *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Vat!*"—"Put on!" Then the candidate raises the garment to his forehead and if he has been given a complete *tuni* he puts it on; if only a *petuni* he puts it in the string of his *kuvu*. This string is

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234x 292 793 ordinarily called *pennar*, but is now called *kerk*, and this part of the ceremony is called *kerkatiti*. The fact that this name is given seems to indicate that properly the complete garment should not be given till a later stage of the proceedings.

234x 798 The candidate then finds seven leaves called *muliers* and seven shoots or *nau* of the same plant and goes through exactly the same ceremony at the stream as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*, putting the shoots in his back hair at the end. This part of the ceremony is called *muliniròditi*, and its object is to make the candidate a *palikartmokh* as a step towards becoming *wursol*. He is taken through the lower degree on his way to the higher.

After *muliniròditi* the candidate goes to the wall of the [372] dairy and stands outside it. The *palikartmokh* brings a firebrand from the dairy and lights with it a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself. The firebrand must be one of the three following kinds—*kid*, *pasòr* or *kias*. [314] After warming himself, the candidate goes to fetch bark of the *tudr* tree, which must not be cut, but knocked off with a stone. He also brings seven perfect *tudr* leaves, and goes again to the dairy stream. He pounds the bark on a stone and dips it in water, squeezes the water into one of the *tudr* leaves, drinks, throws over his head and puts the bark on one side exactly in the same way as before, but using *tudr* bark and leaves instead of the shoots and leaves of *muli*. After doing this seven times he dips the pounded bark in water, sprinkles his head and face three times, puts the bark in his hair, and, going a little way off, shakes his head.

The candidate then goes again to find bark and leaves of *tudr*, and repeats the whole ceremony and continues to repeat it till he has done it seven times—*i.e.*, he drinks out of the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. After this he goes to the wood near the stream (at Kars, called Tarskars) and the *palikartmokh* comes to him there with the *ertatpun* filled with buttermilk, and with four leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. Two leaves are given to the candidate and two kept by the dairyman, and each folds the leaves in the usual way to make a cup (*ersteiti*). The dairyman then puts the *ertatpun* between his

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thighs and, holding it there, depresses it so that he can pour buttermilk into his leaf-cup; from this he pours into the leaf-cup of the candidate who then drinks, and this is repeated till the latter is satisfied. The *palikartmokh* brings food and fire from the dairy and both stay in the wood for the night, being allowed to have companions. The place where they sleep is called *tavarpali*. 234x 793

In the morning the candidate again goes for *tudr* bark and leaves, and carries out the whole ceremony seven times as on the previous evening. He then goes to the *tavarpali* and waits there till the *palikartmokh* has finished his morning work, when the candidate again receives buttermilk and food. Then both go out together to look after the buffaloes.

When they return in the afternoon the candidate goes to the dairy stream and bathes from head to foot. This bathing is called *tudraspipini* (*tudr* I have washed), its object being to wash off the *tudr* bark previously used. After this he takes a piece of the cloth called *tuadrinar* and, using it as a girdle in addition to that he already wears, he goes to the wall of the dairy while the *palikartmokh* digs up a vessel called *mu* which is buried in the buffalo pen. (At Kars the *mu* which is used is that of the *tarvali*.) The *palikartmokh* then puts the *mu* on the ground and stands by it. The candidate asks three times, "*Muvatkina?*" "Shall I touch the *mu?*" and the *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Muvat!*" The candidate then touches the *mu*, and by doing so becomes a full *wursol*. The *mu* is reburied by the *palikartmokh*.

All the ceremonies so far have taken place at or near the ordinary dairy, either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, or at the stream belonging to one or other of these dairies. The candidate now for the first time goes to the dairy in which he is to be *wursol* (the *wursuli*) and prostrates himself at the threshold. He next enters and prostrates himself to the *patatmar* and then to the *ertatmar*. He takes up and puts in its place one of the vessels of the *ertatmar* and then one of the vessels of the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), lights the fire and the lamp and prays, using the prayer of the village. He then cleans the vessels and goes to milk, doing *mani tarnatirikiti* with the first milk as usual. 234x 788 793

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234x 783 793 I was especially told that if the candidate for the office of *wursol* wishes to scratch his head during his ordination ceremonies he must do so with a stick, but this is probably a feature of all ordination rites.

In the case of the *wursol*, it seemed that there is a difference in the ceremonial according to whether the dairy is occupied or not when the new dairyman enters upon office. The foregoing account applies to the case in which the dairy is already occupied and the new dairyman replaces another, so that there is no break in the continuity of the dairy proceedings. If the dairy should be unoccupied, I was told that the candidate would have to sleep for two nights in the wood, and there would almost certainly be additional purifications, but I did not learn the exact nature of the proceedings in this case.

Though I was only told of this difference of procedure in the case of the *wursol*, it is not unlikely that there is a corresponding difference of procedure in the case of other dairies when the dairy has been unoccupied. There will certainly be a ceremony of purification of the dairy, such as takes place when the buffaloes migrate to a new village, and probably the dairy vessels will also have to be purified.

THE KUGVALIKARTMOKH OF TARADR AND THE POHKARTPOL OF KANÒDRS

234x 778 793 The ordination ceremonies of these two dairymen appear to be almost identical. So far as I could ascertain, the feature which the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs have in common is that they serve institutions to which a high degree of sanctity is attached. The ritual of both dairies bears some resemblance to that of the *'ti* and, as we have already seen, the regulations for the conduct of the *pohkartpol* are, in some respects, even more stringent than those of the *palol*.

234x 793 The *kugvalikartmokh* is ordained either on Wednesday or Sunday, the *pohkartpol* on Tuesday. On the night preceding the ordination the candidate sleeps in the wood. Seven

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leaves are used of the following kinds: *pelkkodsthmul*,[1] *puthimul*, *ànmul*, *takmul*, *kadakmul*, *tòrimul*, and *pathanmul*. One leaf of each kind is taken and the leaves pounded together and used in the same way as the shoots of *muli* or the bark of the *tudr* tree, water being dropped from them into leaves of *puthimul*. The pounded leaves are then placed in the back hair as usual. This is followed by the ceremony of drinking water three times out of a leaf containing water and some buffalo-dung. The bark of the *tudr* tree is then rubbed all over the body, though no *tudr* leaves are used for drinking. The candidate attains his full office by touching a *mu*, prostrates himself at his dairy, enters and begins his work as in the dairies of a lower grade.

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THE KALTMOKH

The ordination of the *kaltmokh* begins either on Sunday, Wednesday or Thursday. In the case of a *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, the first part of the ceremony takes place at the village of Nòdrs, while in some cases it seems that the candidate may go to the same village of Òdr which is visited by the *palol* during his ordination. I have no information about the place of ordination in the case of the other *ti* dairies.

A boy who is to become *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* goes to Nòdrs either on Sunday, Wednesday, or Thursday, and, going to the ordinary dairy of that place (*tarvali*), he is given water by the *palikartmokh* in the vessel called *pòlmachok*. The boy washes his hands with this water and puts on a *tuni* which the *palikartmokh* gives him, after saying the same formula as in the ordination of *wursol*. He then does *muliniròditi* and so reaches the grade of *palikartmokh*. This and the following ceremony are done at a special stream at Nòdrs called *niròdigudr*. The purification ceremony is then performed with *tudr* bark and leaves till the candidate has drunk seven times seven. Food and buttermilk are given by the *palikartmokh*, and then the boy together with the

[1] This is the ordinary *muli* used in the ordination of the *palikartmokh*.

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palikartmokh and the *wursol* of Nòdrs pass the night in the wood near that place.

The next morning the candidate goes to the ordination stream and washes himself from head to foot. This is called *tudraspipini*, its object being the same as in the ordination of the *wursol*. The boy next goes to the front of the *tarvali*, where the *palikartmokh* gives him a special string made of *twadrinar*, which he puts round his waist as *kerk*, and then warms himself at a fire of *muli* wood. The *palikartmokh* brings a *mu*, which the candidate touches with the same formalities as in the ordination of *wursol*, and by so doing reaches the grade called *perkursol*, which is of the same rank as that of *wursol*. The *perkursol* then takes the *mu* into the *tarvali*, prostrating himself at the threshold before entering. He prostrates himself to the *patatmar* and to the *ertatmar*, puts the *mu* on the *patatmar* and comes out. He then goes to the *poh*, or conical dairy of Nòdrs, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and prostrates himself before *patatmar*, *ertatmar* and, finally, before the *mani*. Up to the point of saluting the bell in this way he keeps on the *tuni* but at this stage he throws it down and comes out of the dairy naked (except for the *kuvn*), puts on the ordinary cloak and goes to the dairy at which the *ti* buffaloes are standing.

When he reaches the *ti mad*, the candidate goes to the *palol*, whom he salutes with the words "*tr kar ûdâ*," this salutation being called *pîrwadrikpini*. He goes to the sleeping hut, prostrates himself before the horns which are kept in this building, and then goes to the front of the dairy. He is now *perkursol*, and in order that he shall become full *kaltmokh* or *tunitusthkaltmokh*, the *palol* gives him a piece of *tuni* (*petuni*). The boy asks three times, "*Tunitusthvaskina?*"—"Shall I go to wash the *tuni?*"—to which the *palol* answers each time "*Tusthva!*"—"Wash, go!" The boy takes the *petuni* to the stream for ordinary use (not the *kwoinir*) and bathes from head to foot. He puts to himself three times the question, "*tunitoikina?*" and laying the piece of *tuni* on a stone, he pours water on it three times and returns with the *petuni* in his hand to the *palol*, who will be sitting on his

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polvelkars in front of the dairy. The *palol* asks three times, "*Tunitusthpacha?*"—"Have you returned from washing the *tuni?*"—and each time the boy replies, "*tunitusthpuspini*"—"I have come from washing the *tuni*." Then both *palol* and boy go to the front of the *kadr* in which the calves are kept and the *palol* puts into the gate three bars (*tasth*), which shut the opening of the enclosure. The boy asks three times, "*Tasthvatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tasth?*"—and each time the *palol* replies "*Tasthvat!*" The boy, who hitherto has been *perkursol*, now touches the *tasth*, and by so doing attains the full rank of *kaltmokh*, and at once goes and pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol*.

The latter parts of the ordination ceremonies of the *kaltmokh*, from the point at which he receives *petuni* from the *palol* to the touching of the *tasth*, are always performed whenever the *kaltmokh* returns to the *ti* after a journey in which it has been necessary to degrade himself to the rank of *perkursol* (see p. 100). The initial stages of becoming a *kaltmokh* are known in general as *niròdibudnudr*.

The Ordination of the Palol

In accordance with the fact that the *palol* belongs to the highest and most sacred grade of the dairy-priesthood, we find that the ceremonies preceding his entrance upon office are far more elaborate and prolonged than for the minor grades.

In order that a Teivali man may become a candidate for the office of *palol* he must first have gone through a preliminary qualifying ceremony called *tesherst*. When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the people of the clan to which the *ti* belongs are restricted in their choice to those men who have been through this ceremony. When one of these qualified men has been selected, he then goes through the proper ordination ceremonies, known as *niròditi*.

In the case of a *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, the *niròditi* ceremonies are performed partly at Nòdrs, partly at Òdr, one of the most sacred villages of the Nòdrs clan, and finally at the *ti mud* where he is to hold office.

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THE TESHERST CEREMONY

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This qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* is always performed by a number of men at the same time. The number taking part must be three, five, seven or nine. There seemed to be no doubt that it was not permissible for four, six or eight men to perform the ceremony together. One or two Todas told me that an even number of men might do the ceremony, but all the more trustworthy witnesses were agreed that there must be an uneven number, and on all the occasions of which I could obtain records of actual ceremonies, an uneven number of men had done *tesherst* together. The ceremony may not be performed while the funeral ceremonies of any Teivali person are uncompleted.

At the time of my visit there were only nine or ten men who had been through the *tesherst* ceremony, including those who were holding or had held the office of *palol*. It was proposed that a number of the younger men should perform the ceremony about this time, but it had to be delayed till the second funeral ceremonies of two Teivali women had been held.

The *tesherst* ceremony always begins on a Monday after the new moon. It takes place at certain villages where people are living, and in all the cases of which I obtained records it had been done at Kudrnakhum, belonging to the Nòdrsol, or at Pushtar, belonging to the Taradrol. People must be living at the village at the time the ceremony is performed.

The candidates go to the village on Monday evening, accompanied by two or three Nòdrs men. All go to a stream by a wood and the ceremony begins after sunset, when all the candidates throw off their cloaks and stand in a row. A man of the Nòdrs clan has a *tuni* in his hand and each candidate asks three times, "*Tunivatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tuni*?"—and each time the Nòdrs man replies, "*Tunivat!*" The first man in the row touches the *tuni* and then the others in order. The Nòdrs man then gives the *tuni* to the first man who touched it, and he tears it into as many pieces

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as there are candidates, giving a piece to each man, who puts it in the string of his *kuvn*. All then go in search of the leaves of *muli* and each plucks seven leaves and seven shoots. They go to the stream, one by one, and each drinks and rubs himself with the shoots seven times, as in the ordination ceremony, and puts the shoots in his back hair.

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While they are doing this, the Nòdrs man will have made fire by friction, using the wood of *muli*, and the men warm themselves at the fire. Each man then goes in search of seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark and carries out the usual purification ceremony once only, drinking out of each of the seven leaves, after which the men take food prepared by another of the Nòdrs men, and all pass the night in the wood. Next morning the men fetch *tudr* bark and leaves and repeat the drinking and rubbing ceremony of the previous evening, but on this occasion each man says "*Teshnirödinem*," as he throws the leaf over his head after drinking. All then bathe completely in the stream.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs men have been cooking a large amount of food, more than the candidates can readily eat, and an old woman of the Tartharol who is to take part in the ceremony has bathed and dressed in her best clothes and put on all the ornaments she can procure: gold earrings, necklace, bracelets, and rings. When the men have bathed, they wait till the message comes that the food is ready, and then each man takes off his piece of *tuni* and his *penwar* and his *kuvn*, so that he is completely naked. The Nòdrs man portions out the food and puts it on *tudr* leaves, the portion for each man being more than he can possibly eat at one sitting, and the portions of food are given to the old woman, who sits down with her back to the men. Each man goes up behind the back of the old woman, and she gives him his portion of food by putting her hand behind her back so that she does not look at him, and in doing so she says three times "*Teshtòrtudenk?*"—"*Tesh* food have I not given?" The men take the food, go into the thickest part of the wood and eat it. None of the food prepared on this occasion may be eaten by the Nòdrs men or by the old woman, but though the amount is excessive, the whole of it must be eaten by the

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candidates during the day. After each man has eaten to the full he may put on his cloak. The Nòdrs men and the old woman go back to their villages and they must hold no communication of any kind with the candidates after the food has been given. The men remain in the wood all day, and when it is getting dark they go to the nearest village at which any of them live, taking care that no one sees them on the way.

One of the most remarkable features of this ceremony is the part taken by the old woman. She must be one of the Tartharol; she must be past the age of child-bearing, and she must never have had intercourse with one of her own clan. In the last particular the word of the woman is trusted, for it was said that she would never deceive in such a matter. Every woman believed that if she did not speak the truth she would die, and all those concerned in the ceremony would either die or have serious illness. I was told that it was by no means easy to find a woman who fulfilled this requirement, and in each of the cases of which I have records the same woman officiated—viz. Naspilthi of Taradr (21).

Other remarkable features of this ceremony are that the men should be given more food than they are readily able to eat, as in the ceremony connected with the *kaltmokh* after the migration (p. 139), and that they receive this food in a condition of complete nudity, a condition which only occurs in one other dairy ceremonial.

The *tesherst* ceremony is one in which candidates for the office of *palol* go through certain of the rites which ordinarily form part of the process of ordination, with the addition of special ceremonies, in which a superabundant portion of food is given by a woman who fulfils certain peculiar conditions.

When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the clan to which the *ti* belongs chooses from among those who have been through the *tesherst* ceremony, and the chosen man has then to undergo the ordination ceremonies proper, or *nirôditi*.

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THE NIRODITI CEREMONY

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The ceremony begins on a Saturday evening, after the new moon, when the chosen candidate goes to a village of the clan to which his future *ti* belongs and sleeps there in the ordinary hut.

On the following morning he goes before daybreak to the front of the dairy of the village, naked except for his *kuvn*, and a man of the village stands at the door of the dairy holding a *tuni* in his hand, and says three times, "*Tunivatkia!*" —"Touch the *tuni!*" The candidate answers, "*Tunivatkin*," and takes the *tuni*. If the garment is a complete one, he puts it on; if only a piece, he puts it in his *pennar*, and taking seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark he goes to the stream of the dairy and performs the usual drinking and rubbing ceremony, and after putting the *tudr* bark in his hair, goes a little way off and shakes his head so that the bark falls out. He repeats the ceremony twice, so that it is performed three times altogether—*i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three times seven. This ceremony is called *teshnir*, and is done in view of the inhabitants of the village. The candidate stays for the rest of the day at the village. If there is a *wursol* there, the food of the candidate is prepared by this dairyman[1]; if no *wursol* is present, it is prepared by the *palikartmokh*. The food is grain boiled in milk, and is only eaten in the evening. The candidate sleeps that night in a wood near the village, but not the same wood as that by the stream where *teshnir* had been done. Either the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh* must pass the night in the wood with the candidate, and other men of the village may also be their companions. Until the candidate lies down to sleep he must remain naked (except for the *kuvn*), but when sleeping he may cover himself with his ordinary cloak.

Next morning (Monday) the candidate gets up at sunrise,

[1] This is inconsistent with the statement made on p. 73 that the *wursol* never prepares food except at the *irpalvunthi* ceremony. It is possible that the food is only given to the candidate by the *wursol* and is not prepared by him.

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lays aside his cloak, and goes to bathe completely in the stream, saying three times, "*Tudraspinem*,"[1]—"*Tudr* I have washed," thus washing off the *tudr* of the previous day. He then returns to the place where he had slept, puts on his ordinary cloak with the right arm out, and goes to the front of the dairy. He is given food by the *wursol*, or, in his absence, by the *palikartmokh*, and eats it outside the dairy, after which he washes. He then goes to the ordinary stream of the village (*ars nipa*) and takes up water with his hand, and by so doing he becomes *perol*—*i.e.*, he loses any sanctity he has acquired by the ceremony of the previous day.

The candidate then goes direct to the village of Ôdr and stays near that village till the evening, when he makes his way to the front of the dairy of that place. He stands about ten yards from the dairy and throws off his cloak. A man of the clan to which his future *ti* belongs now gives him a complete *tuni* of the kind worn in the village dairy (a *mad tuni*, not a *ti tuni*), saying three times, "*Tunivatkia*," to which is replied "*Tunivatkin*." The man who gives the *tuni* now remains as assistant and companion till the candidate reaches his future dairy. The candidate puts the *tuni* round his loins, goes to the stream of the dairy, and performs the drinking and rubbing ceremony with *muli* leaves and shoots as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*. The assistant makes fire by friction and lights a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself.

The drinking ceremony with *tudr* is then carried out in the same way as at *teshnir*, and then the *wursol* of Ôdr brings buttermilk in an *ertatpun* and gives it in cups of *kakud* leaves to both the candidate and his assistant. They also receive food from the *wursol*, while any other men present go to the ordinary hut for their meal. That night is passed at a special spot under a tree not far from the dairy at Ôdr, the *wursol* and assistant being the companions of the candidate. On that night the candidate may not

[1] This has not the same form as the word uttered by the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* in the corresponding ceremony. In some cases different verbal forms are used at the *ti*, and this may be an instance.

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touch his ordinary cloak and has to be content with the scanty covering of the *tuni*.[1]

On the next day (Tuesday), the ceremony with *tudr* leaves and bark is repeated three times as on the previous days, and after the *wursol* has finished his dairy work he gives buttermilk and food to both the candidate and his assistant. On the afternoon of this day the *tudr* ceremony is performed again, but on this occasion seven times, so that the candidate drinks from the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. In the evening buttermilk and food are again given by the *wursol* and the three men pass the night in the wood.

On the next day (Wednesday) the candidate fetches bark of the tree from which the material called *twadrinar* is made and makes for his temporary use a rough *kuvn*. When it is ready, he bathes in the dairy stream, takes off the old *pennar* and *kuvn* and puts on the newly made garment, together with the *tuni*, and goes with the *wursol* to the dairy where the buffaloes of his *ti* are standing. When they approach the *ti mad* the *wursol* goes away and leaves the candidate to go to the dairy alone, where he sits on the outskirts (*pül*) of the *ti mad*. When the *kaltmokh* sees the candidate approaching, he collects the buffaloes at the milking place (*pepkarmus*) and catches hold of the tails of certain buffaloes which are to be taken in charge by the new *palol*, saying to himself three times for each buffalo, "*Tover vatkina?*"—"Tail shall I hold?"—and replying to himself each time, "*Vat!*" At the Nòdrs *ti* if the candidate is to be *palol* of the *tiir*, the *kaltmokh* holds the tails of three buffaloes, one of each kind; if he is to be *palol* of the *warsir*, two buffaloes only take part (see p. 112). After this the *kaltmokh* prepares food in the *pül* of the dairy and gives it to the *palol* designate. While the *kaltmokh* is attending to the new *palol* he must become a *perkursol*—*i.e.*, he degrades himself to this rank before undertaking these duties. During the night the candidate together with the *kaltmokh* and the other *palol* already in office

[1] It has been stated by Harkness, Marshall and others that when the *palol* is entering on his office he has to sleep in the wood completely naked. This is not strictly correct, though the covering afforded by the *tuni* is so meagre that the statement is almost justified.

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234x (if there are two, as at the Nòdrs *ti*) sleep in the hut of the *ti mad*.

793 The next day (Thursday) the new *palol* goes to the stream and performs the *tudr* ceremony three times in the morning and nine times in the afternoon; *i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three and nine times seven. On this day the *kaltmokh* milks the *punir*, takes the milk to the *pül*, churns there and gives buttermilk, butter and other food to the new *palol*. On that night all sleep in the *karenpoh* or calf-house.

The proceedings of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are the same as those of Thursday, except that the new *palol* may now drink the milk of the *punir* like the full *palol*.

234x 793 292 783 796 On Monday morning the new *palol* enters on his office. In the morning he bathes and then takes off the temporary *pennar* and *kuvn* he has been wearing and replaces them by others made in the same way. A Badaga (the *tikelfmav*) then brings one of the two cloaks of the *palol*, that called *pòdrshtuni*, and lays it down at the outskirts of the dairy. It is taken up by the *kaltmokh* and given to the new *palol*, who spreads it out on the place where the buffaloes are milked. He then takes pounded *tudr* bark, says the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the *ti* and of the buffaloes (see Chap. X) and throws the pounded bark on the garment. He turns the garment over so as to expose the other surface and purifies this in the same way. He then asks himself, "*Pòdrshtuni tutkina?*"—"Shall I tie the *pòdrshtuni*?"—and throwing off the *mad tuni* he has been wearing hitherto, he puts on the *pòdrshtuni*. The *kaltmokh* returns the *mad tuni* to the Nòdrs people, who come on this day and stand on the outskirts of the place.

The new *palol* then purifies his dairy by sprinkling it with water and *tudr* bark in the same way as is done when going to a new dairy (see p. 136). He next takes the *uppun*, puts into it water and *tudr* bark, and turning towards the Nòdrs people with the vessel to his forehead, says three times to them, "*Poh pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the dairy?" All the Nòdrs people cry "*Pûkh!*" and the new *palol* enters his dairy with the full rights of his position.

000 At some period before entering into office as full *palol*

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At same time before entering into office as full palol

the candidate touches a *tasth* or bar of the entrance into the *tu*. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the *kaltmokh*, and as in this case it seemed to be the special indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the *tasth* is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished. 234 x 574 793 796

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pon*, nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called *kubuntuni* is brought by the *tikelfmav*, and is put on in the usual way. (During the previous month the *pòdrshtuni* will have been used both as a cloak and as a loincloth, and will have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and sit in the *pül* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol first, saying "*Ban*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol, saying "*Pekein*," and each reply in the customary manner. [292] [576]

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *muli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity. 234 x 793

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Òdr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *mulinirròditi* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvn* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh*

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performs the tail-holding ceremony and the candidate sleeps in the hut. On the four next days the *tudr* ceremony is performed three times seven in the mornings and nine times seven in the afternoons, and the calf-house is used as a sleeping-place. On the following Monday the *palol* enters upon office, assuming the *pòdrshtuni*, touching a *tasth*, and entering his dairy.

The foregoing description of the ordination of the *palol* applies primarily to the Nòdrs *ti*, but in its main details it holds good for other places.

I am doubtful as to the part taken by the village of Òdr, and am not clear whether part of the ordination ceremony is performed at this place by every *palol* or only by those of the Nòdrs *ti*. It is possible that it is only the latter who visit the village, but I do not know of any corresponding village visited by the candidates for the post of *palol* at other *ti* dairies. My impression is that every candidate for the office of *palol* visits this village.

The only definite modification of the ceremonies attendant on entrance into office of which I know occurs at the Kars *ti*. Here the *palol* is first ordained to the *parsir*—*i.e.*, he becomes the *palol* of this herd of buffaloes and tends them only. At the end of a month he becomes *palol* of the *pürsir*, and the ceremony of entrance upon this office was spoken of as *pelkkatthtiti* to the *pürspoh*. In this case the ceremony of ordination to the *parspoh* is called *niròditi*, and that of removal to another dairy *pelkkatthtiti*.

On the afternoon of the appointed day the *palol* churns the milk of the morning in the *parspoh* and then shuts the door of this dairy, which he never re-enters as long as he is in office. He could only do so if he should cease to be *palol* and be re-ordained to the same *ti*.

A new *pòdrshtuni* is brought by a Badaga and is assumed by the *palol* after purification in the usual manner. At the same time he puts on a new *kagurs*,[1] which has been purified by the *kaltmokh*, who has also cut a new *kwoinörtpet* on the hill of Kulinkars which the *palol* then purifies with *tudr* bark in the usual manner, saying the names of the four deities, Anto, Nòtirzi, Kulinkars, and Kuzkarv.

[1] The *ti* name of the *kwm*.

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The *palol* then digs up earth from the footprints of one of the *pürsir*, saying the whole prayer of the *ti* as he does so. He drives the buffalo slightly to one side by touching it with the wand, and takes earth from the exact place where the foot of the buffalo had been resting and puts the earth into a cup which he has made of *tudr* leaves. He adds pounded *tudr* bark and goes to the spring (*kwoinir*) of the dairy, where he mixes water with the earth and bark. He then goes to the stone called *pepkusthkars*, where he has previously laid a complete set of new dairy vessels and implements of the inner room, together with the lamp and the bell (Ner) of the *pürspoh*. The bell is laid on the stone, the other things by its side.

Wearing the *pòdrshtuni* and holding the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm, the *palol* sprinkles the contents of the leaf-cup over the dairy vessels and other objects, beginning with the bell, and as he does so he prays, using the whole prayer of the dairy. He then ties all the vessels and other contents of the dairy on a staff called *pepkati* in exactly the same manner as when taking them from one *ti mad* to another. The bell is tied up in a leafy covering of *kias* and everything is done as in the migration from one place to another, and the staff with its burden is then borne by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the stone called *perskars*, by the side of which the dairy vessels are laid, while the *mani* is uncovered and laid on the stone. The staff is then placed at the back of the dairy.

Having untied the dairy vessels and arranged them by the stone, the *palol* pounds fresh *tudr* bark, and with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm goes with the *karitòrsum* to the sacred spring, into which he throws the bark, takes water, and returns. Taking more pounded bark, he puts it in the *idrkwoi* and pours water into this vessel from the *karitòrsum*. He takes the *idrkwoi* with its contents to the front of the dairy, and with his right hand sprinkles the water over the outside of the dairy and then into its interior till the vessel is emptied. The dairy vessels are not again purified, but are taken into the dairy with the same procedure as that described in the last chapter. The vessels of the outer room, which have been purified by the *kaltmokh*, are then taken to their places. Fire is made by friction; one fireplace is lighted

234x 793 and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234x 184 783 778 788 793 The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli;* the dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *poh* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark, while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *mu*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tasth*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmokh* also touches a *mu* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

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this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy.

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both *wursol* and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmokh*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

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CHAPTER VIII

SPECIAL DAIRY CEREMONIES

234x 796 I HAVE so far dealt with the organisation and ritual of the dairy, with the ceremonies accompanying the movements of the buffaloes from one place to another, and with the ceremonies attendant on the entrance of the dairymen into office. There remain ceremonies which accompany certain events in the course of the dairy ritual or in the lives of the buffaloes. One of these, the *pepkaricha* ceremony, is performed whenever any evil befalls a certain dairy vessel which is buried in the buffalo pen. Another ceremony celebrates the birth of a calf, and a group of ceremonies are connected with the act of giving salt to the buffaloes.

THE PEPKARICHA CEREMONY

234x 783 796 In the account of the daily work of the dairy, it will be remembered that whenever the dairyman goes out to milk for the first time he puts some buttermilk into his milking vessel. This is done in every dairy, and the buttermilk so added is called *pep*. The milk of every day has mixed with it some of the buttermilk from the milking of the day before, and in this way continuity is kept up in the dairy operations. Under certain conditions this continuity is broken and new *pep* has to be made, and the process of doing so is the ceremony called *pepkaricha*, *pepkarichti*, or *pepkarichanudr* —*i.e.*, "*pep* he purifies," or, "if *pep* is purified."

In some cases new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan

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(*madol*); in other cases it has only to be made for one of the dairies of the clan.

The ceremony is performed for the whole clan whenever anything goes wrong with a certain dairy vessel called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen at the chief village of the clan. We have seen that this vessel is used in the ordination to certain dairy offices, and it is also inspected as a matter of routine about once a year. If it is broken or has been stolen or tampered with in any way, it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

Among the Tartharol, new *pep* has also to be made after the funeral of a male on account of the defilement of the *mani* involved in its exposure to the ordinary people at the funeral ceremonies.

The conditions which necessitate the making of new *pep* for a single dairy are, (1) if a Tamil or other "foreigner" has entered the dairy, (2) if an ordinary Toda (*perol*) has gone into the dairy at night, (3) if the dairyman has used tobacco. In these cases the people of the village at which the offence has been committed procure a new *mu*, and, after purifying it, go to some other dairy of the clan, where they procure some buttermilk to act as *pep* and take it to their own dairy. It is only when new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan that the prolonged ceremony of *pepkarichti* has to be carried out. This ceremony differs in its details for each clan, and is more complicated in some cases than in others. As an example, I will give the proceedings for the Kuudr clan.

When it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole group of dairies belonging to the clan it is necessary to take the buffaloes to one special dairy. The Kuudr people go to the dairy of Kwirg near Sholur. On the day of going to Kwirg, a feast is held at which the food called *ashkkartpimi* is eaten.

Whenever new *pep* is made it is necessary to have a new *palikartmokh*, and the man who is to undertake the duties goes to Kwirg with the milking buffaloes of the *pasthir* and is accompanied by a number of Kuudr men. The men take with them a new and complete set of dairy vessels, and reach Kwirg in the early morning of a Sunday after the new moon.

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The buffaloes are at once penned in the *tu*. The first business is the ordination of the new *palikartmokh*, which is carried out as usual. When at the stream for the purification ceremony, the *palikartmokh* has with him a new *mu*, which he fills with water at the stream. He takes this vessel to the *tu* in which the buffaloes are penned, and knocks one of the buffaloes on the back with his wand (*pet*), so that it moves to one side. Then with the wand he digs some earth from the spot where the hoof of the buffalo had been resting, and mixes this earth with *tudr* bark. He places part of the mixed earth and bark in the *mu*, and puts the rest on one side; this part of the ceremony is called *mukatchkudrspini*, or purification of the *mu*, literally "*mu* purification I have purified."

The *palikartmokh* then brings all the other dairy vessels and implements, beginning with the *patat*, and purifies them by throwing on them mixed earth and *tudr* bark, sprinkling them with water from the *mu* three times, saying "*On*" each time. The things of the *tatatmar* are purified first and then the things of the *ertatmar*, and the purified objects are placed in the dairy. Fire is made by friction and the *palikartmokh* goes out to milk. Buttermilk is not put into the milking-vessel as usual, and the lamp is not lighted. The milk is poured into the *patat*, and the *palikartmokh* then prepares food, which he gives to the people who have come with him, but he himself fasts. All the men then go away except one or two, who are to remain as companions of the dairyman. In the evening the *palikartmokh* takes off some of the cream,[1] which has risen to the top of the milk, and puts it into the lamp which he lights, and then prays, using the *kwarzam* of Kwirg[2] and the *kwarzam* of the *pep* only.

If the milk has coagulated it is now churned, and then the buffaloes are milked as usual, but if the milk has not coagulated, it is left till next morning. In the evening the dairyman takes food as usual.

On the following day, it seems that the milk has always

[1] This is the only occasion on which this cream is used by the Todas. It is used because there are now neither butter nor ghi at the dairy. Its use here is an indication that the process of coagulation is less rapid than usual.

[2] See p. 222.

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become solid and is churned. Immediately after churning and without taking food, the dairyman puts together the dairy things according to the usual method followed when going from one village to another, and goes with his buffaloes to the village of Kiudr. The dairy vessels are carried in the usual manner, the new buttermilk called *puthpep* being in the *patat* and the butter in the *mu*.

The people living at Kiudr leave the village, and the man who has been filling the office of *palikartmokh* there throws away all the old dairy things and takes the *mani* to the stones by the side of that dairy called *neurzülnkars* (see p. 129). After leaving the bells there for a little time, the dairyman takes them to the *pali nipa*, and then his office ceases and he becomes *perol*.

The new *palikartmokh*, who has come from Kwirg, purifies the dairy and his new dairy vessels and the *mani* in exactly the same way as when reaching a new dairy, and then places the bells, vessels, and other objects in the dairy. During the next month, till the following new moon, the dairyman and his companions stay alone at Kiudr doing the ordinary business of the dairy. During this time they may be visited by men of the Kuudr clan, but neither by women nor by men of other clans. At the end of the month, on the Sunday after the new moon, the *palikartmokh* drives the buffaloes (now called *ponir*, festival buffaloes) to Kuudr, taking with him the *puthpep* and the dairy vessels. When the people at Kuudr see the dairyman coming with the *ponir*, they leave the village and all go to Kiudr, which the buffaloes have just left. There they hold a feast to which many people of other clans, both men and women, are invited.

When the *palikartmokh* reaches Kuudr, he purifies the dairy as he had done at Kiudr and puts the vessels in their places.

Certain men of the clan then come, each with a new *mu*, and these vessels are laid by the side of the stones called *keinkars* and *tasnikars* in the wall of the pen. At Kuudr fifteen new *mu* should be brought by the fifteen heads of families of the Kuudr clan. The *palikartmokh* then purifies each *mu* with *tudr* bark in the usual way and places the

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vessels on the *patatmar* of the dairy, after which he gives food to those who have provided the vessels.

The *palikartmokh* with his companion or companions then stay at Kuudr for a month, when, again on a Sunday after the new moon, all the Kuudrol assemble at Kuudr and hold a feast. On that day a new *palikartmokh* is appointed for each dairy of the Kuudr clan. Each man goes through the usual ordination ceremony and then receives one of the new *mu* containing some of the new *pep*, which he takes to his dairy. Each new dairyman also provides new dairy vessels, and, when he reaches his dairy, purifies the *mu* and the new dairy things in the way already described. He puts the vessels into the dairy and then goes to milk, taking some of the new *pep* in his milking-vessel, and thereafter matters go on as usual. Each new dairyman fasts while going to his dairy with the new *pep*, although the rest of the people are feasting.

Those who remain at Kuudr bury the *mu* in which the *pep* was brought from Kwirg. It is buried by the side of the pen, under a tree called *teikkkwadiki*.

The ceremony of making new *pep* is carried out on the same lines in all dairies, but usually it is less complicated and fewer villages have to be visited than in the case of the Kuudrol. It seems that there is a tendency in some clans to perform the ceremony less rigidly than of old. Thus, the Kars people used to go to Keshker for new *pep*, but now they perform the ceremony at Kars itself, so that the migration to a new place with its attendant ceremonial is avoided.

There are certain differences in the procedure in the case of Teivali and Tarthar clans. One, the necessity for new *pep* after the funeral of a male, has been already mentioned.

Another difference is that there is a buried *mu* for each kind of dairy, so that a clan which has two or three kinds of dairy will have two or three *mu* buried in the pen. If it is the *mu* belonging to the *wursuli* which is broken or tampered with, the ceremony is performed by the *wursol*, who takes earth from the footprints of one of the *wursulir*. If the *mu* of the *kudrpali* is injured, the *kudrpalikartmokh* performs the ceremony, taking earth from the footprints of one of the other

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kinds of sacred buffaloes. Thus at Kars he takes it from the prints of the *martir*. 234x 783 796

At Kanòdrs new *pep* has to be made at a place called Kautarmad, which I could not identify. It is a long way from Kanòdrs, but the people have to go there because the god Kwoto used to make *pep* there. There is one feature peculiar to the ceremony for this clan. Earth has to be taken from a certain spot from which it was taken by Kwoto, and this earth is mixed with that taken from the footprints of the buffalo.

Another special feature of the Kanòdrs dairy is connected with the buried *mu* and is probably the result of the fact that this dairy is now only occupied occasionally. When the *pokkaripol* leaves the dairy on vacating office, he takes up the buried *mu*, pours into it a small quantity of *pep*, and reburies the vessel, covering it on the top with a stone. When he resumes office, he takes up the *mu* and purifies it with the two kinds of earth used in the full ceremony, and puts the *pep* which has been buried into his milking-vessel when he goes out to milk for the first time. As in other Tarthar clans, the full ceremony of *pepkaricha* is only carried out when the *mu* is broken or stolen, and after the funeral of a male.

A characteristic feature of Toda dairy procedure is the coagulation of the milk before it is churned. This coagulation occurs in a few hours without the addition of rennet or other special coagulating agent, the milk drawn in the morning being nearly always solid at the time of the afternoon churning. This rapid coagulation of the milk is almost certainly assisted by the added buttermilk or *pep*, the curdling being probably an acid coagulation set up or hastened by the addition of the sour buttermilk. If this were the case, it might be expected that habitual failure of the milk to coagulate might be regarded as a reason for making new *pep*, and I therefore inquired carefully into this point. It was quite clear, however, that delay in the coagulation was not looked upon as a reason for the ceremony. If there was habitual delay, it was customary to consult the diviners, and they always gave one of two reasons for the delay: either that it was due to the action of a sorcerer, or that the dairyman had committed one 234x 754 787

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234x 754 787 of the offences against the dairy of which a list is given on p. 295.

If delay were said to be due to the first cause, the sorcerer would be invited to the village, entertained with food, and induced to remove his spell; if to the second cause, the dairyman would have to perform the *irnörtiti* or similar ceremony; but there was never any question of making new *pep*, the necessity for this ceremony being entirely dependent on the condition of the buried dairy vessel.

THE IRPALVUSTHI CEREMONY

234x 796 [778] The ceremony of *irpalvusthi* (buffalo milk he milks) is performed about the fifteenth day after the birth of a calf. It only takes place when one of the sacred buffaloes has calved, and is not performed in ordinary villages for *putiir*, nor at the *ti* for *punir*. It is performed after the birth of both male and female calves. The ceremony is carried out in the same fashion at the *wursuli*, the *kudrpali* and the *tarvali*, but has different features at the *kugvali* of Taradr and at the *ti*.

There are special days for the ceremony. At the *tarvali*, it must be performed on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday; at the *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, on Sunday or Wednesday; at the *kugvali*, on Saturday. The ceremony is performed at the *ti*, but I omitted to obtain any account of the proceedings at this grade of dairy.

When this ceremony is held at the village of Kuudr, a man from Ôdr belonging to the Nodrsol must attend, and similarly a man from Kuudr must be present when the ceremony is performed at Kuudr, this regulation being the result of certain events in the histories of the buffaloes of these places (see p. 647).

At each of the three kinds of dairy which follow the same procedure, the chief part is taken by the dairyman. At the *wursuli*, the *wursol* officiates, and at the *kudrpali* and *tarvali*, the *palikartmokh*.

The first appropriate occasion after the fifteenth day from the birth of the calf is appointed and the dairy is purified with

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dried buffalo-dung. Contrary to the general rule, the lamp is lighted on the morning of this day. All the buffaloes are milked as usual; one or two *pun* of milk being poured into the *patat* and all the rest into the *ertat*.

The dairyman then puts some milk into the milking-vessel, and, carrying his wand, he leads the fifteen-day-old calf to its mother to be suckled. While the calf is being suckled, the dairyman strikes the mother on the right side of the back three times with the wand, saying "*Oñ*" each time. He then puts the wand on the top of the milking-vessel and, holding both in his left hand, milks the buffalo once or twice with the other hand, so that the milk splashes on the wand as it falls into the vessel. The vessel and wand are then laid at the back of the dairy, which the dairyman enters to prepare food, boiling grain or rice with milk in a special vessel (*ertat*) kept for the purpose. While the food is being cooked the dairyman takes some of the grass called *kakar* and the plant called *kabudri*, and sweeps the interior of the dairy with them, beginning at the *patatmar*. While doing this and during his other operations on this day, he must not turn his back to the contents of the dairy. After having swept the dairy, he lays the *kakar* and *kabudri* by the wall of the building, again takes the milking-vessel and wand from the back of the dairy, and, having called the people of the village, he salutes by raising the vessel and wand to his forehead and prays, all present praying with him. I am not certain whether it is the prayer of the village or a special prayer which is used on this occasion. After praying, the dairyman lays the wand on the top of the *patat* and pours the milk which he obtained from the buffalo into the *patat* over the wand. He puts the latter in its appointed place and then goes to the *ertatmar*, where he prepares a large number of leaves on which he portions out the food (*tòrkisthiti*) which he has prepared, and all the people present take this food outside the dairy. On the following day, the buffalo which has calved is milked with the rest.

When this ceremony is performed at the *wursuli* dairy, it is the only occasion on which the *wursol* prepares food; at all other times, the food of this dairyman is prepared by

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the *palikartmokh*. On this occasion the *wursol* not only cooks food for himself but for all those present. Another distinctive feature of this ceremony is that it is the only occasion on which the milk of the *wursulir* is ever drunk.

The day of *irpalvusthi* is the only day on which the dairymen of the three kinds of dairy, with the exception of the *wursol* of certain dairies, do their work *kabkaditi*, *i.e.*, do not turn their backs to the contents of the dairy.

At the *kugvali* of Taradr, the ceremony is more elaborate. It begins in the afternoon, when the dairy is purified with dried buffalo-dung. Three large pieces of the wood called *kid* are brought, and the dairyman ties the small piece of cloth called *petuni* to the milking-vessel and to a special wand called *irpalvusthpet*.[1] He also ties *petuni* in the form of rings round the ring and little fingers of his right hand and round the ring finger of his left hand. He then goes out with the milking-vessel and wand, and after saluting by raising them to his forehead, he goes to the place where the buffaloes are milked and prays there.

The *kugvalikartmokh* then takes the calf to its mother and milks as at the other dairies, but in this case he milks the buffalo completely, and if, by doing so, he has not filled his milking-vessel, he fills it with the milk of *putiir*. He pours this milk into the *majpariv*, which has been carefully cleaned, and puts the three pieces of *kid* wood in the fireplace. He puts into the milk three measures (*ak*) of rice, but adds neither salt nor jaggery. When the food is ready, he portions it out on leaves and gives to those present, who must on this occasion be limited to the people of the village. This ceremony occurs on Saturday evening.

On the following day, the ceremony is repeated, being called on this occasion *irpatadûthti*, *i.e.*, "buffalo milk he uses publicly." When preparing food on this day the *kugvalikartmokh* puts into the milk eleven *ak* of rice[2] and adds both salt and jaggery. The number of pieces of wood used is not limited to three, but any quantity may be burnt. When the food is ready, he goes out of the dairy and finds

[1] I am doubtful whether a special wand is also used in other dairies.

[2] Eleven *ak* = one *kuz* (see p. 588).

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assembled a large number of people, including guests from other villages and clans. Among them a Melgars man must be included or there could be no ceremony. When the dairyman sees the people, he says "*Ol pudra?*" "People, have you come?" They answer "*Pudspimi*," "We have come." The dairyman then brings the stirring-stick (*put*), and, taking up some of the food on the stick, says "*Tütr erkina?*" "At the fire shall I throw?" and the people answer "*Tütr eri!*" "At the fire, throw!" The dairyman then throws the food on the stick into the fire, and portions out the rest of the food among the people, who eat it outside the dairy.

From the birth of the calf until this ceremony, the buffalo is not milked and the calf is kept, when not with its mother, in the small enclosure called *kush*. After the ceremony, the buffalo is milked like the rest of the herd, and the calf joins the others in the ordinary calf-house, or *kwotars*.

Giving Salt to Buffaloes

Salt is given to the buffaloes five times a year, both at the *ti mad* and the ordinary village. At the *ti* the salt is given with buttermilk, and the ceremony is known as *mòrup*. At the ordinary village buttermilk is not given, and there is no general name for the ceremony, though there are special names for three of the five occasions on which salt is given. These special names are also used at the *ti*. The first occasion is *kòrup*, or 'new grass salt,' which takes place in the month Nalani (February-March). The second is *marup*, or 'again salt,' a month later in Ani. The next two occasions have no special names, but in the ordinary village are known as *arsup*, 'house salt,' given in the months Ovani and Kirdivi (June-July and September-October). The last occasion is in the month Emioti (November-December), and is known as *paniup*, meaning 'frost salt.' In the case of *kòrup* and *paniup*, it seemed that salt was given shortly before the time at which the young grass and frost respectively were expected.

At the *ti* the ceremony is performed on the Sunday or Tuesday following the new moon. At the Nòdrs *ti* it should

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be done for the *tiir* on Sunday and for the *warsir* on Tuesday, but this now only happens when the buffaloes are at Òdrtho and Kudreiil, where the dairies of the two kinds of buffaloes are at some distance apart. At Mòdr and Anto and other dairies, the ceremony is performed for both kinds of buffalo on a Sunday. At the Pan *ti* the day for the ceremony is Tuesday, and at the Kars *ti*, Sunday.

On the day before the ceremony each *palol*[1] digs a round hole called the *upunkudi* at a prescribed spot, or more commonly enlarges the hole remaining from a previous ceremony. On the following day each *palol* carries out the usual morning churning and milking, but before drinking buttermilk the dairy is cleansed with buffalo-dung. The *palol* then pours into the vessel called *alug* two *kudi* of buttermilk and takes the vessel and some salt to the *upunkudi*. He throws bark of the *tudr* tree three times into the hole, three times into the buttermilk and on the salt, and going to the spring he throws the bark three times into the water, saying "*On*" each time. The *palol* then fills the *alug* with water from the spring, mixing it with the buttermilk already in the vessel. He adds salt, saying "*On*" three times, and the whole is poured into the *upunkudi*. A special buffalo is then brought to the *upunkudi*; at the Nòdrs *ti* the *ti palol* first leads up the buffalo belonging to the *unir* which is called Enmars and the *wars palol* takes the buffalo of the *perithir* called Òrsum, this act of sending a special buffalo first being called *trpârsatiti*. After this all the buffaloes are taken to drink in groups of five or six. When the hole has been emptied, it is refilled with salt and water, but this time no buttermilk is added. When all the buffaloes have drunk, each *palol* pulls some of the grass called *kargh* and throws it into the hole three times and returns to his dairy to take buttermilk from the *kaltmokh* as usual.

At the ordinary village the salt-giving ceremony is performed about a week after it has been done at the *ti*. Any day may be chosen except the *madnol*, *palinol*, or *arpatznol*.[1] Thus at Kuudr the ceremony may be performed on any day

[1] When there is only one *palol* for both kinds of buffaloes, as at the Pan *ti*, he only digs one hole.

[2] See Chapter XVII.

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except Tuesday and Friday; at Kars, on any day except Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday.

On the three occasions with special names, *kòrup*, *marup*, and *paniup*, guests come from other villages, but at the *arsup* this does not happen. As in the case of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony, a man from Kuudr must be present at the salt-giving ceremony of Òdr and a man from Òdr must be present at Kuudr.

The ceremony is performed by the *palikartmokh* after the people of the village have made the hole or *upunkudi*.[1] The *palikartmokh* takes from the dairy the vessel corresponding to the *alug* of the *ti*, viz., the *tat*, but does not take buttermilk. *Tudr* bark is used in the same way as at the *ti*.

At a Teivali village, the *pasthir* drink first. At a Tarthar village at which there is a *wursol*, the *wursulir* drink first, the act of sending certain buffaloes first being called *irparsatiti* as at the *ti*. After the buffaloes have drunk, *kargh* grass is thrown into the hole, first by the dairyman and then by all the others present, but it is only thrown once by each person, who says "*Oñ*" as he throws.

The object of this ceremony is said to be that the buffaloes shall give a plentiful supply of milk.

The Ponup Ceremony

At the *ti* dairy salt is given to the buffaloes on certain other occasions and with a far more elaborate ritual. The ceremony is then called *ponup*, or 'festival salt,' and takes place soon after the migration from one dairy to another. At the Nòdrs *ti* the salt is given on the Wednesday following the Sunday on which the migration has occurred, and at the Kars *ti* and the Pan *ti*, on Sunday, a week later than the procession.

On the night before the ceremony the *palol* shuts up the buffaloes in the special pen called the *pon tu*.

On the morning of the appointed day, when the churning is finished, but before the buffaloes have been milked, each *palol* brings six sprigs of the shrub called *puthimul*, each sprig having on it five or six leaves. Three of these sprigs

[1] This hole at an ordinary village is sometimes known as a *tarupunkudi*.

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are put on one side, and the other three are used as follows:—Rice has been previously prepared and placed either on the leaf called *kakuders* or on that called *katers*. The *palol* makes a hole in this food in which he puts butter, and, taking the first sprig of *puthimul*, he plucks from it one leaf and, using it as a spoon, takes up some of the food and puts it on the fire in the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal*, saying the name of the chief *teu* or god of the *ti*. He then takes some of the butter, and holds it over the fire till it drops, when he utters the name of the same god. He repeats this with a second leaf of the *puthimul*, saying the name of the second most important god of the *ti*, and so on with the other leaves. I obtained the fullest account of *pònup* from Koboners, who had been *palol* of the Kars *ti*, and here food and butter were put on the fire six times, saying the names of Anto, Nòtirzi, Kuzkarv, Kulinkars, Onkomn, and Karmanteu.

The *kaltmokh* then brings water taken from the ordinary stream in the vessel called *mòrkudriki*, and gives it to the *palol*, who sits in the outer room facing towards the inner room, and throws some of the rice in front of him once, some behind him once, and the rest outside the dairy. He puts some salt on the fire, and taking the water brought by the *kaltmokh*, he sprinkles it before and behind him as he had done with the food.

Then follows *kaishvatiti*, *i.e.*, the *kaltmokh* pours out buttermilk for the *palol*. This is the only occasion on which this act takes place before the buffaloes have been milked, the ceremony of drinking buttermilk on every other occasion taking place when the morning's work is over. The *palol* gives food to the *kaltmokh*, and here, again, there is a feature peculiar to this day, for the *kaltmokh* eats his food sitting in the place in the hut where the *palol* usually sits.

The buffaloes are then milked, after which the *palol* fetches three sticks of the kind ordinarily called *kwadrikurs*, but at the *ti*, *kakul*. Each is used for a special purpose and has a corresponding name, one being called *irpasthkakul*, the second *kwarkul*, and the third *parkul*.

The *palol* takes buffalo-dung in both hands and the *irpasthkakul* in the right hand, and separates certain buffaloes

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from the rest by knocking their backs three times with the dung and stick. At the Kars *ti* two buffaloes are separated in this way; at the Nòdrs *ti* five buffaloes are set apart, one of each kind, three by the *ti palol*, and two by the *wars palol*. These buffaloes are known as *ponir*. The dairy is then purified with the dung and water. The *irpasthkakul* is laid on one side, and the *palol* puts salt in the basket called *ponmukeri*, and takes it with the water-vessel called *karpun* to the place where salt is to be given, taking also the remaining sprigs of *puthimul* and a bundle of fern.

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At the place for the ceremony there is a stone called *ponkars* (when there are two *palol* there will be two stones), and at the stone the *palol* makes a vessel of clay and water so as to resemble a milking-vessel. This clay vessel is called *teukwoi* (*teu*, god, and *kwoi*, milking-vessel).

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The *palol* then takes two perfect *tudr* leaves, and fastens them together with the petioles of other leaves, so that they form a cup which is called *ptivup*. Salt is placed in this leaf vessel, which is laid down by the side of the *teukwoi*. One such vessel is made for each buffalo, two at the Kars *ti* and five at the Nòdrs *ti*.

The *palol* then takes the stick called *kwarkul*, and with it makes a hole in the middle of each *teukwoi*, saying (at the Kars *ti*) "*antok teukwoi ûrlj, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* make hole, O *palol!*"). He then makes other holes round the sides of the clay vessel, saying the names of the other gods in the same manner. (At the Kars *ti* those which have already been given. At the Nòdrs *ti* the names of five gods are mentioned—Anto, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi, Kuladrvan, and Kuzkarv.) Two pieces of *tudr* bark and a sprig of *puthimul* are then placed in each hole, saying for the first, "*Antok teukwoi et, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* put, O *palol!*"), and this is repeated with the name of a different god for each hole.

Next the *palol* takes the stick called *parkul*, which has a sharpened end, and makes small holes called *upunkudi* as in the *mòrup* ceremony. At the Kars *ti* only two *upunkudi* are made; at the Nòdrs *ti* one *palol* makes three and the other two holes. *Tudr* bark is thrown three times into the holes and into the water of the spring. Water is taken from the

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spring in the *karpun*, salt is put into the water three times and the salt and water are poured into the holes, and the buffaloes previously set apart are led to the holes and drink three times, one buffalo from each hole. The leaf vessels previously made (*pövup*) are then given to the buffaloes, and are eaten by them. Care is taken to give the leaf vessels in such a way that the end of the leaf corresponding to the petiole enters the mouth of the buffalo first.

The *palol* takes Anto's leaf from the *teukwoi* and puts it in the *karpun* with water, then faces towards the place where Anto lives (Anto's hill) and pours in that direction, saying "*Antok*," "to Anto." This is repeated with the other leaves, the *palol* in each case turning and pouring towards the place where the god lives.

Then follows the ceremony called *tafkeirpudrti*, *i.e.*, "fern pool he strokes." The *palol* takes the bundle of fern which he has brought with him and goes to the stream, which is blocked up, so that the water accumulates and forms a pool. He waits till the pool is so deep that the water would come half-way up his thighs, when he steps in with the bundle of fern in his right hand and strokes the bundle over the water, saying the *kwarnam*, or prayer names of certain gods and buffaloes (at the Nòdrs *ti* the *palol* says, "*Anto idith, Kâlinkârs idith, Nôtfrwi idith, Kûlâdrvan idith, Kuskhrv idith, Mûv idith, Mòrs idith, Pan idith, Kûdreij tldj idith*": see Chapter X). The *palol* then buries the fern at the bottom of the pool, so that there is no chance that it may come up again, and throws the grass called *kargh* into each *upunkudi* once only.

The *palol* then goes to the buffaloes and knocks one of the ordinary kind called *punir* to one side with a bush called *ptrskwadriktâr* and pours a little water on its back. This is called *puntr âvk ntr atiti*, *i.e.*, "he pours water on the back of the *punir*."

Finally the *palol* goes to a stream near the *upunkudi* and washes there from the hands to the elbows. This final washing is called *peiaspiti*. *Pei* is the Tamil word for 'demon,' and the word suggested that there was an idea of warding off the influence of some kind of evil spirit, but it

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seemed that *peiaspiti* was merely the *ti* form of *kaiaspiti*, "he washes the hands." 234 x 796

The following day is called *ápkárvnol*. On this day small Badaga children go to the *ti mad* and the *palol* gives them clarified butter on a leaf. On this day also any one who has been a *pakol* (*patol*) may go to the *ti mad* and receive food unless the funeral ceremonies for one of his clan should still be uncompleted.

The ceremonies of *ponup* were said to be designed to invite the gods to be present by means of the clay vessels. The *tudr* bark and leaves were said to be used in order to purify these vessels after their defilement by human hands in the process of making. [783]

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CHAPTER IX

THE TODA GODS

788 THE ceremonies which have been described in the last five chapters make up a large part of the ritual of the Toda religion, but there is one important feature of this ritual which has so far been left on one side, or only cursorily mentioned, because its full consideration only becomes possible after an account has been given of the Toda gods.

In describing the ritual of the dairy and the various ceremonies connected with the buffaloes, it has been mentioned that at certain times the prayer of the dairy or the prayer of the village is used. In these prayers there are references to various incidents in the lives of the gods, and many of the clauses would be unintelligible without a knowledge of these lives. It therefore becomes necessary to consider this branch of Toda mythology before dealing with the prayers in detail.

776 The typical Toda god is a being who is distinctly anthropomorphic and is called a *teu*. In the legends he lives much the same kind of life as the mortal Toda, having his dairies and his buffaloes. The sacred dairies and the sacred buffaloes of the Todas are still regarded as being in some measure the property of the gods, and the dairymen are looked upon as their priests. The gods hold councils and consult with one another just as do the Todas, and they are believed to be swayed by the same motives and to think in the same way as the Todas themselves.

000 At the present time most of the gods are believed to

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At the present time most of the gods are believed to inhabit the summits of the hills, but they are not seen by mortals. Before the Todas were created, the gods lived on the Nilgiri Hills alone, and then it is believed that there followed a period during which gods and men inhabited the hills together. The gods ruled the men, ordained how they should live and originated the various customs of the people. The Todas can now give no definite account of their beliefs about the transition from this state of things to that which now exists. 773 776

Each clan of the Todas has a deity especially connected with it. This deity is called the *nòdrodchi* of the clan, and is believed to have been the ruler of the clan when gods and men lived together. I am doubtful whether there is at the present time any belief that the *nòdrodchi* exerts an influence over the clan with which he is connected. [618]

There was no department of Toda lore which gave me greater difficulty than the study of the beliefs about the gods. There was no doubt that two gods stood out pre-eminent among the rest. One was a male deity whose name was Ön, and the other a female deity, Teikirzi. A simple question which I had the greatest difficulty in settling was the relation of these deities to one another. According to one account they were brother and sister; according to another, father and daughter. It seemed quite certain they were not husband and wife, and most probable that they were brother and sister. Others of the gods were believed to be related to one another, but on such points as this I found it almost impossible to obtain trustworthy information. It may have been reticence which made the difficulty, but I do not think so, and am inclined to think that the Todas have now only vague ideas about the histories of their more ancient gods, and have nothing like the definite traditions which they possess about deities of obviously more recent origin.

Sometimes there were discrepancies between different accounts which I could not clear up, and in such cases I give the account which seems to me to be the most trustworthy.

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PITHI

773 776 This god is the earliest of whom any tradition is preserved. His name is Pithi or Püthi, and he is often called Pithioteu. He was born near the sacred dairy of Anto in a cave which had the same shape as the ordinary Toda hut. According to one account, Pithi created Todas and buffaloes, but there seemed to be little doubt that this is not the correct tradition, which assigns the act of creation to his son Ön. There is a suggestive resemblance between the name of this god and the Sanscrit word for earth, Prithivi, which is in common use in Southern India.

ÖN

Ön was the son of Pithi. He created the buffaloes and the Todas and became the ruler of Amnòdr, the world of the dead, where he now lives.

One day Ön went with his wife Pinârkûrs to Mêdrpem (the top of the Kundahs). There he put up an iron bar which stretched from one end of the *pem* to the other. Ön stood at one end of the bar and brought forth buffaloes from the earth, 1,600 in number. Then Pinarkurs tried to produce buffaloes and she stood at the other end of the bar and produced 1,800 buffaloes.

Behind Ön's buffaloes there came out of the earth a man, holding the tail of the last buffalo, and this was the first Toda. Ön took one of the man's ribs (*parikatelv* or *magalelv*) from the right side of his body and made a woman, who was the first Toda woman. The Todas then increased in number very rapidly so that at the end of the first week there were about a hundred.[1]

The descendants of the buffaloes created by Ön became sacred buffaloes, while the descendants of those created by his wife are the ordinary buffaloes.

[1] This account of the creation of men and buffaloes was obtained from Arsolv (27) of Kanòdrs, one of the oldest living Todas. It agrees very closely with the story as related to Mr. Breeks.

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Ön had a son called Püv. One day when Püv was acting as *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, he was churning in the dairy with a ring on the little finger of his right hand. When the dairyman goes to fetch water he should always take the churning stick out of the *patat* or vessel in which the milk is churned. On this occasion Püv left it in the *patat* and went out to fetch water. As he was going a black bird called *karpüls* tried to check him, saying "*tls, tls, tls,*" meaning "Don't go to the water," but Püv paid no attention and went on. When he was taking the water the ring dropped from his little finger into the spring. Püv saw the ring in the water, but could not reach it, and so he got into the spring. The water was not deep, and yet as soon as he stepped into the spring it completely covered him and he was drowned. When Ön found that his son was lost he cried very bitterly and covered himself with his cloak (*tuni*). (Ön is said to have been a *palol* at this time.) When Ön covered himself he looked downwards and saw, as through a veil, his son in Amnòdr playing with the ring, putting it on and off his finger.[1]

When Ön saw that his son was in Amnòdr he did not like to leave him there alone and decided to go away to the same place. So he called together all the people and the buffaloes and the trees to come and bid him farewell. All the people came except a man of Kwòdrdoni named Arsankutan. He and his family did not come. All the buffaloes came except the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Some trees also failed to come. Ön blessed all the people, buffaloes and trees present, but said that because Arsankutan had not come he and his people should die by sorcery at the hands of the Kurumbas, and that because the *arsaiir* had not come they should be killed by tigers, and that the trees which had not come should bear bitter fruit. Since that time the Todas have feared the Kurumbas, and buffaloes have been killed by tigers. All the Todas and all the buffaloes appear to have suffered for the evil deeds of Arsankutan and the *arsaiir*.

Then Ön went away to Amnòdr, taking the buffaloes

[1] According to another account, Püv died from trying to catch the image of a white calf in the water. At that time, it was the custom to kill and bury any calf of a white colour, and one had been buried close to the spring.

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773 and the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* with him, and since that time
776 Ön has ruled over Amnòdr, which is sometimes called Önnòdr after him.

TEIKIRZI

This goddess is perhaps the most important of the Toda deities. She is said to have been the sister, and probably the elder sister, of Ön. I could learn very little about the story of her life, but nearly all the customs of the Todas were referred to her, and it seemed clear that when Ön left this world Teikirzi became the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of the Todas. Whenever I tried to obtain from the Todas an explanation of any ceremony or custom I nearly always received the reply, which was regarded as final, that it had been so ordained by Teikirzi.

It seems doubtful whether Teikirzi dwells in any special hill like other Toda deities, though there is a hill near Nòdrs especially connected with her. I was told that she lives everywhere in this world, and in answer to a question it was said even that her influence extends to London, where she dwells as she dwells everywhere else.

She is regarded as the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of all the Todas, and this world is often spoken of as Eikirzinòdr. At the same time Teikirzi is especially connected with Nòdrs, and she is the special *nòdrodchi* of this clan.

Five customs, or sets of customs, are ascribed especially to Teikirzi. These are:—

(i) *Madol pâkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave *madol* (clans)." Teikirzi is also said to have divided the Todas into their two chief divisions.

(ii) *Ir pâkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave buffaloes."

Below Nòdrs, near a swamp called Keikudr, there is a small stream which at the present time Todas will not cross at a certain spot, and Teikirzi stood in this stream. According to one account she beat the water with a wand, saying "*Ir padri ma*" ("May buffaloes spring"), and buffaloes sprang out of the stream; but it seemed to be more generally accepted that she only divided the buffaloes on this spot by touching each animal on the back with a wand and saying

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the name of the clan to which it was to belong. The first portion went to Nòdrs, the second to Kuudr, the third to Kars, and the fourth to Taradr. Up to this point she used a wand of *kid* wood (*kidkurs*). For the next clan, that of Keadr, the *kidkurs* was put away and she used a wand of *tavat* wood, and several other kinds of wand were used. Teikirzi was also said to have ordained at the same time that *wursulir* should be milked by Teivaliol and to have settled the general regulations concerning the different kinds of buffalo.

(iii) *Püliol pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave *püliol*."

Teikirzi is said to have ordained that certain people should be the *püliol* of a man, and that *püliol* should not marry one another (see Chap. XXI).

(iv) *Ir patz id vai*, "Buffalo catch who said." Teikirzi ordained that buffaloes should be caught at the funeral ceremonies (see Chap. XV).

(v) *Kwarzam pep ostht ad vai*, "Who told the *kwarzam* and gave *pep*."

Teikirzi gave to each village its *kwarzam*, or sacred name, and settled the method of making new *pep*.

The name of Teikirzi occurs frequently in other legends. One story not mentioned elsewhere is the following:—

When Teikirzi was living at Nòdrs the people of Mysore came to fight her, but as they approached, the woods made a great noise. When the Mysore people heard the noise they stopped, and then Teikirzi cursed them and said, "Let them become stones," and they were turned into stones, which are still to be seen below Nòdrs.

Teipakh, or Tirshti

I know very little about the life-history of this deity, but he is very widely mentioned in the prayers and incantations of the Todas, and is one of their most important gods. He was the brother of Teikirzi, and differs from most other Toda deities in being a river god, Teipakh being the Toda name of the Paikara river.

Teipakh is the *nòdrodchi* of the Piedr and Kusharf clans.

Although there was considerable agreement that Teipakh

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773 776 and Tirshti were one and the same god, there was some doubt about it, and, according to one account, Tirshti was only another name for Teikirzi.

ANTO.

I am very doubtful about the name and identity of this god. There seemed to be little doubt that he had the same name as the chief dairy of the Nòdrs *ti* and was the chief deity connected with this dairy. According to one account he was the son of Ön, but it is possible that the two deities were identical, Anto being Önteu. His name was sometimes pronounced Anteu or perhaps more correctly Änto or Änteu.

I have only a few incidents from the life of Anto. He once rolled a huge stone with the hair of his head from Nelkòdr in the Wainad to the top of a hill called Katthvai near the dairy of Anto. The god now lives near this dairy, resting his head on a spot called Ködrs, and stretching his legs on a spot called Tudrs. These places are about two furlongs apart so that Anto is evidently a god of a large size.

Anto is said to have made buffaloes, and the buffalo which founded the *ti mad* of Makars (see p. 116) was one of his creation. The fact that Anto created buffaloes increases the probability of his identity with Ön, but this is far from conclusive for there were undoubtedly several independent creations of these animals.

KULINKARS

This deity is the *nòdrodchi* of the Kars clan. His original name appears to have been Kulin, and this was changed to Kulinkars. He is also called Teikhars. He inhabits a hill near Makurti Peak, which is so steep and rocky that "no man has ever climbed it."

The following story is told of Kulinkars or Teikhars:—He once knocked on the ground and so made two buffaloes. He then told the monsoon (*kwadr*) to drive the buffaloes to the place to which they were to go, saying, "you must push them on." As the buffaloes were being driven on by the monsoon,

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a tiger went after them. When they reached a certain hill, the hill divided into two and the buffaloes went between the two parts, but still the tiger followed them. Then the buffaloes came to Kwaradr and went into the pen, and the tiger also went into the pen. When the buffaloes saw that the tiger had come into the pen, they kicked it and it died. Then one of the buffaloes said to the other, "You stay here in the pen; I am going to Tarsòdr." Then the monsoon drove on this buffalo to Tarsòdr, which is one of the dairies of the Pan *ti*. The descendants of the buffalo which stayed in the pen are the *pasthir* of Kwaradr and the descendants of the other are among the buffaloes of the Pan *ti*. 773 776

Kulinkars was connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) and was the *mokhthodvaiol* or paramour of Nòtirzi. His relation to Nòtirzi is said to have been the origin of the *mokhthoditi* custom (see Chap. XXII), but I was not able to obtain any detailed account of this part of the history of the god.

Kulinkars has a son called Teikhidap, who lives on Makurti Peak, and the proper Toda name for this hill is Teikhidap.

NÒTIRZI

I have no details of the history of this female deity. She is the *nòdrodchi* of the two important clans of Melgars and Kuudr, and lives on the hill now known as Snowdon, the Toda name of the hill being the same as that of the goddess. This hill is especially sacred, and any Toda who visits it has to salute with hand to forehead (*kaimukhti*) in all directions. Like her *mokhthodvaiol*, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi is connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. She is said to have had a son called Tikuteithi or Teukuteithi. It is possible that this is the same as Teikuteidi, who appears in the story of Kwoten (see p. 193), but they are more probably two different deities. [778]

A stone which is said to have been thrown by this goddess from her hill is shown close to the village of Pòln, under the tree known to English visitors to the Nilgiris as the 'umbrella tree.'

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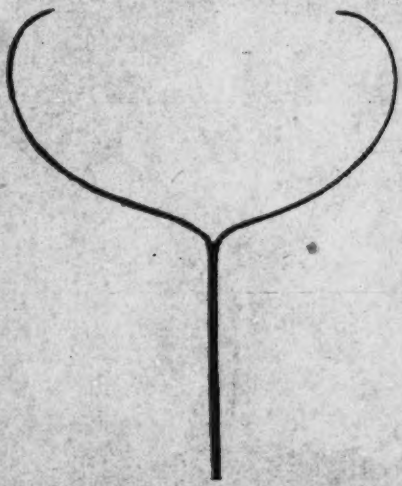
KORATEU OR KUZKARV

773 776 Korateu was the son of Teikirzi. One day when Teikirzi was going from one village to another she went into a cave called Teivelkursh, by the side of a stream called Kathipa, near Kakhudri, and there gave birth to a son, who was called Azo-mazo. The afterbirth dropped into the stream and was carried down to Teipakh (the Paikara river). It travelled down the river as far as a place called Marsnavai, where there were growing two plants called *tib* and *purs* in which it became entangled. The afterbirth then slowly arose and became a boy, and the boy was Korateu. When Azo-mazo became a man he went to live at Pernòdr in the Kundahs, but Korateu lived in the river till he was eight years old. The river Teipakh was the brother of Teikirzi. As he sat in the lap of his uncle Korateu used often to play at making the buffalo horns called *tebkuter* (Fig. 35).[1] When he was eight years old he founded a *ti* and created a male and a female buffalo, making both out of earth. He also built a dairy and a buffalo pen and made the garment called *tuni*. As soon as the buffaloes had a calf, he went to fetch a churning-stick from Kaiers, beyond Makurti Peak, and took it to Nerva, near Mòdr, where his buffaloes were standing. He then went to Kurkòdr, a bamboo grove near Meipadi in the Wainad, and made a *kwoi* or milking vessel. He next made the *persin* and the



[524] FIG. 35.—IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

[1] Usually called *petkuter*.

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mani and all the other things of a *ti* and became *palol* of the buffaloes at Ôdrtho. There was a buffalo here of the kind called *kughir*, with the horns growing downwards. Korateu cut off these horns and gave them to the *kaltmokh* at Ôdrtho and they are now the horns of the Nôdrs *ti*. Korateu then made a law that the people of Piedr should fill the office of *palol* and that the *kaltmokh* should be taken from the Melgarsol. He appointed a *palol* and a *kaltmokh* from these clans, handed over the charge of the *ti* to them, and went away to the hill Korateu, where he lived in an iron cave which he called a *poh*. He used to bathe in a pool near the hill.

At this time Korateu was not recognised as a *teu*, and when the gods held council he was not summoned as a member. This made him very angry.

Near Korateu there was a wood in which there stood a tree of the kind called *môrs* (*Michelia nilagirica*) which was about 80 feet high. Korateu ordered that honey bees (*peshtein*) should come to the tree, and after a time there were about 300 nests, which made the tree bend down with their weight. One day about twenty men came to collect honey, Todas, Irulas, and Kurumbas. The Todas made a fire under the tree, while the Irulas and Kurumbas climbed and collected honey from the nests. When they had collected the honey from all except three or four nests, the tree became so light that it sprang back and killed the Irulas and Kurumbas, and the Todas went home.

At this time Korateu was unmarried and he carried a stick of iron. One day a Kurumba woman came to the *môrs* tree in search of honey. Korateu knocked her on the head with the iron stick and at once she became pregnant. That evening she gave birth to a daughter, who was very beautiful, and Korateu decided to marry the child and sent away the mother that night. (According to another version, the child was so beautiful that the mother was frightened and went away to her own village, and Korateu fed the child with milk and fruit and honey, and when she grew up he married her.)

Soon after the death of the Irulas and Kurumbas a sambhar calf came to Korateu, who caught it, tamed it, and

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773 776 kept it for a month. Then certain Todas went to Korateu and asked him for a place. Korateu gave them a place and said that it should be called Keradr. The people of Keradr then asked for buffaloes. So Korateu gave them the sambhar calf and said that it should become buffaloes for them, and he ordered that the buffaloes should be called *miniapir*, and that the calves should be called *mâveikar—i.e.*, calf from a sambhar. This was the origin of Keradr and of its *wursulir*, which are still called *miniapir*, and they are the only buffaloes of the Todas which were made from sambhar.

After these things had happened the gods recognised that Korateu was a *teu*, and calling him asked him who he was. He answered that he was the son of Teikirzi, and the *manmokh* or sister's son of Teipakh. He was then admitted as one of the gods and now lives on the hill Korateu, but still sometimes sits in the lap of Teipakh. He is the *nòdrodchi* of the Keradr and Keadr clans, and the chief villages of these clans are near his hill. He is called Kuzkarv when mentioned in prayer.

Another god, called Etepi, is said to be the same god as Korateu. It appeared, however, that Korateu lived on one hill and Etepi on another, and I could not ascertain the true relation of the deities to one another.

Azo-mazo is mentioned in the prayer of the Kars *ti* as two deities, Azo and Mazo.

Puzi and Kurindo

I am very doubtful as to the identity of Puzi. According to some accounts Puzi or Purzi was merely another name for Teikirzi; according to other accounts Puzi was a male deity and the husband of Teikirzi. In the following story Puzi is a female deity, inhabiting a hill near Nòdrs. She gave birth to a son called Kurindo. As soon as Kurindo was born he became fire. Puzi did not approve of this, as it seemed to show that the boy was too powerful, so she took a leaf of the kind called *kwagal*, pounded it and mixed it with water and sprinkled it on the fire. The fire then turned back again into a boy who was bent to one side.

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Puzi said, "I will put you on a hill opposite to me." So she put him on the hill called Mopuvthut, near the village of Naters, and in order to make the hill higher she put three baskets of earth on the top, so that her son might be seen by everybody. 773 776

When Kurindo was on his hill he thought to himself, "My mother has treated me badly; she sprinkled me with water and quenched my power, and she has made me bent to one side; I do not like to be opposite to her." So he went away to a hill near Kanòdrs. This was before the time of Kwoten and before the Kamasòdrolam had run away (see p. 195). While Kurindo was living on this hill a strange tribe came to the hills, so Kurindo again moved and went away to the hill of Arsnur on the Mysore side, where he still lives.

There is a hill called Puthi on which a fire is lighted at certain times (see p. 291) and the god inhabiting this hill was, according to one account, the husband of Teikirzi. It is possible that Puthi and Puzi are the same, but I think it more probable that they are two separate gods, each having his own hill, Puthi being the husband of Teikirzi, and Puzi being the deity of this legend.

The following legends differ from the preceding in that they appear almost certainly to record the lives of deified men. The first legend deals with three men of different clans, but the sons of three sisters. The second deals with the life of Kwoto, and professes to be the history of a being of miraculous birth who came to be accepted by the gods, not only as one of their number, but as superior to themselves. These two legends were known far more thoroughly and universally than any of the preceding. It seems most probable that they are records of men who really lived, and that the life of each has become a nucleus round which have grown various miraculous and portentous incidents. 173 773 776

Kwoten, Teikuteidi, and Elnâkhum

There were once three men, the children of three sisters. The eldest was Kwoten, who belonged to Pan, the second was Teikuteidi, who belonged to Taradr, and the youngest

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was Elnâkhum of Nòdrs. (According to one account the father of Kwoten was Purten, and his mother was Tiköni of Keradr. They lived at Pan and Kiursi, and Kwoten was born at Pan. Purten died when Kwoten was thirty years old and Tiköni died six years later.)

Kwoten had a wife called Kwoterpani. She did not like her husband, but preferred a man of Kanòdrs called Parden. One day Kwoten took his wife to a place called Timukhtar (near the spot where Sandy Nullah toll-bar now stands). He gave her only the loin-cloth called *tadrp* to wear, hoping that she would be cold and uncomfortable and would sleep with him, but she refused. Kwoten then took her to Kûdrîdjpül near Mulòrs, where there was a large wood. In this wood there was a tree of the kind called *külmän*, into which Kwoten climbed and made a bed. Below him, about three feet above the ground, he made a small bed for his wife, and under the tree, close to his wife's bed, he tied a big male buffalo. He did this because he thought a tiger might come to take the buffalo during the night when his wife would be frightened and would climb up the tree to his bed. During the night a tiger came and took away the buffalo, but even this did not induce the woman to go to her husband. Next morning Kwoten took his wife to Pòlâdri, which belonged to the Panol. This village was near Miuni, and there Kwoten became a *palikartmokh*. One day Kwoten was in the dairy and his wife in the hut when Parden came from Kanòdrs. Kwoten's wife knew that her husband was in the dairy, and endeavoured to prevent Parden from going into the hut by giving him buttermilk. Kwoten found that Parden had come, and sharpened a big knife to kill him, and when he came out of the dairy, Parden ran away towards Kanòdrs and Kwoten followed with the knife.

Kwoten's sister had married a Kars man and was living with him at Nasmiòdr, and at this time Kwoten's mother was staying at this place. As Parden ran away, pursued by Kwoten, they had to pass Nasmiòdr, and Kwoten's mother saw them, and said, "How is it that my son does not catch Parden?" Then she cursed Parden, saying "*On sati udairnùdr, Kârkadith mul udith pâtmâ*"—viz., "If I have reverence

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to the village, may he be checked by the tree with thorns in the Kark wood." When Parden reached a stone now called Pardenkars, Kwoten caught him up and tried to kill him, but the knife struck the stone instead and split it into two pieces. Then Parden ran on to the wood called Kark, where he was caught by a tree with thorns (brambles) so that Kwoten was able to kill him.

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When the news of the death of Parden reached Kanòdrs all the people were very much afraid, and all ran away except one old man and his wife. As the people were going, they sent a message to the Kotas at Tizgudr. Two Kotas took a grain pounder (*wask*) and went to Pòladri. When Kwoten was told that the Kotas were coming he went and hid himself. The Kotas came and stood near the village and were told that Kwoten had gone away. Then they told Kwoten's wife, who at this time was pregnant by Parden, to come out of the hut. She came out and went to the Kotas, who asked her where Kwoten was. She said she did not know, whereupon the Kotas were vexed, and pierced her belly with the pounder, so that she died. Her funeral took place at Tadendari, and that of Parden at Arâdr.

The people of Kanòdrs ran away to a place called Penasmalpet, near Malmathapenpet, and are known as the Kamasòdrolam. They have never been seen since, but the Todas have heard from various wandering tribes that they still exist and that they live on a hill from which they can see Kanòdrs, and that when the Kamasòdrolam see a fire at Kanòdrs they shave their heads and make a special kind of food called *ashkkarthpimi*.

When the Kanòdrs people ran away there remained behind one old man called Muturojen and his wife Muturach,[1] who were living in a village near Kanòdrs called Mîtâhârzi. When the people left, the old man went to the Kanòdrs dairy to churn the milk left there by those who had run away, and he stayed there, sleeping in the *kwotars* or calves' hut, as the dairyman should do at Kanòdrs. His wife used to come every day as far as a place called

[1] These are quite unlike Toda names, nor is the name of the village, Mîtâhârzi, like a Toda name.

173 Pitipem, where she rubbed a place with buffalo-dung and sat down.

773 While sitting there one day an eagle (*kashk*) sat on her head, and she became pregnant, and went back to the village and gave birth to a son. When Kwoten heard of this he wished to kill the child and set out to do so. The old woman's daughter, who had married a Kars man, sent her husband to warn her parents that Kwoten was coming to kill them. The Kars man met Kwoten and ran away from him towards Kanòdrs, followed by Kwoten's dog. When he came to a hill above the village he called out that Kwoten was coming. When the old man heard him, he cursed Kwoten and those with him; the latter became stones and Kwoten himself (according to the story as told by the Kanòdrs people) was stung by honey bees and died. The people of Kanòdrs are descended from the son born to the old woman. If this old woman was not a Toda, as her name and that of her village suggest, this would seem to point to a tradition that the people of Kanòdrs are descended from an ancestor of a different race from the other Todas (see p. 640).

[578] Owing to the behaviour of Kwoten to the Kanòdrs people there has ever since been *karaivichi* (trouble) between the people of Pan and Kanòdrs. They do not intermarry and no Kanòdrs man may go to one of the chief villages (*etudmad*) of the Pan people nor may a Pan man go to an *etudmad* of Kanòdrs.

According to the above account Kwoten died after being cursed by the old man, but this is only a feature of the story as told by the Kanòdrs people, and in the account given by others Kwoten had many other adventures and finished his life in this world in a very different manner. He married a second wife, who, like the first, objected to her husband and preferred a man of Keradr, whose name was Keradrkutan. Kwoten lived with this wife at Kazhuradr, near Isharadr. At that time women wore the garment called *än*, which is dark grey like the *tuni* of the *palol*, and is now only used as a funeral garment.

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Keradrkutan used frequently to come to Kazhuradr, and this vexed Kwoten, who told his wife to have nothing to do with the man. She encouraged Keradrkutan, however, and this vexed Kwoten so much that he took off her *än* and brought a thorny bush called *peshteinmul* and beat her all over with the bush, so that she became covered with blood. Kwoten at this time wore the garment called *tuni*, which he then took off, dipped it in water, and rubbed it all over his wife so that she became the colour of *tuni*, and then he gave her back her *än* and went to his dairy. While he was in the dairy Keradrkutan came stealthily to the village. When the woman saw Keradrkutan she cried very bitterly and said, "Kwoten has beaten me very severely so that I shall die; come and see me." When Keradrkutan went into the hut, the woman died.

Before this time, when Kwoten was one day beating his wife, she abused him, saying, "*Talrs ti oditha vai, Kòlrs kûv oditha vai; en puspad*"—"You have no *ti*, you have no Kotas: why do you beat me?" This was to reproach Kwoten because the Pan people had no *ti* buffaloes and had no Kotas to make things for them. So Kwoten went and complained to his brother Teikuteidi. Teikuteidi was very sorry, and in order to remove the reproach he persuaded Elnâkhum of Nòdrs to give certain buffaloes of the kind called *unir* from the Nòdrs *ti*. Elnâkhum gave a two-year-old calf (*pòl*) and a one-year-old calf (*kar*), and also two bells (*mani*) to put on their necks. The two bells were called Tarskingg and Takhingg. The calves were then standing at Kuladrtho and were taken by Kwoten to the *tars poh* of Pan. He tied the two bells to one of the calves called Kazhi. These bells ought properly to have been tied to the buffalo called Enmars which remained behind at Kuladrtho. Then Enmars went to Anto and complained as follows:—

"*kl mûdr,*	*kl kevi,*	*ninkûtth*	*pòrâni*"[1]
"inferior neck,	inferior ear,	to your council	I will not come"

i.e., "I will not come to your presence with naked neck and

[1] ? *Pûdrâni* or *pudrâni*.

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ear." Anto told him not to grieve because he had lost the *mani*, and that instead

Melgarsòl	*teirpülk*	*mudâ mâ*	*nî pud*
Melgars man	pül of Anto to	in front go may	you come

Antosh	*pep ûn*
at Anto	*pep* drink

i.e., "When you go to Anto, a Melgars man shall go in front of you to the *pül* of Anto; when you come to Anto you shall drink *pep*." To this day, when the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* go in procession to Anto a Melgars man goes in front and the buffalo called Enmars drinks *pep* at Anto. At the same time Anto prophesied to Enmars that a misfortune would befall Teikuteidi, saying

"*wûrâdr*	*nols*	*Teikuteidi tan*	*ennâth*	*piriedkin,*	*et vokh!*"
"whole year	day	himself	without numbering	I will divide,	go away!"

When Teikuteidi heard of this prophecy he was much grieved, and was very careful to do all the following ceremonies:—*erkumptthiti*, *upatiti*, *punkudrtiti*, *tatmadthkudrtiti*, *petkudrtiti mukudrtiti*, *adikudrtiti*, *parivkudrtiti*, *tatòtiti*, *muòtiti*, *ponkastiti* and *irpalvusthi*—viz., sacrifice of calf, salt-giving, purification of *pun*, *tat* and *madth*, *pet*, *mu*, *adi* and *pariv*, etc.,[1] He performed all these ceremonies to escape the prophesied evil, for if he had succeeded in doing them all for the whole twelve months the prophecy would not have been fulfilled. On the very last day he forgot the prophecy and did not perform the ceremonies, but went to a place called Kirspem, where he sat under the shade of a *pülmän*. There is a flower which blossoms on this tree in the rainy season only, and then the bees come. When Teikuteidi was sitting under the tree it was not the rainy reason and he was very much surprised to hear the humming of honey bees in the tree. The noise was being made by a *kasun*[2] which had taken the form of a

[1] I do not know exactly to which ceremonies *tatòtiti* and *muòtiti* refer. The words mean "he takes the *tat*" and "he takes the *mu*," and evidently refer to some dairy ceremonial. *Ponkastiti* probably means that he kept *pon* throughout the year- *i.e.*, gave or sold nothing from his dairy during the year.

[2] A spirit which brings death (see p. 403).

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bee. He looked up to see if there were any flowers to attract the bees and could not see them, neither could he see any bees. Then he thought for a little while and remembered Anto's prophecy, so he did not remain under the tree, but went away to Kirsgòrs to attend the funeral of a *wursol* of Nòdrs (see p. 439). When the funeral was over Teikuteidi set out with companions to go to Kerkars (a place near Paikara). On the way they passed Kwongudrpem (near Kuudi). There he stopped and began to count his companions; he counted them, but forgot to include himself, saying that there were twenty when they started and now only nineteen, and he thought for a long time who the lost person could be. When he was looking in the direction of the funeral-place for the lost companion, he saw a lame man named Keikarskutan, who had a *purs* and *ab* (bow and arrow). Keikarskutan lay down and shot the arrow[1] and it came towards Teikuteidi with a sound like a bird's voice. Teikuteidi was looking to see what sort of bird it was when the arrow pierced both his eyes[2] and he died. When his companions found that he was dead, they held the funeral at Kerâs, and at the place where he died they made a mark with four stones like a cross, one for his head, one for his legs and one for each hand.

Kwoten was responsible for various features of the organisation of the Pan people. He divided them into two parts, the Panol and Kuirsiol, and also divided the *ti* into two parts, the *wars ti*, which was to belong to the Panol, and the *tars ti* to the Kuirsiol. He settled that the *palol* of the *ti* should be chosen from the people of Keadr. When there is a funeral in any clan a *palol* belonging to that clan must give up his office; hence, in order that his *ti* should never be without a *palol*, Kwoten separated the people of Keadr into two divisions, the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol, so that a member of one division might be *palol* if a member of the other division died.

[1] When Keikarskutan shot the bow and arrow he lay down. According to my informants, Keikarskutan lay down to shoot the bow and arrow because he was lame, but shot it in the ordinary way and did not use his legs in doing so. Breeks, who gives a brief version of this legend, was told that the arrow was shot by means of the legs and refers to this method as the ancient Indian custom.

[2] I give this as it was told.

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This was the origin of the division of the Keadr people into the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol.

One day Kwoten went to the *wars ti* of Pan and took buttermilk and slept there, and he did the same at the *arsaiir ti* of Kwòdrdoni, and since that day the people of Pan have had the privilege of taking buttermilk and sleeping at the places of each *ti*.

Kwoten also made two *teiks* (stones or wooden posts at which buffaloes are killed at the funerals), the *parsteiks* for the Panol and the *kirshteiks* for the Kuirsiol.

[177] It is owing to the example of Kwoten that the Todas now take meals in Kurumba villages. Before his time they had never done so, but Kwoten one day went to a Kurumba village and took food, and since that time all Todas have done so.

Kwoten was also the first Toda to go to a Kota village. He wanted one day to go to Mitur in the Wainad, and as it was getting dark and he was still on his way, he went to the Kota village of Kulgadi (Gudalur). He sat on their *tün*, or bed, got new pots and food from them, and, taking both to the stream called Marspa or Marsva, he cooked and ate the food there, and then, returning to the village, slept on a Kota *tün*. Since that time Todas have gone to that village, and have done as Kwoten did, but they will not go to any other Kota village.

One day Kwoten went with Erten of Keadr, who was spoken of as his servant, to Pòni, in the direction of Polkat (Calicut). At Pòni there is a stream called Palpa, the commencement of which may be seen on the Kundahs. Kwoten and Erten went to drink water out of the stream at a place where a goddess (*teu*) named Terkosh had been bathing. When Kwoten was about to drink from his hands, he found in the water a long golden hair; he measured the length of the hair and found it was greater than his height; he had a long stick in his hand called *pirs*, and found that the hair was longer than this stick. Then he asked Erten about it. Erten knew it was the hair of a *teu*, but thought it best not to tell Kwoten, and tried to persuade him that it was of no importance, and proposed that they should return home.

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Kwoten, however, insisted on finding out from whom the hair came, so they went along the stream. Kwoten went first and Erten had to follow him. As they went they met the bird called *karpùls* going from the right side to the left,[1] uttering its cry. Kwoten asked Erten why they met the bird, why it went from right to left, and why it made a cry. Erten replied as follows :—

"*Nòdr udoi*	*kwudrpedrshai; Naraian sawi kaipedrshai.*"
"Country (God) if there is	you will die; Naraian will kill you."

In spite of this warning, Kwoten persisted in going on, and finally they came to Terkosh, who said to Kwoten, "Do not come near me, I am a *teu*." Kwoten paid no heed to this, but said; "You are a beautiful woman," and went and lay with her. Then Terkosh went away to her hill at Pòni, where she is now, and to this day the Kurumbas go there once a year and offer plantains to her and light lamps in her honour.

Kwoten and Erten returned home. Kwoten went to Kepurs, a village now in ruins, close to Nanjanad, and Erten went to a village called Kapthòri belonging to the Keadrol. Kwoten had about five hundred buffaloes grazing at Pazhmokh, near Kepurs. That night Kwoten slept on the *idrtul* over which he had spread a sambhar skin. He had on his finger a thick silver ring, which may still be seen at Naters and is used in the funeral ceremonies of men of the Pan clan. When the people awoke next morning they found that Kwoten had disappeared and that there only remained, lying on the sambhar skin, the silver ring and some *pug*.[2] Kwoten had been carried away by Terkosh and it was found that his five hundred buffaloes had also disappeared.

When Erten got up next morning he went to Kepurs and called out to the *wursol* of that place, "*Wursolia, tar tûrzhodthrska*"[3]—"O *wursol*, is the man up yet?" The *wursol*

[1] To meet this bird going from right to left is a bad omen; if going from left to right, it is a good omen.

[2] I could not find out the exact meaning of this word, but it appeared to be a name for the blood-stained froth which may come from the mouth of a dying man. In a sentence which occurs later the word appears as *pògh* (blood), but my informants were certain that *pug* itself is not blood.

[3] See p. 616.

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173 replied, "*Pülmâv tars pògh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin
773 blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Aroth pun pârs Pâlmän*
kwark putvai, nadrtivadr"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to
776 the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wursol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakhudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wursol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk
[762] also strangled themselves with *kakhudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pòni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seizâr son, Kwoten âr son, Seizâr son, Terkosh âr son.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *âr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Taradr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that
[735] place were sent to him. Very little is related about the third brother, Elnâkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

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Elnâkhum is said to have built the long wall which still exists at the village of Nòdrs. 173

The story of Kwoten reads very much like that of a man who really lived and was deified after his death. The minute detail with which several of the natural incidents of his life are known might be held to point in this direction, but perhaps more important is the fact that his ring can still be seen, and that his spear was, according to Breeks, in existence not long ago. It looks as if Kwoten was a man who raised Pan from a comparatively insignificant position among the Todas to be one of their chief clans, and was the means of introducing several innovations in Toda custom. It is probable that he was deified after his death, and that some of the incidents of his life have acquired miraculous characters. 773 776 [618]

Kwoto or Meilitars

There was once a man belonging to Melgars who married a woman of Kanòdrs and took her to Melgars. When she became pregnant, the woman was taken by her husband to Kanòdrs. On the way back to Melgars they passed Ushadr, the place where the funeral ceremonies of Melgars men took place. They were standing in front of the funeral hut at that place when the man found a good *twadri* tree,[1] and, cutting three or four sticks from it, brought them to his wife, who stripped the bark from the sticks. While she was doing this, the pains of labour came on, and soon after she gave birth to a gourd (*kem*). Both husband and wife were very much ashamed, and they decided to say that a child had been born and had died, and the man went round to all the villages to say that this had happened and that the funeral would be held at Ushadr. Accordingly they had the *etvaiuolkedr* (first funeral ceremony) at Ushadr, the gourd being covered with a *putkuli* (cloak), so that it was taken to be the body of a child.

First the buffaloes were caught and killed, and then the supposed corpse was taken to the burning-place, where a fire

[1] Probably the tree or bush from which the material called *twadrinar* is manufactured by the Todas.

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173 was made and the gourd in its mantle was put on the fire.
773 The fire first burnt the cloak, and when it reached the gourd,
this broke into two pieces. One piece became a little baby,
776 a boy, which took a piece of the burnt cloak and went away in the air to Neikhârs, where there is a big tree, under which it alighted. The other piece of the gourd was split into many fragments by the heat of the fire, and some of the fragments were driven with such force that they killed a kite which had come to the funeral. (To this day the kite does not eat the buffaloes at funerals at Ushadr, though it does so at other places.) The father and mother followed the child to Neikhârs, where they found it sitting on the tree.[1] The father and mother said to the child "*Ena, itvâ*"—"My son, come here," and the boy came down and went to them, and was taken away by his parents to Melgars.

As the parents and child were on their way to Melgars they met the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* going from Kòn to Enòdr. At that time the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars used to go with the *ti* buffaloes as far as a place called Irgûdrval, on the way between Kars and Enòdr. A Kars man went with the buffaloes, and he wore on his right wrist a gold bracelet (which is still kept at Kuzhu). At Irgûdrval there is a stone called Pidûtkars, and it was the duty of the man with the bracelet to sit on this stone and to make the Melgars buffaloes pass on the right side, the Kars buffaloes on the left side, and the *ti* buffaloes in the middle. When he had done this, the *palol* prayed at the stone, and then the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars turned back and the *ti* buffaloes went on to Enòdr. When the man and his wife saw the buffaloes coming, they waited near Pidûtkars, and while they were waiting the baby laughed. The father asked the boy, "Why do you laugh?" The boy answered, "I know the *kwarzam*[2]

[1] My informants could not say whether the boy went away in the air as a child or as a kite. The boy often assumed the form of a kite later, and it is tempting to suppose that the assumption of this form by the child was connected with the death of the kite, *i.e.*, that it was a case of transmigration. The fact that the child went away in the air and was found sitting on a tree makes it highly probable that it flew in the form of a kite, but my informants could not say that this was definitely part of the legend.

[2] The *kwarzam* is the name used in prayer (see Chap. X).

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of the *ti* buffaloes, *perner persagun*; I know the *kwarzam* of the Melgars buffaloes, *narsiiln natiiln nâkh*; also I know the *kwarzam* of the Kars buffaloes, *inâtviḍshti inâtvan*; that is why I laughed." After the buffaloes had gone on to Enòdr, the parents and child went on their way to Melgars. After they had been at Melgars fifteen days, they noticed that the child grew so rapidly that they could see him getting bigger from day to day, and he was soon grown up. He was called Kwoto.

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One day Kwoto went into the buffalo pen and played there with the buffalo-dung, so that he was covered with the dust of the dung. His father rebuked him and was blowing on him to get rid of the dust when the boy changed into a kite and flew away. The next day he resumed human form, but from that time he only stayed in the village at times, and at other times stayed in the woods. This went on for about eight days, and then he refused to take food from the village and became a companion of the gods.

At this time the gods used to hold councils on the slopes below a hill called Tikalmudri. The place where they sat was called Pòlkab. When the gods were holding council at Pòlkab, Kwoto went and sat on the top of the hill Tikalmudri. Then the gods said to one another, "How is it that he sits on the top of the hill while we sit below? It is not at all good." They consulted together and decided to kill him. So three or four of the gods went to Kwoto and said in a cunning way, "We will show you your country" (*i.e.*, the place which should belong to him; each of the gods had his appointed place). So they took him to a steep precipice called Teipâper, and having deceived him that they would show him his country, they threw him down. Kwoto, however, was not killed, but took the form of a kite and flew back to Tikalmudri. Then all the gods were surprised that he was not dead, but decided to try and kill him again, and they took him to the hill Kòdrtho, near Nidrsi, and threw him down. (The hill Kòdrtho was inhabited by the god Kòdrtho.) Kwoto was not killed, but pulled up a bamboo tree with its roots, and flew back and struck Kòdrtho on the head, and Kòdrtho's head split into three pieces. One of these pieces is now the well-known

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173 hill, the Drug, seen from Coonoor, while the other two pieces
773 are eminences on the ridge running out to the Drug.

Kwoto then returned to Tikalmudri. The gods said, "We
776 cannot kill him; he has some power; let us try his power." So they gave him the following task:

"*Peivoi*	*tirikvâ,*	*plâtr*	*plrickvâ?*'
Low	turn	high	fill?

i.e., "Can he turn the low stream and fill the high stream?" (According to another account the words in which the task was given were, "*Alvoi tiriki, Kalvoi plrsvôka,*" *i.e.*, "Can he turn the stream Alvoi and fill the stream Kalvoi?")

Kwoto then took a huge stone, which may still be seen near Kanòdrs, and put it in the stream so that it flowed upwards. Then the stream begged Kwoto, "We are going upwards according to your order, but it is very difficult for us; we wish to be allowed to go our ordinary way." So Kwoto took away the stone and the stream resumed its natural course.

The gods saw what Kwoto had done and decided to try his power in another way, so they said:

"*Kânâr*	*ât,*	*kutei*	*kurs*	*ûtia?*"
Sun	tie,	stone	chain	can he do?

i.e., "Can he tie the sun with a stone chain?" Kwoto then took a stone chain and tied it to the sun and brought the sun down to Nern, near Kanòdrs, and tied it to a tree. When the sun wanted to drink, Kwoto took it to the stream Kalvoi, from which the sun drank, and there is now to be seen a hole in this stream at the place where the sun drank.[1] Then Kwòto took the sun to a pool surrounded by trees called Nerpoiker, also near Kanòdrs. While the sun was tied in this way, it was dark both in this world and in Amnòdr. Then the people of Amnòdr came to the gods and asked why they allowed Kwoto to do these things, and said that they were now living in thick darkness, and they begged that Kwoto should be allowed to put the sun back in its right place. Then the gods went to Kwoto and asked him to put the sun

[1] This place is close to the spot at which the path from Pishkwosht (Bikkapattimand) to Kodanad crosses a stream soon after leaving the former village.

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back, and they acknowledged that he was a god and the most powerful of the gods. They said that he should no longer be called Kwoto, but that his name should be Meilitars, because he was superior to all the gods; also that he should go "*parnur nòdr, putnur nòdr*," "to 1,600 places, 1,800 places," *i.e.*, he should not belong to one place only, like the other gods, but should go everywhere.

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Then Meilitars put back the sun in its proper place.

(According to another version, the task of tying the sun was given in the words:

"*Kânêr*	*âl*,	*pîrzagun*	*patrôkâ*?"
Male buffalo	tie,	sun	can he catch?

The sun was said to have been at this time sitting on the back of a male buffalo, and Kwoto was told to tie the buffalo and catch the sun. According to this account Kwoto first used an iron chain, *kabantagars*, which was melted by the heat of the sun. Next he tried a bronze (?) chain called *kuchtagars*, which also melted. Then he used a stone chain, or *karstagars*, which did not melt, and he succeeded in tying the sun with this. This version of the story corresponds with that given by Breeks.)

Kwoto or Meilitars was closely connected with two clans, those of Melgars and Kanòdrs. It is said to be owing to the fact that Kwoto was a Melgars man that Melgars people have the special privileges and duties which are peculiar to that clan. At any rate, this is the view held by the people of Melgars. At Kanòdrs, the name of Kwoto occupies a prominent place in the prayer of the dairy, and several of the special features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs dairy are said to exist in consequence of the many wonderful things which Kwoto had done in its neighbourhood. When new buttermilk has to be made for Kanòdrs, it is made at a place called Kautarmad, far away, because Kwoto made new buttermilk there, and in the ceremony at this place earth is taken from certain places from which Kwoto took it.

Kwoto or Meilitars is the hero of several stories, in none of which does he play a very creditable *rôle*.

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

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At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

173 world and Amnòdr. Those who were dead stayed perman-
773 ently in Amnòdr, but living people could go to visit them
775 and return. One day Punatvan of Kars went with Meilitars to Amnòdr. They stayed there two days and two nights, and then Meilitars came away without Punatvan's knowledge. At that time the people of Kars were living at Nasmiòdr, so Meilitars went to Nasmiòdr and said that Punatvan intended to stop in Amnòdr, and wished the Kars people to perform the funeral ceremonies for him, killing thirty buffaloes. So the Kars people caught thirty buffaloes, the chief one being called Enmon. Round the neck of Enmon were hung the two bells (*wursuli mani*) called Karsod and Kòni. They cut a piece of stick and put it in a *putkuli* to represent the dead body and then killed the thirty buffaloes. As the buffaloes were on their way to Amnòdr, they met Punatvan on his way back. Punatvan asked the chief buffalo, Enmon, "Why do you come here?" Then Enmon told him what Meilitars had done. The man and buffalo put their heads together and cried, and their tears became a pool of water.[1] Then Punatvan took the two bells from the neck of Enmon and sent them back to Nasmiòdr, where they are kept to this day, but he returned to Amnòdr with the buffaloes. Then Ön, the ruler of Amnòdr, ordered that in future no one should return to the world of the living from Amnòdr, and since that day the Todas have not been able to go to and fro between the two worlds as they used to do.

173 At the present time the people of Keradr have no *ti*. Once
773 they had a *ti* which they lost through the action of Kwoto, who
776 went one day to their dairy at Tikîrs, near Mòdr, and, hiding the *kaltmokh* in the wood, took his place. When the *palol* milks, it is the duty of the *kaltmokh* to let out the calves and send them to the *palol*. Kwoto did not do this properly, but sent more calves than were required, so the *palol* became angry and took his stick (*kwoinörtpet*) to beat the supposed *kaltmokh*, but the stroke missed and fell on the *palol* himself.

000 Another day the *palol* told Kwoto to pour out the re-

[1] This pool has been converted into the Marlimand reservoir, the source of the water-supply of Ootacamund.

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Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the re-

mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of 173
doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the butter- 753
milk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends small- 773
pox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would 776
no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then 886
Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto 173
sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the 773
buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all 776
went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part 173
is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received 177
several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy 262
myself which was correct.

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur 773
in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with 776
these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

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173 pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of
177 the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a
god and said that he would dance before them, and did so
262 like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever
773 he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first
776 and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *teuol*, or diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meilitars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (Panyas), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat the flesh of a calf while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

Other Gods

773 There are very many other deities. Of the following I can
776 give little more than the names.

Atiato is the *nòdrodchi* of the Kwòdrdoni clan and also of Pedrkars. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

773 Konto or Konteu is the *nòdrodchi* of the Panol, and lives on
776 the hill Konto, to which fire is set by the *palol* of the Kars or Pan *ti* (see Chap. XIII).

Kòdrtho is the *nòdrodchi* of Nidrsi. He played a part in the history of Kwoto, and according to some accounts he was the *mun*, or maternal uncle, of this god.

Near the source of the Paikara river, there is a cave in which there is a pool called Alvoi. Sometimes this pool gives forth a loud bubbling noise, and this is believed to be due to a *teu* dipping himself in the water. The name of the god is Alvoi Kalvoi, Kalvoi, situated at some distance from the pool, being a hill on which the god usually lives.

There are other gods about whose histories I have no information. Tiligush is the *nòdrodchi* of Päm and Karadr of Taradr. Pòrzo inhabits a hill near Nòdrs, and Karzo, a hill near Kars, and the names of other gods, such as Kaladrvan, Teikhun, Peigwa, Karmunteu, Kondilteu and Mundilteu, are mentioned in the prayers of the *ti* dairies.

114 In addition to these, who are certainly true Toda gods, the
177 Todas also pay respect to the gods of the other tribes on the Nilgiris, while occasionally the names of Hindu gods are men-
776 tioned in their ceremonies. If a Toda be asked if he worships one of these gods, he will almost certainly assent, but at the same time he distinguishes them from his own gods. The only deity who seemed to be confused with their own gods by some of the Todas was Petkon, whose Badaga name was said to be Betakarasami. Breeks calls him Betikhan, and states that he is a hunting god; and according to some Todas Petkon was a son of Teikirzi.

Previous accounts of the Toda gods have been very erratic. Some writers have given the names of Hindu gods. Breeks gives the names of dairies as those of gods, though he also records abbreviated versions of several of the stories given in this chapter. The most curious account, however, of the Toda gods is that of Marshall, who gives[1] the following as the names of five gods which are muttered when milk is put on the sacred bells:—Ânmungâno, Godingâtho, Beligoshu, Dekulâria, and Kazudâva. We puzzled over these words for

[1] P. 142.

1: Rivers Ξ-5 (ca. 1901-02) 190. Toda

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a long time, and could not discover the names of gods even remotely resembling them. Finally it became clear that the last was "*kars ud âva*" ("Give me one rupee"). Similarly there was little doubt that "Beligoshu, Dekulâria" stood for "*beli karsu tudkersia*" ("Will you not give me a silver coin?"), the Badaga equivalent of the last word being very much like Dekulâria. The first two names we could not identify with certainty, but the first is possibly "*en mûn gânei*" ("Do not see my face"), and the second is possibly the name of a Badaga buffalo-pen.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER X

PRAYER

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In the chapters in which the ritual of the dairies has been described, one of the most important features of the ceremonial has been passed over which must now be fully described. This feature is the prayer which is always offered at certain stages of the dairy operations. In the village dairies, of whatever kind they may be, no prayer is offered at the morning ceremonial. In the evening the prayer of the dairy is recited twice—once when lighting the lamp, and once when shutting the buffaloes in their enclosure for the night, the prayer on this occasion being said in front of the entrance to the pen.

At the *ti* dairy the *palol* prays both morning and evening. In the morning he prays when lighting the lamp and after he has finished milking; in the evening prayer is offered on both these occasions, and also when shutting up the buffaloes for the night. The *palol* also repeats a few clauses when going out to milk. Prayers are said on certain other ceremonial occasions, and clauses from the prayers are frequently uttered during the many ceremonies of the dairy.

At the evening ceremonial of the village dairy the prayer is said when the lamp is lighted, while during the morning ceremonial, at which the lamp is usually not lighted, there is no prayer. This suggests that the prayer is especially related to the lamp-lighting, and that some idea of worship of the light is involved, but occasionally for some special reason, such as unusual darkness, the lamp may be lighted in the morning, and on these occasions the prayer is not used. Nevertheless, the relation between lamp-lighting and prayer

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x 373 771 782 788 both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

234x 782 788 The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195] In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x 184 788 782 621 Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

refused to discuss it. One point seemed quite clear, at any rate among the Teivaliol, viz., that the different villages of a clan had different prayers, though often with many clauses in common. 234x 184 621

In general, the prayer of the *ti* is longer and more elaborate than that of the village dairy. Different prayers are used at different dairies of the same *ti*, though here again they may have many clauses in common. 782 788

In all cases the prayer consists of two distinct parts: a preliminary portion consisting chiefly of names known as *kwarzam*, followed by a portion which may be regarded as the prayer proper.

The prayer proper should be the same in every dairy, but it seemed to me that there was a good deal of laxity as regards this portion, and there is no doubt that it is often slurred over hastily and is less strictly regulated than the preliminary portion of the prayer.

The following is the most generally accepted form: 788

Tânenmâ;	*târmânmâ;*	*fr kark tânenmâ;*
may it be well	may it be well	with the buffaloes and calves
or	or	may it be well;
may be blessed;	may be merciful;	
nâv ârk mâ;	*kazun ârk mâ;*	*mudri ârk mâ;*
may there be no disease;	may there be no destroyer;	may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects);
kâvel ârk mâ;	*per kârt pâ mâ:*	*pusht kârt pâ mâ;*
may there be no wild beasts (tigers, &c.);	may be kept from (falling down) steep hills;	may be kept from floods;
tût ârk mâ;	*mâ un mâ;*	*maj eu mâ;*	*pul pâv mâ;*
may there be no fire;	may rain fall;	may clouds rise;	may grass flourish;
nîr âr mâ.			
may water spring.			

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence, followed by the words:

âtham	*idith*	*emk*	*tânenmâ.*
them	for the sake of	for (or to) us	may it be well.

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of the 782 788

782 given above were omitted, while others were added, especially
788 requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *pîrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

234 X It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

192 "May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer
782 from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals
788 and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evil or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

234 X The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several
184 groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes,
782 of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the
788 *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence
621 given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place
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[1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate. 234x 184

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated. 782 788 621 192

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer. 234x 192 788

Prayer of Kuudr

Atthòr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
ònerv	Kuudr village.
palitòdrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*tòdrpali*).
palikidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*kidpali*).
tòdrpalshpelk	lamp (*pelk*) of large dairy.
kidpalshpep	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 *tûtôdrtko*	large buffalo-pen (*tû*) at Kuudr.
tôkidth	small buffalo-pen (*tû*) at Kuudr.
192 *kadrtarikkadr*	calf enclosure (*kadr*) at Kuudr.
keishkvet	sacred buffaloes (*pasthîr*) of Kuudr.
788 *tarskivan*	ordinary buffaloes (*putilr*).
kinpep	portion of buttermilk (*pep*) originally given by Teikirzi for *pasthîr*.
âtthpep	portion of *pep* for *putilr*.
mutchudkars	stone in buffalo-pen at Kuudr where the vessels of the large dairy are purified.
tarskikars	stone in pen where the vessels of the small dairy are purified.
nirkiznîr	sacred dairy spring of Kuudr.
Eikisiov	a buffalo whose milk was the origin of the spring.
Pûlmâlpûl	a hill near Kuudr.
Emalpâv	a buffalo which once lived at Kuudr.
Kchathûmûk	a hill near Kuudr.
Karstum	a buffalo which once died on this hill.
teikkwadiki	a tree by which the dairy vessel called *mu* is buried (see p. 170).
manikiars	the *kiars* tree by which the sacred bell (*mani*) is laid when the dairy things are being purified.
Keikars	a hill near Kuudr.
keitmôdi	hill near which the *erkumptthiti* ceremony is performed (see Chap. XIII).
petût pati pethût ir	chief buffaloes given when Teikirzi divided the buffaloes with wand in hand (see p. 186). Literally, "wand with divide chief buffaloes."
pûthion nâkh tarnâr maj	calf which was the ancestor of the Kuudr *putilr*.

Thus, the prayer would run, "*Atthkâr idith; ôners idith; palitûdrpali idith;* . . . . . and the translation would run, "For the sake of the village and clan of Kuudr; for the sake of the village of Kuudr; for the sake of the large dairy of Kuudr; . . . ." as far as the end of the *kwarzam* given above, and then would follow the prayer proper, "*tanenma, tarmama,* . . . ."

This prayer begins with two *kwarzam* of the village or clan, followed by others referring to the dairies and dairy vessels, buffalo pens and buffaloes. Then follow certain *kwarzam* of the *pep* or buttermilk which is of so much importance in the dairy ritual, and those of stones which play a part in the ceremonies attending purification of the dairy vessels. After the *kwarzam* of the dairy spring, there follow a number of *kwarzam* referring to certain incidents in the history of the dairy.

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history of the dairy. *Eikisiov* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuudr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground became swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring and is called *kisnîr*. The two following *kwarzam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. *Karstum* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathûmûk when it began to bellow and could not be induced to stop; the people tried to take it back to the pen, but it would not go and died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarzam* are followed by two referring to trees of ceremonial importance—one the tree by which is buried the *mu* on the integrity of which the continuity of the dairy procedure depends, while the other is connected with the sacred bell.

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Then follow the *kwarzam* of a hill on which there are cairns and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarzam* of a different kind. The first refers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi, who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing we have seen that she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the form, "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes with the wand." The last *kwarzam* is that of the calf, from which the ordinary buffaloes or *putîr* of Kuudr are descended, but I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the words, except *nakh*, which is the name of a three-year-old buffalo.

In the Kuudr prayer several of the *kwarzam* refer to incidents of a more or less miraculous nature which are believed to have happened at the village where the prayer is used, while the last *kwarzam* but one refers to one of the chief events of Toda mythology.

It will be noticed that many of the *kwarzam* used in this prayer correspond very closely to the names in ordinary use. Some, such as *keitnòdi* and *teikhkwadiki*, are the same words as those in general use, while others differ from

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234 192 788 the ordinary words in the reduplication of part of the name, *tûdrpali* becoming *palitûdrpali* and *kisnîr* becoming *nîrkisnîr*.

PRAYER OF KIUDR

234 192 778 788 The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used at Kiudr, which is one of the most sacred of Toda villages.

	Kwarzam of
Kîtodh	the dairy at Kiudr.
herâni	one of the *patatmani* of Kiudr.
mêdrâni	the other *patatmani*.
pongg	one of the *ertatmani*.
nongg	another *ertatmani*.
polteirzi	the lamp of the dairy.
frtîrzi	also the lamp.
kînnûv	the way by which the dairyman goes from the dairy to milk; the *punethalvol*.
nîrtîkk	the dairy stream.
nîrtîrzkki	also the dairy stream.
keitu	the buffalo-pen.
tûlivauerz	the posts at the entrance of the buffalo-pen
tashtpâlûv	the bars of the entrance of the pen.
kadrtâlikkadr	the calf enclosure.
arkatchar	the household stream.
inerti	also the household stream.
ârvoitchkârz	the house (*ars*) at Kiudr.
eivitchâv	also the house.
nerzâdrvel	the milking place.
keikâdr	the stream which runs between the house and the dairy (see 307).
kwoteinerz	
kwalthipuzhal	
etamûdri	all of Kiudr village.
eruikin	
kârmus	
pârvakûdr	
arspem	slope of hill (*pem*) near Kiudr.

The special features of the Kiudr prayer are the large number of *kwarzam* of the village and the inclusion of the *kwarzam* of the house and household stream. The prayer of Kiudr is the only Toda prayer in which either the house or household stream is mentioned, and this fact is in accordance with the high degree of sanctity which has become attached to this village. It will be noticed also that

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the buffaloes are not mentioned, and that nearly all the clauses of the prayer apply to the buildings and their contents or to other parts of the village or to the village itself. Only the last *kwarzam* of the prayer applies to a place not actually in the village itself, and I could not ascertain why this place was so favoured. With this exception, the Kiudr prayer is one in which the *kwarzam* are entirely limited to those of the village and the dairy.

It will be remembered that when the buffaloes of the Nódrs *ti* migrate from Mòdr to Anto they pass by the village of Kiudr, and that the occasion is observed in various ways by the people of the village (see p. 135). I was told that certain *kwarzam* referring to this occasion are used in the Kiudr prayer. According to one man, these *kwarzam* are always recited in the prayer before those which have been already given, but others denied that they were so used. It is possible that these *kwarzam* are only said on special occasions, such as the day of migration, or it may be that they were formerly used, but are now being forgotten.

These *kwarzam* are as follow:

unar pâgit nòdr	*ti* buffaloes, come near country.
unkeu pâgit nòdr	bell of *marz* dairy, come near country.
eupalol pâgit nòdr	god *palol*, come near country.
eutuni pâgit nòdr	god *tuni*, come near country.
eittît pâgit nòdr	hair done up, come near country (this has reference to the practice of tying the hair which is followed by the *palol* when engaged at his sacred work (p. 92).
Teigun ürpit nòdr	horn (of *marsir*) blow country.
Kiudkudr ürpit nòdr	horn (of *tiir*) blow country.

Then follow the *kwarzam* already given.

These *kwarzam* are of a different form from those used in the general form of prayer, and the various persons or objects mentioned are referred to either by their usual names or by slight modifications of them, as in *eupalol* or *euvalol* and *eutuni*. There seemed to be no doubt that these words were abbreviations of *teupalol* and *teutuni*, the omission of an initial *t* being not uncommon in the Toda language. Thus in this prayer the dairyman is called "god *palol*," and his garment "god *tuni*."

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Prayer of Kwirg

234 192 788 Kwirg is one of the villages of the Kuudrol and is the place to which their buffaloes go when it is necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

Kwatakwirg	Kwirg village.
kûlpudshol	Kwirg village.
palikeithiolv	the dairy.
tûmadshû	the pen.
kadrkeiri	the *kadr* (calf enclosure).
nîrtûdsh	the dairy stream.
pinpunûv	a hill.
pilkârs	a hill.
âttkpep	see Kuudr prayer.
kânpep	see Kuudr prayer.
mutchudpep	see Kuudr prayer.
keishkvet	see Kuudr prayer.
tarshivan	see Kuudr prayer.
petût pati pethût fr	see Kuudr prayer.
pûthion nâkh tarsâr maj	see Kuudr prayer.

It will be seen that many of the clauses are common to this prayer and that of Kuudr.

The three *kwarzam* of *pep* were said to be used in every dairy of the Kuudrol, but it did not appear that they were used at Kiudr. The third, *mutchudpep*, is not included in the Kuudr prayer, but *mutchudkars* appears in its place. Two hills are mentioned in the Kwirg prayer, but there are none of the references to special events connected with the village such as exist in the prayer of Kuudr.

The Prayer of the Kanòdrs Dairy

When I was staying at Pishkwosht and visited the conical dairy at Kanòdrs with Neratkutan, he told me that the prayer of this dairy had forty *kwarzam* referring to the gods, as well as many of other kinds, but on going into detail I could only obtain the following:—

Pûr nûr teu	the 1600 gods.
pût nûr teu	the 1800 gods.
Kwoto	Kwoto or Meilitars (see p. 203).

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Atioto	Atioto (see p. 210).
Kurindei teu	Kurindo (see p. 192).
Konteu	Konteu or Konto (see p. 211).
Anteu	Anto (see p. 188).
Pòrzo	Pòrzo } see p. 211.
Kòdrtho	Kòdrtho } see p. 211.
Kârzo	Karzo } see p. 211.
Teikhunteu	Teikhun } see p. 211.
mânpîh	Kanòdrs village.
mutîrzkpîh	ditto.
tûnerîû	the pen.
kûnîr	the sun ? (see p. 206).
kuteikurs	the stone chain used by Kwoto (see p. 207).
anurs	Kurhu village.
tûtaskhi	Pishkwosht village.

This prayer is quite unlike those of the other village dairies and was much more like that of a *ti* dairy. As we have seen, the *pok* of Kanòdrs resembles a *ti* dairy both in the elaborateness of its ritual and in the high degree of sanctity of its dairyman, and this resemblance is now seen to extend to the prayer used in the dairy ritual. [778]

Other dairies of the Tartharol which have an especial degree of sanctity are the *kugvali* of Taradr and the conical dairy of Nòdrs. I made great endeavours to obtain the prayers used in these places, but without success.

The ti Prayer

The prayers offered at the *ti* dairies are as a general rule longer and more complex than those of the ordinary village dairy. The latter portion of the prayer, or the prayer proper, does not seem to differ from that of the ordinary dairy, the differences being in the *kwarsam* recited at the beginning. The different dairies of the same *ti* may have different prayers; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti* there is a special prayer for the dairy at Anto which is longer and more complicated than that used at Mòdr, but it is probable that this is exceptional and is owing to the great antiquity and sanctity of Anto. The other dairies of this *ti* probably use much the same prayer as at Mòdr, though there may be certain slight modifications at each.

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THE ANTO PRAYER

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This prayer is characterised by a very large number of *kwarzam* referring to the dairy, its contents and surroundings. On ordinary days a shortened form of the prayer is used which consists wholly of *kwarzam* of this kind. On special days, such as the occasions of *ponup* and *irnödrthiti*, other *kwarzam* are said, including those of gods and buffaloes.

The following *kwarzam* are those in daily use, each being followed by the word *idith* as in the village prayer :—

	Kwarzam of
Anto	the *ti*.
eithipôk	ditto.
mödrpôk	the *ti pok*.
pôktirzk	the *wars pok*.
ûv	the milking place (*pepharmus*).
pero	the special pen used on the night before the *ponup* ceremony.
keiro	the pen used on the night before the migration of the buffaloes.
kâtû	the ordinary pen.
Teirz	a hill near the dairy on which Anto lives.
tilkav	the back of the dairy (*pokpalikef*).
irbâr	the way by which the *kaltmokh* goes to and from the dairy.
Pithipôk	the cave where Pithi was born (see p. 184).
nersâvul	sacred path to the dairy by which the *mani*, *pep*, &c., are taken.
karkadr	path by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadipâl	ditto.
einpâl	path by which the *palol* goes to draw water.
panpâl	path by which the *palol* returns from drawing water.
Kiâln	a hill near the dairy.
Keini	another hill.
titkln	stream at which the *palol* bathes and washes his garments.
tiâr	stone by this stream marking the spot by which the *palol* bathes, &c.
teirpâl	spot at which the *palol* halts and prays for the third time during the procession to Anto (see p. 135).
teirpôk	ditto.
nirkâli	place at which *palol* and *kaltmokh* defæcate.
Katthvai	hill near Anto (see p. 188).
Kubul	ditto.
Kôdrz	place near Anto (see p. 188).
Tmirz	ditto.
teiithikars	stone rolled by Anto.
teiithival	lower part of the hill *Katthvai* (see above).

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On ordinary days these *kwarzam* are followed by the prayer *tanenma tarmama*, &c. On special occasions the following *kwarzam* are inserted between those already given and the prayer proper :—

	Kwarzam of
Ektrzam meidjam	Teikirzi, Tirshti.
Kûdreij	Kudreiil dairy.
tîdj	ditto.
Kûlâdrtho	Kuladrtho dairy.
Perithi ti vaners	*ti* dairy at Perithi in the Wainad.
Kôti	One of the hills at which fire is lighted by the *palol* at the *teutûtusthchi* ceremony (see p. 291).
pagôsh	ditto.
Pûthi	another hill at which fire is lighted.
ânul	ditto.
Kûlinkârs	Kulinkars (see p. 188).
Nôtirzivan	Nôtirzi (see p. 189).
Kuzkârv	Korateu (see p. 190).
unir	one group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
unken	*mani* of *wars* dairy.
Perzin	*mani* of *ti* dairy.
kûdrs mani	bells of *punir*.
tadsth	axe which came from Amnôdr with the buffaloes.
tâpâr	an iron bar.
âter	the second group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
teiter	the third group of *tiir*.
Keirz	the buffalo which has the *mani* called Keu put on its neck.
pîlti	buffaloes (*unir*).
perzv	ditto.
Keirv	buffalo which drinks *pep* on day of migration (see p. 135).
Kithi	buffalo which wears the *kudrs mani*.
kudîrôrs	the path at Môdr by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadrpôrs	place near Môdr at which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* defecate.
tarikipûl	place near Môdr where the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony is performed.
kidhadr	calves' hut (*karenpoh*) at Môdr.
pompôh	*ti* dairy at Môdr.
kidpôh	*wars* dairy at Môdr.
Ôdrtho	*ti* dairy at Ôdrtho.
Kûdreiil	*wars* dairy at Kudreiil.
mundrten	a *ti* dairy.

The following is all I was able to obtain of the prayer used at Môdr :—"*Ektrzam meidjam idith, Anto eithipôh idith, Kûlinkârs idith, Nôtirzivan idith, Kûlâdrvan idith, Teukuteithi idith, Kûdreij tîdj idith, Kuzkârv idith, Alvoi Kalvoi*

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idith, tanenma tarmama," &c. Two of these *kwarzam*, "*Teukuteithi idith*" and "*Alvoi Kalvoi idith*," are not mentioned in the Anto prayer. I have no doubt that the list of *kwarzam* is very incomplete.

The Prayer of Makars

The following is the prayer used at Makars, the chief dairy of the Kars *ti*. The *kwarzam* of the dairy are here comparatively few in number, but the prayer is especially rich in the *kwarzam* of gods and buffaloes, and it furnishes a very good example of the relation of the prayer formulæ to the Toda legends.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer run as follow :—

Anto	The god Anto.
Nôtrzivan	Nôtirzi.
Kûlinkârz	Kulinkars or Teikhars.
Kuzkârv	Korateu.
Onkonm	Onkonm who lives on a hill in the Kundahs.
Ekîrzam meidjam	Teikirzi and Tirshti.
Azo } *Mazo* }	Azo and Mazo.
Katadrvanpoh	place near Kûlinkars.
Peigwa	god living on hill near Makurti Peak.
Karmunteu	Karmunteu.
Ketzgârth	the Paikara river (Teipakh).
Kondilteu	Kondilteu, a god opposite the hill of Kôti.
Môndilteu	a god on a hill near the last.
Onûkapoh	place near Majodr.
Kûlâdrazenteu	god on a hill near Kuladrtho.
kahan adi arten teu	"iron door shut god."
kahan kâl eiten teu	"iron stick held god."
mârz var arten teu	"*mârz* tree under event god."
kûghîr kâdr kwaten teu	"crooked horned buffalo horn cut god."
tekkûter ai, tan mun madrik teu	"imitation buffalo horns took, his mother's brother's lap god."
mûvel kâritan teu	"sambhar from calved god." (The last six *kwarzam* refer to the story of Kurkarv (see p. 190).
pûlnerkârz	buffaloes of *ti* called *pûrstr*.
teinîrkan	ditto.
pirsh munski potitth ir	"sun to facing that came buffalo."

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nerk muneki potitth ïr	"bell to facing that came buffalo."
putòdr mun kekitth ìr	"*tòdr* tree back (face ?) rubbed buffalo."
Kitheri kütk ethkitth ïr	"Kitheri stream to jumped buffalo."
pütüsh kattith ïr	"desolate pen from made buffalo."
Warwark ethkitth ïr	"Warwar (stream) to jumped buffalo."
ö khuberam kitj erditth ïram	"seven heaps buffalo-dung fire set buffaloes."
pörnïr	bell (*mani*) or *pürs* dairy.
unïr	ditto.
persagum	*mani* of *pars* dairy.
talg	ditto.
mïrvtüls	lamp.
poikar	*pürs* dairy.
pürsvöh	*pars* dairy.
tïnnudri	pen.
kakïnnudri	ditto.
ulrkar	dairy spring.
tülintr	ditto.
pünpöh	dairy at Enòdr.
kütö	pen at Enòdr.
pünntr	spring at Enòdr.
Enòdr	Enòdr *ti mad.*
mödrpöh	dairy at Pars.
peiltö	pen at Pars.
tükntr	spring at Pars.
Pars	Pars *ti mad.*
tisïrnudri	dairy at Neradr.
mïrienerz	pen at Neradr.
Neradr	Neradr *ti mad*
pülvöh	dairy at Kòn.
anerz	ditto.
tadrvals	pen at Kòn.
pövdrzntr	spring at Kòn.
Kòn	Kòn *ti mad.*

Then follow "*tanenma tarmaina*," &c.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer given above are arranged in a definite order. First come the *kwarzam* of sixteen gods or of hills or places closely connected with gods, then follow six *kwarzam* referring to various incidents in the life of the god Korateu. These are followed by two *kwarzam* of buffaloes, and then follow six referring to various features of the founding of Makars, of which an account has been given on

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p. 116. Then follows a *kwarzam* relating to an incident which is probably recent. The *palol* of this *ti* used to make seven heaps of the dung of the buffaloes. There is a law that the dung should not be sold, which the *palol* disobeyed, and soon after a fire broke out suddenly from the seven heaps, and this event is commemorated in the prayer by means of the *kwarzam* meaning "seven heaps of buffalo-dung, fire set buffaloes," and is included among the *kwarzam* relating to buffaloes, probably because there was a belief that the anger of the buffaloes was the cause of the fire.

The buffalo *kwarzam* are followed by eleven referring to the bells of the *ti* and to the dairy, pen and spring of Makars, and these are followed by *kwarzam* referring to the other places of the *ti*—viz., Enòdr, Pars, Neradr, and Kòn. In each case there are said the *kwarzam* of the dairy, pen, spring, and place except in the case of Neradr, where for some reason the *kwarzam* of the spring is omitted.

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The feature of the Makars prayer which is especially interesting is the reference to legend in the *kwarzam*. This reference occurs in the Kuudr prayer and in those of Kanòdrs and Anto, but the references are far more elaborate in the Makars prayer. These references were very useful in providing incidental confirmation of the details of legends previously obtained, while in other cases they put me on the track of stories which I might otherwise have failed to obtain. One point of interest connected with them is that, in the absence of the legends, they might easily be supposed to be meaningless sentences. We have seen that there is reason to believe that the Todas are forgetting much of their mythology, and if the legends referred to in the Makars prayer should be forgotten, these *kwarzam* would become meaningless formulæ. This appears to have happened already in some cases; there were certain *kwarzam* of which I could obtain no translation; thus, all the *kwarzam* of the clans and villages were of this nature and could not be explained, though they almost certainly had a definite origin. A good instance of a *kwarzam* which is on its way towards a similar fate is that at the end of the Kuudr prayer. The meaning of only one word was clear —viz., *nâkh*—while *maj* was probably the word for cloud, and

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the *kwarzam* appears to refer to some incident of legend in which a three-year-old calf and a cloud were concerned, but I could obtain no record of the incident, nor of the legend of which the incident was a feature.

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I have treated these formulæ of the dairy as prayers, and I think there can be very little doubt that they are of the nature of supplications, and are believed to invoke the aid of the gods in protecting the sacred buffaloes. It must be confessed, however, that there is no actual evidence in the formulæ of direct invocation of the gods. The name of no god is mentioned in the vocative form. In some prayers there is barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' be limited to the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops.

The exact relation between the formula and the gods largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is not quite clear. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is evident that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned, followed by the words *âtham idith eink tânenmâ*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

There is little doubt that the Todas offer prayers to their gods in their ordinary daily life, altogether apart from the dairy ritual. I was told by one man that when anyone leaves an *etudmad* he should pray that he may return safely, and in this case my informant said that he prayed to Teikirzi. Unfortunately I did not ask the exact form of the prayer, and do not know whether the goddess was invoked by name or whether *kwarzam* were uttered of the same form as in the prayer of the dairy. We may, however, be confident that the idea of supplication to the gods is not foreign to the Toda mind.

We shall see later that in the formulæ used in Toda sorcery, the names of gods are mentioned, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formulæ. In the magical formulæ the evidence of appeal to deities is somewhat stronger than in the case of the dairy formulæ,

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which are certainly of a religious character. It seems most likely that the word *idith* was at one time used especially in connexion with the names of gods, and carried with it some idea of supplication. Gradually other sacred objects were included in the prayer, the same form being used for them as for the gods, this inclusion being prompted by the belief that the mention of any sacred object might help to promote the efficacy of the prayer. Later, when any mysterious and seemingly miraculous incident occurred at a village, it seems to have become the custom to commemorate it in the prayer.

It is quite clear that at the present time the earlier portion of the prayer, consisting of the *kwarzam*, is regarded as more important than the latter portion, which reads like the actual prayer. I suspect even that in practice the prayer proper is often omitted, or that only the first two words, *tanenma*, *tarmama*, are said. There certainly seemed to be no very rigorous laws as to the exact number or order of the clauses of this part of the prayer. The earlier portion, on the other hand, is very strictly regulated, and the order in which the *kwarzam* are to be uttered is definitely prescribed. Certainly there is far more reticence in connexion with the *kwarzam*, and this may safely be taken to indicate that a higher degree of sanctity attaches to them than to the words of the prayer proper.

It is probable that the alteration in the relative importance attached to the two parts of the prayer would have to go little further in order to produce a state of things in which the Toda dairyman would use the first parts of the formulæ only, and an anthropologist visiting the Todas at this stage would find them using formulæ which would not be recognisable as prayer.

If, at the same time, the process of forgetting their mythology should also have advanced, the Todas would then provide an excellent example of a people using in their religious ritual meaningless forms of words, and the Toda *kwarzam* seem to furnish one way in which people may come to use such meaningless forms.

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CHAPTER XI

THE DAIRY RITUAL

In the preceding chapters I have given an account of an elaborate ritual wholly connected with the buffalo and with the dairy. This ritual is certainly of a religious character, and, though there is much in the nature of the dairy formulæ which is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Toda deities. 182 771 783 788 796

It seems most probable that the general idea underlying the dairy ritual is that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance, the milk of the buffaloes. This sacred substance is to be converted into other substances, butter and buttermilk, which are to be used by the profane. At the present time much of the butter goes to those who are not even Todas and are regarded by the Todas as inferior beings.

It seems most probable that the elaborate ritual has grown up as a means of counteracting the dangers likely to be incurred by this profanation of the sacred substance, or, in other words, as a means of removing a taboo which prohibits the general use of the substance.

Similarly the migration ceremonies have the general underlying idea of counteracting any possible evil influence which may accompany the passage of the buffaloes through the profane world from one sacred place to another. During the migration, objects may be seen by the multitude which under ordinary circumstances are strictly screened from the general gaze, and objects may be touched, or be in danger of being touched, by people who ordinarily may not even see them.

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182 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
783 him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
776 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

Comparison of the Procedure of Different Dairies

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
788 the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the

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separation. All the vessels are kept in the same room, but in different parts of the room, the *patatmar* and the *ertatmar*, and this distinction between the two sets of objects is kept up in the migration ceremonies where they are carried by different men.

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There are no striking differences in this respect between the lower grades of dairy, whether *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, or *wursuli*: in all, the two sets of vessels are separated, but no strict measures are taken to prevent a vessel of the *patatmar* from coming into contact with a vessel of the *ertatmar* during the dairy operations. It is only on reaching the *kugvali* of Taradr that we find an intermediate vessel, the *kuvun*, used to transfer substances from a vessel of the more sacred to one of the less sacred kind, and to prevent possible contamination of the former by the latter.

It is in the *ti* dairy that these precautions reach their highest degree of development. Here the two sets of vessels are kept in different rooms, separated by a screen, and the dairy products are never transferred directly from a vessel of one kind to a vessel of the other, but always by means of an intermediate vessel. The butter and buttermilk produced by the churning operations in the inner room are transferred to the vessels of the outer room by means of the *idrkwoi*, which is kept on the dividing line between the two compartments. Similarly the vessels into which the butter and buttermilk are received are never allowed to come into direct contact with objects from the outside world, but their contents are transferred to vessels used outside the dairy by means of intermediate vessels, the *uppun* or the *mòrpun*.

In the migrations of the *ti* buffaloes this strict separation between the two kinds of vessel is still kept up. The things of the inner room are carried by the *palol* himself, while the things of the outer room are carried by others. The *idrkwoi*, though carried by the *palol* on the same staff as the things of the inner room, is kept apart from the rest, and is not allowed to touch them.

The fires of the *ti* dairy furnish another interesting example of the principle by which sacred objects are prevented from coming directly into relation with objects which may have

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234 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The
778 lamp is not lighted directly from the *tòratthwaskal*, which is
probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is
788 transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from
783 which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an intermediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[437] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any money to the *palol* at Mòdr, I placed it on a stone from which it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol* and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the *kugvali* of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of intermediate links, but there is such an example during the ordination of the *wursol*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candidate milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches ceremonially the *majpariv* and the *patat* at the beginning of the afternoon churning, while at the *wursuli* this is done both morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kabkaditi*, in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

234 the same occasion, and it is only followed regularly in certain
778 dairies of the *wursuli* grade, viz., Nòdrs, Nasmiòdr, Òdr, and
783 Kozhtudi. The first has a conical dairy, and Nasmiòdr and
Òdr are especially ancient and sacred places. At the *kugvali*
788 and the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, the dairy ceremonial is always performed *kabkaditi*. At one ceremony, that of *irpalvusthi*, the work of the dairy is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy of whatever grade.

The lamp-lighting is another feature which becomes more frequent and more ceremonial in the higher grades of dairy. In all the village dairies, including the *kugvali* of Taradr,[1] the lamp is only lighted ceremonially at the afternoon churning, the lighting being made the occasion of prayer. If the morning is dark, the lamp may be lighted, but it is clear that this is not done ceremonially, and the lighting is not accompanied by prayer. At the *ti* we have already seen that the lamp is lighted in a more ceremonial manner and in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

Some of the details of the ritual are definitely associated with the *mani*, and since the presence of a *mani* implies a higher grade of dairy, this leads to an increase in the elaboration of the ritual. The *mani* is treated in much the same way in all the grades of dairy which possess this sacred object.

Another feature in which the increasing sanctity of the dairy is shown is the frequency with which prayer is offered. At all the village dairies the dairyman only prays at the afternoon ceremonial when lighting the lamp, and when shutting up the buffaloes in their pen for the night. As already mentioned, there is a definite association between prayer and the ceremonial lamp-lighting.

234 In the *ti* dairy, prayer is offered both morning and evening;
778 at the morning ceremonial twice and in the afternoon
three times. On both occasions the first prayer begins when
788 the lamp is being lighted and is continued while the *palol* knocks on one of the *persin* with the *persinkudriki*. The second prayer in each case is offered at the conclusion of the milking, and the third prayer of the afternoon corresponds to

[1] I am doubtful about this point at the *pok* of Kanòdrs.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep
in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikart-mokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikart-mokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Oñ*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called
793 *puni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
178 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.

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The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth of the same kind, called *ün*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual. 234 292 793 178

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pokkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the *tarvali* it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses *tudr* in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*. 234 778 788

[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

234 The use of *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies is only allowed
778 to the members of the Teivali division and of the Melgars
788 clan of the Tartharol.

Special kinds of dairy or special dairies may have features peculiar to themselves; thus the *pepeirthti* ceremony, in which the dairyman beats on the *patat* with a piece of *tudr* bark, is only performed at the *kudrpali*; the prescription of nakedness when milking is confined to the *kudrpalikartmokh*; the special method of wearing the *putkuli* open in front when going to the buffaloes is only practised by the *wursol*, and the method of taking food sitting on the wall of the dairy and throwing the food into the mouth is peculiar to the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs.

One feature of interest in the dairy organisation is the existence of different names at different dairies for the dairy products, and for the various objects used at the dairy or in connexion with the dairy ceremonies. The chief differences are found on comparing the village dairy with the *ti*, nearly every object having a different name in the two places, though occasionally a peculiarity of nomenclature may be confined to one dairy, as at Kanòdrs, where milk is called *persin*, the name of the churning vessel of the *ti*. As a general rule it seems that the name used in the village dairy is the same as that in ordinary use; thus, the dairy vessels used in the house for the milk of the ordinary buffaloes are known by the same names as those of the village dairy.

192 The use of special names in the more sacred dairies is
234 probably connected with their high degree of sanctity. The
778 names of the dairy vessels of the village are in common use,
788 and it would doubtless seem sacrilegious that the names of the vessels of the *ti* should be thus in everyone's mouth. Consequently nearly every object used in the ceremonial of the *ti* dairy has a special name, and in the ordinary life of the Todas these words are probably never uttered.

One striking feature of the dairy ritual is the use of the syllable *Oh*. With one exception (p. 177) this word is always uttered thrice, and it seems to be especially connected with the act of putting curds or milk on the bells. It has a suggestive resemblance to the mystical syllable *Om* of the Hindus. It is

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also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, [192] or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which 234 the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other 778 examples have been given.

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the 788 right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitiin* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

The Sanctity of Milk

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The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different 778 dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating 272 the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that 784

234 the milk of buffaloes belonging to the more sacred dairies has
778 a higher degree of sanctity than that churned in the lower grades.

272 The milk of ordinary buffaloes may be drunk by anyone,
784 man, woman, or child. The Todas do not ordinarily sell
[432] milk, but if they do so, they may only use the milk of ordinary buffaloes for this purpose. I have a note that anyone may also drink the milk of buffaloes belonging to the *tarvali*, but I suspect that this only applies to men who must drink it at the dairy.

The milk of the *kudrpali* may only be drunk by the *kudrpalikartmokh* himself. It is believed that any other person or animal who should drink milk from this dairy would die.

At the *wursuli* milk may be given to men at the dairy, but it must be mixed with buttermilk. At the *kugvali* of Taradr the milk of the *kugvalir* themselves is not drunk by anyone, the dairyman having certain ordinary buffaloes for his own use, and this is also the case at the *ti*. I believe that not even the *palol* would drink the milk of the *persinir*, the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*.

There is one exception to the rule that ordinary people may not use the milk of the sacred buffaloes of the village dairies (except in the form of butter and buttermilk). At the *irpalvusthi* ceremony at all the village dairies, including the *kugvali*, food is prepared with the milk of one of the sacred animals and this food is given to the people of the clan to which the dairy belongs and also to members of other clans.

In the case of the *wursuli*, I was especially told that this is the only occasion on which the milk of *wursulir* is used by people in general. At the *kugvali*, people of other clans are only given this food on the second day of the proceedings, and the distribution of the food is preceded by a ceremony in which some of the food is thrown into the fire. The milk used on this occasion is the milk of the buffalo which has recently calved, the ceremony being in celebration of this event.

At the *wursuli* it is noteworthy that the food is cooked by the *wursol* himself, the ceremony of *irpalvusthi* being the

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only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremonially as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken.

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed.

Special Dairy Customs

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over a fire without the addition of any other substance. The
[262] Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
415 *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
778 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel
788 of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

partly as a receptacle for the milk which is about to be churned, and partly to fetch water from the stream. It is highly probable that there was at one time a third *mu* in the dairy, which was a receptacle for the buttermilk added before milking.

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At the especially sacred dairy of Kanòdrs, where ancient procedure is likely to have lingered, the buried *mu* is still used as a receptacle for buttermilk. When this dairy is unoccupied, a certain amount of buttermilk is kept in the buried *mu*, and when the dairy is again occupied, this buttermilk is used to add to the milk. In this case the continuity of the dairy procedure is directly kept up by means of the buried vessel, and this procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy is strongly in favour of the view that the buried vessel was formerly a receptacle for the *pep*.

There are other indications that the *mu* is the most sacred of the dairy vessels. It is this vessel which is touched by the *wursol* the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, as the final act which gives them their full status at the ordination ceremonies, and we shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies at Taradr a temporary building is made to represent a dairy by placing in its inner room a *mu*. In this last case, it would seem that the *mu* is regarded as the emblem of the dairy, and that placing a *mu* in the inner room of the temporary building makes it a dairy.

The representative of the *mu* at the *ti* dairy is the *peptòrzum*, but it does not seem that this vessel is specially distinguished from the rest, and it does not appear to have the sanctity and importance which attaches to this kind of vessel at the village dairy.

There seem to be two chief possibilities in explaining the existence of the buried *mu*. It may be that it was at one time the custom to bury the *pep* while the village was unoccupied, and that this custom now only persists at Kanòdrs, the *mu* at other places being no longer used for this purpose, though it has continued to be of ceremonial importance. The other possibility is that, as the *pep* acquired increased importance in the dairy ritual, the sanctity of the buttermilk was transferred to the vessel which contained it, and the

234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
445 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was there-
788 fore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan. It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

Purity and Impurity

234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
783 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised : (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity ; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

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from actual contact either with dairies or dairymen of the higher grades. He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure. The definite impurity which is the condition of those who have attended funeral ceremonies or have been in relation with a woman in the period of seclusion after child-birth is something very different. Such a man is not merely unsanctified, he is unfit to hold any sacred office; even the prolonged ceremonies of ordination would not fit him to hold office in the dairy or to perform any part in the tendance of the sacred buffaloes, and he is not allowed even to approach the members of the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood. 234 783

Women and the Dairy

Women take no part in the dairy ritual, nor in the milking and churning operations which are carried on in the hut. It is said that at one time the women took charge of the buffaloes at the time of calving, but this is not the case at the present time. 234 562 784

Women go to the dairy to fetch buttermilk, using an appointed path and standing at an appointed spot to receive it.

Females enter dairies under two conditions only. They may enter the outermost rooms of those dairies which are used as funeral huts while the bodies of men are lying in them. Here they may sit only on one side of the room, and only when the dairy operations are not in progress. Women also enter the temporary funeral huts of men which are called *pali*, or dairies.

The other condition under which a female enters a dairy is at the migration ceremony of the village, in which a girl, seven or eight years of age, is given food in the dairy of the village which the buffaloes are leaving, and sweeps the front of the dairy of the village to which they are going. This ceremony is one in which a girl seems to take a definite part in dairy ceremonial, but the girl chosen for this office must be below the age of puberty.

The relations of women with the different grades of dairymen have already been considered; a point which may again

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234 be mentioned is that the emblems of womanhood, the
784 pounder, sieve, and broom, may be removed from the hut
562 while the dairyman is present, though the women themselves remain.

During certain dairy ceremonials, women must leave the village altogether, and during the passage of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* near the village of Kiudr, the women leave the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

Although women are thus excluded from all participation in the dairy ceremonial, we shall see later (Chapter XIV) that an artificial dairy plays a part in some of the ceremonies connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

History of the Dairy

173 The Todas can give very little information which throws
234 any light on the development of this complex organisation of the dairy with its elaborate ritual. According to tradition,
778 the most sacred dairies, and especially that of the Nòdrs *ti*, date back to the time when the gods were active on earth and were themselves dairymen.

Beyond the belief that buffaloes of different kinds were assigned to the different clans by Teikirzi, I could obtain no account of beliefs about the origin or growth of the other grades of dairy. One fact as to the past which seemed clear was that *ti* dairies were at one time more numerous than at present, and several places now possessing village dairies of the ordinary kind are said to have been at one time the seats of *ti* dairies. Thus it is believed that Kiudr was formerly a *ti* place, and the old weatherworn stones shown in Figs. 31 and 32, which are still called *neursülnkars*, seem to provide evidence that tradition is here correct. The village of Teidr is said to have been at one time a *ti*, and here again two stones called *neursülnkars* are to be seen about a quarter of a mile from the village.

There is another feature of the Kiudr dairy which suggests that it may at one time have been a *ti* dairy. It contains six bells called *mani*, which clearly differ in nature from the *mani* of the other village dairies, especially in the fact that they

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are not used at funerals. They are also distinguished as *palatmani* and *ertatmani*, a distinction not met with in any other village dairy. It seems probable that they are the representatives of the two kinds of bells of a *ti*, the *mani* proper and the *kudrsmani*. The *ertatmani* of Kiudr are 'fed' with buttermilk, a procedure not followed, so far as I know, in any other dairy, but it may be that this is a feature of the procedure of the *ti* dairy which escaped me. Certainly the most likely explanation of the existence of these bells at Kiudr is that they are survivals of its former position as a *ti* dairy. 173 234 778

The villages of Kiudr and Teidr both belong to the Teivaliol, and this raises the question whether this division of the Todas may not have possessed *ti* herds and *ti* dairies of their own at one time, and may not always have had to be content with providing dairymen for institutions belonging to the Tartharol. No information could be given on this point, but it seems unlikely that dairies and places belonging to a Tarthar clan should have been handed over to the Teivaliol when they were no longer used as *ti* dairies and *ti* places.

Certain Tarthar villages are also said to have had at one time *ti* dairies, especially the sacred places of Nòdrs and Òdr. This probably means that there is a tradition that the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were at one time kept at these places which, as we have seen, are still visited by the *palol* during his ordination ceremonies.

The process of extinction of *ti* institutions can be seen in progress at the present time. The Nidrsi *ti* is not now in working order; there has been no *palol* for some years and its dairies are unoccupied. It is said that a *palol* would have to be appointed temporarily if it was desired to perform the second funeral ceremonies of a Nidrsi man, but in the present condition of the Nidrsiol, it seems to me not at all unlikely, either that the rule will be disregarded, or that the second funeral ceremonies will not be performed, and that the Nidrsi *ti* will become absolutely extinct, possibly dragging down another institution into extinction with it. 178 234 177

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* is now only active for a short time once every year in order to satisfy a ceremonial requirement of the 179 234

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177 Kotas, and this institution may possibly soon become little
178 more than a name. If it were not for the Kotas, it would undoubtedly be as near extinction as the *ti* of Nidrsi. One
234 *palol* of the Pan *ti* has recently ceased to be appointed, and the same difficulty which has led to his disappearance will probably sooner or later vacate the other office, and Pan will follow in the footsteps of the other clans. Many of the dairies belonging even to the more prosperous *ti* institutions are now disused, and some have completely vanished. The legend of Kwoto preserves a tradition of ceremonial accompanying the migration of the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* which has now entirely disappeared, and nothing is known of the special features of ritual which were practised at many *ti* dairies which have become extinct.

Of dairies of other grades, the *poh* of Kanòdrs is now only occupied for a short time once a year, and its ceremonial may soon also become extinct. The conical *poh* of Kars and the seven-roomed *kudrpali* of Nòdrs are dairies which have ceased to exist, and with the extinction of the latter have gone completely all traces of the ritual which was practised in this kind of dairy, and nothing is known as to the meaning of the seven rooms.

Some of these changes are recent, and due to the altered conditions produced by the general invasion of the Nilgiris, but others date back to a time before Europeans came to the hills, and were due to intrinsic conditions, chiefly the hardships connected with the ritual practised in certain of the dairies. The altered surroundings of the Todas are undoubtedly hastening the process of decay, and institutions which would probably have lasted for centuries will now almost certainly disappear in a few decades.

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CHAPTER XII

DIVINATION AND MAGIC

THIS chapter will furnish a very good example of specialisation of religious and magical functions among the Todas. We shall find that certain Todas have the power of divination, others are sorcerers, and others again have the power of curing disease by means of spells and rites, while all three functions are quite separate from those of the priest or dairyman. The Todas have advanced some way towards specialisation of function in this respect, and have as separate members of the community their prophets, their magicians and their medicine-men in addition to their priests.

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DIVINATION

Certain men among the Todas are reputed to have special powers as diviners, and are known as *teuòdipol*, "god-gesticulating men," or more commonly as *teuol*. Samuel, my interpreter, always spoke of their performances as devil-dancing and evidently regarded the *teuol* as like those whom he called the devil-dancers of his own people.

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In several cases these men are said to have inherited their powers from some near relative, often a grandfather, but it seems that anyone who showed evidence of the necessary powers might become a *teuol*. All but one of the present diviners are Teivaliol, but the divining power is not limited to this division. There is no relation between the various offices of the dairy and the power of divination, and, in

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791 fact, a diviner necessarily gives up his divining if he becomes
787 a *palol*.[1]

191 Each of the *teuol* is believed to be possessed by a
198 special god when he falls into the divining frenzy, and when
in this state it is said that the diviner does not, as a rule,
797 speak in his own language, but in some other, most commonly
791 in Malayalam or one of its dialects. The following are those who are at present credited with the power of divination :—

Midjkudr (63) of Piedr, who is inspired by the gods Kulinkars and Petkon. He speaks in Malayalam, and he does not appear to have succeeded anyone else as *teuol*. He is the most successful of those who are at present practising the art, and played the chief part in all the divining which took place during my visit.

Tadrners (60) of Kuudr, inspired by Ethrol and Arivili, succeeded his mother's father, Kasorivan (66) of Kusharf. He is said to speak the language of people whom the Todas call Mondardsetipol living in the Wainad, a language which appears to be a dialect of Malayalam.

Pangudr (66) of Kusharf, also succeeded Kasorivan, his grandfather, and is inspired by Petkon and Meilitars. There was some doubt as to the language used by him.

Ethgudr (52) of Kuudr is inspired by Arivili, and, like Tadrners, speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

Terkudr (63) of Piedr, inspired by Teipakh, the river god, succeeded his grandfather Keitolv. When inspired, his speech is like the babbling of a running river, "like the river's voice," and cannot be understood.

Kangudr (62) of Piedr, who lives at Kavidi in the Wainad, is inspired by Meilitars and speaks Malayalam. He succeeded Tarsvan (62), his father, and Tarsvan had succeeded his father Keithiolv.

Kobuv (61) of Kuudr, is inspired by Meilitars and Kuderol and speaks Malayalam.

Pöteners (54) of Kuudr, is inspired by Petkon and speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

[1] From the account of Finicio (Appendix I), it would seem that at one time the *palol* and *wursol* possessed the power of divination.

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Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a *teuol*, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 191 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a god connected with the division to which the majority of the diviners belong. 787 791

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas. 177 787 791 198 776

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobův is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda 787 791

787 or of any of his family; sickness or death of a buffalo;
791 failure of milk in a buffalo and persistent kicking of its calf; failure to make a buffalo go to the spot at which it is to be killed during a funeral ceremony; failure of milk to coagulate; burning down of a dairy; disappearance of the bells of a dairy; loss of a *tukitthkars* or lifting stone. In this last instance the stone at the village of Nidrsi was carried away some years ago by a party of English people who came to picnic near the village while the people were away. They carried the stone for some miles and then threw it down. The Nidrsi people could not find it, and consulted Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, who were able to reveal where the stone was to be found, and it was restored to the village, where it can now be seen.

[754] The diviners usually work in pairs, though occasionally it would seem that one only may be consulted. If they are asked for an explanation of some misfortune which has befallen a man, the *teuol* usually find either that the sufferer has committed an offence against the dairy or that he is the subject of spells cast on him by a sorcerer. In the former case, they prescribe the ceremony which must be performed in order to expiate the offence. In the latter case, they name the sorcerer so that the sufferer may know with whom to make his peace.

I have already said that towards the close of my visit a number of misfortunes befell the Todas; one man fell ill, the wife of another died, and the dairy of a third was burnt down, and these events kept the diviners busy, but probably because I was implicated I was not allowed the chance of observing the diviners at work.

787 The only occasion on which I saw the process of divining
791 was at a funeral. The buffalo which was to be killed had been caught at some distance from the place appointed
158 for its slaughter. The animal was unusually refractory and at length lay down and all the natural efforts of the Todas failed to make it move. Midjkudr and Mongudrvan were then called upon to discover the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo. Mongudrvan first began to dance slowly to and fro, away from and towards the buffalo. He had

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taken off his cloak and was only wearing the *tadrp*. As I already knew the man, I was able to observe that his general appearance was unaltered and that he did not appear to be in any abnormal mental condition. He was soon joined by Midjkudr, who danced up and down much more wildly (Fig. 36). His general appearance was very different to that usually presented by a Toda man. His hair seemed to stand out from his head, although it shook with each of

FIG. 36.—MIDJKUDR AND MONGUDRVAN DIVINING AT A FUNERAL.

his violent movements; his eyes were abnormally bright and his face gave every appearance of great mental excitement. I had not previously known the man, but when he came to see me a few days later I could hardly believe that the quiet, self-possessed man whom I saw before me was the same individual whom I had seen dancing at the funeral. It was obvious that he had been in a distinctly abnormal condition of frenzy during the divining process. After dancing for a time Midjkudr began to utter broken sentences in a loud and almost chanting voice, while Mon-

787 gudrvan remained silent throughout. After Midjkudr had
791 in these sentences given the reason for the obstinacy of
158 the buffalo, and had prescribed what was to be done, he took a red cloth and dancing more violently than ever waved the cloth before the buffalo and pushed against the body of the animal. Then after the people had dragged the buffalo a little way, it rose and went quietly to the place where it was to be killed.

I had much difficulty in finding out exactly what Midjkudr had said. When he came to see me a few days later he stated that he did not know at the time what he was saying, and that his only knowledge was derived from those who had heard him, and I am inclined to believe that he was speaking the truth. His appearance during the divining was remarkably different from that of ordinary days, and strongly suggested a semi-hypnotic state, during which he might well have had no knowledge, or only a very vague knowledge, of anything he said.[1] In his ordinary condition he professed to be ignorant of Malayalam, the language which he was said to use in his frenzied condition.

My ignorance of Malayalam, and the obvious difficulties of the investigation, make me hesitate before expressing any decided opinion as to the real nature of Midjkudr's condition when divining, but I have a very strong leaning towards the idea that the man was in a genuinely abnormal condition, allied to the hypnotic state, and I am disposed to accept the statement of the Todas that he was speaking in a language of which he had only a very vague knowledge when in a normal condition. It is, of course, quite possible that the abnormal appearance of Midjkudr was merely due to the exercise of dancing and to mental excitement, and that he knew perfectly well what he was doing and saying. I can but record my impression that there was something more, and I only commit myself to this extent in regard to the special occasion on which I saw Midjkudr divining; even if I saw a genuine hypnotic or semi-hypnotic phenomenon, it does not follow that all Midjkudr's performances are wholly, or even partly,

[1] For an account of what Midjkudr seems to have said and the consequent proceedings, see p. 392.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of this nature, and still less does it follow that the performances of all the *tenol* are of this kind. Nothing struck me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of Midjkudr and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongudrvan, his fellow diviner. 787 791 158

In the case I have described the necessity for the intervention of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously. [764]

Sorcery

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite certain that there were men called *piliutpol* (sorcery praying people), or *pilikòren*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *piliutvichi* or *piliutiti*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he professed total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *piliutpol*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false. 124 754 791

One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

124 It was not until my last week on the Nilgiris that I was
754 told of some of the magical rites by Teitnir, who had previously
791 denied all knowledge, though he was said by others to be a sorcerer, and he knew that I was aware of his reputation. He was not a trustworthy informant, but his account was consistent in itself and was in agreement with fragments which I had picked up elsewhere, and I believe it is correct, though I cannot guarantee its accuracy with the same degree of confidence which I feel in regard to most of my information.

754 The following men were said by various people to be
791 *pilikòren* :—

Kaners, Kudrievan, and Teikudr (63), Ishkievan (60), Keinkursi (54), Puthion (64), and Teitnir (52), among the Teivaliol; Keitan (6), Mudrigeidi (1), Kiunervan and Usheidi (14), and Karseidi (8), among the Tartharol. Pushteidi, the elder brother of Keitan, was a noted sorcerer who paid for the belief in his magical powers with his life. It will be noted that magical powers appear to be fairly evenly distributed between the two divisions and do not greatly predominate in one as in the case of divination.

[868] The power of sorcery was said to belong to certain families, and I was told that it was inherited. It seemed probable that a sorcerer only communicated his methods to his sons, and usually only to one of his sons, or if he communicated his knowledge to all, it was often one of them only who obtained the credit for magical powers.

754 We have already seen that when a man sustains a mis-
787 fortune of any kind, he consults the diviners, and they find
791 whether the misfortune is due to a fault committed by the sufferer or whether it is the result of sorcery. In the latter case, they say by whose magic the misfortune has been produced, and the sorcerer is then propitiated and removes the spell, the nature and details of the process varying according to the method of sorcery used and the offence which had led the sorcerer to exert his powers. Thus when Pirsners (9) fell ill, he consulted Midjkudr, who said that Kudrievan had bewitched him. Pirsners went to Kudrievan and gave him food, and asked him to remove the spell, and Pirsners became well soon after.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There are two chief reasons which induce a sorcerer to work his magic on another. One is when a request by the sorcerer for assistance has been met by deception. If the sorcerer asks a rich man for a buffalo, or for money, and the rich man refuses point-blank, it does not appear that the sorcerer proceeds farther; but if the rich man promises a gift and does not give it, or if he delays giving a positive answer and puts off a decision from day to day, it is a clear case for the application of occult measures. The other chief motive for sorcery is a quarrel with a sorcerer. The methods are different in the two cases. In the first case the sorcerer procures some human hair—it may be the hair of any one, even his own hair. It is not the hair of the man he wishes to injure because it would be impossible to get it. Five small stones are taken and tied together by means of the hair, and both hair and stones are tied up in a piece of cloth. Then, holding the stones and hair in his hand, the sorcerer utters the following incantation:—

Pithioteu Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith; ā teu sati udāsnūdr;
those gods power if there be;

an nādr nādr udāsnūdr; an kar warkhi peu nā; an fr ītrgi pūti
his country country if there be; his calf sleep go may; his buffaloes wings grow

pūr nā; ath an nīr ud puk ātkm nīr un nā; on nīkh as puk
fly may; he I water drink as he also water drink may; I thirsty am as

ātkm nīkhai nā; on eirt puk ātkm eirth nā; en mokhm
he also thirsty be may; I hungry as he also hunger may; my children

īnirth puk an mokhm ōdr nā; en tavmokh kūtm pūt puk an
cry as his children cry may; my wife ragged cloth wear as his

tavmokhm kūtm pūv nā.
wife ragged cloth wear may.

This incantation was freely rendered by Teitnir as follows: For the sake of Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti; by the power of the gods if there be power; by the gods' country if there be a country;[1] may his calves perish; as birds fly away may his buffaloes go when the calves come to suck; as I drink water, may he have nothing but water to drink; as I am thirsty, may he also be

[1] I am very doubtful whether the meaning of this and the preceding clause is correctly given in these words.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

754 thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my
789 children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears only a ragged
539 cloth.

791 When he has uttered the incantation, the sorcerer takes the hair and stones in their cloth to the village of the man upon whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall, and hides them secretly in the thatch of the roof of the man's hut.

It seemed that this method of sorcery is only justified when the sorcerer is a poor man, and the references in the incantation to the poverty of the sorcerer confirm this.

[787] When a man who has prevaricated with the request of a sorcerer suffers any evil fortune, he consults the diviners, and they may tell him not only who has produced the misfortune, but why the sorcerer has brought the misfortune upon him and they may advise the sufferer to become reconciled with his enemy and to give him what he has asked. The man goes to the sorcerer, who is usually only too ready to take the credit of the affair, and it is arranged that he shall come to the village of the sufferer. Whenever he comes a third person must be present, who is called the *nedrvol*, or intermediate man.[1] The *nedrvol* brings about the reconciliation, and arranges the terms, and then the sufferer bows down before the sorcerer and performs the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. The sorcerer then utters the following formula while his foot is resting on the head of the man:—

ä teu udänudr, an nödr udänudr; taned peu mä; term
Those gods if there be, his country if there be; cold go may; mercy

ai peu mä; in tr kark elm ullämä; en mans elm
become, go may; this buffalo calf to all be well; my mind all

tülvolshpini, tan mansm tüli mä.
cleared from guilt have I, his mind also clear may.

Teitnir rendered this freely as follows:—

By those gods if there be gods, and by their country if there be a country; as water is cold, so goes my anger; as mercy comes, may my anger go; may his buffaloes and

[1] The middle room of a three-roomed dairy is the *nedrkursh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

calves be well; I have now nothing evil in my mind, you must also have no evil in your mind. 754

Food is then given to the sorcerer, who also obtains the object for which he had originally asked. Later the sorcerer goes secretly to the hut of the man and takes out the stones and hair which he had hidden in the thatch. 789 539 791

In removing the spell the sorcerer does not mention the names of the four gods, but speaks of them as "those gods." The object of this is that the names of the four gods whom the sorcerer invokes shall not become generally known.

If any one quarrels with a sorcerer, the method adopted by the latter is different. He obtains a bone of a man, buffalo, or some other animal, or if unable to obtain a bone, he may use a lime. He sits, holding the bone or lime in his right hand, and utters the following incantation:—

Pîthistem Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith; a teu sati udâznûdr, an nôdr
udâznûdr; ank pudra pîrzk pat mâ; ank ud ultâkhâth
to him will destroy disease come may; to him one incurable

pum pâ mâ; an kal muri umâ; an kai mûri ûmâ;
sore come may; his leg broken may be; his hand broken may be;

an kan pudri ûmâ; an ûrs ukrsh an kûdûpel ûvôdinh
his eye destroyed may be; his house into his family to all

sakîtam pâ mâ; ûth enk sakîtam karvai agi ankm
trouble come may; he to me troubles did who accordingly to him also

sakîtam ŏ mâ; an nôdr udi ed ariken â
troubles occur may; his country there is that we shall know those

teu udi ed hanken; i elv nels alain
gods there is that we shall see; this bone into the ground what happens,

ai ôlkm alâ mâ.
that man to also happen may.

The only clause of this incantation of which the meaning is not clear is the penultimate, and the free rendering of this was said to be "as there are undoubtedly gods, we shall see all this happen"; it seems that *ariken*, which means literally "we shall know," is often used in the sense "without doubt." If he is using a lime, the sorcerer substitutes *îrsimitch* for *elv* in the last clause.

The bone or lime is then buried in a wood near the village of the man who is to suffer the misfortune.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *nedrvol* as in
539 the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
791 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer. When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpuditlıti* to the sorcerer, and the spell is removed with the following words:—

ten udâsnûdr, an nòdr udâsnûdr; taned peu mâ; term ai peu mâ[1]; *moth*
son

madrik an kûdûpel elmk; in mel en mans elm tülsvînem
children to his family all to; this after my mind all cleared from guilt

in uli agi âmâ; nûv put, nudri put peu mâ.
(as I) this well be may; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
754 removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
578 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide. In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mani kudupel*; "it is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has been the cause of such a state of things is liable ~~to suffer~~ misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death. 124 754 578

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain. 177 754 787

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs (6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account. 177 754

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes 234 787 754

234 that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I
787 have no information, however, as to the method which the
754 sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any one who has offended him.

124 The only other indication of Tóda methods of sorcery came
754 to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

177 The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than
754 that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub* = Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied.
[721] If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 777
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvasnudr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvasnudr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this 755
kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or 756
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incantations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Sinpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkòren* may be spoken of as an *utpol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *utpol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

755 *pathanmul*.[1] The thorn and some of the salt are then put into
177 the fire, and the *utpol* utters the following incantation :—

Pithioten Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith, tan av kan pudrs kan
his mother eye perish eye

pudri ûmâ; tan in kan pudrs kan pudri ûmâ;
be destroyed may father

and this formula is repeated, substituting for *av* or *in* the names of the following relatives :—*an*, *akkan*, *nòdrved*, *mun*, *mimi*, *pian*, *piav*.[2] Then follows the same formula repeated, in which the names of various tribes are substituted for those of the relatives, as "*mav kan pudrs kan pudri uma*"—Badaga eye perish, may his eye be destroyed." The people mentioned are *mav* (Badaga), *pedr* (Tamil), *suti* (? chetties), *kurub* (Kurumbas), *erl* (Irulas), *panin* (Panyas).[3] The last clause is *möditi kan pudrs kan pudri uma*, extending the imprecation to the women of all the people already mentioned. When the incantation is finished, the remainder of the salt is eaten by the sick man.

755 The Toda *utkòren* may practise 'absent treatment.' If a man wishes to treat a sufferer from the evil eye, and is unable to visit his patient, he puts the salt on the ground and strokes it with the thorn of *pathanmul*, repeating the above incantation as he strokes. He then sends the salt to the sick man, by whom it is eaten.

The treatment in any case is repeated till it has been done three times.

[234] If it is a buffalo which is suffering from the evil effects of *kanarvasnudr*, the *utkòren* use the same method, and the salt is eaten by the buffalo.

278 In the special case in which the evil is produced by saying
755 that a man is looking well or is well dressed, the *utkòren* have a different method. They take a piece of the root called *kabudri*,[4] and a plant called *kwagal*, and squeeze the juice of both into a vessel.

[1] The leaves of this plant, *Solanum indicum*, are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

[2] For the meaning of these kinship-terms, see Chap. XXI.

[3] It is noteworthy that the Kotas are not included.

[4] This is the plant, *Euphorbia Rothiana*, used at the purification of the *ti* dairy (p. 136).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

both into a vessel. An incantation is said, the same as, or similar to, that already given, while the *utkòren* strokes the sick man with the corner of his cloak. After the incantation the sufferer drinks the juice. 755

Various Magical Remedies

The *utkòren* also practise various other methods of treatment. 755

Headache. This is called *madersnûdr*, "if head aches." For this the *utpol* places his hand on the head of the sufferer, and says the following incantation in a low voice, so that the patient may not distinguish what is being said.[1] After the names of the four gods, as in previous formulæ, it runs:— 825 [195]

ukkherw	*mad*	*tathi ban*	*tath mâ;*	*ker*	*mad tathi*
cobra	head	broken into pieces	not break may;	a snake	&c.

ban tath mâ;

and the same formula is repeated, substituting first the names of other kinds of snake and then of other animals. The following are the animals mentioned: *kûrûpatz*, a black poisonous snake; *putpob*, a variegated snake, which is called the foolish snake, because it will not get out of the way; *tawerûni*, a green snake; *pâlipob*, another green snake; *uitch*, a kind of lizard reputed to suck blood; *antli*, a squirrel; *kapan*, a frog; *tugûli*, a crayfish (?); *kadrmad*, a water animal of some kind; *mîu*, a fish; *lgal*, an earthworm; *nelnpiif*, an insect found under stones; *âpipiif*, an insect found in buffalo dung. After all these animals have been mentioned with the same formula, the names of Pithioteu and Ön are again uttered, followed by the words *tathkhma*. The *utpol* flicks the corner of his cloak first against the ground, and then against the forehead of the sufferer, and then, if the man is sitting, he says, "*ateuk ir*," "sit there off!" and the man moves a little way from the place where he had been sitting. If the man is unable to sit, and is lying down, the words will be "*ateuk padr*," "lie there off!" or "lie a little way off!"

[1] I think it is probable that all the incantations are said in this manner, but I only had it specifically mentioned in this case.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

755 825 I could not obtain a satisfactory account of the exact meaning of the incantation; it was said to mean "may the snake's head be broken in pieces, and so may your head be broken"—*i.e.*, so may the pain go; another rendering was "may the pain go to the snake's head," the latter being by far the more probable meaning. Three divisions of the incantation are recognised: in the first, snakes only are mentioned; in the second, things which live in the water; and in the third, things which live in the earth. The treatment is repeated on one or two days, if necessary, but it is never done more than three times, "because the ailment is always cured in that time."

755 924 Another condition treated by the *utkòren* is stomach-ache, which is called *püfkwatnûdr*, "if worms bite." The *utpol* places his hand on the belly of the sufferer, and after reciting the names of the four gods, he continues:—

kêrs	*pûv*	*kâdkanm*	*kâl*	*mâ*;
kêrs tree	flower	fallen as fall	down	may;

and this formula is repeated, substituting the names of various trees and other plants for the name of the *kêrs* tree. The trees and plants mentioned are *pirzkh* and *kûrêrs*, trees having edible fruit; *pül*, *ktl*, *kwadriki*, *kid*, trees from which bees get honey; *kab*, sugarcane; *teg*, coco-nut; *patm*, samai; *ners*, rice; *eri*, ragi; *kltj*, potato; *perigi*, chillies; *melkh*, pepper; *kwatimeli*, Coriandum sativum; *kadrkh*, mustard; and *kîri* or *kîrsi*, red amaranth.

Thus the last clause would run: *kîri pûv kâdkanm kâl mâ*, and this would be followed by the names of Pithioteu and Ön. Then the *utpol* flicks his cloak three times, first against the ground and then against the belly of the sufferer, and says, "*ateuk ir*," or "*ateuk padr*," according as the man is sitting or lying down, and the sufferer moves a little from his place.

The names of flowers are used because the Todas believe that worms come from eating honey, and the honey has come from flowers. The flowers mentioned belong to four groups;[1] (i) those of trees which bear edible fruits; (ii) those from which bees get honey; (iii) those of trees or plants part of

[1] This distinction was pointed out to me by my informant.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

which are eaten; (iv) those of trees which give pungent substances like chillies and pepper. 755 824

There were various other complaints for which the *utkòren* are consulted, such as:—*elptûksnûdr*, depression in the chest of a child when it breathes (*elp* or *elv* = bone); *tekhpkâdathvûdnûdr*, pain in the side; *kankpudithnûdr*, if anything gets into the eye; *erutûthtinûdr*, if cut or wounded in any way; *pobersnûdr*, if snake bites. 755

Each of these has its appropriate treatment, but the only method of which I obtained an account was the last. Certain men have a special reputation for the treatment of snake-bite. A cord is made of woman's hair and this is bound tightly round the bitten limb in three places. The doctor takes a piece of *pathanmul* and strikes the bitten limb while he utters the appropriate incantation.[1] The ligature is kept on the limb for two or three days and the incantation is repeated three times a day during that period. Anyone whom a snake has bitten must not cross a stream. If it is absolutely necessary that he should cross, he must be carried over it. 752 755

If wild animals attack the buffaloes, a procedure which closely resembles those already described is carried out by the *utkòren*. The procedure is called *kâdrkatinamûdr*—*i.e.*, "wild beast tie mouth if." It is also carried out if a buffalo is lost, and in this case the charm will keep the animal from injury by wild beasts. The *utpol* takes three stones secretly and goes at night to the front either of the dairy or hut and utters the following incantation:— 234 755 789

Pithiren Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith; pef ptrzi kût terz nil
big tiger teeth fastened stand

mâ; kâkh kerman mûn terz nil mâ; padr kenai amûn terz
may; black bear face crowd red dog other side

nil mâ; pob tenw terz nil mâ; pef per terz nil mâ; pef po
snake erect head big hill big river

pâ terz nil mâ; pef pòdi mul[2] *terz nil mâ.*
stream big porcupine quills

[1] I did not obtain this formula.

[2] *Mul*, which means bramble and thorn, is here used for the porcupine's quills.

234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by
755
789

âth *ûvôdin* *kati* *vaiumâ.*
these all before tie keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 All the remedies so far described resemble one another
789 in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren.* The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *terg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. ~~It was~~ said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrsi and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

302 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described
754 it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 302 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing. [234]

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind. [753]

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used. 751

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism. 177 776 751

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi*—*i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo. 755 278 824

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

It will have been noticed that the formulae recorded in this

754 chapter have the same general form as the prayers of the
788 dairy ritual. They consist of sentences ending in *mâ*, which
192 seem to be of the nature of supplications that certain things
771 may come to pass, preceded by the names of certain deities followed by the word *idith*, occasionally with other sentences allied in meaning to these. The two parts of the prayer are represented, but the first part, consisting of the *kwarzam*, does not appear to have acquired the same degree of importance as in the prayer. Thus the magical formulæ of the Todas have precisely the same general form as those used in their religious ritual. In the case of the prayer, I have pointed out that the actual words leave one in doubt as to whether there is anything of the nature of a direct appeal to the gods. In the magical formulæ, on the other hand, the case for an [776] appeal to the gods is stronger. In all the formulæ, whether used by sorcerers to bring evils on their enemies or by medicine-men to remove sufferings of various kinds, the names of the same four deities are mentioned, and these four deities, Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti, are undoubtedly four of the most ancient and sacred of the Toda gods. It is noteworthy that the sorcerer does not say the names of these gods when he is removing his spells, but simply refers to them as "those gods," and it is clear that he does this because he does not wish his victim to learn the names of the gods by whose power his misfortunes have been brought about and are now to be removed. This procedure leaves little room for doubt that it is through the active intervention of the gods that the sorcerer is believed to work.

There still remains the question whether the words of the magical formula imply anything of the nature of supplication, or whether the sorcerer is not rather using forms of words which will compel the gods to exert their powers in the way the sorcerer wishes. I have no definite information as to the belief of the Toda sorcerer on the point, but the almost contemptuous tone of the two clauses which follow the names of the four gods might perhaps be held to point to the latter conclusion, and to indicate that the sorcerer can use the gods as his instruments of wrath much as seems to have been the case with the magicians of our mediæval times.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*â teu sati udâsnûdr, an nòdr nòdr udâsnûdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnûdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct. 192 788

The nature of the words used makes it clear that the remedies employed by the Toda *utkòren*, or medicine-men, are of a magical kind. The words are essentially the same as those used by the *pilikòren*, or sorcerers, to remove the evils they have brought about by their previous magical incantations. The same formulæ are used to remove ills supposed to be due to natural causes as are used to remove those due to the workings of magic. It seems clear that the Todas have advanced beyond the stage of human culture in which all misfortunes are produced by magic. They recognise that some ills are not due to human intervention, but yet they employ the same kind of means to remove these ills as are employed to remove those brought about by human agency. The advance of the Todas is shown most clearly by the differentiation of function between *pilikòren* and *utkòren*, between sorcerers and medicine-men, and we seem to have here a clear indication of the differentiation between magic and medicine. The two callings are followed by different men, who are entirely distinct from one another, but both use the same kind of formula to bring about the effect they desire to produce. It seems that the powers of the *utkòren* are less definitely passed on from father to son than in the case of the *pilikòren*. There is no doubt that these powers depend largely on a knowledge of the words to be used, and especially on a knowledge of the names of the four gods, but it 755 788 753 754 756

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also 771
possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell 788
points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer 754
were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which 793
hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it
became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions,
and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of
function, though the means used continue to show a close
resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

Omens

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meeting 787
certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The 925
most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird 773
called *karpûls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If 177
a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XIII

SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS

782 In this chapter various ceremonies will be described which may all be regarded as examples of propitiation of the higher powers by sacrifices or offerings. We shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies buffaloes are killed, but it is clear that there is no idea of propitiation or atonement connected with this slaughter, the animals being killed so that they may go to the next world for the service of the dead.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI CEREMONY

123 In this ceremony a young male calf is killed and eaten.
124 The ordinary name is *erkumptthpimi* (" male buffalo we kill ") or
782 *erkumptthiti*, but at the *ti* the ceremony is called *ernudrtipimi*.
786 I met with great obstacles in obtaining a satisfactory account, the men who had told me all the details of the dairy ceremonial denying at first all knowledge of any ceremony among the Todas in which a calf was killed or eaten. As soon as they found that I knew positively of the existence of the ceremony, they acknowledged that they killed a calf, but said they could not tell me anything about it. I succeeded at last in obtaining a record of the ceremony from Teitnir, and when I was endeavouring to identify the various parts into which the sacrificial animal is divided, we met with such difficulties[1] that Teitnir agreed to allow me to see the ceremony on the condition that I would provide the cost of the calf.

[1] Our final difficulty, the laughter over which seemed to overcome Teitnir's scruples, was in the identification of the spleen, which was described as "a little tongue."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Tods

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, 123
I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other 124
people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice 761
as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I 782
witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I 796
had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *arkumpttipini* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and 782
at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is 796
performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy 621
in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to 234
some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutitusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etodmod*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[278] The place at which the sacrifice is performed is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary [793] village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over
372 small firewood the people place several logs about three feet in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiūl*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pokvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf -- the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

372 The first stage of the ceremonial is to make fire by friction,
782 which should be done by the *palikartmokh*. The only occa-
796 sion on which I saw fire made by friction during an actual ceremony was when I witnessed the sacrifice at Karia, and on this occasion both Punatvan and his chief assistant, Pichievan (69) of Keadr, twirled the firesticks alternately, but though they soon produced some smoke, they failed to light the rag

FIG. 37.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN ATTEMPTING TO MAKE FIRE AT THE 'ERKUMPITHPIMI' CEREMONY.[1]

used as tinder. My constant attendant, Kodrner, was called in, and with his more powerful manipulations was almost immediately successful, and the lighted rag was carried by Punatvan to the heap of firewood, which was soon in a good blaze.

782 As soon as the fire is alight the calf is brought to the
796

[1] This and the succeeding photographs were taken in a badly lighted wood, and represent the actual ceremony.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 796 *ernkar*, and the *palikartmokh* goes to cut a log of *tudr* wood and three small branches of *tudr* leaves. The calf should be fifteen days old and must be without blemish. Its ears must not be split, its tail must not be cut, and its eyes must be clear.

The log of *tudr* wood is for the killing of the calf and is about four feet in length and about three inches in thickness. Such a log is usually called *tudrkud*, but on this occasion is named *erkumptthkud*. The three branches of *tudr* must consist of perfect leaves. Such branches are usually called *tudrkwunak*, but on the occasion of this ceremony they receive the name *toashtitudr*.

[183] The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the calf, holding the log and leaves in his right hand. He raises the log and leaves to his forehead as a salutation, and then recites the appointed prayer. This prayer is different for each clan and consists of clauses in each of which the *kwarzam* of one of the villages of the clan is followed by "——*k per mâ*." Thus the first clause of the Kuudr prayer is *atthkârk per mâ*; *atthkâr* is the *kwarzam* of Kuudr, *k* is the suffix, meaning "to," and *per mâ* is "may increase" or "may there be increase." All the clauses of the prayer are of this form except the last two, which are *karsêram parsêram*; *Nòtirzk êr usht mâ*; the first of which is a *kwarzam* of Kulinkars, *êram* probably meaning buffaloes, while the second means, "may the buffalo appear to Nòtirzi." The calf is supposed to appear to Nòtirzi and then to go from the hill of this goddess to the hill of Kulinkars. The complete prayers of Kuudr and Kars are given on pp. 288, 289.

The *palikartmokh* touches the head of the calf with the *erkumptthkud* (Fig. 38) as he utters each *kwarzam* till he comes to the penultimate clause of the prayer, at which point he begins the following series of actions. He draws the three branches of *tudr* leaves along the back of the calf from head to tail and then drops one of the three *toashtitudr* on the ground behind the calf. The two remaining branches are drawn along the back of the calf from tail to head in the reverse direction to the first, and on reaching the head one of the two branches is dropped on the ground at the head of the animal.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

782 The remaining branch is drawn from head to tail and dropped
796 on the ground by the side of the first (see Fig. 39).

The animal is then killed by striking it on the head with the *erkumptthkud*. The *palikartmokh* then takes up the three *toashtitudr*, and, taking them in his right hand with the log, passes them round the calf three times. In doing this, the

FIG. 38.—PUNATVAN UTTERING THE 'ERKUMPTTHPIMI' PRAYER. HE IS HOLDING THE 'ERKUMPTTHKUD,' AND ONE OF THE 'TUDR' LEAVES IN HIS HAND CAN BE DISTINCTLY SEEN.

body of the calf rests on its side, while the log and leaves are passed between the two fore-legs, then between the two hind-legs, round the hind-quarters, and forward over the back and head, so that they make a complete circuit of the animal, and this circuit is twice repeated, so that the log and leaves are passed completely round the calf three times.

The *palikartmokh* then proceeds to cut up the calf (Fig. 40),

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

782 beginning with a complete incision round the neck. The
796 knife used is of the ordinary kind called *turi*, but on this occasion it is called *ab*, or "arrow." On the occasion on which I saw the ceremony, the calf seemed to have only been stunned by the blow on the head and began to kick as soon as this incision was made. The animal was, in con-

FIG. 39.—STROKING THE BACK OF THE CALF WITH THE 'TOASHTITUDR.' PUNATVAN IS BEGINNING THE THIRD MOVEMENT, AND ONE OF THE BRANCHES OF LEAVES CAN BE SEEN ON THE GROUND BEHIND THE CALF.

sequence, vigorously belaboured over the testicles with the log of *tudr* wood, and this was repeated till the movements of the animal ceased.

The next incision is down the mid-ventral line; incisions are made through the skin above each hoof, and the *palikartmokh* then removes the skin of the whole animal except the head and feet, beginning at the right fore-limb.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

782 When the skin (*tars*) is removed, it is laid on the ground
796 with its outer surface downwards a few yards from the spot at which the animal is being cut up, and the *palikartmokh* proceeds to cut the animal into the following parts:—

Kwelthkh, hoof and attached skin and bones.

Mogâl, lower segment of fore-limb (metacarpus).

FIG. 40.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN CUTTING UP THE CALF. IN THE BACKGROUND KÒDRNER IS SHARPENING UP THE 'KO.'

Kemal, or *kemalth*, upper segment of fore-limb corresponding to fore-arm.

Kanòdri, shoulder.

Mèdrkwelv, trachea and larynx.

Tòdrthars, lower segment of hind-limb (metatarsus).

Pevutth, upper segment of hind-limb (leg).

Ûrâf, liver.

Putth, gall-bladder.

Pushk, kidneys.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 *Kwur*, small intestine.
796 *Tütkwur*, large intestine.
Mulikudri, urinary bladder.
Agelv, pelvis, including thigh bones.
Mudri, sternum and part of ribs attached.
Nüdz, heart.
Püth, lungs.
Kwotinerûf (*kwotinûrûf?*), spleen.
Pâlvîr, stomach full of milk, called *pâlvetâr* when emptied of milk.
Mutelf, lower part of backbone with parts of lower ribs attached.
Nòdi, upper half of backbone with parts of upper ribs attached.
Mad, head.

The parts of the calf are removed approximately in the order in which they are given above. The *palikartmokh* first cuts off the four feet of the animal, beginning with that of the right fore-limb and the four *kwelthkh* are placed under the skin, one at each corner.

The next part to be removed is the right *mogâl*, and then the three other corresponding parts. Up to this point, everything must be done by the *palikartmokh* himself, but after the *mogâl* have been removed any one may help, and on the occasion when I witnessed the ceremony, several operations were going on simultaneously after this point of the proceedings, and it became difficult to ascertain exactly what was being done and the exact order in which the parts were being removed. The cutting up of the calf was performed chiefly by Pichievan, while the *palikartmokh*, Punatvan, occupied himself with other operations.

After the removal of the *mogâl*, the remaining parts of the two fore-limbs are removed and placed on the skin. The larynx and windpipe are taken out together, and in doing this the large vessels of the neck are divided. The body of the animal is then taken up and held over the skin, so that the blood runs out over the parts placed on the skin, and these parts are then moved about, so that they become smeared with blood, and are then placed on the stakes (*ko*),

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

782 and each *ko* with its part of the animal is stuck in the ground
796 on one side of the skin. Some of the other parts when removed are rubbed in the blood on the skin.

When the different parts have been impaled in this manner, the *palikartmokh* cuts from each part a small piece of flesh called *mtis* and puts the pieces on a stake. From the ribs and sternum, he cuts a part called the *tütmtis*, much larger

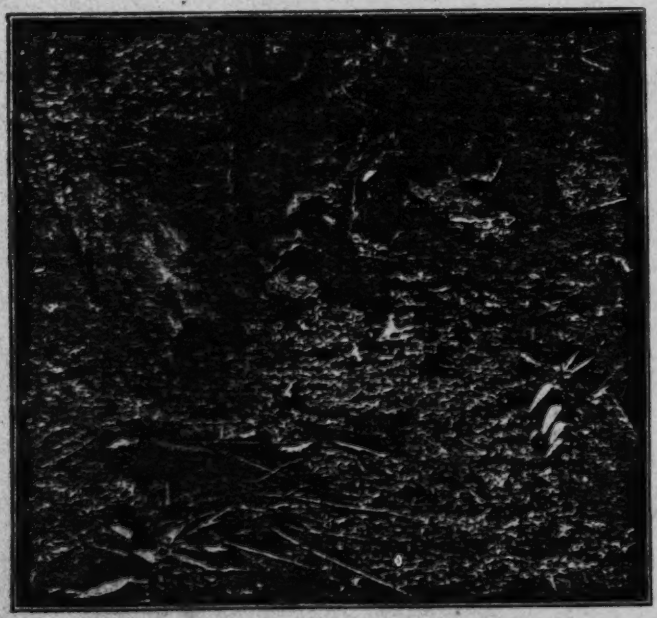

FIG. 41.—ROASTING THE PIECES OF THE CALF.

than the other fragments, and puts this on a stake. I could not ascertain exactly of what the *tütmtis* consisted, but it seemed to be the lower end of the sternum with some of the diaphragm attached to it.[1]

After cutting off the *mtis*, the *palikartmokh* begins to put the parts round the fire (Fig. 41), beginning with the *mogâl*,

[1] The importance of the omentum in Indian animal sacrifices suggests that the *tütmtis* might have been the omentum, or have included part of the omentum. At this stage of the proceedings, so many operations were going on simultaneously that exact observation became very difficult.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 which are placed, one on each side, about the middle of the
796 fire, but rather nearer that end at which the head is to be placed later. The *mogâl* must be put in this position by the *palikartmokh* himself, but the other parts may be arranged in any order. While the *palikartmokh* is manipulating the parts first cut off and placing them round the fire, his assistants will be continuing the division of the animal. When the liver is taken out, the gall-bladder is cut from it and thrown on one side. The intestines are removed and put on stakes by transfixing every few inches of their length.

The small intestine is placed on more than one *ko*, while, so far as I could see, the large intestine is put on one stake. The urinary bladder is thrown on one side. The ribs are cut through nearer the back than the front, and the sternum and anterior parts of the ribs form one part, the *mudri*. It was from this part that the *tütmlis* was taken. The spleen is put on one side in order that it may be given to a cat, and its name is derived from this fact. The stomach when taken out of the body is filled with milk and in this state is called *pâlvlr*. Its contents are poured out and it then receives the name *pâlvetâr*.

As soon as the cutting up is completed and all the other parts have been placed round the fire, the head is put on a *ko*, and this is stuck in the ground at one end of the fire and about half a yard from it, and the four *kwelthkh* are placed on the ground round the head. Some of the parts placed round the fire may by this time have charred, and they are turned round so as to expose the opposite side to the flames.

The next step is to take up the head on its *ko* and place it in the middle of the fire for about a minute, after which it is replaced. The object of this is to singe the ears, which the *palikartmokh* then pulls off. He also takes certain fragments (*mlis*) from some of the other parts and throws them, together with the ears, into the fire, standing at one end, the opposite end to that at which the head is placed. He then takes three charred pieces of wood from the fire, and throws them over the fire and over the head, so that they fall beyond the latter, saying as he throws each time, "*Nòtirzk per mâ, mañ!*" the

last exclamation being the sound which is ordinarily uttered when calling a calf. 782 796

When the flesh is sufficiently roasted the *palikartmokh* eats the *tütmtis*, while the others present may eat any portion. When enough has been eaten, the remainder of the cooked flesh is carried to the village. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are carried to the dairy by the *palikartmokh* and kept there. The flesh of these parts is eaten by the dairyman or by other men, but may on no account be eaten by a woman. The other parts are taken to the hut and given into the keeping of the women, and the flesh of these parts can be eaten by any one—man, woman, or child. Butter is often put on the flesh before it is eaten. 262

The Sacrifice at the Ti

The sacrifice at the *ti* is called *ernudrtipimi*, and is performed at every *ti* three times in the year. The first occasion is about fifteen days after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* in October. The second occasion is about January, when the buffaloes of the *ti* migrate to the Kundahs or elsewhere for the dry season. The third occasion is after the ceremony of giving salt, which is known as *kòrup* (see p. 175). The ceremony may take place at any *ti mad* except Anto. 234 782 796

The appointed days are Sunday and Wednesday. On the day before the ceremony wood is taken by the *palol* and *kaltmokh* to the sacrificial spot, called *erukar* as at the village. At Mòdr the wood in which the sacrifice takes place is called Turikipül.

The sacrifice may be performed either in the morning or evening, and takes place, in either case, before *kaizhvatiti*, the ceremonial pouring of buttermilk. This means that the sacrifice takes place during and not after the dairy ceremonial, and thus forms part of the dairy ritual. Each *palol* wears the *pòdrshtuni*, while the *kaltmokh* is naked throughout except for the *kuvn*. The *kaltmokh* arranges the firewood and the chief *palol* (at the Nòdrs *ti*, the *ti palol*) lights the wood with fire brought from his dairy. The calf is then killed and cut up with exactly the same ritual as in the village ceremony.

1 [of a young male calf, sacrificed during the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol* 782 return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *ernkar* to look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and 796 takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then 262 returns to the *ernkar*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him. At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tütmtis* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kakud*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *ernkar*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mòrol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mad* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

234 In connexion with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kush*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kush* are spread some of the grass called *nark*[1] and some leaves of the *kiars*[2] tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pon*, *i.e.*, he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

[1] *Andropogon Schananthus*, a strongly-scented grass.

[2] ? *Kias*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for 234
my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful.

The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Hark- 114
ness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the 782
ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed 796
by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gompts*." A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself.

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the 773
sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way 782
in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh 796
of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf.

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
796 know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Erkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned:
788 *Atthkâr* and *Ò̇ners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
601 *Moskar* and *Manêthi* (Òdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Tlindeuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsêram parsêram*, *Nòttrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Òdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kingners* (Keshker), *Külnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Ẹdstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòḍshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tüli*, *Sing*, *Keitaz*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ektrzam meidjam*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ektrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of
782 promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual
789 words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase
796 to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"[1] and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumptthpini* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

THE TEUTÜTUSTHCHI CEREMONY

782 This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the
796 foot of a hill by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The name *teutütusthchi* or *teutütusthtiti* means "god fire he lights." It

[1] I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is performed in the month which the Todas call Tai, beginning with the new moon in October. 782 796

The two *palol* and the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* perform the ceremony on the first or second Sunday after the new moon, and make the fire in alternate years at the hills called Kòti and Puthi. The two *palol* of the Kars and Pan *ti* set fire together at the hill Kònto on the following Tuesday. This ceremony is not performed by the *palol* of either the Kwòdrdoni or the Nidrsi *ti*. In 1902 the Nòdrs *palol* went to the hill Kòti on the second Sunday after the new moon (October 12th).

The hills of Kòti, Puthi, and Kònto are said to be chosen because they are very high, and have the highest *teu*, who are spoken of as elder brothers.

The *palol* and *kaltmokh* set out when they have taken buttermilk after the morning work, abstaining from other food till the ceremony is over. They take with them the *nirsi* or fire-sticks, some leaves of *kakud*, a piece of *tuni*, and some dried grass from the thatch of the dairy. Each *palol* wears both the *pòdrshtuni* and the *kubuntuni*.

When they reach the foot of the hill they make a heap of firewood. They then spread the *kakud* leaves on a stone and powder the thatch of the dairy on the leaves, and each *palol* makes fire with the fire-sticks and lights the powdered thatch. Then the *kaltmokh* says, "*Teutütusthtkina ?*"—"Shall I light the god (or sacred) fire?"—and both *palol* answer "*Teutütustht !*" Then the *kaltmokh* takes the lighted thatch and applies it to the heap of firewood. As soon as the fire burns well, each *palol* takes off his *kubuntuni* and, standing some little distance from the fire, the two dairymen pray, using the usual prayer of the *ti* with the following additions:

Kòr	*pòv*	*mâ;*	*tein*	*pòv*	*mâ;*	*pom*
Yellow grass	flower	may;	honey	flourish	may;	fruit
parsh	*mâ.*					
ripen	may.					

After the prayer the dairymen and their attendant return to their dairies so as to be in time for the afternoon work.

The object of the ceremony is to make the grass and honey

173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
782 told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony[1] was of great
796 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem
574 to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Teutütusthchi* is
796 certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that
783 *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though now it may be performed several times in the year. Even now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

782 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
kwadrthpimi—*i.e.*, we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably
234 means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death, but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk

[1] The Teutütusthchi Ceremony; See pp. 290-291 — Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—*i.e.*, as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo. 782 234

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

Irnörtiti to the Ti

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *teuol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310). 234 782 688 [23]

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become 234 431 782

234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their atten-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
618 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
623 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
688 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

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the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance. 782 796

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pòlm* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*. 618 673 688

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed :— 234 782 796 673 688

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy.

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time.

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palixol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

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782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*;
234 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
688 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[78] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatsuol*, or day

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 673 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

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753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
782 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove
it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed
and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the
offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies
of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the cere-
mony which has been ordered. The following is probably a
typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of
his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*,
who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from
the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madnol* or sacred
days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their
buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there
had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven
them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*.
The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following
Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv)
and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following
vow at each :—

Ir kar	*ultämä,*	*ptrsk*	*ultäkh en,*	*irnörtkin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."[1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
782 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
783 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
673 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
796 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners
to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his
fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recover-
ing from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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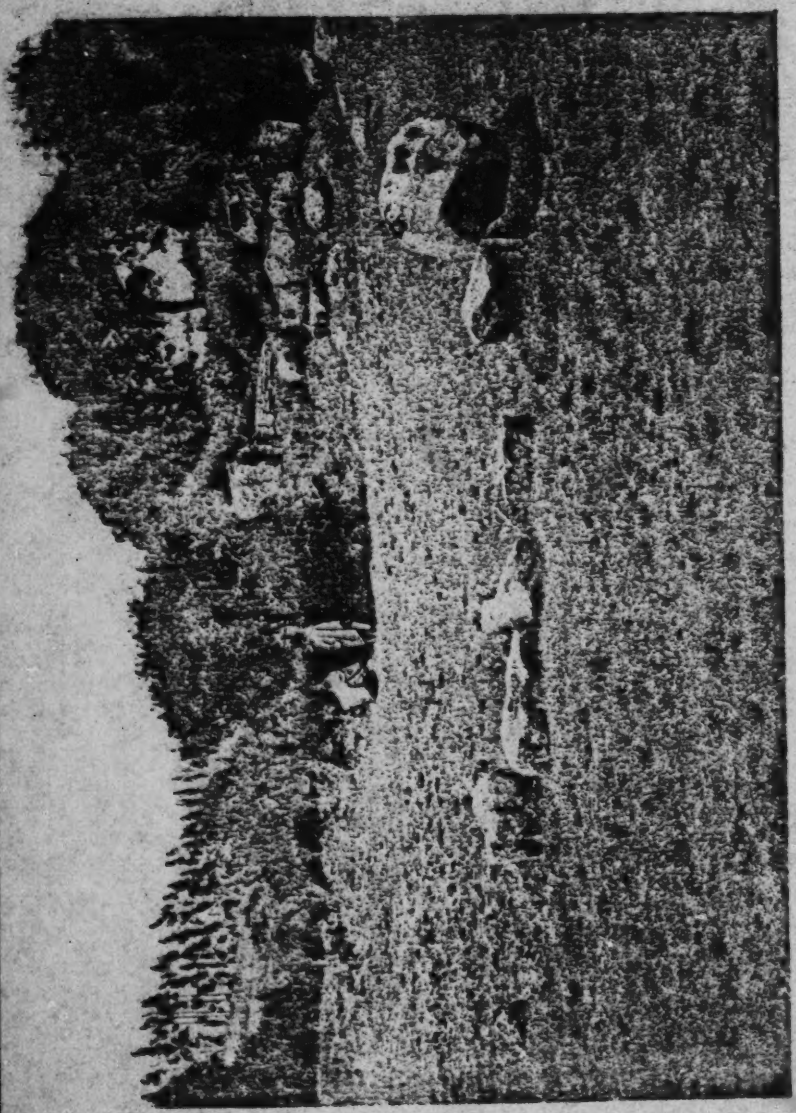

FIG. 42.—THE 'IRNÖRTKARS' AT KARS. IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE 'WURSULI.'

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
796 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

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FIG. 43.—GAP IN THE WALL AT NÖDRS THROUGH WHICH THE CALF IS DRIVEN AT THE 'IRNÖRTITI' CEREMONY.

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618 ceremony is to take place, and all the men of the same *kudr*
796 as the man who is giving the buffalo must also leave
the village if they should be living there. Their place is
621 taken by men of the *kudr* which is to receive the buffalo. If men of both *kudr* are living at the village, those of the giving *kudr* go and those of the receiving *kudr* remain; thus, when Kòdrner, who lives at Kars, made his offering, he and his brother left and went to live at another village of the clan, while Parkurs and his brothers, who belong to the other *kudr*, remained behind. If there is a *wursuli* at the village, the *wursol* remains at his post. If the *palikartmokh* is of the same *kudr* as the offender, he leaves and a new dairyman from the other *kudr* is appointed. All the men who remain at the village sleep in the outer room of the dairy—at Kars, in the outer room of the *kudrpali*. The *palikartmokh* does his dairy work in the inner room as usual and sleeps in the outer room with the rest.

The people live thus at the village for a month, no women, no men of the offending *kudr* and no people of other clans being allowed to visit them.

The actual ceremony takes place at the end of this month, on the Sunday following the new moon. On the Saturday the man, called the *irnörtpol*, who is to make the offering brings a female calf between one and two years of age to a wood near the village and makes a rough temporary calf enclosure (*kadr*), tying the calf to a tree. If the calf is troublesome, the man and his companions may sleep in the wood by the side of the calf, but generally they leave it in the wood and go to sleep in the village where they have been living. The calf must have no blemish, its eyes must be clear, and no part of its ears or tail may be cut.[1]

On the following morning a boy between ten and fifteen years of age is chosen, who is called *ponkartvaimokh*, the boy who observes the festival. It is his duty to drive the calf.

All those who are to be present take in their hands green sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs*. All have their right

[1] The special mention of uncut ears and tail in this and the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony suggests that the widely spread practice of cutting the ears of animals may occur among the Todas, but I have no other notes on the subject.

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arms outside their cloaks (*kevenarut*), and must have bathed in the morning and abstained from food. 618

When the time for the ceremony comes, the *ponkartvaimokh*, who is followed by the *irnörtpol* and other men of his division, drives the calf towards the village. The people in the village then call out "*Irnört! it vos!*"—"Give the buffalo! Come here!" and they go to the appointed place and stand on the dairy side of the *irnörtkars*, or other spot appointed for the ceremony, while the calf is driven up towards the stones or other mark from the side away from the dairy. The *palikartmokh*, naked except for the *kuvn*, and the *wursol*, with the *tuni* round his loins, stand with the people of the receiving *kudr*. When the *ponkartvaimokh* has driven the calf up to the place, he asks three times, "*Irnörtkina?*"—"Shall I give the buffalo?"—and the *palikartmokh* replies each time, "*Irnört!*" The boy then drives the calf across the stones or other mark to the place where the buffaloes of the receiving *kudr* are standing. According to one account, the calf is driven direct into the *tu*, but it seems almost certain that this is wrong, though it may be that it is the practice of some clans. The calf then becomes the property of the *kudr* whose representatives have been living at the village. At Nòdrs the calf is driven through the gap in the wall and across the pool of water in the direction of the conical dairy.

All those present, both the man who has given the calf and his companions and those who have received the calf, bow down to the ground, resting their foreheads on the ends of their cloaks (as in Fig. 44), and utter a formula different for each clan. At Kars it runs:—

Swâmi, Teikirzi, Târziolv, Kârziolv, Kârzû ultâmâ; îr kark ultâmâ; îrnörtvuspimi,[1] *ultâmâ.*

Then all present go to the dairy or dairies and bow down at the threshold. At Kars they go to Tarziolv (the *kudrpali*), to Karziolv (the *wursuli*), and to Karzu (the buffalo pen) and

[1] Or *îrnörtpuspimi*, "buffalo giving have we come." The whole formula runs, "Swami, Teikirzi, the *kudrpali*, the *wursuli*, the buffalo pen, may it be well; may it be well with the buffaloes and calves; buffalo giving have we come, may it be well."

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618 bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake
796 of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairy-
man, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*,
621 which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the *irnörtpol* must again leave the village, but the only one of

[576]

FIG. 44.—THE 'NERSATITI' SALUTATION.

their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartvaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no

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people other than men of the same *kudr* may visit the village during this time. 618

At the end of the month the people who have been occupying the village rub the dairy or dairies thoroughly with buffalo-dung (*palikâratiti*, dairy he purifies). All the people of the village then return and another feast takes place, in which the food is rice boiled in milk. Then the usual inhabitants of the village return to their houses, and if any men of the receiving *kudr* have come from another village, they return and life resumes its normal course. 796 621

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* may thus involve the removal of the usual inhabitants from a village for about two months, and the giving of two feasts, while the man who has offended also loses a calf. The Todas probably think little of the inconvenience of removal, though probably they are more troubled by it now than in former times, especially when they have to leave a village like Kars, which is, under normal circumstances, always inhabited at the present time. It seems that the inconvenience, together with the expense of the feasts, is sufficient to render the ceremony a very unusual incident in the lives of the Todas.

TUNINÖRTITI

The smaller importance of this ceremony as compared with *irnörtiti* is shown in several ways. The ceremony may be performed at any village at which there is a dairy, and it is not necessary for the people of the receiving *kudr* to stay at the village for a month before the ceremony is performed.

The prescribed day is Sunday, and on the previous day all the people of the same *kudr* as the giver of the *tuni* leave the village, and the men of the other division come and sleep in the dairy as before the *irnörtiti* ceremony. The man who [437] gives the *tuni* is called the *tuninörtpol*, and he procures the garment from a Badaga, paying for it about 1 rupee 4 annas.

On the Sunday morning the *tuninörtpol* comes with some companions, all having abstained from food. The *palikartmokh*, who must be of the same *kudr* as the other men at the village, goes to the front of the dairy and one of the men calls out,

618 "*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
688 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
796 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
618 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
621 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*. If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
618 which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
796 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

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in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food.

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr[1] which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtpol bon!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pilinörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:—

Tönenmâ,		*târmâmâ;*	*atch*	*kar*	*tâ*	*mâ,*	*atch*
May it be well,		may it be well;	little	calf	give	may,	little
mokh	*tâ*	*mâ;*	*kar*	*kulâth,*	*kar*	*kuleiti*	*tâ*
son	give	may;	calf	not refuse milk,	calf	take milk	give
mâ,	*kar*	*nesâth,*	*neszili*	*tâ*	*mâ;*	*opath*	*ûtm*
may,	calf	not kick away,	stand	give	may;	once	meal
âthi	*poinerd*	*kzar*	*arki*	*madi;*	*nâ*	*ârk mâ;*	
it is	twelve	years	vow	will;	may there be	no disease;	
nudri	*ârk mâ;*	*kazun*	*ârk mâ;*	*per*			
may there be	no trouble;	may there be	no *kazun;*	may there be			
ârk mâ.							
no Tamil.							

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kazun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

[1] This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any inter-
193 course with people other than the Badagas and Kotas. "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts
796 them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
618 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regula-
777 tions which have been described in this chapter. One of these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

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Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, 123
and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the 253
flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and 777
searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] 753
The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* 761
ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife 688
to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and 782
had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done 783
this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *tererstki* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Àmatol,

[1] According to a later finding of the *teuol*, the death of Tersveli was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

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753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion, "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
777 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure
688 of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

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the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. 783
When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to 782
regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as 688
if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it 796
seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo 782
is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most 783
nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in 688
going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded 618
as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of 796
pilinörtiti to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modiifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitiive people where

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782 social regulations exist without anything which can clearly
783 be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people
618 whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than that they now possess.

618 If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the
796 religious sanction has been added to the system of social punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the gods.

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CHAPTER XIV

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CEREMONIES

THE ceremonies connected with childbirth begin before the birth of the child. These ceremonies are only performed for the first child or when the woman obtains a new husband, so that they may, from one point of view, be regarded as marriage ceremonies. Nevertheless, I prefer to consider them here, and to leave the ceremonies more strictly connected with marriage till a later chapter. These latter ceremonies are far less elaborate than those to be described in this chapter, and may be more fitly considered in connexion with the social regulation of marriage. 843 585

At or about the fifth month of pregnancy, a ceremony is performed which is called *ûr patitth kaitütitthpimi*, "village left, hand we burnt," or more shortly, *ûrvatpimi*, "village we leave," or *kaitütitthpimi*. The ceremony is named from its two essential features; the woman leaves the village and lives secluded in a hut and her wrists are burnt. 843 621

When it is known that the ceremony is to take place, a special hut, called *puzhars* (Fig. 45), is built in a prescribed place at some little distance from the village, or if this building already exists, it is put into good order. The word *puzhars* means "mud-house" or "earth-house," which would seem to point to a time when a temporary hut of mud was used, but at the present time it is built of wood, though it is of much simpler and rougher construction than the ordinary house. [343]

The distance of the *puzhars* from the huts in which the people live depends on the degree of sacredness of the village. According to Breeks, the distance is greatest in those villages

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843 which have a dairy of the conical kind, but it seems that there
621 is no real difference between these villages and any other *etudmad*. In some cases when the dairy has a high degree of sanctity, the *puzhars* may be at an adjacent village; thus, a pregnant woman of Kiudr goes into seclusion at Molkush,

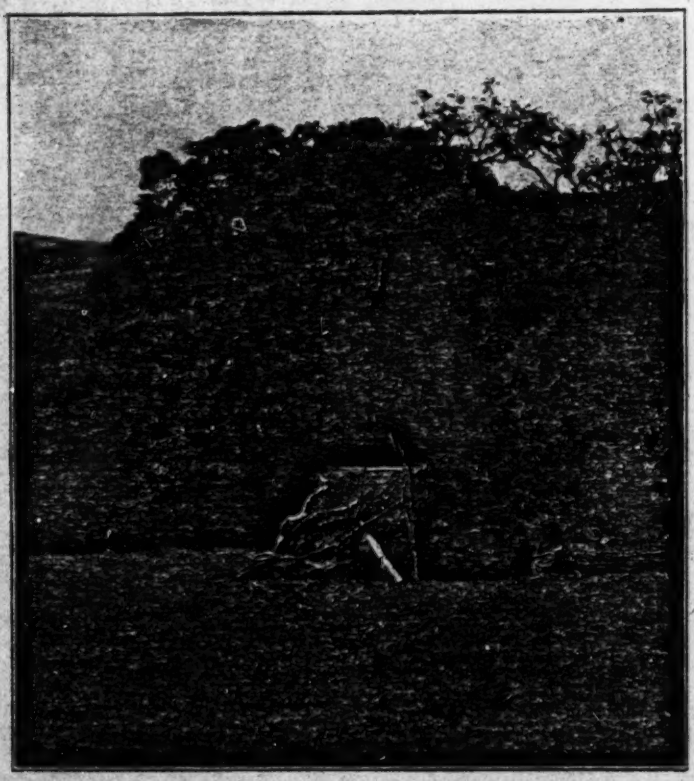

FIG. 45.—THE 'PUZHARS' AT MOLKUSH.

about a quarter of a mile away, and at this village the seclusion-hut (Fig. 45) is about a hundred yards from the house in which the people live.

I may mention here that the objection to the presence of a pregnant woman in one of the more sacred villages may extend to a time when she is not in the seclusion-hut. When I

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visited Kiudr for the purpose of testing the people of the village for colour-blindness, Sintagars, who was pregnant and was living at Molkush, was not allowed to come to the hut to be tested like the rest, but sat on the mound shown in the foreground of Fig. 7, about thirty yards away.

The features of the hand-burning ceremony as performed by the Tartharol differ considerably from those for a Teivali woman, and I will begin with a description of the former.

On the day of the new moon, the woman goes to the *puzhars*. The husband (or in his absence his brother or other near male relative) cuts six sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs* and sets them up so as to represent a dairy with two rooms, which is called *pülpali*. He then cuts four bamboo-reeds called *wadr*, about eighteen inches long, which represent dairy vessels; two of them are called *patatpun*, and the other two *ertatpun*. He fills these with water taken neither from the *pali nipa* nor from the *ars nipa*, for if he touched the water of either of the streams, they would be defiled and their water could not be used. He therefore fetches the water from a stream at some distance from the village.

The husband brings the reeds half filled with water and places those called *patatpun* in the inner room of the *pülpali*. He takes the other two—the *ertatpun*—to a two-year-old female calf (*pòl*), and pours out the water from one reed on the left side of the middle of the back (*ův*) of the calf, and catches the water in the other. He then gives two leaves (*kakuders*) to the woman, who makes a leaf vessel, into which he pours three times from the *ertatpun* the water which has flowed from the back of the calf. The woman raises the leaf vessel to her forehead and then drinks, and the man puts the two *ertatpun* into the outer room of the *pülpali*.[1] The woman then bows down with her forehead to the threshold of the *pülpali*, and the man takes up the sticks forming the imitation dairy and the four reeds and throws all away.

[1] It will be noticed that the *patatpun* are placed in the inner room and the *ertatpun* in the outer room. In the ordinary dairy both would be placed in the inner room, though in different places. The procedure of this ceremony seems, therefore, to resemble that of the *ti* rather than of the ordinary dairy. It suggests that we have here a relic of a time when every dairy had at least two rooms, one for the things of the *patatmar* and another for the things of the *ertatmar*.

843 The woman has brought with her a new earthenware pot called *mâtkûdrik*, into which she puts food (rice or grain) and water, and places it on a small oven made on the spot with stones. When the food is cooked, the woman takes two leaves called *pelkkodsthmuliers*, *i.e.*, leaves used in the ordination of the *palikartmokh*, and portions out the food on the leaves. She then brings two pieces of wood called *parskuti* (Eleagnus latifolia), puts them in the ground and covers them with a blanket. The two leaf-plates with the food are now placed on the two pieces of wood, one on each, and the woman asks *Pîrn podia, Piri podia ?* (*podia* = have you come?) My informants could tell me nothing about Pirn or Piri, except that the former was supposed to be male and the latter female.

The woman throws the *parskuti* into the bushes, this procedure being called *tapi kûrs vutpimi*, "bushes stick throw we," and then makes a little roll of threads which is called *pashti*, puts it in the fire and burns herself with the roll in four places, two on each hand, once on the prominence formed by the carpo-metacarpal joint of the thumb, and once on the prominence formed by the styloid process of the radius. The burning is sometimes done for her by the woman who is to stay in the *puzhars* with her[1] during her period of seclusion. When the ceremony is over, the woman goes into the hut with her companion and stays there for nearly a month, till three or four days before the next new moon. While in the seclusion-hut, the woman is visited by relatives and friends, who do not, however, come near the hut, but stand some way off and say *kaitiitudpatia ?* ("Have you had hand-burning?") They leave a present of rice for the woman and go to the people of the village, by whom they are entertained.

When the woman comes out of the *puzhars* at the end of the month, there is a ceremony called *marthk maj atpimi*, "To the village buttermilk we pour." Early in the morning of the appointed day a man of the Melgars clan comes to the village and milks one of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) into the vessel called *kabanachok*. The buffalo must not have

[1] I was told at first that it might be done by her husband, but this appeared to be a mistake.

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843 been milked by any one else since the time it last calved. The Melgars man places the milk in front of the hut where the woman usually lives, and then goes away, and the milk is taken by the people of the village. In the evening, after the day's work is over and the buffaloes are shut up for the night, a woman is chosen who has had no contact with the secluded woman, and she takes the milk drawn by the Melgars man to the *puzhars*, together with the leaves of the kind called *parsers*. She pours out the milk three times into these leaves and gives to the pregnant woman to drink. The latter has previously bathed and put on a new mantle, and after drinking she returns to the ordinary hut and may resume her household work.

[618] The milking is done by a Melgars man for all the Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni, where the buffalo is milked by a man of that clan. I do not know why this clan forms an exception to the general rule, but Kwòdrdoni is one of the most remote Toda villages, and it is possible[1] that the difficulty of getting a Melgars man to come to them has led the people to do this part of the ceremony themselves.

For fifteen days after leaving the seclusion-hut, the woman must drink buttermilk procured from a Melgars dairy, and must take food called *peritòr*,[2] viz., grain or rice which has been cooked in Melgars buttermilk. At the end of the fifteen days she gives up taking the *peritòr*, but continues to drink Melgars buttermilk for another fifteen days.

For a woman of the Teivaliol, the ceremony of *urvatpimi* is much more simple. No *pülpali* is made, and the husband fetches two pieces of reed only, which are called *ertatpun*. They are half filled with water, which is poured from one over the back of a calf into the other as in the Tarthar ceremony, and the woman drinks in the same way, but this is immediately followed by the hand-burning, and the rite with the two sticks and the invocation of Pirn and Piri is entirely omitted.

[1] The fact that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni are not allowed to intermarry suggests, however, that there is some relation between these clans which is the cause of the exception.

[2] This may possibly be a corruption of *perithtòr*.

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843 The Teivali ceremony on coming out of the *puzhars* takes place in the early morning. A man (not the husband) fetches water from the *ars nipa* in a brass vessel called *achok*. He takes the vessel to a pregnant buffalo and tries to milk the buffalo over the vessel of water. Although no milk comes, the attempt is supposed to convert the water in the vessel into milk. The woman then leaves the seclusion-hut and is given two leaves (*parsers*), of which she makes a leaf cup, and the man pours the water which is supposed to be milk into the cup three times, and the woman drinks each time after raising the cup to her forehead. The woman and her companion then go to another special hut, called *aliars*, and stay there for a week, or if there is in the village a house of the kind called *merkalars* (see p. 29), the woman may go to the hinder part of this house instead of to the *aliars*, but in this case all the household things have to be removed from the *merkalars*.

At the end of the week in the *aliars* or *merkalars*, there follows the ceremony called *marthk maj atpimi*. Early in the morning the *palikartmokh* brings *penmaj* (*i.e.*, butter and buttermilk) in an earthenware pot and two firebrands (*tütkuli*) to the front of the hut, puts the brands on the ground, lays the pot on them for a time, and then puts the pot on the raised platform in front of the hut. He then goes away, and a woman brings a brass vessel (*terg*) and transfers the butter and buttermilk to the *terg*, and gives it to the woman, who drinks and goes to the ordinary hut.

While the woman is in the *aliars* or *merkalars*, she is not confined to the dwelling as when in the *puzhars*, but may go about. She must not, however, do any household work, nor go to any other village, nor to the ordinary huts of her own village. If in the hinder part of the *merkalars*, she must not go to the fore part of the house.

Thus the ritual of the Tartharol differs greatly from that of the Teivaliol in these ceremonies. The rite of making an artificial dairy is entirely omitted by the Teivaliol, and, as we shall see later, it is also omitted in a similar ceremony performed after childbirth, though the pieces of reed used to pour water over the calf are named after dairy vessels in both cases. I could obtain no explanation of the difference of

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procedure, nor of the omission of the invocation of Pirn and Piri by the Teivali division. It is possible that this latter ceremony has been borrowed, but if so, there is no obvious reason why it should have been borrowed by one division, and not by the other. 843

In the ceremonies accompaning the return to ordinary life, it is perhaps natural that the Melgars man should only take part in the proceedings of his own division. The other chief difference in the procedure of the two divisions is that the return takes place in two stages among the Teivaliol, while the Tarthar woman goes directly from the *puzhars* to the ordinary hut. I was told that the difference was connected with the fact that the Tarthar women drank milk, whilst the Teivali women did not, but I could not discover why this should lead to a difference of procedure.

The Pursütpimi Ceremony

About the seventh month of pregnancy a ceremony is performed, which is called *pursütpimi*, "bow (and arrow) we touch." This ceremony begins on the evening before the day of the new moon. The pregnant woman goes into a wood about a furlong from the village at which she is living. She is accompanied by her husband, or if she has several, by the husband who is to give the bow and arrow. The husband cuts a triangular niche in a tree,[1] of which the Toda name is *kers*. The niche is large enough to contain a lamp, and is made a few feet above the ground, so that it is about on a level with the eyes of the woman when she is sitting on the ground. Ghi is then put in an earthenware lamp, which is lighted and placed in the niche. Some sort of arrangement is made on the tree to provide a covering under which the woman is later to sit, but I could not satisfy myself exactly how this is done. Husband and wife then go to find the wood called *puv*,[2] and the grass called *nark*.[3] A bow (*purs*) is made from the wood by stripping off a piece of bark and stretching it across the bent stick so as to

[1] *Eugenia Arnottiana.* [2] *Sophora glauca.*
[3] *Andropogon schœnanthus.*

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form the string of the bow.[1] The grass is put in the little artificial bow so as to resemble an arrow.

The husband and wife return to the tree with the bow and arrow, and the relatives of the pair come to the spot. The father of the woman promises a young female calf, the offspring of a given buffalo, which he names, saying after the the name *pòl todein*, or "calf I have given"; thus, *Kemars pòl todein* would mean, "I have given a calf, the daughter of Kemars."[2] Then husband and wife salute certain people by bowing before them and raising their feet to the forehead (*kalmelpudithti*). The wife salutes in this way all her male relatives and those of her husband older than herself—*i.e.*, she salutes those whom she would salute in this way under normal circumstances (see Chap. XXI). The husband salutes all the male[3] relatives of his wife, irrespective of their being older or younger than himself.

The wife then sits down beneath the tree in front of the lamp, and the husband gives her the imitation bow and arrow. In doing so he says the *kwarzam* of his village followed by the words "*Teikirzi Tirsk, pursvat!*"—*i.e.*, "To Teikirzi and Tirshti, hold the bow and arrow!" The wife replies, "*purs iveru?*"—"What is the name of the bow and arrow?"—and the husband then gives the name of the bow and arrow, which is different for each clan. The question and answer are each time repeated so that they are said three times. The formulæ repeated on this occasion differ for each clan in the *kwarzam* of the village and in the name of the bow. For the Kuudrol the latter was *pursgârûv*, so that a Kuudr man would first say, "*Atthkar Teikirzi Tirsk pursvat*," and in answer to his wife's question he would answer, "*Pursgârûv*." The only clan which does not say the *kwarzam* of the village is that of Nòdrs, where only the names of the gods are mentioned.

I only obtained the special names of the bow from three clans—those of Kuudr, Kars and Taradr. That of

[1] See the bow in the hand of the boy in Fig. 57. This bow is the same as that used in the *pursûtpimi* ceremony.

[2] The buffalo given in this way is called *pulkwadr*, or bow and arrow gift.

[3] My notes do not make it absolutely clear as to whether he may not also salute the female relatives of his wife, but I do not think that he does so.

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Kuudr has already been given; the name of the Kars bow is *pulkiûkhm* and that of Taradr *pursüdsk*. When the husband gives the bow and arrow to his wife, she raises it to her forehead and then, holding it in her right hand, turns to gaze at the lamp in the tree. She looks for an hour or until the lamp goes out, and then all present[1] go to the village for food, except the husband and wife. The man makes a fireplace, lights a fire and cooks jaggery and rice in a new pot, using only ghi, and not butter, to mix the rice, and while he is doing this his wife ties up certain kinds of food in a cloth and puts the bundle under the tree. This food includes rice, ragi, barley, wheat, the grain (?) called *kirsi* (see p. 266), some jaggery and salt. Some pieces of honeycomb are also placed on leaves, which are then thrown away. When the food cooked by the man is ready both husband and wife eat together. 843 [805]

Later the relatives return from the village and all pass the night in the wood, the relatives keeping at some distance from the married pair. At daybreak on the following day, the day of the new moon, all return to the village and feast, food being given to all visitors.

Several of those who have described this ceremony have included in the description an account of "tying the *tali*."[2] So far as I could ascertain nothing of the kind is done. I inquired into the point many times and all agreed that it formed no part of the Toda ceremony and that its equivalent was the giving of the bow and arrow. More than one man spoke of the *pursütpimi* ceremony as "tying the *tali*," but the latter expression is merely the equivalent of "marriage ceremony," and the very man who used this expression denied vehemently that tying the *tali* or anything else round

[1] According to a recent account given to me by Mr. Thurston, the people leave the spot about six o'clock in the evening. The time is determined by the opening of the flowers of *Mirabilis tetraptera*, which is called by the Todas *ár mani pův*, or six o'clock flower. This flower is a garden escape, so that this special practice must be recent, but it suggests that the general practice of telling the time of day by means of flowers may be an old Toda custom.

[2] Mr. Natesa Sastri (*Madras Mail*, August 28th, 1894) states that the bow and arrow are tied round the neck of the woman, so that they definitely take the place of the *tali*.

843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [626] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first 843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood 851 of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage cere- 585 monies which have been postponed till shortly before the

birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvatpimi* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi mas vûrmâ; swâmi pûdikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekti*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekûkûdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

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845 after delivery. If the child is still-born its body is buried at the same time.

A caul is named *kwadri* (umbrella), but no importance is attached to it, nor is it kept.

SECLUSION AFTER CHILDBIRTH

846 Two or three days after childbirth the mother and child go to the seclusion-hut, or *puzhars*, the same structure being used as after the hand-burning ceremony. Various rites are performed, both when going to and leaving the seclusion-hut, and these have many points in common with those which take place before and after the hand-burning. As in that case, the procedure for the Tartharol differs considerably from that of the Teivaliol.

The general name for the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* is *pòlk pòtha nir utpimi*—"to the calf back (or hind quarters) water we pour," from one of the chief features of the proceedings. The ceremony takes place either in the early morning or in the evening.

The woman who is to be secluded, whether she be Tarthar or Teivali, rubs ashes on her head and face (*pûthi adipimi*, ashes we rub), and comes out of the ordinary hut in which [824] she has been living since the delivery. She holds over her head a branch of the 'Nilgiri holly,'[1] which has spreading leaves so that it resembles an umbrella; this leafy umbrella is called *tòrikwadr*, and the act is called *tòrikwadr patipimi*, "we hold the umbrella." The head is also covered with [776] the *putkuli*. From the moment she leaves the hut the woman is very careful to keep her face turned away from the sun, not on account of its noxious influence, but in order to avoid the star or other body called Keirt, which is supposed to be near the sun. The child is carried in front of the mother by another woman, who also holds a *tòrikwadr* to shelter the infant from the evil influence of Keirt. Among the Tartharol a small artificial dairy is made, exactly as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, and four reeds are cut to represent dairy vessels.

[1] Called by the Todas *tòri* or *tòrimul* (*Berberis nepalensis*); its leaves are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

As the woman walks towards the place where the *pülpali* has been erected, another woman lays on the ground before her a leaf of *kakud* on which she puts some threads taken from a *madtuni*—*i.e.*, the garment worn by the *wursol*. These threads are called *tunikar*,[1] and they are taken up by the mother and put in the string round her waist on the right side.[2] Water

FIG. 46.—TERSVELI SITTING AT T[illegible] OF THE 'PUZHARS' AT KARÍA WITH HER FACE [illegible] FROM THE SUN.

is then poured by the husband from the imitation *patatpun* over the hind quarters (*pòtha*) of a calf, so that it falls into the *ertatpun* just as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony. Before the woman drinks this water, three drops of it are put into the mouth of the child and a four-anna piece (*panm*) into its hand. The mother then drinks three times

[1] Possibly this means "calf of *tuni*."

[2] It will be noticed that the woman puts the fragments of *tuni* in her waist-string on the right side, while the various dairymen who wear *petuni* put it on the left side.

846 and bows down at the threshold of the imitation dairy, after which she goes into the seclusion-hut. During the whole of the proceedings she is careful not to turn her face towards the sun.

Among the Teivaliol there is no imitation dairy and, as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, only two reeds are used as *ertatpun*. A fire is made on an improvised fireplace of three stones, and lighted by means of thatch brought from the hut,[1] and food is put on a fragment of an earthenware vessel and placed over the fire.

After the woman has drunk of the water which has been poured over the back of the calf, she breaks the earthenware fragment over the fire, saying, *Namavku*, "to Namav," this rite being called *Namavtur kwudrtpimi*, "to Namav we give." [783] The woman then goes to the seclusion-hut, being assisted by her husband, who now acquires the impurity which is called *ichchil*, and any one else who touches the woman after this ceremony also becomes *ichchil*.

776 I saw the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* on two occasions, the woman each time belonging to the Teivaliol. 784 The most striking feature of each occasion was the obvious 846 and intense dread of Keirt. In one case, soon after leaving the hut, the woman Sintagars, called out for another umbrella as she feared that the *tòrikwadr* was not sufficient to shelter her from Keirt, and during the rest of the proceedings she held over herself both the leafy umbrella and one of the ordinary kind.

I was told that all the chief incidents of the ceremony—the rubbing on of ashes, the holding of the leaf umbrella, the pouring of water over the calf and the giving to Namav—were all designed to avert the evil influence of Keirt, which they call *Keirtpudrtvuti* (see p. 269).

846 After the woman has gone to the seclusion-hut she is visited by relatives and friends, who stand at a distance, just as they did after the hand-burning ceremony. They bring rice with them as a present and call out

Marzzut	*jizu*	*mikh*	*mokh*	(or *kugh*)	*udpatia?*
Confined	life	remaining	son	(or daughter)	had you?

I am doubtful whether this is essential.

1 [of the seclusion of a woman following the birth of a Child -- Analyse]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

"Have you had a son (or daughter) and are yet alive?" The visitors then go to the huts of the village and are entertained. 846

The woman and child stay in the seclusion-hut, accompanied by the husband and by a woman who is usually the assistant at the birth. If the child is not the first, the mother remains in seclusion till a few days before the next new moon, this kind of seclusion being called *nâtersper*. If the child is the first-born, the stay in the seclusion-hut is longer and is called *kadrthersper*. In this case the woman stays in the hut till a month has elapsed after the new moon following the birth. Thus Sintagars went into seclusion on Sunday, October 19th, and came out on Thursday, November 27th, 1902, exactly four weeks after the new moon of October 31st.

The proceedings on leaving the seclusion-hut are like those which take place after the seclusion following the *urvatpimi* ceremony, but with a few additional rites.

Among the Tartharol there is only one ceremony, called *marthk maj atpimi*, in which a buffalo is milked on the morning of the day by a Melgars man. Before the woman drinks the milk in the evening, another woman lays threads of *tuni* on leaves of *kakud*, and puts them on the ground before the mother, who puts them in the right side of her waist-string as when going to the seclusion-hut. After returning to the hut the woman drinks Melgars buttermilk and eats food cooked in Melgars buttermilk in exactly the same way as after the hand-burning ceremony.

Among the Teivaliol the return to ordinary life takes place in two stages, as after the hand-burning ceremony. The woman first goes to the *aliars*, or to the hinder part of the *merkalars*, after drinking water, which has been supposed to be turned into milk by pretended milking from a pregnant buffalo. I saw this ceremony on one occasion (Fig. 47) when the pretended milking was done by a small boy, Pongudr (52), and the supposed milk was poured into the leaves and given to the mother by a woman who had not been present in the seclusion-hut with her. The person who pretends to milk the pregnant buffalo becomes *ichchil* by doing so, and the reason

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846 why a young boy was chosen for this office was that the adult members of the family might escape the disabilities attendant on this condition. On this occasion especial care was taken that the mother should sit facing the sun during the ceremony. She at first sat down with her face turned away from the sun, and she was made to turn round, so that

FIG. 47.—SINTAGARS DRINKING AT THE 'MARTHK MAJ ATPIMI' CEREMONY. THE BOY, PONGUDR, IS SITTING BEHIND HER.

she directly faced it. This was the exact opposite of the procedure followed when going to the seclusion-hut.

After being in the *aliars* or *merkalars* for a week there follows the ceremony of *marthk maj atpimi*, which is the same as that after the *urvatpimi* ceremony, with the addition that a representation of a hut is made with five or six sticks of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the kind called *kwadrikurs*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*ashok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatiti*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties. 846

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *terigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol. [431]

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf. 846 234 853 788

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

1 [The ceremony after childbirth -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

846 suggested is the most probable one; but this can only be con-
234 jecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have
853 now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

788 The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however,
174 has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *än*. As we shall see later, the *än* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madtuni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *än* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

200 A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation 616
with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be 846
regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas.

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word 171
pülpali, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar 846
ceremonies. *Püli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pül* would be used for outskirts in this special sense.

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some 852
time after, the child has its face covered, and no one 854
except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtâr teritht*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtâr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed.

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majvatvatidrn*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p. 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

852 buttermilk from the dairyman, and there the mother uncovers
854 the child's face.

I was not told that the covering of the face is designed to protect the child from the influence of the evil eye, but this is the probable motive. The object of the ceremony is probably to minimise the danger incurred when the covering is removed by putting the child, if a boy, into relation with the three sacred objects, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes, and the sun. If a girl, the child is taken to the spot nearest to the dairy where women are allowed to go.

Naming the Child

553 The child is named after its face has been uncovered. The ceremony is called *per vasthpimi*, "name we give," and it may
852 take place immediately after the ceremony of uncovering the face, or a few days later. In the former case, the child, if a boy, is taken by his father from the place where the buffaloes are standing to the front of the house, and there the father shaves the middle part of the head of the child. Then the boy's maternal uncle (*mun*) gives the name, and promises a calf, saying, *pöl ud todein*, "calf one I have given," followed by the name of the child,[1] and raises each foot to the head of the boy and touches his forehead, the salutation on this occasion being called *kalkartiti*. Three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the boy and three into his back-hair, and then the grains are thrown away.

There was some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named. It seemed clear that the name is given by a woman, and I was told definitely by some that it is given by the father's sister (*mumi*) of the child. The wife of the *mun* would also be the *mumi* of the child, and it is possible that this relative may give the name. No calf is given to a girl, this being only done when boys are named.

After the naming, the parents of the child may give a feast
[574] if they are rich, but this seems to be now exceptional. After
953 receiving its name, the child is given food for the first time, having been suckled up to this day, but my notes do not

[1] For the nature of the name see Chapter XXVI.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled. 853

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpül* 852
and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and 854
strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form 751
a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye.

THE TERSAMPTPIMI CEREMONY

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming 852
of a child, but only performed after the second funeral 553
(*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that 765
at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face.

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmän*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If [447] the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised.

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put 852

[1] *Rosa Leschenaultiana.* [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

852 round the wrist of the child when it was shaved, is taken off and replaced by a piece of creeper called *peival*.[1] After the ceremony the *peival* is removed.

There was some doubt as to what was done with the lock of hair. Mr. Natesa Sastri states[2] that the hair is carefully preserved, but my informants did not confirm this, and it seemed as if they did not even adopt the precaution of hiding the hair, which is generally practised (see p. 268).

THE EAR-PIERCING CEREMONY

852 The ceremony of piercing the ears is called *kevi kûtiti*, and
574 may be done at any time from infancy up to even twenty
431 years of age. The ceremony is often delayed until it can be performed for several members of a family at the same time in order to avoid the considerable expense connected with it. The ceremony must be done on a Sunday or Wednesday, and there must be no *kedr* in the clan, *i.e.*, it must not be performed if the funeral ceremonies of a member of the clan are still unfinished.

On the day appointed for the ceremony many guests assemble at the village, and the boys whose ears are to be pierced are dressed in their best clothing. The piercing is performed by two men, one for each ear. One is the mother's brother (*mun*) of the boy, while the other is a man of the division to which the boy does not belong—a Teivali man if the boy is one of the Tartharol and *vice versa*.

The piercing is done with a piece of a small ring, so fine that it is like a needle. The ring used in this way may be of silver or gold, the latter only being used by the richer members of the community.

Each boy then salutes (*kalmelpudithti*) all those present older than himself, both male and female. Each man as he raises his foot to the head of the boy says :—

Tânemâ,	*îârmâmâ*,	*pathk mâ*,	*poda mâ*,
May it be well,	may it be well,	may he prosper,	may he prosper,

îr auâr îl mâ,	*âr mokh pai mâ*.
buffaloes 100 may he rule,	six sons may he have.

[1] Probably here *pei* = demon (see p. 180).

[2] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Each man also gives four annas to the boy and each chief Toda may give one rupee. 852 574 431

The salutation of their elders seems to be conditional on this gift of money. One of the most recent cases in which the ceremony has been performed was when the ears of six of the sons of Tikievan of Kuudr and his brothers (56) were pierced. On this occasion Tikievan refused to take any money from those present, and the boys only saluted those men who had celebrated the occasion by giving buffaloes to their father.

As the *kalmelpudithti* salutation was omitted, the words given above as usually said by each person were on this occasion said collectively by all present while the six boys bowed down their heads to the ground. The ears of these boys were pierced by Teikudr (63), the first cousin of Sulnir, the mother of the boys, but regarded according to the Toda system as elder brother of the mother.

The representative of the Tartharol who pierced the other ear was Pidrvan (9), probably chosen because he was one of the oldest and most influential of the Todas who lived at Pakhalkudr, not far from Peivòrs, the home of the boys.

After the ceremony all those present receive two balls of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, even a young child receiving his two balls of food. Each person then makes a hole in his food, into which ghi is poured, and all eat, washing their hands afterwards in water brought from the *ars nipa*.

Only the ears of boys are pierced, and a boy may not enter upon the more sacred offices of the dairy till this ceremony has been performed. Among the Teivaliol, he cannot become *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*, but he may be *palikartmokh*. Among the Tartharol, a boy cannot become *palikartmokh* at any kind of dairy till the ear-piercing ceremony has taken place.

In the case of the ceremony for the sons of Tikievan I inquired into the actual expenses of the day. These were as follows:—

grain	17 rupees
jaggery	10 ,,
rice	7 ,,
10½ *kuds* of ghi . .	21 ,,
tobacco and salt . .	2 ,,

amounting to 57 rupees.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

852 431 On the other hand, six buffaloes were given to Tikievan; two by the Badaga Monegar of Tuneri; one each from Perner and Tebner (68), whose daughter Sinmokh had married Piliagar, one of the boys. The other two buffaloes were given by Teikudr, the uncle of the boys who had taken part in the ear-piercing.

Several of these buffaloes were either given in return for buffaloes which Tikievan had previously given, or Tikievan would be expected to give buffaloes in return when any suitable occasion arose in the families of the donors.

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CHAPTER XV

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

THE funeral ceremonies of a Toda may be prolonged over many months. Soon after death the body is burnt and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is *etvainolkedr*, the first day funeral (literally, "first which day funeral"). After an interval which may vary greatly in length, a second ceremony is performed connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The rites on this occasion are more elaborate than at the *etvainolkedr*. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is *marvainolkedr*, the second day funeral, or "again which day funeral." The final scene, in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried, takes place before daybreak on the morning following the *marvainolkedr*, and this part of the ceremony is known as *azaramkedr*, the name being derived from the *azaram*, or circle of stones within which the final cremation takes place.

The funeral ceremonies are open to all and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institution of the Todas, however, they have become known to Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas *hase kedu*, the fresh or green funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills, but has been widely

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

142 adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral
764 is called by the Badagas *bara kedu*, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted. I never heard these terms used by the Todas themselves, who always spoke of the *etvainolkedr* and the *marvainolkedr*, though it seemed that the first funeral might sometimes be called *karchokedr*, which probably means fresh or green funeral.

177 The funeral ceremonies have undergone some modifica-
764 tion in recent times owing to the intervention of the Government. Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person. This has had most influence on the second funeral ceremonies, which, largely owing to this prohibition, are now much less elaborate and prolonged than in former times.

764 The funeral ceremonies are held at certain appointed places called *kertnòdr*, different for each clan. Sometimes these places are at, or close to, villages where the people are now living; sometimes they are at places which were formerly inhabited; while in other cases, again, there is no evidence that the funeral places have ever been inhabited. In every case, whether inhabited or not, the place where a funeral is held is called a *mad*, the same name as is used for a village.

Each clan has at least two funeral places, one for males and the other for females, and in several cases a clan has more than one funeral place for each sex. Some clans have different places for the two funeral ceremonies, and the Piedrol, who have one outlying branch of their clan at Kavidi in the Wainad, have special funeral places for the first funeral of members of this branch, the second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, being held at the chief funeral place of the clan. Others, again, have a special place for boys who have not passed through the ear-piercing ceremony.

349 In general, a funeral hut (see Fig. 48) is specially built for
764 the reception of the dead body, this hut being usually erected within a stone circle found at the funeral place. At the funeral of a male, this hut is called *kertnòdrpali* or *neilpali*. It is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

left standing after the funeral and may be used on a second occasion if it has not fallen into too great disorder. 349 764

Five clans of the Tartharol possess special dairies, each with three rooms which are used as funeral huts. These buildings are habitually or occasionally used as dairies; but when a man of the clan dies his body is laid in the outermost of the three rooms, either on the day of the funeral or for two or 343 234

FIG. 48.—FUNERAL HUT ROUND WHICH WOMEN ARE LAMENTING. SEVERAL PAIRS ARE PRESSING THEIR FOREHEADS TOGETHER. THE HUT IS NOT WITHIN A STONE CIRCLE, SHOWING THAT THE FUNERAL IS NOT BEING HELD AT AN OLD FUNERAL PLACE.

three days before it. While a dead body is lying in the dairy, women are allowed to enter the outermost room just as they may go into any other funeral hut, but they may not pass beyond. Men are allowed to enter the middle room, but the innermost room is only entered by the dairyman, who carries on his dairy work as usual.

349 The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now
343 exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and
Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with
764 three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the vil-
234 lage. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

349 At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for
the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after
764 each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *nersars* for the first funeral, and *kursars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

766 If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

because her funeral was being held at the *kertnòdr* of her father and not at that of her husband. 766

At every funeral place there should be a second circle of stones forming a *tu*, or buffalo-pen. These pens are now rarely, if ever, used, and are a relic of the time when the ceremonies of the *marvainolkedr* were prolonged over two days, the buffaloes being caught and penned on the first day, and killed on the second. A third ring of stones is the *azaram*, at the opening of which the ashes are buried at the final scene of the funeral rites. 764

There are specially appointed days for the funeral ceremonies. These days differ to some extent for different clans and for the two sexes. Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday are the most general days for the funerals of males, only two clans having Saturday as a funeral day for men. For females Thursday and Saturday are most frequently chosen, two clans only holding the funerals of women on Tuesdays. In no case could I find that funerals are performed on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. These days are, on the other hand, the most usual days set apart as *madnol* or *palinol*,[1] and villages which have their *madnol* or *palinol* on Sunday or Tuesday do not appear to have their funerals on these days. The general rule is that a funeral must not take place on a *madnol* or *palinol*. In several cases I was told that if the *mani*, or sacred bell, were used, the funeral must be on one day of the week; thus for the Karsol, it must take place on Sunday; for the Kwòdrdoni people, on Tuesday. These obligatory days of the funeral ceremonies often involve the necessity of keeping the corpse for several days.

I did not make special inquiries into ceremonies of the deathbed, but Marshall states (p. 171) that a man who is not expected to recover is dressed in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, which he will wear till he dies or recovers; and Marshall mentions an instance of a man who had revived from what was thought to be his deathbed who paraded about, wearing the finery with which he had 763

[1] The *madnol* and the *palinol* are sacred days on which certain activities are prohibited (see Chap. XVII).

763 been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

764 After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *än*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn 437 by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *än* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *än* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukurupukuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

764 The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nòdrs, his body is taken into the three roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitün*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmekh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy. [234] It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women [562] are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitün*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *menkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

from this cup milk is poured three times into the mouth of the dead man. 764

In other villages at which there is no *imudrikars*, the body is laid in front of the dairy and fed with milk in the same way.

The body is borne from the village to the funeral place on a wooden bier, called *mänpedrkudr* (wood bier). It is taken by a specially appointed route, and in some cases certain ceremonies are performed by the way. Thus, when the body of a man is taken from Kars to Taradrkirsi, earth is thrown at two places. We shall see shortly that one of the most important features of the funeral of a man is that earth is dug at the entrance of a buffalo pen at the funeral place and thrown on the corpse and into the pen. On the way to Taradrkirsi this is also done at two places, which are probably the situations of the old buffalo pens of villages which have now disappeared. I did not hear of any similar practices for any other clan, but Kars is probably not exceptional in this respect.

Before the body arrives at the funeral place the people will have begun to assemble, and when the funeral procession reaches its destination all those present go one by one to the corpse, bow down by the side of the bier, and touch the body with their foreheads. Those older than the deceased and those related in certain ways (see Chap. XXI) bow down at the head of the corpse. Those younger and those related in certain other ways bow down at the foot. When all those present have saluted, the body is placed in the funeral hut, or in the dairy if the funeral is being held at one of the places where funeral dairies still exist, and late-comers enter the hut or dairy to perform their salutations. As soon as the body is placed in the hut or dairy, the female relatives and friends of the dead person collect round the hut and lament together in the characteristic Toda manner, arranging themselves in pairs and pressing their foreheads together while they wail and weep (Fig. 48).

While this is going on the men are busied in making preparations for the cremation. A place is cleared in a wood near the funeral place—the *mathkudi*—and here a pyre is

764 built of wood, some of which has been brought by the funeral party, while the rest is found near the burning ground. The wood used on this occasion must be of the kind called *kers*[1] and the pyre is built of an oblong shape, rising about three feet above the ground.

The first of the funeral ceremonies is different for the two sexes. At the funeral of a male the ceremony of *puzhutpimi*, "earth we throw," or *kedrpuzhutpimi*, "funeral earth we throw," is performed, while the corresponding ceremony for a woman is to place certain leaves in the armlet on the right arm of the corpse.

THE PUZHUTPIMI CEREMONY

616 In the *puzhutpimi* ceremony a man digs up a little earth
764 in front of the entrance to the buffalo pen. The digger must belong to the Tartharol, if the dead man is one of the Teiva-
602 liol, and *vice versâ*; thus, at the funeral of Pursevan (53)[2] of Kuudr, the earth was dug by Kedjeri (6) of Nòdrs. In this case the Tartharol were told to send someone to dig, and they selected Kedjeri.

At the funeral of a Tarthar man the earth is first thrown by the *wursol*, who must be, on this occasion, one of the Teivaliol. A Melgars *wursol* may not perform this office. After the *wursol* has thrown earth, it is thrown by certain relatives of the deceased who are present. At a Teivali funeral only the relatives perform this ceremony, no one corresponding to the *wursol* taking part.

Before the people begin to throw earth, one of the dead man's division asks "*Puzhutkina?*"—"Shall I throw earth?" and a man of the other division replies, "*Puzhut!*"—"Throw earth!" At the funeral of Pursevan a Teivali man asked the Tartharol in this way, and the Tartharol responded. At this funeral earth was thrown by the following: Punatvan (53), a younger brother of the dead man; Kuriolv and Piliar (52), Pöteners (54); Targners, Pungusivan and Tevò, the sons of the

[1] *Eugenia Arnottiana.* This is the tree in which the hole is cut at the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

[2] This was a *marvainolkadr*, but the rules for the earth-throwing are the same at the first funeral.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

dead man, and Pòl, the son of Punatvan. In this case all 616
who threw earth were not only Kuudrol—*i.e.*, of the same 764
clan as the dead man—but were also of the same family, so
that their relation to one another can be traced in the 602
genealogies. Kuriolv, Piliar and Pöteners would all have called Pursevan "*aia*," or father, and were first cousins once removed according to our system of kinship. I do not know whether the earth-throwing is usually limited to the nearer relatives in the same clan. The family to which Pursevan belonged was unusually numerous, and it is probable that in most cases other families of the clan are called upon to take a part.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse[1] the earth was thrown 113
into a circle made of rough stones laid upon the grass with
an opening on one side, and Mr. Thurston[2] records a similar 764
case in which the earth was thrown into a circle of stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been constructed for the occasion. This is probably done when the funeral is held at a place where there is no *tu*, and it is possible that these funerals were not being held at regular funeral places of the clan, and that the circles of stones were intended to represent buffalo pens. At the funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse the 'priest' handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to the stick with which they turned up the earth.

Each man, as he throws, kneels down, facing the opening of 764
the pen, and then bows down so that he touches the earth with his forehead, many saying "*Swami*" as they do this. Three handfuls of earth are thrown into the pen, and then three handfuls are thrown backwards on the corpse, the man standing up as soon as he has done this. Each man covers his head with his cloak before he throws, as shown in Figs. 49 and 50.[3]

[1] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 274.

[2] *Bull.*, 1901, iv., p. 12.

[3] These photographs were obtained from Messrs. Wiele and Klein, and I do not know the place or nature of the funeral which they illustrate, but there is no indication of a pen in the picture; they probably represent throwing earth at the entrance of a former pen. There is such a place at Taradrkirsi, the male funeral place of the Kars clan. Here earth is thrown by the side of a wood where the forest has grown over the site of an old *tu*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

764 Fig. 50 shows the special action employed in throwing backwards, the hand being turned inward.

616 The earth-throwing ceremony is one of several funeral
764 rites, in which men of one division take part in funerals belonging to the other division. Thus, at a Tarthar funeral

FIG. 49.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. IN THE CENTRE IS THE CORPSE. THE FOREMOST MAN ON THE LEFT IS KNEELING DOWN PREPARATORY TO THROWING EARTH.

the earth is dug by one of the Teivaliol; the Tartharol then ask for permission to throw the earth, and the permission (or order) is given by the Teivaliol—*i.e.*, those who have dug the earth have to give the word that the earth may be thrown.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

THE TIVERI TÛR CEREMONY

764 At the funeral of a woman no earth is thrown, but a
602 ceremony is performed which is said to correspond to it. A
606 woman goes in search of the leaves of the *tiveri* plant,[1] the leaves being called *tiveri tûr*. The woman who plucks the leaves must be the *motvilth* (daughter-in-law) of the dead

FIG. 50.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. THROWING EARTH BACKWARDS ON THE CORPSE.

woman, but if it is a child who is dead the leaves are plucked by the mother-in-law or potential mother-in-law. If a dead woman has no daughter-in-law, it was said that her daughter might pluck the leaves, but at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), a childless woman, the leaves were sought and plucked by Naburveli, the wife of Mushkers (28), who would have called the husband of Kiuneimi "brother," being of the same family and generation, although only his second cousin according to

[1] *Atylosia Candollei.*

602 606 764 our system of kinship. In this case, therefore, the leaves were plucked by a sister-in-law, or, more strictly, by the wife of the 'brother' of the dead woman's husband. In this case both Kiuneimi and Naburveli were daughters of Nòdrs men, but this was probably only a coincidence.

At the funeral of Kiuneimi, Naburveli was accompanied by a man and by another woman, but it was quite clear that they would on no account be allowed to touch the leaves, which must be plucked by the daughter-in-law or other relative who is performing the ceremony. When found, the *tiveri* leaves are put by the woman in the armlet on the right arm of the dead woman. Then the men present say to the woman :—

"*Parthûl*	*ûtchka,*	*tiveri*	*thr*	*parch*	*pudthka!*"
In the armlet	is it put,	*tiveri*	leaves	plucking	have you come?

and the woman replies :—

"*Tiveri*	*thr*	*parch*	*pudthpimi,*	*parthûl*	*ûtchpimi,*
Tiveri	leaves	plucking	we have come,	in the armlet	we have put,

ir	*pats!*"
the buffalo	catch!

The woman thus announces that this ceremony has been completed, and that they may proceed to the next event of the funeral rites, that of catching the buffalo.

The *tiveri thr* ceremony of a woman's funeral was said to correspond to the earth-throwing ceremony of a man's funeral, but this correspondence may only mean that each is the first of the actual funeral ceremonies. Since, however, a woman belongs to the clan of her husband, the leaves are always put into the armlet by a woman of the same clan as the deceased. In this respect the ceremony resembles that of earth-throwing, but my informants laid stress on the fact that the ceremony should be performed by a *motvilth* or other relative-in-law, and no reference was made to the fact that they would be of the same clan. This makes it probable that there is no real correspondence between the two ceremonies.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE BUFFALOES.

The next stage in the proceedings is the catching and killing of the buffalo or buffaloes. At the present time the Todas are only permitted by the Government to kill two of these animals, and if the family of the dead person is poor only one may be killed. At the funeral of a man it is customary that one of the animals killed shall be an ordinary buffalo (*putiir*) and the other a sacred buffalo; one of the *pasthir* in the case of the Teivaliol, and usually one of the *wursulir* in the case of the Tartharol. At least one sacred buffalo must be killed at one or other funeral ceremony for every man, but this may be done either at the *etvainol-* or the *marvainolkedr*. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, never at those of women. 234 764

When it was the custom to slaughter more than two buffaloes, there was often a rule that these should be of certain kinds; thus, at Nòdrs, it was once the custom to kill seven buffaloes at a man's funeral—viz., two *wursulir*, two *putiir*, and one each of the following kinds: *nashperthir*, *pineipir*, and *persasir*.

If the family possess no sacred buffalo, they must procure one by exchange, and it is customary to give two ordinary buffaloes for one of the sacred kind.

There is a definite spot appointed for the slaughter of each kind of buffalo. The ordinary buffalo is usually killed near the funeral hut, and sometimes there is a stone marking the spot at which the animal is to die. The *wursulir* are killed at a place usually marked by a stone called *teiks*. In cases where there is no stone the spot is marked by a wooden post (see Fig. 51), which has the same name, and I was told that it should be made of teak.[1]

In some cases there are other appointed stones or unmarked spots where buffaloes of other kinds are slaughtered; thus, at Nòdrs there are seven stones, at each of which a

[1] If the word *teiks* is the same as that of teak wood it would make it probable that the buffalo was formerly killed by the side of a wooden post and that the use of a stone is secondary.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 764 buffalo used to be killed, and the people of Pan have two stones called *teiks*, one for each division of the clan.

The catching of the buffalo is one of the most exciting incidents of a Toda funeral. When only one or two buffaloes are to be killed it is usual to take about four buffaloes from the village of the dead person to the neighbourhood of the funeral place. When the preliminary ceremonies are over, all those who are attending the funeral move towards the place

FIG. 51.—THE WOODEN 'TEIKS' AT INIKIT.

at which the buffaloes are standing, while several of their number are chosen to catch the appointed animal or animals. At the same time, the buffaloes, which are usually standing in some hollow so that they cannot be seen from the funeral place, are driven towards the people. As soon as they appear the appointed men drop their cloaks and race to meet the buffaloes. The buffaloes are driven on from behind in a more vigorous manner than that to which they are accustomed, are more or less infuriated, and often rush wildly about in their efforts to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences. 234 764

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among the younger and more agile of the community, but at an important funeral the older and more experienced men may undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for the adroitness with which they perform the feat. 555 616 764 541

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is not satisfactory. 234 764

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 764 may return to the dairy of its own accord at the proper time.

At one funeral at which I was present the buffalo was so alarmed or so infuriated by the proceedings that it lay down and absolutely refused to move, and the efforts of all present were insufficient to drag the animal to the slaughtering place. This incident will be described more fully later, but I mention it here to show that it may often be difficult to drive the buffalo, and that the unaccustomed vigour with which the animal is beaten may have a natural and not a ceremonial reason.

234 764 Before the buffalo is killed two things have still to be done. A bell or its substitute has to be hung on the neck of the buffalo, and butter rubbed on its back, head and horns.

778 If one of the *wursulir* is to be killed there is hung on its neck the sacred bell called *mani*, while the ordinary buffalo or *putiir* is given only the *kwungg* or household bell. A *mani* may also be used for the varieties of sacred buffalo called *nashperthir*, *persasir*, &c. Probably at one time there was a *mani* for each kind, but some of the sacred bells have been lost, and it is only in some clans that a bell can now be used. Those clans which have no *mani* do not use an ordinary bell, but they tie the sacred buffalo to the *teiks* by means of a piece of the creeper called *kakkudri*, about two yards in length. This is the case with all the Teivaliol except the people of Piedr and with the Melgarsol among the Tartharol. The *kakkudri* is said to be used in place of the *mani*.

The details as to the use of the *mani* differ somewhat in different clans. The Nòdrs people have two *mani*, called Kòdj and Kagur, which are now kept at Òdr. When a Nòdrs man dies these bells are fetched from Òdr by the *warsol* and one is hung on the neck of one of the *mersgursir* and the other on the neck of one of the *nashperthir*.[1] After the *etwainolkedr* these bells are kept outside the conical dairy at Nòdrs in a special hole in a stone called *karsalb*. The people of Kars similarly take their *mani* to Taradrkirsi for the

[1] Owing to the fact that the Nòdrs people do not kill both of these kinds of buffalo at one funeral at the present time, they now only bring one of the two bells from Òdr.

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764

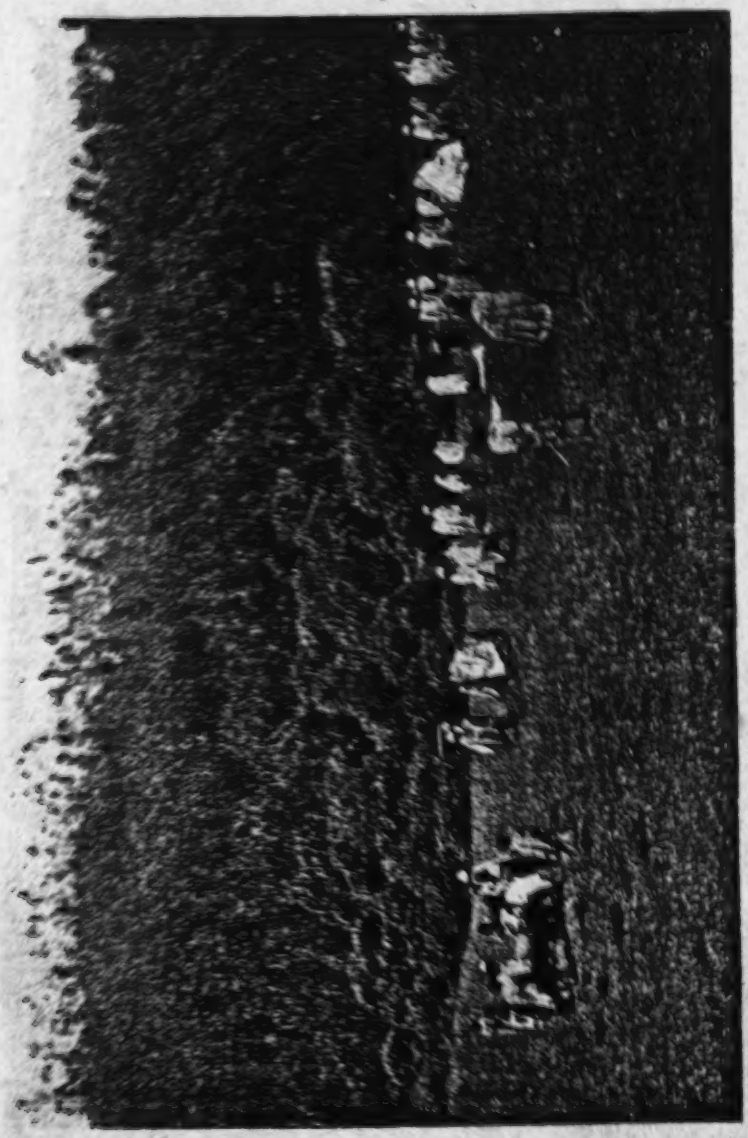

FIG. 52.—LEADING THE BUFFALO TO BE KILLED.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are
764 completed.

Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to
778 possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthenware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to the *kudeipir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan). It is dug up by the Teivali *palikaripol* and given by him to a Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

234 Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back
764 of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head
618 between the horns. This should be done by a man of the same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *trkipti*. It is done by striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe (*masth*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in some cases more are necessary. The *wursulir* are killed by the *wursol* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same division as the deceased, but of a different clan. Certain clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo; thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr man a member of one of the other clans performs this function. Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol. At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing might also be done by a man of Pam or Nidrsi. Each buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiks* at which the *wursulir* are killed is at some distance from the funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot lest she should see the sacred bell.

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234 764 Though there is no definite landmark for the killing of the *putiir*, each buffalo is killed at an appointed spot; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 392), the buffalo at the *atwainolkadr* was killed on the left-hand side of the funeral hut.

As soon as the buffalo is felled, the corpse is brought up and placed by the head of the dying animal (Fig. 53). At the funeral of a man, the covering of the body is unfolded and the right hand of the dead man is made to clasp one of the horns. At the funeral of a woman, the body is laid with its feet by the

FIG. 53.—THE CORPSE BY THE HEAD OF THE DYING BUFFALO.

mouth of the buffalo.[1] At the funeral of a Pan man, Kwoten's ring is placed on the finger of the deceased before his hand is made to clasp the horn. Then the men present come to the buffalo and salute it by bowing down and placing their foreheads on the horns and on the head between the horns.

234 764 765 The people then group themselves round the buffalo and corpse and cry together by placing forehead to forehead so that their tears and cries mingle. In the case of the sacred

[1] Some observers have stated that the feet of the corpse are placed within the mouth of the buffalo, but I could not confirm this.

234 buffalo, wearing the *mani*, this circle is composed of men only.
764 The lament[1] usually consists in calling first the name of the
765 buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name, but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry:

> "*Pundrsia, en potch aia ivanersia, en potch aia*
> O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia*, except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination '*ia*.'

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, "*en mokh úpa*"; for an elder brother, "*en potch anna*"; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry "*isa kughia*," and for a husband a woman cries "*isa mokhia*" (*isa* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

764 Within the group of mourners there is much going hither
765 and thither. After two people have mourned together for a while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom
576 to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

[1] More elaborate laments are given on pp. 385-8.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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764

FIG. 54.—SALUTING THE DEAD BUFFALO.

764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachütthti*[1] (*kach*, cloth, *ütthti* or *ütiti*, he
618

FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

[1] This ceremony is also called *kachpütchpimi*.
[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Toda funerals. It takes place in the middle of a crowd, who gather round the corpse possibly while the lamentation is still going on or while other ceremonies are in progress. In the first funeral I witnessed the ceremony took place while dancing was going on, and I missed it entirely, though I was told afterwards that it had taken place as usual, and was able to obtain the names of the chief actors. 764 602 618

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, a man belonging to the clan of the deceased gives a cloth to one of his *paiol*, or brothers-in-law. The latter gives the cloth to his wife or wife's sister, or to some woman whom he would be allowed to marry, and the woman places the cloth on the corpse. The man who originally gave the cloth then takes it from the body and gives it to another *paiol*, and the ceremony is repeated till the cloth has been given to all the *paiol* present.

The man who gives the cloth should belong to the same clan as the dead person. At the funeral of a male, the proper person is the father of the deceased, if he is alive, or some other elder of the clan. At the funeral of a woman, a man of the clan of the woman's husband is chosen. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3 and 28), a widow of Kanòdrs, the cloth was given by Neratkutan (28), who was of the same family as the husbands of the dead woman and the eldest representative of their generation. At the funeral of Sinerani (52), the cloth was given by Tebkudr (68), who was the younger brother of the father of Keinba, the husband of the dead child.

The men called *paiol*, to whom the cloth is given, seem to include all those who have married women of the same clan as the giver of the cloth. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi the cloth was given to Pepob (44) of Melgars, and to Nelkush and Tevò (3) of Nòdrs, who had all married women of Kanòdrs.

At the funeral of Sinerani, the cloth was given to Kuriolv (52), who was the father of the dead child, not, however, for this reason, but because he was the husband of Sintharap, Tebkudr's sister. At this funeral the only other man to whom the cloth was given was Piliag (52), who received it in the place of his brother, Piliar (52), who was not present. The latter, like Kuriolv, was the brother-in-law of Tebkudr (68).

764 If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,[1]
602 and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present.
Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-*
618 *kedr* of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52) to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife, if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife, who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the dead body.

764 The father of each woman who places the cloth on the
767 body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth-
437 rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, the men who have married into the family of the dead person have to perform this ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth-
764 giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

[1] The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister (see Chapter XXI).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man of certain fees from those members of other clans who have married into the family. 764

The cloth used is a red loincloth of a kind which is never worn by the Todas, but, so far as I could ascertain, it is only an ordinary cloth procured in the bazaar.

THE CREMATION

After the *kachütthṭi* ceremony the body is replaced on the wooden bier and borne to the *methkudi*, where the funeral pyre has been erected within the wood, usually at no great distance from the funeral hut.

The bier is laid by the side of the pyre, and the dead person is then supplied with the various necessaries for the other world. Many of the things are placed in the large pocket, or *kudsh*, between the two folds of the cloak in which the body is enclosed.

The things supplied are chiefly food, ornaments, and money. The food includes grain, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey. Some of the food is put directly into the *kudsh*, while some of the grain, rice, and honey are mixed together and put in a metal bowl. Tobacco, coconuts, ghi, or articles of food from the bazaar may be added.

A number of square boxes made of rattan and called *pettei*[1] are also placed on the bier. They are procured from Mitur in the Wainad, and are often called *miturpettei* or *mitudpettei*. Jaggery and other things are put into each of the boxes, and they are covered with cloth, tied with thread, and adorned with cowries. [439]

The ornaments placed on the corpse included rings for the fingers, armlets, necklaces, and earrings.

The money is collected from all present and put in rolls into long purses, called *tinkani*. Most of the money used for this occasion is old with Arabic inscriptions and is known by the Todas as *irajkars*, the more recent coinage being called *englishkars*. In one collection of coins which 764 436 177

[1] At the *ayarambadr* (see p. 381) these boxes are only burnt at a woman's funeral, their place at a man's funeral being taken by bamboo vessels called *wal*. This is probably also true of the *arpainolhedr*.

764 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and
436 among the more recent coins were included two Japanese
177 yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral of a man this must be done by means of fire made by
372 friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and
766 burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three
775 times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"*Kedr*	*tütth*	*tâzâr*	*mud*	*tirk*	*tûkitth*	*tâlki.*"
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tâzâr tûkitth kârs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed 764
and redistributed to those who had given them. The people 775
told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body 178
over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the 764
objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is 178
now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face down- 764
wards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall[1] and 775
Walhouse[2] thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston and myself the body was put on the fire with the face upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that if this were not done, the dead person would have to make [772]
the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set towards his future abode.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.
[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.

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177 At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived,
764 some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of
the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instru-
[533] ments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine,
and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and
drum. The musicians become especially active while the
body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp
sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the

FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

764 Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair
765 is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the
second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead
person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

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husband. According to Breeks,[1] one of the nails should also be removed, but I could not hear of this being done at the present time, and similarly I heard nothing of the practice of keeping the knee-cap bone, which is said by Hough[2] to have been preserved. When the burning is over, a piece of the skull is sought from among the ashes, and this, together with the hair, is put within two pieces of bark and wrapped in a cloak to be kept for the *marvainolkedr*. 764 765

The remainder of the ashes are left on the burning-ground till they are dispersed by wind and rain.

Some Special Funeral Ceremonies

In the previous account certain ceremonies which may be performed by special individuals have been omitted. In general, at the funeral of a man, the part of chief mourner and director of the ceremonies is taken by a brother or son of the deceased. At the funeral of a woman the husband takes the chief place.

While the mourning is going on, a ceremony will have been performed if the dead person should be a man or woman whose spouse is still alive. The husband of a dead woman goes to one of his *paiol*, most commonly to his father-in-law, if he is living, and the *paiol* draws up the cloak of the widower so that it covers his head. The man who has his head covered in this way is called *mad ár mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands" (see Fig. 61). The widower keeps his head covered in this way as a sign of mourning and does not take off the cloak till the end of the second funeral. When the *paiol* has arranged the cloak of the mourner, the two men cry together with forehead to forehead.

Similarly the wife of a dead man has her cloak drawn over her head as a sign of mourning, and this is done for her by her own father or someone of his clan who takes his place. This ceremony is performed by a relative of the woman, whether it is husband or wife who is dead.

It is the duty of the widower or widow to mix the grain and honey which is put into a bowl on the bier.

[1] P. 21. [2] Letters on the Nilgheries, 1829, p. 81.

764 Other special ceremonies fall to the lot of the *mokhthodvaiol*
765 or *sedvaitazmokh* of the dead person if there should be such.
837 The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman is the recognised lover whom she may have in addition to her husband or husbands. The *sedvaitazmokh* is the name of the woman in this Toda institution. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a dead woman goes to the funeral wearing his ring on the ring finger of the left hand. Before the buffalo is caught he pays the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father of the woman; bows down before him and raises each foot to his head. He then puts into the pocket of the cloak of the woman some limes, three handfuls (*mudteir*) of *patcherski* and one large piece of jaggery. He also puts a piece of the dark cloth called *än* into the pocket of the cloak, this act being called *än kudshk it pudithti*. The *mokhthodvaiol* asks the husband of the woman three times "*än kudsh idukina?*" ("Shall I put *än* into the *kudsh*?") and the husband answers each time "*idu!*" In putting the various things into the pocket, the *mokhthodvaiol* has to use his left hand throughout.

When a man dies his *sedvaitazmokh*, if there be one, goes to the funeral ceremony wearing a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, and similarly puts limes, grain, jaggery, and a piece of *än* into the pocket of the dead man's mantle. Before doing this the brothers of the dead man do *kalmelpudithti* to the father of the woman, and this was said to be done in order to obtain permission from him for his daughter to put things into the cloak.

766 At the funeral of a girl, or of a childless woman, there are performed the ceremonies of *urvatpimi* and *pursütpimi* which are usually performed during pregnancy. In life the *urvatpimi*, or hand-burning ceremony, is performed before that of *pursütpimi*, but after death the order may be reversed. These ceremonies are most frequently performed at the funerals of children, and a full description may be reserved till a later section (see p. 391).

In the case of an adult the ceremony is only performed if it has not been performed in life. If a woman dies in the later months of pregnancy after these ceremonies have taken place, they would not be performed at the funeral.

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If an unmarried boy dies, a girl who should be the *matchuni* of the dead boy, is chosen to act as his wife. It seemed that the girl might be of any age, but she must be unmarried, and therefore must nearly always be young. One of the elder brothers of the dead boy performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to the girl's father, or if there are no brothers this will be done by the boy's father. The head of the girl is then covered with her mantle by her father and the girl puts food into the pocket of the mantle of the dead boy. Thus, there is no *pursütpimi* ceremony in the case of an unmarried boy, but a girl is chosen to act as his widow would have done if he had been married. 766

At the funeral of a Teivali or Melgars male who has not held any dairy office, a piece of *tudr* bark is placed in the right hand of the deceased by a man of the Tartharol. Every male of the Teivaliol or Melgarsol who has been a dairyman of any grade will have been purified with *tudr* bark during the ordination ceremonies, and the piece of bark is only given after death to those who have not been so purified.

The Interval between the two Funerals

As soon as the body is consumed at the *etvainolkedr*, the people go home, the near relatives taking with them the relics of the deceased. These relics are enclosed in two pieces of bark called *pitüdri*, taken from the tree called *mütmän*. I was once told that *tudr* bark was used, but this is unlikely. The relics and bark are covered with plain cloth, and the whole is enclosed in a mantle of the kind ordinarily worn. 765

The relics, which are known as the *kedr*, are not taken to the chief village (*etudmad*) of the clan, but to other villages, usually to a definitely appointed village for each clan. If the clan should only have one village, or if the appointed village should be inconveniently distant, a small hut may be especially built in which to keep the relics till the second funeral. The near relatives of the dead person may not go to the chief village in the interval between the first and second funerals. If they are living at the chief village at the time of the death,

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 616 618 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *puzhut*, and incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *puzhut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

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clan in which the death has occurred must tie their hair in a knot in front, as is shown in the case of the second man in Fig. 61.[1] This method of wearing the hair is called *mad tutvai*, or "head (or hair) who rolls." When the people of a clan are in this condition they must not hold any of the feasts in which the food called *ashkkarthpimi* is used, but they may attend as guests at feasts held in the villages of other clans. 765

A person who is keeping the funeral ceremonies should not traverse the path by which the *ti* buffaloes go from one grazing ground to another. The ostensible reason why the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* did not journey to Anto at their usual time in 1902 (see p. 131) was that Teitnir, whose wife had died, had passed over the road. The *ti* buffaloes, also, may not pass a place where the relics of a dead person are being kept between the two funerals. In 1902 the relics of the dead wife of Teitnir were removed from the village of Karia in order that they should not be in the way of the buffaloes. On this occasion the relics were followed by a procession of people and Teitnir gave a feast. This was said to be very unorthodox, and on cross-examination it was found that the procession and the feast were not connected with one another, the latter being part of another ceremony which was being performed on the same day.[1]

There are special regulations for widowers and widows—*i.e.*, for those who have their heads covered at the *etvainolkedr*. While they wear the mantle over the head they must never put out their hand or arm from above the mantle, but always from below. When they salute by raising the hand to the forehead (*kaimukhti*), they must do so by putting out their hand below the cloak, and in eating and all other acts they must do the same. When the mantle is over the head, it is probably most convenient to put the hand out of the mantle from below rather than from above, but it was quite clear that it was now regarded as wrong to do the latter.

[1] This experience gave me a very striking object-lesson, showing how easy it is to make mistakes in anthropological investigation. The first account given to me seemed to make it absolutely clear that the removal of the relics was made the occasion of a feast.

[1] [See p. 573 -- Analysis]

B H

765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsnol*.

234 The *wursol* who attends to kili the sacred buffalo loses his
764 office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*,
wursol, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he
793 can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

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ill's, Tersveli, the wife of Teitnir, died while Sintagars was in the seclusion-hut after the birth of her first child, and on the morning on which Sintagars went from the *puzhars* to the *aliars* (see p. 327), she visited Karia to salute the *kedr* of Tersveli. Her first act after her period of seclusion was to show her respect to the remains of her dead relative. If anyone is too ill or feeble to visit the village the remains may be taken to them for salutation.

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CHAPTER XVI

FUNERAL CEREMONIES—*continued*

THE MARVAINOLKEDR

765 THE second funeral may be held little more than a month
766 after the *etvainolkedr*, or there may be an interval of a year
177 or more, and in the case of a child both funeral ceremonies may be performed on one day. In the old days the *marvainolkedr* was a great occasion. The proceedings lasted for two whole days, and were prolonged till daybreak of the third. Many buffaloes were slaughtered; they were caught on the first day, when they were shut up in the circular pen and bells put on their necks. On the second day they were taken from the pen to the slaughtering place, and various ceremonies took place in connexion with and after their deaths. This kind of funeral was called *tuiithkedr*, meaning "the putting in buffalo-pen funeral." In the old days this putting-into the pen was sometimes omitted, especially in the case of poor or unimportant people, and the catching and killing of the buffaloes were both carried out on one day, and this kind of funeral was known as *marppitkedr*. At the present time the Todas only have the *marppitkedr*, owing to the restrictions on the number of buffaloes killed. The Todas seem now to believe that the Government have actually prohibited them from putting the buffaloes into the pen at the funerals, but I could not find that this was the case.

765 It is now the custom, and seems long to have been so, to
177 hold the *marvainolkedr* of several people at the same time. The Government allows two buffaloes to be killed for each

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person, and if two or more funerals are held simultaneously it gives an appearance of the olden times. So far as I could ascertain, however, the funerals of two or more people only take place together when they belong to the same clan. 765 177

In some cases, however, the funeral places of two or more clans are very near one another. In such a case there might be a certain amount of combination of the different ceremonies, but some of the rites would be carried out at different spots for each clan. Something of this kind appears to have happened at the funeral ceremonies recorded by Mr. Thurston (*Bull.* i., p. 176). Similarly the *marvainolkedr* of a man or woman of the same clan may be held simultaneously owing to the fact that the funeral places for the two sexes are usually close to one another. The buffaloes would, however, be killed at different places, and the remains would not be burnt and buried at the same *azaram*. 765 618

Owing to the custom of having the *marvainolkedr* of several people simultaneously, it has often been supposed that the Todas have a kind of anniversary ceremony for all those who have died during the year, but there is no doubt that this is wrong. There was a large *marvainolkedr* soon after I left the hills (in January, 1903), but it was a ceremony for two women only, Narskuti (63 and 56), and Tersveli (63 and 52), both belonging to the Kuudrol, and it was held at Kurkalmut, the proper funeral place for the women of Kuudr. It is quite possible that owing to the restrictions on the slaughter of buffaloes it may become more and more the custom to hold several *marvainolkedr* simultaneously, and that this custom may develop into an anniversary ceremony. This could only come about, however, by throwing over the custom that the funerals of each clan should be held at a definitely appointed place, and there is no doubt that this has not yet happened. 765

At the second funeral ceremony the relics are placed in a special hut, and at a man's funeral the hut has the same name as at the *etvainolkedr*, and apparently it may sometimes happen that the same hut is used at both ceremonies. The second funeral is not always held, however, at the same place 349 765

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765 as the first, and the interval between the two ceremonies may
349 be so great that it may have become necessary to rebuild the hut. At the only *marvainolkedr* at which I was present a new hut had been built for the occasion.

The hut at the second funeral of a woman differs in name from that of the first funeral, being called *kursars* instead of *nersars*. After the second funeral the *kursars* is burnt down, but my notes do not make it clear whether the *nersars* is always burnt down after the first funeral, or whether it may not sometimes be kept for the second ceremony. The difference of name, however, makes this improbable.

If the *marvainolkedr* of two or more people are held simultaneously, a hut is built for the remains of each; thus, at the ceremony in January, 1903, there were two huts, one for Narskuti and the other for Tersveli.

765 The relics, now called the *narskedr*, are brought to the funeral place on a bier made of bamboo, and called *kail-pedrkudr* instead of *mänpedrkudr* (wood bier) as at the first funeral. The *narskedr* is wrapped in an embroidered mantle (*pukuruputkuli*) and placed in the hut, and then all the women of the dead person's division who are present cry together, forehead to forehead, in the usual manner. The chief things to be burnt with the remains are also placed within the hut.

At a funeral witnessed by Mr. Thurston the relics were taken from a hole cut at the base of a tree, and the hair was unwrapped from off the skull, burnt in an iron ladle, and anointed with clarified butter before being placed in its cloth. This was probably a ceremony which should have been performed on the following morning at the *asaramkedr* (see p. 379).

As on the former occasion, a man's funeral begins with the ceremony of earth-throwing, which is carried out in the same way as at the *etvainolkedr*. The *narskedr* is laid at the entrance of the buffalo pen, and earth is thrown into the pen and on the remains in the manner already described. There is nothing corresponding to the *tiveri tur* ceremony of the woman's first funeral.

At the present time the driving, catching, and killing of the buffaloes are carried out in very much the same way as at the

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etvainolkedr. At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind. 765

As the buffalo dies, the *narskedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakkudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakkudri erspimi*, or *kudri erspimi*,[1] "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartmokh* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

The Kootiti Ceremony

Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male which is called *kootiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this purpose. 234 765 177 783

[1] *Kudri* is the generic word for creeper.

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765 According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about
234 four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another
177 buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place
783 and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes. It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol* made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called *kegampkwúdr* (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of *tudr* leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the name *kobtiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments, including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain (*tagars*), necklace (*keiveli*), earrings (*kevthveli*), and bracelet (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only, are carried by two women to the place where the calf is standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the former throwing before and behind him as he walks the mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol* comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs adikina?*"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to move all present, Tartharol and Teivaliol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*" and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads. The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed, but is allowed to go free.

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but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for another funeral. 177 765 783

The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *ârtârverutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—*i.e.*, funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narskedr*.

One of the most important features of this *koòtiti* ceremony [778] is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*.

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnòdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi pona*," "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.[1] It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

[1] See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii. p. 4.

765 After the buffalo is killed dancing takes place at the funeral
535 of a male. The men only dance and they may begin soon after the killing of the buffalo, while other ceremonies are still in progress. In the dancing the same tall pole (*tadri* or *tadrsi*) is used as is carried by the Teivali man who wears the cloak of the *narskedr*. It is a tall pole which, it was said, might sometimes be as much as 39 feet in length. I only saw a *tadri* at one funeral, when it was much smaller. It is decorated with rings of cowries, which are called *ntrpul*, the ornaments in general being called *tadri asteram* (see Fig. 67).

[439] The pole is procured from Malabar through the Kurumbas. It is used at the funeral of males only of both the Teivaliol and Tartharol, and is burnt at the end of the *azaramkedr*.

In the only dance which I had the opportunity of seeing the men danced within the circular wall surrounding the funeral hut. In this case the floor of the enclosure was below the general level of the ground. The men formed a circle and danced round in slow step; one man said the name of the slaughtered buffalo—in this case, Purkirsi—and another repeated this name; then the first man said "*hau! hau!*" which was repeated by the second man.

After a time one of the men took the *tadri* and they danced round in a similar way, taking the pole with them as they danced (*i.e.*, they did not dance round the pole).

After the dancing is over, food is distributed to all the people present and most return to their homes, while the remainder wait at the funeral place till the following morning, when are held the final ceremonies, which are known as the *azaramkedr*.

THE AZARAMKEDR

765 This is the name applied to the ceremonies connected with the final burning of the remains and burial of the ashes. After food has been distributed at the *marvainolkedr*, many of those attending the funeral return home. The remainder stay at the spot during the evening, those nearly related to the deceased lamenting in the usual fashion almost continuously. At a funeral attended by Samuel, the people took

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the setting of Kadsht and the appearance of Keirt[1] as the indications that the final ceremonies were to begin, and this was about two o'clock on the following morning. 765

At every funeral place used for the *marvainolkedr*, there is a circle of stones, smaller than that in which the hut is built, with an opening which in some cases faces the east. This circle of stones is the *azaram*, and before the ceremonies begin, a man digs a hole by the opening in its side. The various objects to be burnt with the remains are now brought from the hut in which they had been placed on the previous day, and are laid outside the *azaram* and the *narskedr* is laid by their side. As the remains are removed from the hut, the wailing becomes louder and the people cry bitterly. Outside the stone circle a fire is made of the wood called *kidmän*,[2] upon which clarified butter is poured. This fire, which is known as the *puntiit*, is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased. At the funeral of a male, there is burnt on this fire the dairy vessel called *ertatpun* which had belonged to the dead man, and the imitation buffalo horns called *petkuter*, about ten in number for a man and five for a boy. At the funeral of a woman, I think that a *majpatitthpun* is burnt, viz., a vessel used for fetching buttermilk from the dairy, but I am not certain of this.

There now follows the ceremony called *narsatipimi*, *i.e.*, "the *nars* we rub," in which the leading part is taken by a person of the same sex as the deceased. I only have a full record of this ceremony at a woman's funeral, and in this case a woman took the relics out of their covering, and threw away the pieces of bark in which they had been enclosed. She rubbed butter on the pieces of skull and the hair, put the hair between two pieces of skull, tied them together with thread, and replaced them in the ornamented cloak (*pukuruputkuli*). She then bowed down and touched the remains with her forehead, and then this salutation was performed by all those present. 602 605 765

At a funeral seen by Mr. Thurston,[3] this ceremony was performed on the previous day at the *marvainolkedr*, and in

[1] See Chap. XXV. [2] Probably *Olea robusta*.

[3] *Bull.*, i. 176.

602 this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified
605 butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-
765 in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

765 The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the
177 *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male :—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain
439 called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

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bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus. 765

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi* *taval*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*. 177 439

(*c*) A *nanmakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *kootiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trkipmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place. 765

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankati*. At the funeral of a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *azaram*, where they 602 605 765

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

602 remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that
605 the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased,
765 the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *azaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

177 The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water
765 (*kēdr tüt ārs kudrchi*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out[1] and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

765 The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwunggr*) and goes round the

[1] This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

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burial-place three times ringing the bell, while another man goes with him holding him by the waist. The man who rings the bell then takes a new pot, ordinarily used for carrying water, and, raising it over his head, brings it down and breaks it on the stone covering the ashes. He bows down and touches the stone with his forehead, gets up, and goes away to the funeral hut without looking back toward the *azaram*. All the others present bow down to the stone in the same way and go away from the spot without looking back. The ceremony of bell-ringing and stone-saluting is called *kwungg tûki kârs nersatiti*, "bell lift, stone he salutes." 765

At the funeral of a woman, the bell is rung and the pot broken by her husband or by one of his brothers if he be dead. If it is the husband, he will have been wearing the cloak over his head[1] up to this time, and he takes it off just before he bows down to salute the stone. At the funeral of her husband, a widow will similarly remove the cloak from her head before she salutes the stone.

After saluting at the *azaram*, all go to the funeral hut, where they take food, having fasted during the night. Each person cuts a lock of hair from the head as a sign of mourning and then all return home.

At the funeral of a woman, the funeral hut is burnt before the people leave, this being called *ars pon atipimi*, "house up we send" It is the duty of the woman who first lighted the *azaramtût* to set fire to the hut.

The foregoing account of the second funeral ceremonies is that of the proceedings at the present time. When the *marvainolkedr* was prolonged over two days, the proceedings of the first day opened with the capture of the buffaloes, which were put in the pen, and then followed a scene in which the Todas entered the pen, flourishing heavy clubs. The animals were belaboured and driven round and round the pen, and at intervals several men would catch and hold down a buffalo. According to some accounts the bells were hung round the necks of the buffaloes during this performance, but at a funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse[2] this was not done, and he believed that the 234 541 765

[1] See p. 365. [2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii. p 35.

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234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells
541 were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
765 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
787 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
627 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
765 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

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other was also composed by Teitnir for the first funeral ceremony of Pidrvan (9) of Kars. 533 539 765

The Toda name for these laments is *kunedstkin* or *kunedsti*, and certain men have great reputations as composers both for funerals and on other occasions, and Teitnir was one of these. The following is the lament for Tersveli :—

Iza	*kûgh*	*ia*,[1]	*iza*	*kutei*,	*atôth*
O	woman	oh !	O	woman,	not born before

atia,	*pervith*	*perpia*,	*pův*	*trsimitch*	*ia*
you were born,	renowned	you were born,	flower	lime	oh !

pův	*elet*	*ia*,	*kavath*	*kud*	*katethik*,
flower	(a bush)	oh !	proper husband (?)	found	you married,

patath	*kud*	*patiathenk*,	*tevukkh*		*murs*
proper wife	found	I married,	(*kwarzam* of Piedr)	to	beautiful

tr	*notei*	*kadrthenk*,	*âtthkark*	*murs*	*mokh*
buffalo	looked	I gave,	(*kwarzam* of Kuudr)	to beautiful	woman

notei	*patiathenk*,	*kuteia*	*mun*	*kutenathuk*,	*kokiji*[2]
looked	I married,	built	house	we built,	imitation bracelets

kis	*narsiathûk*	*kûter*	*kis*	*narsiathûk*,
made	we played,	imitation buffalo horns	made	we played,

âr	*mokh*	*puchiathûk*,	*âr*	*tr*	*tû*
six	children	we would produce,	six	buffalo	pen

ôdethûk,	*orppasan* (?)	*oithîk*	*pudrkwadr*	*nerz*
we would enjoy,	liberal	you were,	umbrella tree	shade

oithîk,	*irom*	*ed*	*ithothûk*,	*pukhom*
you were,	we will live	that	we thought,	we will go together

ed	*peithûk*,	*kalav*	*tr*	*kadathûk*,	*pûa*	*tadri*
that	we went,	strong	buffalo	we bought,	?	pole

pusiathûk	*tudm*	*athi*	*ed*	*kadrtethûk*,	*udi*	*athi*	*ed*
we best,	fine	it is	that	we gave,	have	it is	that

kadrt thûk,	*kutei ath*	*kotei*	*peithûk*,	*keirtith*	*keir*
we gave,	built	bungalow	we went,	running waters	reservoir

peithûk,	*ô*	*katcheri*	*peithûk*,	*ô*	*kapel*
we went,	seven	courts (law)	we went,	seven	ships

peithûk	*pazirk*	*muri*	*ituthûk*,	*pash*	*it*
we went,	Tamil to	complaints	we spoke,	words	spoke

[1] This is also the usual vocative termination.

[2] *Kakoji* is the Kota name for a toe-ring worn on the second toe of the right foot by Kota women (see Breeks, p. 123). A similar word is used for bracelets of vine made by the Todas as a game.

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533 *pudth* *kisthûk* *pudth* *it* *pudth* *kisthûk*,
539 prize we won (made), prize spoke prize we won,

765 *ûkudrem* *ed* *thûk*, *kan* *udjem*
we will not be shaken that we said, eye we will not fear

ed *thûk*, *mûn* *ûnem* *ed* *thûk*, *en* *it*
that we said, face ? that we said, me here

puckvînia, *en* *it* *plskvînia*, *purs* *kan* *nîr*
keep you went, me here leave you went, right eye water

plrevînen, *purs* *matûvi* *kurzeivînen*, *patnenk* *kandnen*,
I shed, right nostril I smart, I bewailed I could not find,

pesodthenk *kandnen*, *enk* *ud* *swâmi* *aivînen*.[1]
I called out I could not find, to me one god I have.

The free translation of this is as follows:—

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower, lime, O flower, tree. Having found a proper husband you married; having found a prope. wife I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuudr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

This translation is based partly on the literal meanings of the *kwarsam*, partly on explanations and renderings given to Samuel by Teitnir. The dead wife was a Piedr woman and the husband a Kuudr man. The mention of injustice refers

[1] In some cases Samuel could not give the literal meanings, and has only given the general sense of the *kwarsam*.

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to trouble which arose when other men wished to take his wife from Teitnir. The visits to bungalows, &c., probably refers to a time when Teitnir and his wife lived in Ootacamund under the protection of the Zenana Mission. The ships must be purely imaginary on Teitnir's part, unless he is referring to boats on the lake at Ootacamund. The numbers six and seven are those generally used for 'many' under ordinary conditions, and there is a clause towards the end which probably refers to the evil eye. Teitnir was under, or pretended to be under, missionary influence, and his reference to "one God" at the end is certainly due to this.

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539
765

The following is the lament composed by Teitnir for Pidrvan :—

Epuhers		*ia!*	*alipuhers*		*ia!*	*Pudik*	*tedikk*
Kwarzam of	*maiir*	oh!	*kwarzam* of	*maiir*	oh!	rattan	ring
fr	*ia!*	*Pekk*	*kudzik*	*kiniu*	*ia!*	*peivalei*	*muk*	*ia!*
buffalo	oh!	?	?	plate	oh!	?	?	oh!
keiveli	*mkdr*	*ia!*	*kapastk*	*kal*	*ia!*	*kôdubatith*	*kôdr*	*ia!*
necklace	neck	oh!	trousers	leg	oh!	car	horn	oh!
âna	*matu*	*ia!*	*arshan*	*mudr*	*ia!*	*atamôv*	*ia!*
elephant	foot	oh!	European	walk	oh!	sambhar	oh!
nurz	*frk*		*kan*	*âkithenk,*	*kalochikum*		*ed*
beautiful	buffalo to		eye	I kept,	old woman to (?)		that
thfuk,	*kalôlkum*		*ed*	*thfuk*	*indtvidshti*	*indtvan,*	
they said,	old man to (?)		that	they said,	*kwarzam* of	Kars clan,	
ina	*kâru*	*ô*	*vôr*	*kado,*	*pôrvunkâru!*		
O	chief	seven	village	chief,	conqueror oh!		
pudrvantel[1]	*ia!*	*kwathâru!*	*Kavanadi*	*pali*	*put*		
peace-loving man	oh!	strong man oh!	Kavanadi	dairy	carried		
ein!	*tô*	*vut*	*tâli*	*ia!*	*atâth*	*ud*	
oh!	pen	carried	posts	oh!	not born before	one	
atithk,	*pervath*	*ud*	*partithk,*	*pôa*	*kâtm*		
you were born,	renowned	one	you were born,	?	council		
panaithk	*aver*	*kkithk,*	*ter*	*ud*	*kk*		
you held,	money fine	you imposed,	buffalo fine	one	man to		
ednathk	*mukk*	*ud*	*kk*	*kisathk,*	*maitr*		
you told,	girl	one	to man	you made,	barren buffaloes		
kadk	*pathk,*	*pôrr*	*ukkk*	*pathk*			
in the midst	you went,	buffalo	to the neck	you went,			

[1] A play on Pidrvan's name.

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533 *pudr* *ddichi* *peithth,* *pan* *arteviithth,*
chosen number beat you went, chosen number you ran before,

539 *kul* *ôt* *ddithth* *peivili piliidik* *ninth* *ud* *kabi*
765 leg dance you danced ? ? your one new things

kisethth, *ninth* *ud* *kek* *kisethth,* *id* *kan*
you made, your one invention you made, to-day eye

mûn *ôvini,* *Kars* *hasun* *podstha?* *parsners*
face I saw, Kars *hasun* has it come? *kwarsam* of *hasun*

podstha? *methkôdis* *mai* *hoosisivini* *ôstratrs* *hargh*
has it come? burning-place at ashes heaped, *asaram* at grass

patevini.[1]
grew up.

The first part of this lament begins with the *kwarsam* of the *maiir*, or barren buffalo, slaughtered at the funeral. It is not quite clear which of the clauses at the beginning refer to the buffalo and which to the man. I do not know the meaning of the second clause. The free rendering of the third and fourth was said to be, "Your horns crept so well; your horns crept well to the front." The general sense of the other clauses was said to be as follows: "O, your leg like trousers, your horns like a car, your foot is like that of an elephant, you walk with a step like a European soldier, your appearance is like that of a sambhar. I saw you were the most beautiful buffalo of all." It seems probable that the lament so far refers altogether to the buffalo. Then follows, "They said that you would be the parent of the dead, but now you are dead yourself"; or, "When old people are yet alive, why are young ones taken?" Then follows the *kwarsam* of the Kars clan, and the rest obviously refers to Pidrvan himself: "O chief of many villages, conqueror, peace-loving and yet strong man. You were like Kavanadi, who carried the posts of the buffalo-pen.[2] O man of wonderful birth, renowned you were born; you held councils; you fined some by money and some by buffaloes; you settled who should marry the women. In

[1] As both these funeral laments were obtained from Samuel, I cannot guarantee that the method of spelling adopted is the same as that used elsewhere in the book; this is especially the case with the sign 'th,' which, in agreement with the practice customary in South India, was used by Samuel for the lingual 't,' and sometimes for a sound for which I have used the letter d.

[2] For the story to which this refers, see Chapter XXVIII.

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the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the 533
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the 539
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and 765
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing."

Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of 234
the first new moon after the *marvainolkadr*. 783

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred 793
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred 765
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral 778
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

234 second funeral, and it is at Ôdr that the purification takes
765 place.

Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to
783 Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
793 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
778 among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *azaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnòdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnòdr-vusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *azaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *azaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nòdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

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After a funeral, the members of the Tarthar clans, except the Melgarsol, shave their heads, but this is not done either by the Melgarsol or Teivaliol. I did not inquire fully into this matter, and do not know what regulations there are in connexion with the practice, or whether it is regarded as purificatory. 765 783

The Funerals of Children

The body of a still-born child is buried at the same time as, and together with, the afterbirth, without any ceremonial. In one case which occurred during my visit, this was done by the woman who assisted at the delivery. The body was buried in the early morning on the day on which the mother underwent the ceremonies attending removal to the seclusion-hut. 766

If a child less than two years of age dies, both funerals are held on one day. The *etvainolkedr* takes place in the morning, the *marvainolkedr* in the afternoon; a buffalo is killed at each, and the *azaramkedr* is held on the following morning as usual. If the child is very young, less than a month old, a male buffalo only may be killed, but if the father chooses, two buffaloes may be killed as at the funeral of an adult.

Thus, the child of Piliag and Sintagars (52) died while the mother was in the seclusion-hut, and two ordinary buffaloes were killed. On this occasion, the two funerals were held on the same day as that on which the child died, owing to the death having taken place on one of the appointed days for a funeral of the clan. When the youngest child of Podners (47) died, only one male buffalo was killed for both ceremonies.

When a male child dies who has not cut his teeth nor been through the ear-piercing ceremony, the funeral is not held at the usual funeral place for males, but at another. Thus the Karsol do not take the body of such a child to Taradrkirsi but to a place called Punpali.

When I attended the funeral of a girl named Sinerani (52), the daughter of Kuriolv of Kuudr, both ceremonies were performed on the same day, and a number of incidents occurred which were very interesting as illustrations of many of the practices which have been described throughout this chapter. The child was about two years 766 588

766 old and had not yet been betrothed, but as soon as she
588 was dead it was arranged that she should marry her *matchuni*, Keinba (68), a little boy about four years of age, the son of her mother's brother, and this boy occupied a prominent position among those taking part in the funeral rites. Owing to the marriage of the dead child to this boy, the dead child would come to be one of his clan, the Keadrol, and there seemed to be no doubt that, according to strict custom, the funeral should have been held at the funeral place of this clan. Kuriolv, however, arranged that the funeral should take place at Kurkalmut, the funeral place for women of the Kuudrol, but as the girl did not properly belong to this clan the funeral hut was not erected within the circle of stones at this place, but outside it.

The beginning of the funeral ceremonies was delayed for some time because the little boy, Keinba (Fig. 57), had to be taken by his father, Perpakh, in search of the wood and grass out of which to make the bow and arrow to be used in the *pursūtpimi* ceremony, and they had to go far to find the proper plants for the manufacture of the mimic weapon.

766 After this delay the ceremonial[1] took its natural course till
787 the buffalo which had been caught by the Taradr men was being taken to the place appointed for its slaughter by the
791 side of the funeral hut. The people had great difficulty in making the buffalo move, and at last it lay down on a boggy piece of ground, and the efforts of all failed to make it go further. The diviners, Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, were then called upon to ascertain the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo, and then followed the performance which I have already described (see p. 252).

The reasons given by Midjkudr were not very clear, and there seemed to be a good deal of doubt as to what he had really said, but the following appeared to be the chief reasons given:—

The buffalo, Kursi, which had delayed the proceedings, was the property of Kuriolv and was descended from a buffalo which had belonged to Teitchi, Kuriolv's grandfather. Since this buffalo was thus family property, it should go to the sons, and ought not to be killed for a daughter, and especially for

1 [i.e. funeral rites for a two-year old girl. -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

766 one who now belonged to another clan. Kuriolv ought to
787 have used a buffalo which he had acquired in his own life-
791 time. Midjkudr went on to say that Kuriolv, having done wrong, must pay compensation to the dead, and told him to give the buffalo named Perov. As a sign that he would do

FIG. 57.—KEINBA AND PERPAKH; THE FORMER IS HOLDING IN HIS HAND THE IMITATION BOW AND ARROW AND HAS HIS CLOAK OVER HIS HEAD.

so, Kuriolv performed the *kalmelpuditkti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of Keinba and also through Sintharap, of the dead girl.

Another reason given was that the buffalo had been caught at the wrong place—viz., at the place where it ought to be

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

766 caught at the funeral of a male. I only heard of this reason
787 a few days later, and I do not know whether it was one of
791 the reasons given by Midjkudr or whether it was a later surmise. A third reason was that Perner and Tebner, his brother, had been on bad terms; and to put this right Tebner, the younger, performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner.

766 The next special feature of the ceremony took place after
588 the buffalo had been killed and before the *kachütthti* ceremony. Keinba knelt down before Kuriolv and Piliag and the two men touched the head of the boy with their feet, thus accepting him as the husband of Sinerani. Then followed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. The mantle covering the dead child was opened, her right hand unclenched, and Keinba placed the little bow and arrow in the hand, and the fingers of the dead child were closed over the bow so that they held it as they would have done in life. Then the bow was taken out of the hand, placed on the breast of the child, and the mantle was again folded over her. Teitnir, the half-brother of Kuriolv, who had now become the *paiol* of Keinba, came up and covered the head of the boy with his *putkuli* as a sign that he was a widower, and then Teitnir and Keinba put their foreheads together and cried. After crying together for a while, Teitnir touched Keinba's head with his foot. Then Sintharap, the mother of Sinerani, gave grain and jaggery and limes to Keinba, who put them in the pocket of the mantle of the dead child. Sintharap and Keinba then cried together, and Sintharap touched Keinba's head with her foot.

After the cloth-giving ceremony, the body was taken to the burning place, and Keinba mixed honey and grain in a metal bowl; when Keinba began to stir the grain and honey he put his right arm out from above his cloak as usual, but was speedily corrected and made to put out his hand from below the cloak in the manner proper for a widower.

The wrists of the girl were burnt as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, the burning being done by Silkidz (53), the wife of a younger brother of Perpakh, Keinba's father, and, before her

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Silkidz also lighted the pyre. 766 588

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kuriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainolkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *azaramkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidzeimi (21), the ceremony of *pursiitpimi* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matchuni*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidzeimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*pursadikina?*"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Pursad!*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidzeimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

Funeral Contributions

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainolkedr*, it was the rule that every *maunokh*, or sister's son, should 764 431 602

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 supply a buffalo, while in the case of a child it seemed that
431 buffaloes were sometimes given by the *mun*, or mother's brother.

602 Buffaloes were also given by the husbands of the daughters of a man, whether they were the *manmokh* of the man or not. They might be given by other relatives, but it seemed that the gift was especially a duty of the *manmokh* and *paiol*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should also contribute a buffalo for her second funeral.

At the present time the limitation of the number of buffaloes which may be slaughtered has removed the necessity for these gifts, but it still remains the custom for one of the buffaloes to be supplied by the *manmokh* or some corresponding relative, or, at any rate, it seems to be usual for one buffalo to be supplied by relatives of a man on the male side, and the other by relatives on the female side; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (52) one buffalo was given by Kuriolv, the father of the dead child, and the other by Perner (68), the father of the child's mother, and also the grandfather of her husband.

Contributions in money may be made by any relative, and all those who have married into the family of the deceased, even if only boys, should contribute eight annas or a rupee towards the general expenses, this custom being called *tinkanik panm ûtpimi*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should contribute at least five rupees to the expenses of the second funeral.

The ceremony of *kachûtthti* (see p. 358) also involves a payment from his sons-in-law to a man of the same clan as the dead man. The money is not paid, however, till the woman who places the cloths on the body has attended twenty funerals and is, therefore, probably not paid at all in many cases, but it may be regarded as tribute from those who have married into a family at each death in the family.

The contributions of buffaloes and money from a man to the relatives of his wife are called *pòdri*.

Contributions of food are received from various relatives, who also contribute certain of the objects used for the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *manmokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle. 764 431 602

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased. 177 764

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR.

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world, 772 775

[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

772 and this was given as the reason why the dead used to be
775 burnt face downwards. It will be remembered also that Ön was looking downwards when he saw his son Püv in Amnòdr (see p. 185).

775 Amnòdr is presided over by the god Ön, who went there after the death of his son Püv, and it is often called Önnòdr after him, while this world, presided over by the goddess Teikirzi, is known as Inanòdr or Eikirzinòdr.[1] The people of Amnòdr or Önnòdr are known as the Amatol. Formerly the Todas used to go freely to and fro between Amnòdr and Eikirzinòdr, but this was stopped owing to the behaviour of Kwoto, and since his time only the dead go to Amnòdr and they do not return.

The Amatol live in much the same way as the inhabitants of this world. They have their buffaloes and their dairies, and the daily life of the people appears to be much like that of the living Todas. As the people walk about, however, they wear down their legs. They have to walk every day, and when a man has worn down his legs as far as the knees Ön sends him back to this world as another man.

Ön will not allow any pigs or rats to enter Amnòdr, as they would root up and spoil the country.

[616] Dead people travel to Amnòdr by well-defined routes, which are different for Tartharol and Teivaliol, while the Taradrol have a separate Amnòdr for their clan.

The dead do not set out for Amnòdr till after the second funeral, taking with them the things burnt at the *azaramkedr*. Both Tartharol and Teivaliol journey westwards towards the Kundahs and cross the Pakhwar or Avalanche river at the same spot.

The paths for the two divisions then diverge. The Tartharol go by a place called Katchâr, while the Teivaliol go by Kusheigûdr, situated by the bridle path now leading from Avalanche Bungalow to Avalanche Top. Whenever a Teivali man passes this spot for the first time he throws three stones called *ovilnikârs*. Similarly, a Tarthar man passing Katchâr for the first time throws three stones in

[1] This is one of several instances in which the initial *t* of a word is omitted in compound forms.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the same way. At the top of the hill there is a spot at which every Toda salutes (*kaimukhti*) in all directions. 775

The two paths meet again at a stone called Nidzmûtkârs (hot knock stone). When the dead Todas reach this stone they knock on it, and in so doing lose all their love of this world. They proceed and reach the stone called Panîpikârs, on which also they knock, and by so doing lose all their diseases and become strong again, so that they are sound and vigorous when they reach Amnòdr.

After knocking on Panîpikârs, the dead pass a wood called Katiârnpül, in which there is a tree called *main*, and as they go they make a cut on this tree with the *kafkati* or knife burnt with them, and Todas who pass by Katiârnpül on the day after a funeral have often seen the newly made cut on the *main* tree. For women there is another place in the wood called Patkadipem, and here the woman pounds with the *wask* burnt at her *azaramkedr*.

On proceeding the dead Todas come to a ravine and river called Püvûrkin, near Sisapara. Across this river there is a thread bridge, and those who have been bad Todas during life fall into the river and are bitten by leeches (*püv* or *püf*). The people who cross the thread bridge successfully go straight to Amnòdr, but those who fall are helped out of the river by the people of Padrmukhteir (crowd plain swamp), who belong to all tribes and live on the further bank of Püvûrkin. The people of Padrmukhteir may keep the offending Todas in their country for some time. The greater their offences, the longer are they kept, but all, however bad, reach Amnòdr sooner or later.

The following are the people who fall into Püvûrkin:—(*a*) the *karainol*, selfish people; (*b*) the *kashtvainol*, jealous and grudging people; (*c*) the *kaspivainol*, those who have committed any offences against the dairy, whether *pali* or *poh*.

The danger of falling into Püvûrkin does not seem to have much influence on the people. It has been spoken of as the Toda Hell, but it is rather a mild variety of Purgatory, and only involves some discomfort and delay on the journey to the next world. The people of Kavidi in the Wainad may travel direct to Amnòdr without going over Püvûrkin at all,

775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Taradr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panîpikârs, nor do they cross Püvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

Origin of Funeral Customs

773 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly
763 ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrûvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

764 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

192 [1] *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1] 764 234 782 775

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *koòtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present. 764 234 793 778

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 764 234 793

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring
234 the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the reli-
793 gious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the *wursol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

764 The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because
171 it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown
174 three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

764 It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that
174 the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen. 764 174

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kazun* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kazun*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.[1] That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies. 764 775 765 783

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tersamptpini*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolkedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be 765 775

[1] In Teitnir's lament for Pidrvan (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kars *kazun*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kazun*.

765 furnished if we supposed that the spirits of the dead are
775 malignant and that the ceremony was postponed till after the spirit had set out on his journey to Amnòdr, but there are two objections to this explanation. If the Todas had had this in their minds, they would have said that the ceremony might not be performed while there was *kedr* among the Tartharol, *i.e.*, while the funeral ceremonies of a Tarthar man were still incomplete. For the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, however, it seems that a child has to wait till after a *marvainolkedr* even if there has been no recent death among the Tartharol. Further, if the proposed explanation had been correct, there is no reason why the *karvnol*, or day immediately after the funeral, should have been appointed for the ceremony. The fact that this day is prescribed points rather to some beneficial influence which it is hoped may emanate from the dead.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XVII

SACRED DAYS AND NUMBERS

WE have seen that nearly every Toda ceremony has its appointed day or days, and that the choice of these is often dependent on another Toda institution, the sacred day, either of the village or of the dairy. Every clan has certain days of the week on which people are restricted from following many of their ordinary occupations, although they are not the occasions of any special ceremonies. These sacred days are the *madnol* or village day, and the *palinol* or dairy day. Another occasion to which the same kinds of restriction apply is the *arpatanol*, the day of the week corresponding to that on which the father of a man has died. 527 796

THE MADNOL AND PALINOL

The *madnol* is literally the village day. Each village has its *madnol*, and in some cases it would seem that different villages of a clan might have different *madnol*, but in general the *madnol* is the same for the whole clan. 527 784 621

Certain things may not be done on the *madnol*:—

(i) *ponkisthògadi*, a feast may not be given (lit. feast may not divide, *i.e.*, food must not be shared out).

(ii) *kèdrvtògadi*, funeral ceremonies may not be performed.

(iii) *kwadrtògadi*, nothing may be given (from the village). Since buying implies the departure of money from the village, a secondary consequence is that nothing may be bought on the *madnol*, but if anything is given to an inhabitant of the village, he may bring it into the village on this day.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

527 (iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women
784 from other places come to the village.

621 (v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

234 Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of
527 the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day
784 or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *polnol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

527 There are various recognised methods of evading the rules
784 for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

183 Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law. 527 784 183

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules[1] are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days. 527 784 688 626 787

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*, 527 769 787

1 [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days. -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

527 Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and
769 the *teuol* found that the desecration of the *arpatznol* was one of
787 the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday, the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that
764 funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days.
796 There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *wursulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *wursulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

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for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is 527
also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it 764
seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was 796
chosen.

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if 527
the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts 796
form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans; 621
thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I 618
have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be performed.

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòdrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

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527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they
796 might fall.

Several previous writers, when recording the choice of
621 certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the
618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday,
777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi* ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in
777 this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the present time a given act is done or not done on a given day, the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

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but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing that the act shall or shall not be done on that day. 527

There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations connected with certain days of the week which have probably arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days. 777

There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays, on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol* is visited by Todas other than the *mòrol*. Such facts suggest that the three days on which the rivers should not be crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday. The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to the whole community may be connected with the belief in lucky and unlucky days. [784]

Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas evidently regard the first half of the month as most auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for the period of the full moon or for the second half of the moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may take place in the second half of the month, but I have no doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity. 527 796

The definite values assigned to different days of the week is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madnol* we have an institution very closely resembling that of the Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the existence of different *madnol* for different clans of the community would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on the business of life, and such a community would probably agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At present the *madnol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other 527 621

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527 sacred days, and if the latter were then to be neglected, we should have a community in which various activities were pro-
621 hibited on one day of the week, and the institution so arising would differ very little from the Hebrew Sabbath. It is possible that the Todas show in an early stage the institution of a Sabbath in which the whole community has not yet settled on a single and joint holy day.

Sacred Numbers

788 Certain numbers recur with great frequency in the dairy ceremonial, and may be regarded as having a special sanctity
801 on this account. There seems to be a general preference for uneven numbers, and this preference comes out very strongly in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which an uneven number of men must take part on any one occasion. The number of men performing this ceremony together must be three, five, seven, nine, &c.

In the dairy ritual the numbers which occur chiefly are three, seven and nine, but other numbers have also been singled out in other branches of Toda lore. The numbers which occur in ceremonial may now be considered in detail.

Three.—A large proportion of the ritual acts of the dairy are performed three times, usually with the accompaniment of the sacred syllable. *Om* uttered thrice, once with each performance of the act. This three-fold performance is especially marked in the ceremony of putting milk or curds on the sacred bells and in the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk. In the ordination ceremonies, the number occurs less frequently. The purificatory drinking is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, but after drinking, the candidate rubs himself three times with the shoots or bark, and, at the ordination of a *palol*, the candidate drinks three times seven on several occasions. Other acts during the ordination of the *palol* are also performed thrice, and the same number occurs in the ordination of the *kaltmökh*.

Acts are performed thrice with special frequency in the ceremonial of the *ti*, and, at the ordinary dairy, this number is especially connected with the 'feeding' of the sacred

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bell, and there is no doubt that it is a number regarded as especially sacred. Whenever the sacred syllable *Om* is used, it is nearly always uttered thrice, and there seems to be a special association between the number three and this word. 788 801

In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony three branches of *tudr* leaves are used, and they and the log with which the calf is killed are passed round the body of the animal thrice. Later in the ceremony three pieces of wood are thrown over the fire.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth, the woman drinks thrice on various occasions, in the *pursütpimi* ceremony the name of the bow is asked and the answer given three times, and in the ceremony of name-giving three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the child and three into his hair.

At the funeral ceremonies, earth is thrown three times on the corpse and three times into the pen, the body is swung on the fire three times, and at the final scene of the *azaramkedr* the man who rings the bell goes round the burial place of the ashes thrice. Three *ovidnikârs* are thrown by the man who crosses the pathway of the dead. The number three is not limited to the dairy ritual, but is of frequent occurrence in the whole of Toda ceremonial.

The number three also appears in connexion with magical or semi-magical practices. The various methods of treatment used by the *utkôren* are carried out three times and never more frequently than this, and the sufferer who drinks hot water to allay the effects of fright also does this thrice. A remedy is probably held to be more potent if repeated the same number of times as in the case of so many sacred acts. [755]

Five.—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial except in certain ceremonies at the Nôdrs *ti* which are repeated five times because there are five groups of buffaloes belonging to this dairy. The number in this case has, however, no ceremonial significance, and is merely a consequence of the fact that one *palol* at this *ti* has three groups and the other two groups of buffaloes. The only other occurrence of the number is at the Kars *ti*, where the ancient lamp probably had five cavities, but even this is doubtful.

The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The 000

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The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The
754 sorcerer, who wishes to injure one who has not granted his
801 request, hides five stones tied together with hair in the thatch of his enemy's hut.

788 *Six.*—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial,
801 but it seems to be regarded as an auspicious number in some ways. In Teitnir's lament for his wife, reference is made to the hope that they might have had six children and six buffaloes, and in the prayer on the occasion of the ear-piercing ceremony, one clause runs "may he have six sons."

Six sticks are used to make the artificial dairy of the hand-burning ceremony, but this is an obvious result of the fact that the dairy has to have two rooms.

Seven.—This number is especially prominent in the ordination ceremonies. The purificatory drinking out of leaf-cups is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, the *palikartmokk* drinking seven times only, the *wursol* seven times seven, and the *palol* three times seven, seven times seven and nine times seven at different periods of his prolonged ordination ceremonies. At the dairies of Taradr and Kanòdrs, the number occurs in a different form, seven different kinds of leaf being used in the purificatory ceremonies.

The number occurs again in connexion with the lamp. At the Nòdrs *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and possibly at other dairies, there used to be lamps, each of which had seven cavities and seven wicks. Some of these lamps have been lost, but two remain at the dairies mentioned. I have already referred to the fact that some of the ancient lamps were said to have had five wicks, but it seems clear that in the only two examples which survive there are seven wicks, and it is possible that this was the number in all.

Another occurrence of the number seven is in the old dairies of the Nòdrs clan which had seven rooms. The funeral dairies, which are undoubtedly very ancient institutions, have three rooms, and the Nòdrs dairies, also undoubtedly ancient, had seven, but I heard of no case in which a dairy had four, five, or six rooms.

Outside the dairy ceremonial, the only occurrence of this number is in the lament of Teitnir for his wife, in which he speaks of their visiting seven courts and seven ships.

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It is perhaps significant that the number seven should be a sacred number to a people who have so highly developed the cult of different days of the week. It is possible that the purificatory drinkings of the ordination ceremonies were at one time performed seven times with the idea that the candidate was sanctifying himself for each day of the week, but at the present time it is clear that the act is performed seven times because this number is prescribed by custom. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the sanctity of the number seven occurs predominantly in the religious cults of peoples who have a seven-day week. 788 801

Nine.—This number only occurs in the dairy ceremonial during the ordination of the *palol* when the seven-fold purification with *tudr* is performed nine times.

Twelve.—I only met with this number once, in the prayer at the *pilinörtiti* ceremony, when the expression "12 years" is used as if it were equivalent to "for ever."

Sixteen and *Eighteen.*—The chief interest of these numbers is that they are used in connexion with the gods. There are said to be 1600, 1800 gods, and these numbers are mentioned in the prayer of the Kanòdrs dairy and in the legends. The numbers are probably used in the way in which we should use the word 'infinite,' but there must be some reason why they should have been chosen. 776 801

The number 18 occurs in another connexion in the rule that the *palol* should perform a certain ceremony after eighteen years of continuous office. 801

I have one possible clue to the choice of the number eighteen. The Todas say that a species of Strobilanth growing on the Nilgiris as a shrub only flowers once in eighteen years. They call this shrub *pövkat*, and it was in flower during the year of my visit. Albert, my interpreter, had only seen it in flower once or twice, but had not paid special attention to the duration of the flowering period. The number of times that several Todas had seen the flowers agreed approximately with their probable ages. Thus, Kutadri saw the flowers in 1902 for the third time, having seen them for the first time when he was twelve years old. This would make his age forty-eight, which seemed from other sources of information to be 824 801 805

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801 approximately correct. The Todas use the flower as a record
824 of age, and some Todas are reputed to have seen the flowers
805 seven times, which, taking five years as the age when they were first seen, would make them over 110 years.

There is another Strobilanth called *tirparikat* which is said to flower every twelve years, and another every six. I do not know of any confirmation of the flowering periods of these plants except the last, which probably refers to *Strobilanthes sexennis.*

Whether the Toda belief in the eighteen-year period of the plant they call *pivkat* is correct or not, it seems probable that it may have furnished the suggestion for the special position taken by the number eighteen in Toda lore.

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CHAPTER XVIII

SACRED PLACES AND OBJECTS

THE Todas show undoubted signs of reverence to various material objects. Many of the objects so reverenced have been mentioned incidentally in the account of the dairy ritual and in other places, and in this chapter I propose to consider how far these objects are regarded as sacred, and to give an account of some sacred objects not hitherto noticed. 778

Of the various objects of reverence the following are the most important: hills and rivers; villages, dairies, their thresholds and contents; bells; the buffaio and its milk; trees and plants; the sun, fire and light; and stones.

HILLS AND OTHER PLACES.

Any place connected with the gods is reverenced by the the Todas, and this is especially the case with the hills where they dwell. Only some hills, however, are shown reverence by means of the *kaimukhti* salutation. One of these is the hill of Nòtirzi (Snowdon), and every Toda visiting this hill salutes with hand to forehead in all directions. Another place where a similar salutation is performed is a spot at Avalanche Top. When I visited this place with Kutadri he saluted in all directions with both hands to his face, and told me that a man who once omitted to do this was killed soon after by a tiger. In this case I could not learn that Kutadri was saluting any particular hill or other spot. He seemed to be saluting the region of the Kundahs on which he was about to enter. 778 823 788

778 There are doubtless other places where the same sign of
788 reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

778 There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the
Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by
788 gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and
823 there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda
784 crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

778 The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at
784 certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary
788 people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas
823 habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the
793 restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

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the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the rank of *perkursol*. 778 784

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 788 823 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue to be treated with some degree of reverence. 778 621 788

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

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621 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be.
778 When going from Ootacamund to Paikara by the bridle path
788 the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *naim* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages,"
621 where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually
778
784
788

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *isknidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them. 562 621 778 784 788

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kalolmad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die. 621 627 761 778

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

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621 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is
627 also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there
778 to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the
621 reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole
778 or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy
788 draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.

[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

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This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room. 234 778

In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops. [114]

THE THRESHOLD

As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination. 234 778 788

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kakar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

BELLS

778 These are the most sacred of the sacred objects of the Todas. It is necessary, however, to distinguish three kinds
177 of bells, the *mani*, the *tukulir mani*, and the *kwungg*, and it is
534 only the first of these which has any great sanctity.

The *tukulir mani* is only used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of the second funeral (p. 376), and between these occasions is kept by the Badagas or Kotas. I am doubtful whether it is a true Toda object, and suspect that it is a Badaga or Kota bell which is used in a ceremony borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these peoples.

The *kwungg* is the household bell and is kept in the hut. It is used in the funeral ceremonies on two occasions, being hung on the neck of one of the ordinary buffaloes before the animal is killed, and it is also the bell which is rung in the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. The bell may be touched or carried by women, and I have seen a *kwungg* removed from the neck of a slaughtered buffalo by a Kota who handed it to a woman. Though the bell is used in ceremonial, the fact that it may be touched by both Kotas and women shows clearly that it is not regarded as possessing any sanctity whatever. In general appearance, however, the *kwungg* probably differs little from the *mani*, being a large bell of the same oblong shape which is characteristic of cattle-bells.

778 The *mani* is a bell which, so far as I could ascertain, never
534 has a tongue, though this loss may be nothing more than a sign of its antiquity.

There are several kinds of *mani*. At the *ti* dairy there are two distinct varieties: the *mani* proper which is kept in the inner room and is hung on the neck of a chosen calf of the *persinir* on the occasion of the migration ceremonies, and the *kudrsmani* which is kept outside the door of the dairy. The latter appear to have little sanctity, but the former are probably the most sacred of Toda objects of veneration. They are said to be extremely ancient; some are reputed to have come from Amnodr, and others are believed to have had miraculous origins, one having been born in a vessel of milk

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

while the buffaloes were on their way from Amnòdr, while another came from the sea. The Todas believe that some of these bells are of gold, and one was reputed to be made of three metals—gold, silver, and iron. The bell born in milk is said to be of iron. 778 534

It seems probable that each of the more sacred herds at the village had at one time its own *mani*, and that a clan which possessed both *wursuli* and *kudrpali* would have had two bells of this kind or two sets of such bells.

At the present time, many of the clans have lost their sacred bells, and those which possess *mani* have only one or two of them. My most definite account for the Tartharol comes from Kars, where it is clear that the *wursuli* has two bells, the same as those reputed to have been hung on the neck of Enmon in the legend of Kwoto.[1] The *kudrpali* also had two bells which have now been lost, but the place where they used to hang still shares in the dairy ritual and is fed with milk just as the bells would have been if they had been there.

Since it is the *wursol* who takes the prominent part in the funeral ceremonies of a male, it seems also clear that the bells which are hung on the necks of the slaughtered buffaloes are those of the *wursuli*, but I did not definitely ascertain whether the bells of a *kudrpali* might not be used for this purpose, and indeed I am not altogether certain that any rigorous distinction is made between *wursuli mani* and *kudrpali mani*.

One striking distinction between the dairies of the Teivaliol and Tartharol was said to be the absence of *mani* among the former, except in the Piedr clan, and here there was something exceptional, for when this bell is used at a funeral it is hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to Nòdrs. I was often told that, with this exception, the Teivaliol had no *mani*, and it was only towards the end of my visit that I became aware of the existence in the dairy of Kiudr of six bells called *mani*, two distinguished as *patatmani* and four as *ertatwani*.

[1] According to another account, these bells are kept at the *wursuli* of Nammòdr, and the *wursuli* of Kars has three *mani* in addition to these.

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778 Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind,
534 and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

778 Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to
788 them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell
234 called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan
534 *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

771 Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the
778 Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a
534 definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent, regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

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Possibly the Todas may have some clear ideas about the connexion between their bells, gods, and dairies, but I could not discover them, and am inclined to believe that the people are now very hazy about the exact place of the bell and the god in their theology. 771 778 534

It was quite clear that they believed an offence against the dairy was punished by the gods, and I cannot say definitely that in this case the bell may not have been personified as a god, but I do not think that this was so.

It seems to me probable that the present sanctity of the bell has come about by a process of transference[1] from the buffalo to the object worn by it. Probably at one time the buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be at present. There is evidence that even in recent times the bell-cow or buffalo which carried the bell was an object of especial veneration. In such books as those of Harkness and Marshall, the bell-cow seems to occupy a more prominent position than, so far as I could tell, it occupies at present. 234 778 534 174 771

In the present day the *mani* of the *ti* is only hung on the neck of a buffalo at the migration from one *ti mad* to another and at the Nòdrs *ti*, only for a few minutes even then. At the village dairy, the *mani* is never, so far as I could tell, put on the neck of a buffalo except at the funeral ceremonies. The idea in the latter case seems to be that a sacred buffalo should wear its bell, and in order that the buffalo slaughtered at a funeral should go to Amnòdr with its bell, the *mani* is hung on its neck while it is being killed. The legend of Kwoto and Punatvan shows that the bells are believed to travel to Amnòdr with the buffaloes.

The following may be suggested as a sketch of the probable evolution of the sanctity of the bell. At one time the buffaloes were the chief sacred objects of the Todas. Then this sanctity was concentrated in the persons of the bell-buffaloes, and later became partially attached to the bells, and the Todas then probably reached a stage in which it was doubtful how far the sanctity of the bell-buffalo was due to its position

[1] As we have already seen (p. 243) there is some reason to think that there has been example of such transference of sanctity to an object in the case of the *mu* or buried dairy vessel.

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234 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is
778 possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea
534 in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas.
174 We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more
771 and more attached to the bell, less and less to its possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

Relics

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

The Buffalo and its Milk

234 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies
778 we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

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objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes by which they were borne. 234 778

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one time to have been more sacred, or to have received more definite signs of reverence than at the present time. The [773] evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mad* at Makars was a very human animal.

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *paloi* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals. 234 778 788

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world. 234 778

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the

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234
778

dairy ritual, but it is a question whether the sanctity does not attach much more closely to the objects connected with the buffaloes than to the buffaloes themselves.

I think it is clear that at the present time none of the Toda buffaloes are so sacred that their milk in the form of ghi may not be used. Some writers have supposed that no profit is made from the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*, but at present this is certainly not so, and the ghi made from the milk of the sacred buffaloes is sold with the rest and may be used by all.

In earlier days, when the Todas led simpler lives than at present, when the bazaars of Ootacamund and Coonoor were not in existence to act as incentives to the acquirement of gain, it is possible that the Todas did not sell the ghi made from the milk of their more sacred buffaloes, and, as I have already suggested, it is even possible that at one time they were content to allow these animals to suckle their calves and made no use of their milk. Even at the present time a sacred buffalo will not be milked unless it is provided with the appropriate dairy and dairyman. The buffaloes of a *ti* which has no *palol*, or of a *wursuli* which has no *wursol*, are not allowed to be milked though they may be looked after by other men. With this exception, however, I believe that, at the present time, every buffalo, even of the most sacred herds, is a source of profit by the sale of the ghi which is made from its milk.

The various offerings of buffaloes made in connexion with ceremonial are also not allowed to interfere with the economic value of the animals. In the *irnörtiti* ceremony of the village, the offered buffalo simply passes from one division of a clan to another, and when a buffalo is said to be devoted to the gods, it does not mean that the owner profits a whit the less on account of the oblation, but only that he may not kill it at a funeral, and must allow it to die a natural death.

Even the slaughter of animals at the funeral ceremonies appears to be managed so as to interfere as little as possible with the profits obtained from the sale of the milk. I think there is little doubt that it is an established custom to kill old and barren buffaloes on these occasions. An animal is not sent to the next world till its owner has got the utmost out of it in this.

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Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas. 234 177 437

Other Animals

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence which I possess concerning their relations with animals in general. 773 778 825

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

825 As we have seen (p. 417), there is a belief that a man who fails in the performance of certain sacred duties may be killed by a tiger, but the Todas do not appear to fear this animal except on behalf of their buffaloes, and I could only learn of one case in which a Toda had been killed, and as his name was not known it must have occurred very long ago, or may have been altogether mythical.

The Jackal.—I was told by my interpreter that he had seen the Todas saluting a jackal, but I did not hear of any beliefs associated with the practice.

825 262 194 *The Sambhar.*—The most interesting point in connexion with this animal is the fact that the Todas are undoubtedly permitted to eat its flesh. Kutadri, who was most scrupulous in his obedience to the customs of his people, had no reluctance in eating sambhar flesh, and when he had fallen ill soon after, he never thought of ascribing his illness to what was probably its real cause, which shows clearly that there could have been no idea that he had done anything forbidden or unorthodox.

The fact that the Todas may eat the flesh of the sambhar while taking that of no other animal, except ceremonially, might well be looked upon as an indication that there may at one time have been totemic restrictions on food. In their earlier homes, before they reached the Nilgiri Hills, it is probable that the sambhar was an unknown animal, and could not therefore have been a totem. Consequently, when they came to the Nilgiris, they would have found there an animal on the eating of the flesh of which there were no restrictions, and the absence of restriction would, on this hypothesis, have continued to the present day. The eating of sambhar flesh would be the proverbial exception that proves the rule.

[824] It seems to me possible, however, that there is a different reason for the absence of any prohibition. The Todas have no weapons with which they could kill a sambhar, and if this animal is ever killed by Kotas or Kurumbas, the mere fact that it had been killed by these people would probably be a sufficient reason why the Todas should not eat its flesh.

It is possible that it is only since the advent of Europeans

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174 to the Nilgiris, and the extensive slaughter of sambhar which
262 followed it, that the Todas have thought of eating the flesh of this animal, and as no prohibition against the eating of its
825 flesh has been handed down to them, they have no reluctance in satisfying in this way the liking for animal food which the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony keeps in existence, if it does not actually stimulate it.

231 *The Cat.*—This animal, which is called *koti* or *kwoti*, is
825 domesticated by the Todas. The cat is mentioned in the legend of the tiger recorded in this section, and the earliest writers on the Todas speak of them as keeping these animals. I have seen them on the walls of the dairies, and believe that they are allowed to go wherever they please. The only occasion on which they come into ceremonial is at the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, where the spleen is specially put aside to be given to the cat, and is on this account called *kwotinerâf*.

The dog occurs in the story of Kwoten and several other animals are mentioned in the prayers and incantations, chiefly as sources of danger to the buffaloes. In the incantation for the relief of headache given on p. 265, the names of many animals are uttered, probably with the intention that their heads may acquire the pain which is being charmed away from the head of the sufferer.

Trees and Plants

778 The most sacred tree of the Todas is undoubtedly the *tudr*
824 (Fig. 58). This name is given by the Todas to two species, *Meliosma pungens* and *M. wightii*, the two trees resembling one another closely.

The bark is largely used in the dairy ceremonial, and especially in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol* and other dairymen drawn from the Teivaliol and Melgarsol. Its use is especially connected with the people of these sections of the Toda community, but the rest of the Tartharol undergo a ceremony at the second funeral in which *tudr* is used, and this was said to have the purpose that every Toda should be purified with *tudr* before he enters on the future life.

A log and leaves of *tudr* are also used in the ceremony of

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778 824 *erkumptikpimi*, and here it is used by both Teivaliol and Tartharol alike.

The leaves of *tudr* used in any of these ceremonies must be perfect, and the bark must be knocked off the tree by means of

FIG. 58.—BOUGH OF THE 'TUDR' TREE. (From Marshall.)

a stone, this being one of the Toda practices which show the persistence of stone implements in ceremonial. The identity of this sacred tree is important, for it may furnish a clue to the home of the Todas. So sacred a tree would almost certainly have been already known to the Todas when

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they reached the Nilgiris, though it is, of course, possible 778
that it might have been chosen on account of its resemblance 824
to some tree sacred in their past history. The tree has, however, a wide distribution in India.

Pope has suggested that *tudr* is connected with *tulasi*, *Ocymum sanctum* or holy basil. This is a small flowering plant, and it is improbable that there is any connexion between the two plants except a resemblance in name.

Another tree which appears to be especially sacred is the *hiar* tree (*Litsæa Wightiana*). Whenever a tree is used to mark the spot where the *mani* is laid during purificatory and other ceremonies, the tree must be of this kind. The wood of this tree is used when making fire for most sacred purposes.

The leaves of trees and shrubs are used in various branches of the dairy ritual. Those in most frequent use are various kinds called generically by the Todas *muli*, three of which belong to the genus Rubus. The young shoots of the same plants are used in the ordination ceremonies.

Grasses are also used in Toda ceremonial, and one of these, a slender grass called *kakar* (*Eragrostica nigra*) is used on several occasions, those of especial importance being the ordination of the Teivali *palikartmokh* and the sweeping of the threshold of the dairy by a girl at the migration ceremony. The same grass is also used in one of the methods adopted to promote speedy delivery in childbirth.

Of the various kinds of grain used by the Todas, that 824
called *patu* or *samai* (*Panicum miliare*) seems to be in most 177
frequent use in connexion with ceremonial, but it cannot be said to be sacred in any way. Barley (*kodj*) seems to have a peculiar place in Toda belief. The *wratthadi* or cooking-vessel of the dairy may not be used for this grain, although any other kind may be boiled in it. On the other hand, three grains of barley are put into the mouth and three into the hair of a boy at the naming ceremony. In explanation I can only offer the surmise that barley is not cooked in the dairy vessel because its use by the Todas is an innovation, and that similarly the use of barley in the naming ceremony is also an innovation borrowed from the Badagas or some other tribe.

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The Sun, Light, and Fire

778 There is no doubt that the sun is an object of reverence to
788 the Todas. It is the duty of every man when first he leaves his hut in the morning to salute the sun by raising his hand
821 to his face in the *kaimukhti* salutation. The sun is also saluted by the *palol* as he comes out of his dairy to milk the buffaloes. All my informants were unanimous in saying that the salutation of the *palol* was both to the buffaloes and to the sun. The doors of the great majority of the dairies faced more or less in an easterly direction, so that the dairyman, on coming out of his dairy in the morning, would see the sun, and when the dairy had a different orientation, as at Mòdr, the *palol* had to turn so that he would perform the salutation looking eastward. At the afternoon ceremonial the salutation was performed in the same direction as in the morning, so that, so far as the salutation is performed to the sun, it would appear that it is to the place of the sun-rise rather than to the sun itself.

The sun plays a part in the ceremony which takes place when a woman goes to the seclusion-hut after childbirth, but there was some reason to think that this was due to the belief in the noxious influence of the mysterious body, Keirt, which is near the sun, and not to the influence of the sun itself. When performing the ceremony on leaving the seclusion-hut the woman faces the sun, and this may be an act of reverence, since now Keirt is no longer feared. It seemed quite clear that the moon is not saluted in the same way as the sun with the *kaimukhti* salutation. No salutation is paid at all to the new moon when it is first seen, but after a day or two, usually on the third day, it is the custom to bow down the head, so that the forehead rests on the corner of the *putkuli* lying on the ground. The salutation is that called *nersatiti* shown in Fig. 44. I only heard of one custom indicating reverence to the full moon. When the Todas throw away water on the day of the full moon, they do not throw it towards the moon, but away from it. Thus, if the moon is opposite the door of the hut, the people will go round to the back in order to throw the water there.

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water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light it gives are also undoubtedly reverenced, and lighting the lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character. 778 788 373 354

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not reverenced merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces, one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light the sacred lamp directly from it. 372 778 354

The fire of the *tbratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, and especially at those called *teutütusthchi* and *erkumptthpini* and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman conducting the ceremony. At the *asaramkedr* of a man the fire is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this 372

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372 is probably also the case at the first funeral ceremony. I did not definitely ask whether fire by friction is ever made by a woman, but I am fairly confident that this would never happen.

I only heard of one case in which men were prohibited from making fire. The Kidmadol and Karshol, who suffer under several disabilities, are not allowed to make fire by friction, and this is due to a quarrel with their parent-clan many years ago.

Whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose[1] the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call *kiaz* or *keadj*, except in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which the wood of *muli* is used.

There are also definite regulations as to the kind of wood which is to be burnt in the fires of all ceremonial occasions. In various ceremonies I have recorded the Toda names of the woods prescribed, and if more were known about their identity, it is possible that some light might be thrown on the original home of the Todas, in the same way as has been suggested in the case of the sacred *tudr* tree.

STONES

778 The Todas have many stones which may be held to have
487 some degree of sanctity; certainly many have their place in the religious ceremonial. All these stones have names, either
211 general or individual, but two stones with the same name need not necessarily have the same function.

At the *ti* there are stones marking the spots where the dairy vessels are taken up and put down during the migration ceremonies, but the most interesting stones at these dairies are those called *neurzülnkars*. At several dairies these stones are anointed, and their appearance indicates that they have undergone the process for very long periods of time; at other places they are so weathered and worn away that they must obviously be of great antiquity. At some dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* these stones take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh* in the ceremonies accompanying migration, but at other places they are said to have different uses.

[1] For the special method employed see p. 581.

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At an ordinary village the stones usually belong to one of the following classes:— 778

(*a*) Stones to mark off boundaries or places, such as the *majvatvaikars*, marking the path or spot used by the women in fetching buttermilk from the dairy. 487 211

(*b*) Stones used in the ceremonies in which offerings are made, the *irnörtkars* and the *pilinörtkars*.

(*c*) Funeral stones, at which the buffaloes are killed. These are, of course, only found at funeral villages, but there are certain other stones, such as the *imudrikars*, which may be found in any village. Such a stone may mark the spot where the body is laid, or may even, as in the case of the *imudrikars* of Kars, form a mound on which the body is laid.

(*d*) Stones in or near the *tu* or buffalo pen, such as the *mutchudkars* and *pudothkars*. I do not know the origin or use of these, but in some villages there are stones in the pen marking the places where the *mu* or dairy vessels are buried, and it is possible that the above stones are in some way connected with the buried dairy-vessels.

(*e*) The lifting stone or *tukitthkars*. This is usually a large round stone which sometimes resembles in appearance stones of a ceremonial character.[1]

(*f*) Commemorative stones. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 13), and certain stones with the same name lying between Nòdrs and Teidr, had their origin in events connected with the death of a man belonging to the village of Teidr who was once *wursol* at Nòdrs. When he was told to milk one of the buffaloes, he replied, "If I milk it, the milk will not fill this place," pointing to a small depression on his thumb. Still the people told him to milk, and when he did so the milking-vessel was completely filled. Then the *palikartmokh* was very angry, and, taking the wand which the *wursol* was carrying, he struck him so that he flew in the air and fell down midway between Nòdrs and Teidr. When the people came to the place they found that the man was dead, and they tried to take up his body and carry it to the funeral place. But 211 778 773

[1] Burton (*Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 316) brands the Todas as inveterate liars, because, evidently owing to some misunderstanding, he was told that a "putting stone" was the "grandfather of the gods."

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211 the body would not move and so they held the funeral on the
773 spot and made a *tu*. At the entrance of the *tu* they placed
two women carrying pounders[1] in place of the posts or *tüli*,
778 and these women were changed into stones and their pounders
became the *tasth* of the entrance of the pen. The stones
which are now found on the spot are the remains of the pen
and the *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs marks the spot where the *wursol*
milked the buffalo.

In the village of Tovalkan there is a mound shown in Fig.

FIG. 59.—THE MEMORIAL OF KEIREVAN.

59 which is much like the *imudrikars* of Kars, but it is of modern origin, having been made to mark the spot where Keirevan (26) fell out of a tree and was killed.

(*g*) Stones connected with special features of the dairy ceremonial. I only know of one stone of this kind at a village, the *pârsatthkars* of Nidrsi, on which the *palikartmokh* puts milk every morning and evening.

778 Stones are often used for more than one purpose; thus, the

[1] It will be remembered that at the *azaramkair* of a woman, two women stand at the entrance of the *azarum* one of whom holds a pounder in her hands.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

irnörtkars of Umgas (see Fig. 72) is also a boundary stone, and the *menkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 12) used for the game called *narthpimi*, and the *teidrtolkars* at the same village are also funeral stones at which buffaloes are killed. 778

I have given a brief list of the chief stones which may be called sacred owing to their coming in one way or another into Toda ceremonial, but I should like to make it clear that no great idea of sanctity attaches to these stones, and in no case are they shown any definite signs of veneration or worship. They, and many of the other objects described in this chapter, are not sacred in the same sense in which the *etudmad* or the *mani* are sacred.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE TODA RELIGION

771 THE last seventeen chapters have been almost entirely devoted to the religious institutions and ceremonies of the Todas. In the earlier chapters I have described the ritual of the dairy and have discussed some of the problems of general interest which this ritual suggests. In later chapters I have described the ceremonies which are associated with the chief incidents of life: birth, growth, and death. In these and in the chapter dealing with sacrifice I have described many details of Toda ceremonial which clearly establish its religious character, and Chapter X is especially devoted to the formulæ which bring the ceremonial into definite relation with the Toda gods. In Chapter XI I have described practices and beliefs all of which stand in some relation to religion, though most of them must be regarded as belonging to a different category. In the last two chapters I have collected a number of special features of the Toda religion, the existence of sacred days and the part played by numbers, places and material objects in the various religious observances, and I have discussed how far the attitude of the Todas towards these objects can be described as one of worship.

There remains the general nexus which binds all these beliefs and practices into a whole so that they constitute the Toda religion. I have given in Chapter IX the stories of the Toda gods, giving them in this place because they were necessary for the proper understanding of the dairy formulæ, and I can now discuss more fully than was then possible the essential nature of these deities.

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THE GODS

The Toda gods are definitely anthropomorphic beings, who are believed to have lived in this world before man existed. Both man and buffalo were created by the gods, and the Todas seem to picture a time when gods, men, and buffaloes lived together on the Nilgiri Hills, and the gods ruled the men. At this time the gods seem to have lived much the same kind of life as the Todas themselves. Ön was *palol* to the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, his son Püv was *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, and other gods are believed to have filled dairy offices. From the earliest times, however, the gods were connected with the hills—*i. e.*, they were believed to dwell on the summits of the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. At first they seem to have mixed at times in human society and at other times to have retired to their hill-tops. The earliest of the gods was Pithi, who was born in a cave, and the Todas and many of their buffaloes were created by his son Ön and his wife. Later death came to the gods in the person of Püv, the son of Ön and Ön followed Püv to the world of the dead, called Amnòdr, of which he has since been the ruler. He left behind him as predominant among the deities Teikirzi, a goddess, who ruled over the Todas. It is to her that the origin of most of the Toda institutions is ascribed, and there is some reason to think that she was predominant among the gods even before Ön went to Amnòdr.

The Todas seem to believe that Teikirzi was at one time a person living among them, giving laws and regulating the affairs of the people. At the present time she is believed to be all-pervading; and, though she has her special hill, she does not dwell there only, as in the case of all but one of the other Toda deities.

There seem to have been many other gods contemporaneous with Ön and Teikirzi, and certain of these are believed to have been related to these deities and especially to Teikirzi. The gods are believed to be very numerous: the Todas speak of the 1,600 gods, the 1,800 gods, but it would seem that these expressions are used in the sense of "an infinite

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773 number." The gods are believed to have held their councils,
776 meeting on some special hill, to which each god came from his own hill-top. The hill of Pòlkab, near Kanòdrs, and the
823 village of Miuni are both renowned as meeting places of the gods.

There is a very definite association between the Toda gods and the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. Nearly every one of the gods has his hill where he dwells, and often when speaking of the gods the Todas seem to identify the god with the hill. There are two river gods, Teipakh and Pakhwar, associated with the two chief streams of the district, but there is some reason to believe that even these gods have their hills where they sometimes live, while at other times they inhabit or are identified with their streams. In the case of Teipakh, the god and the natural object seem to be very closely identified, and Kuzkarv, growing up in the river Teipakh, is said to be sitting in the lap of his maternal uncle. Again, one god is associated with a bubbling pool, but he also has his hill-top and is believed only to visit the pool on certain occasions. There can be little doubt that most of the Toda gods are hill-deities and that the association of the gods with hills is so strong that even the gods of streams and pools may be assigned their hills in general belief.

172 There is one important feature which is said to be common to all the hills inhabited by deities. They all have on their summits the stone circles which the Todas call *pun*. My informants were very definite about this and fully understood that these stone circles corresponded to the cairns and barrows opened by Breeks and others.

I was not able to examine into the question for myself and ascertain whether the circles called *pun* were actually present on the god-inhabited hills, but I have no reason to doubt that this was usually the case. Most writers on the Todas have been inclined to suppose that the cairns and barrows, with their contents, were in no way connected with the Todas, and they have based this opinion largely on the indifference of the Todas to these monuments. The people who are so jealous of their dairies that they will not allow anyone to enter or even view their contents, will allow any stranger to open the

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cairns and take their contents, and will even assist in the demolition. When I asked the Todas what they thought of the rifling of the *pun* they showed just the same indifference. They did not seem to think the matter any concern of theirs, and yet they believe in a definite association between the presence of a *pun* and the abode of a deity. 172

There seem to be three chief possibilities. One, that the cairns are Toda remains and that the association of the stone circles above them with the presence of a god is the last surviving relic of the fact. The second is that when the Todas came to the Nilgiri hills they found mysterious stone circles on certain hills, which marked out these hills as possessing features out of the common, and that this gave them a sanctity which led to the idea that they were inhabited by gods. A third possibility is that the same peculiarities which led the original builders of the circles to choose certain hills also led the Todas to choose them as the abodes of their deities, and that it was only later that they came to recognise the association between the circle and the presence of a god.

Whichever possibility may give the true explanation, one would have thought that the Todas would have objected to the disturbance and excavation of the cairns. There is little doubt that they were ignorant of the fact that objects were buried beneath the stone circles, but they are quite intelligent enough to know that there is a connexion between the stones and the objects beneath them when once these have been found.

I have very little doubt that the true explanation of the indifference of the Todas towards these monuments is that they have no definite traditional injunction against interfering with the circles. The Todas are the slaves of their traditions and of the laws and regulations which have been handed down to them by their ancestors. Till the Europeans came to the hills, it had never occurred to anyone to meddle with these stones or explore the soil beneath and around them. In consequence there was no reason why injunctions against interference should be handed down, and when the European arrived with his spade and pickaxe the Todas found nothing in their traditional laws telling them that it was wrong to 172 183

172 interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference
183 which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.[1]

776 Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

769 There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as
771 heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of
776 the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

[1] I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

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buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grandfathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence. 769 771 776

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men. [775]

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personifications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence whatever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces. 771 776

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neurzülnkars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual 776 778

[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

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776 process of transference of sanctity from the buffalo to the
778 object worn by it, and I think it not unlikely that this transference may have reached its full development in comparatively recent times.

If my view be accepted, it would still leave open the religious status of the buffalo, and especially of the bell-buffalo, and here, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to me probable that the buffalo was never regarded as a god in the same sense in which this word is used for the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops. In the oldest legends, in which the buffaloes spoke like men, it is clear that they were in subjection to the gods, and were in no way regarded as themselves divine.

776 Some writers on the Todas have supposed that the *palol* is regarded as a god, but at the present time it is certain that
793 he is in no way divine. He is treated with respect, but nothing of the nature of worship or adoration is paid to him. His position among the Todas is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity. That his isolation is not a sign of divinity is, I think, shown by the results of infringement of his isolation. If the *palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches incurs no penalty. The sacrilege, according to Toda ideas, would attach not to him, but to the *palol* who, in spite of being touched, should persist in performing the duties of his office.

174 Whether the *palol* may ever have been more sacred in the past I cannot say. An indication that he may at one time
776 have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special
793 clauses of the Kiudr prayer which are uttered on the occasion of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*. Here the *kwarzam* of the *palol* is *eupalol*, which stands for *teupalol*, or "god palol," but in the next *kwarzam* the same prefix is given to his garment, the *tuni*, and I have little doubt that these *kwarzam* simply refer to the sanctity which attaches to the *palol* and his garment as part of the sacred institution of the *ti*. There is no doubt, however, that, according to tradition, the gods held the office of *palol* and that the *palol* of the

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Nòdrs *ti* is the direct successor of the god Ön, but to whatever extent Ön may have passed on his divine character to his immediate successors, there is little doubt that at present the *palol* has lost any divinity which may at one time have been ascribed to him. 174 776 793

It is very difficult to ascertain how far at the present time, according to Toda belief, the gods intervene in human affairs. Each clan is believed to have its *nòdrodchi*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nòdrodchi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler. Thus Teipakh is connected with both Piedr and Kusharf, Atioto with both Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, while Etepi, who is the *nòdrodchi* of Keradr, and Kuzkarv, the *nòdrodchi* of Keadr, are almost certainly one and the same deity. In the two latter cases a Tarthar clan has the same god as a clan of the Teivaliol. 776

Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nòdrodchi* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo. The Todas certainly believe that misfortunes are due to the anger of the gods. It is clear that the various offerings described in Chapter XIII are piacular and propitiatory. They are designed to atone for wrong done and to avert any future evil consequences of the offence which has been committed. 776 782

The power of the gods is believed to show itself in various ways. In several cases dairies have been disused because the dairymen have died in office, and this was said to have happened because the gods of those places were severe. It was apparently believed that they had visited infringements of the laws regulating dairy ritual with death.

The various misfortunes which befell different members of the community as the result of my visit were all ascribed to the anger of the gods. Again, the untoward incidents of the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 391) were ascribed to the anger of the gods because there had been an infringement of funeral custom. These and other cases show clearly that

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
782 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are
788 the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual. In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
787 the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed
791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teual*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

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In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village. 776 234

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *tewol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *tewol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas. 776 787 177

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods. 776 778 823

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are 776

776 very vague. On the other hand, certain gods of obviously more recent origin seem to be replacing, to some extent, the older gods. The lives of Kwoten and Meilitars can be related by many in great detail, but though they seem to inspire more interest among the Todas I cannot say that I observed anything to show that they receive any special worship or reverence. [773] Meilitars is especially mentioned in the Kanòdrs prayer, but this would only put him on a level with many objects of no great amount of sanctity. The attitude of the Todas towards these two beings seemed to me to be rather that of people towards heroes than towards gods, though the mythology has raised them to the level of the gods.

771 Nevertheless, the idea of "god" is highly developed among the Todas and I am inclined to believe that the most satisfac- 776 tory explanation of the Toda deities is that the people came to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes have been raised to the ranks of the gods and that the lives of these heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the progress towards complete obliviscence; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods.

The Todas, then, show us a stage of religious belief in which gods once believed to be real, living among men and intervening actively in their affairs, have become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible and intervening in the affairs of men in a mysterious manner and chiefly in the case of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given.

771 The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom 788 of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated

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by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this 771
domination has taken a form in which ritual has become 788
all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarasam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degener- 771
ated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason 778
to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly 782
present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the 788
gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of 182
the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

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771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of
182 old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and
784 several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

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them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *wursol* goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. Probably the behaviour of the *haltmukh* in the sleeping hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous custom. 183 771 784

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them, may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration of religion. 771 182 788

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were 182 771 174

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174 absent in the new country. At the same time, it is perhaps
182 not without significance that the Todas are allowed to eat the
771 flesh of the sambhar. In their former home, in the low country, it is almost certain that this animal would not have been a totem, and therefore it would be natural that on their reaching the Nilgiris they might be permitted to eat it.[1]

771 It is doubtful how far the Todas have an idea of a supreme
776 god. At the present time they speak of and constantly appeal to Swami, and they will say that Swami is above all the gods, but I have very little doubt that this is a recent idea. Swami was chiefly spoken of and reverenced by the younger men, and it is quite clear that the name should not properly occur in the formulæ of any Toda ritual. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that the idea is old. It is probable that at one time there existed direct appeal to gods in the Toda prayer, and this direct appeal may have been to some supreme being who was addressed as Swami.

Apart from this question of the meaning of Swami, two deities stand out from the remainder of the Toda gods. One of these is Meilitars, whose cunning was able to deceive the gods, and who was able to perform miracles which were regarded as beyond the powers of the other gods. His story seems to show one way in which a god might rise above his fellows, and might become a supreme god, but this has certainly not happened in his case. There is not the slightest evidence to show that Meilitars is in any way worshipped as a supreme god. There is a much stronger case for the supremacy of the goddess Teikirzi. Teikirzi is said to be the foundress of many of the Toda institutions; the final explanation of all things in the Toda mind is that "it is the will of Teikirzi." She is said to be all-pervading, and

[1] I do not wish to lay any stress on this argument, for, as I have already indicated, it is possible that the eating of sambhar is a recent innovation, which has arisen since the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiris. Also I do not wish to indicate by the above that I commit myself to a belief in the universality of totemism as a stage in religious development. I only wish to point out that if this has been so, the Todas furnish a good case in which we might expect all traces of this descent to have disappeared or to have become so blurred and scanty as to be of little value.

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is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional *kwarzam* uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti. 771 776

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Ön who rules the world of the dead.

Influence of other Religious Systems

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,[1] whose temple is near Mettapollayam. 177 771 776

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At the present time there is no doubt that their temples are visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas from 40 to 100 rupees. 776 782 842

[1] These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

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776 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however
782 much money they take away with them from their villages, all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been
776 worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the
782 Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums
771 were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The
797 Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one
771 of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

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know that, three centuries ago, priests visited the Todas and 177
preached to them, and it is stated (see p. 720) that one chose 771
the Hebrew story of the creation for his lesson, and it may 797
be that the incident, striking the fancy of the people, was incorporated into their own tradition of the origin of man. The resemblance between the Toda *madnol* and the Sabbath may also excite the suspicion that the former institution is founded on ideas borrowed from Christians or Jews. I think we may be confident that, if this has been the case, the borrowing took place very long ago. I hope to show in the last chapter that it is probable the Todas came from Malabar, and it is possible that their migration to the hills took place after the settlement of Christians or Jews in that district. If Christianity has affected the religious beliefs or practices of the general body of the Todas, I think it is certain that this influence has not been recent.

Magic and Religion

A word may be added, at the end of this chapter, on the 771
relation between the magic and the religion of the Todas. 789
I have already pointed out reasons for believing that the Toda religion is one in process of degeneration, and we must not therefore expect to find among this people material for the study of the evolution of religion from magic or for the method of divergence of the two from some original stem which was neither magic nor religion.

The chief interest of the Todas from this point of view is that they show how side by side with a relatively high form of religion there may exist a body of beliefs crystallised in magical formulæ which bear a very close resemblance to the formulæ of the religious ritual. Their aim and their general nature leave no doubt that the formulæ given in the later part of Chap. XII are magical in nature, and yet they show more distinct evidence of appeal to deities than is to be found in the definitely religious formulæ of the dairy. These magical formulæ of the Todas seem to show us a stage of magic in which religion has been called

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771 to its aid. The sorcerer does not endeavour to effect his
789 purpose merely by the belief in the efficiency of like producing like, or other ideas which dominate the lower forms of magic, but has called to his aid the power of the gods and uses a form of words almost identical with that used in the religious ritual. Magic and religion are here closely allied, but it is possible that this alliance is but one of the products of the degeneration to which I believe the Toda religion is subject. It is possible that we have here evidence that during the process of degeneration of religion, religion and magic may approach one another—an approach which recalls their common origin from those low beliefs and ideas of the savage to which the name of neither magic nor religion should perhaps be properly applied.

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CHAPTER XX

GENEALOGIES AND POPULATION

THE preceding chapters have dealt with the ceremonies and religious aspect of the life of the Todas. This and succeeding chapters will deal with the social organisation and the more secular side of the life of the people. 114

The social organisation has been studied largely by means of the genealogical record which is given in Appendix V. Before going to India I had worked out the details of the system of kinship, of the regulation of marriage, and of the social organisation generally of two Papuan communities on the basis of the pedigrees preserved by those communities.

It is a familiar fact that, both in ancient writings and in the memories of peoples to whom writing is unknown, long lists of ancestors may be preserved, going back in some cases to mythical times. Among existing peoples good examples of such genealogies are found in Polynesia and Uganda, but such a genealogical record is of little value for the investigation of social organisation.

The records which I obtained in Torres Straits were of a different kind; they only extended back for three or four generations, but included all collateral lines, so that a man was able to tell me all the descendants of his great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather, and knew the descent of his mother, his father's mother, his mother's mother, and his wife as fully as that of his father. By this means I was able to collect[1] a record of the great majority of marriages which had taken place in the community for the last three or four

[1] See *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 122.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same com-
173 pleteness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.

601 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to
551 whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they
784 had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead. 124 173 601

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure. 551 784 [616]

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect. 124 173 601

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres* 128 601

[1] [pp. 749-788]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

128 *Straits Expedition*, with the modifications rendered necessary
601 by the presence of polyandry and infant marriage among the Todas. In any one table the descendants in the male line only are given, descendants in the female line being recorded in the genealogies of the husbands. Thus, if one wishes to ascertain the descendants of Pilivurch in Table 1, it is necessary to turn to Table 20 recording the genealogy of Teithi, the husband of this woman. The names of males are in capital letters, those of females in ordinary type, and the name of a wife always follows the name of her husband or husbands. Under the name of each individual is placed, in italics, the name of the clan to which the individual belongs, or, in the case of a married woman, of the clan to which she had belonged before marriage. The names of those now living are given in Clarendon type, of which Mudrigeidi and Savdur in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviation i.m. stands for "infant marriage." The abbreviations d.y. and d.n.n. stand for "died young" and "died before being named" respectively. The latter implies that the child died within a few weeks of birth.

When the names of men are enclosed in square brackets, polyandry, and when the names of women are so enclosed, polygyny, is indicated.

000 In the *Torres Straits Reports* I have shown that there are definite reasons why the people should have preserved their pedigrees so fully. The pedigrees are not preserved for amusement nor out of idle interest in the doings of ancestors or neighbours. In Torres Straits the complex and far-reaching nature of the marriage regulations form the chief motive for the preservation of the pedigrees, while the transmission of property is perhaps of almost equal importance.

182 Among the Todas we shall see that the marriage regulations
423 are far simpler than among the Papuans of Torres Straits, and in their case the chief motive is probably connected with the inheritance of buffaloes, the only form of property in which the Toda takes much interest. In the succeeding chapters we shall find several examples of social transactions in which the knowledge derived from the genealogical record has determined the issue.

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THE VALUE OF THE GENEALOGICAL RECORD

In the succeeding chapters I shall show the value of the genealogies in working out the nature of the system of kinship and in providing statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The greater part of my work on the social aspect of the life of the Todas is based on material derived from the genealogies; or perhaps I should rather say that most of the information I give has been checked, if not entirely obtained, by means of the genealogies. 124 173 601

I wish, however, to draw attention here to a far wider use of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. They bring a concrete element into anthropological work which greatly facilitates inquiry. The lower one goes in the social or intellectual scale in mankind, the greater difficulty is there in dealing with abstractions. The savage mind is almost wholly occupied with the concrete. Discuss his laws of inheritance with him, and you probably soon become hopelessly entangled in misunderstanding. Take a number of concrete cases, and his memory will enable him to heap instance upon instance showing how property was inherited in given cases. Similarly, in ceremonies, ask the savage to give an account of a given ceremony, and he probably omits many essential points, not because he forgets them, but because they are so familiar to him that he thinks you, like himself, take them for granted. Ask him to tell you exactly what A and B did when they performed a given ceremony, and he forms a mental picture of A and B going through the ceremony, and tells you exactly what they did and how they did it. When another individual comes into the ceremony, he too comes in as a concrete personage, and his sayings and doings are faithfully recorded.

The Todas are so intelligent that the genealogies were not so essential an instrument of investigation as was the case in Torres Straits, but they were nevertheless of enormous value in giving concreteness to the accounts of the Toda ceremonies. The Todas certainly gave fuller and more faithful accounts of their ceremonies when they described actual events, but such descriptions would have been of little value to me if I had

124 not had my pedigrees as a guide. An account of a Toda
173 funeral, for instance, with its many *dramatis personæ* would
601 probably have baffled my powers of comprehension if I had not had my book of genealogies for reference.

I always worked with this book by my side whenever I was investigating any ceremonial in which the social side of life was concerned. I asked for a description of some ceremony recently performed of which the memories were fresh. The chief actors in the ceremony were always mentioned by name; and whenever a name occurred, I looked up the clan and family of the person in question and noticed his relationship to other persons who had taken part in the ceremony. The actors in the ceremony were thus real people to me as well as to my informants, and the account of the ceremony proceeded with the maximum of interest and the minimum of fatigue both to myself and to my informants.

The method had the further advantage that it afforded me the means of checking the accounts which I was given. An informant inclined to be careless soon found that I had the means of checking his narrative on many points; and some of the people, not knowing the source of my information, credited me with more knowledge than I really possessed, and were in consequence extremely careful not to wander from the truth, or perhaps I should rather say, not to tell me anything of which they were not absolutely certain. I have already stated my belief that the Todas are very truthful and that they err far more often from carelessness than intention, but the fact that I had a fund of knowledge of which the source was somewhat mysterious probably saved me from having much of my time wasted by careless or inaccurate information.

123 I think that my familiarity with the names and circum-
124 stances of the people helped me to acquire their confidence. Among the more simple people of Torres Straits, I used sometimes to let a man know, much to his astonishment, that I was acquainted with some of the affairs of his family. Among the more reticent Todas, it seemed to me unwise to do this, but, on meeting for the first time a man with whom I was already acquainted through the genealogies, I often referred to something I knew he had done, perhaps to the skilful

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way he had caught the buffalo at such and such a funeral, 123
and the fact that I knew something of him and his doings 124
often helped to put us at once on friendly terms, and at the same time put him on his mettle to give me the best of the knowledge at his command.

The Trustworthiness of the Genealogies

Before using the genealogical record as a means of study- 000
ing the details of the social organisation, it may be well to consider what guarantee we have that the genealogies form a truthful record of the past. In Torres Straits, where I gained my first experience in these matters, I was so incredulous of the accuracy of the record that I obtained almost every particle of information from two or three different and independent sources, and it was only when I had finished that I found the whole mass of material to furnish a record so consistent in itself that it could hardly have been other than veracious.

Further, on investigating kinship and the regulation of marriage, both on the basis of the genealogical record, it was found that the results of one investigation closely corroborated the results of the other, and that the combined investigations gave so consistent and coherent a result that it was incredible that the genealogies on which the investigations were based should have been other than faithful and accurate records.

The Toda community is considerably larger than either 124
of those with which I worked in the islands of Torres Straits, 128
and when I found that the memories of the people extended 173
back as far or nearly as far as in those islands, it became
obvious that I was confronted with a task of considerable 601
magnitude, and the question arose whether it was necessary to obtain separate accounts of every family from independent witnesses, as I had done previously, or whether I might not rely on the account of a family given by one witness and only seek corroboration occasionally. I began by following the same procedure as in Torres Straits, but soon found that the accounts obtained independently showed a close

124 agreement, and I therefore contented myself in my later
128 work with one account, though every now and again I went
173 over a piece of a pedigree with a second witness. When
601 I had finished, the consistency of all the parts of the record with one another seemed to afford conclusive evidence that I had obtained what is, on the whole, a veracious record.

Of course, in so large a mass of material there are mistakes.[1] In one family no doubt a child has been omitted, especially when it died young and had no posterity to make its name important; in another case perhaps a child has been added to a family who was really the offspring of another mother. That there are such mistakes is certain, but they are probably few in number, and I have no doubt that, with one exception to be presently considered, such mistakes as have crept in do not appreciably impair the value of the genealogies as a record of the working of social regulations.

128 There is one deficiency of the record, however, of the
173 existence of which I have little doubt—a deficiency entirely due to my own carelessness. To me the chief interest of the
601 genealogies is that they are a record of the past—a record of the working of social regulations which at the present time may be already affected by the new influences coming into the lives of primitive people all over the world. In my absorption in the records of the past, I have often neglected the present and have omitted to ascertain carefully the children of families at present in process of growth. In several cases I have failed to obtain the names of children of people now living, and I have very little doubt that I have in several or many cases omitted the names of other children of growing families. I had one excuse for this in the fact already mentioned, that I had to obtain my information about a given family from people of some other family. A man would often know all about the members of the given family in the past, but, living perhaps at some distance from the family in question, he was often hazy as to the exact number and names of the children recently born, and it is the record of

[1] For a few cases in which an individual is entered as the child of a man who is known not to be his real father, see p. 534. In such a case I have assigned the child to the parent who is regarded as the legal father by the Todas.

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children under five years of age which I know to be deficient. 128 173

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females. 601 161 162

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 ,,	4	7
56—60 ,,	19	9
51—55 ,,	20	17
46—50 ,,	26	21
41—45 ,,	26	18
36—40 ,,	26	27
31—35 ,,	40	25
26—30 ,,	40	33
21—25 ,,	38	28
16—20 ,,	32	31
11—15 ,,	41	20
6—10 ,,	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour- 125 128

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125 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the
128 community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the
173 value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of
601 the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

Buffalo Pedigrees

124 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees
173 of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my
234 next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

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which they were reticent, but I am inclined to think that I was 124
told all there was to tell. 173

To a certain extent it is correct to say that the pedigrees
of the buffaloes are preserved, and in the female line only. 234
If any given buffalo were taken as the starting-point, the owner could usually tell me the names of the mother of the buffalo and of the mother's mother, and occasionally I obtained the names of the immediate ancestors in the female line for four generations. Thus, Nertiners of Taradr (24) had a buffalo named Kârstum who was the daughter of Idrsh. Idrsh was the daughter of Persud, who was the daughter of Nerûv, who was the daughter of Kiûd. Another of his buffaloes, Keien, was descended from Koisi, Nerûv, and Kâsimi in the order named.

I could not ascertain that the Todas kept any record of 173
the collateral lines of descent, nor was there, so far as I could 234
find, any idea of kinship between buffaloes descended from the same recent ancestor. Two buffaloes born of the same mother would be known, of course, to be sisters, but no importance seemed to be attached to the relationship.

An obvious reason for the limitation of the pedigrees of the buffaloes to the female line is the fact that only female buffaloes are named, so that there are no means of recording male parentage. We shall see later that among themselves the Todas attach little importance to paternity, and the same indifference is found in their attitude towards their buffaloes. The essential reason for the nature of the record of buffalo-descent is the complete absence of desire to maintain the purity of the breed, even of the most sacred herds, and the complete lack of attention to ties of consanguinity between buffaloes mated together.

The Toda Population

The chapters on kinship and marriage will furnish object- 000
lessons on the method of application of the knowledge derived from the genealogies to the study of social regulations. In the remainder of this chapter I propose to consider various problems connected with population, of biological as well as

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000 of sociological interest. The data derived from the genealogies are here of distinct service, though, for reasons already considered, their value is not so great as in the investigation of social regulations.

161 Records of the numbers of the Todas have been taken at various times, beginning with what must have been a very rough estimate made by Keys[1] in 1812, in which the number of the Todas or Thothavurs was placed at 179. In 1821, Ward[2] estimated the numbers of men and women at 140 and 82 respectively, of whom the great majority lived in the Todanad district of the hills.

Hough[3] in 1825 found the population to consist of 145 men, 100 women, 45 boys, and 36 girls, altogether 326.

In 1838, Birch[4] gives the population as consisting of 294 men and 184 women, amounting to 478, but elsewhere in his paper he says that the number of the Todas was computed at about 800.

In 1847, Ouchterlony[5] found the number of the Todas to be 337, made up of 86 adult males, 87 male children, 70 adult females, and 94 female children. The proportion of males to females is only 173 to 164, showing a very much smaller preponderance of males than in any other estimate before or since.

In 1856, Grigg[6] gives 185 males and 131 females, altogether 316.

In 1866, Grigg gives the population as 704. If the estimates of this year and that of 1856 were correct, it would show that the population had more than doubled in ten years. It is evident that the census of 1866 is the first which gives anything approaching an accurate record of the Toda population. Even in this year there is one obvious source of error, for it would seem that those living at the foot of the hills, near Gudalur were not included, and probably twenty or thirty, if not more, would have to be added on this account.

[1] Grigg's *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, 1880, Appendix No. 17, p. xlvlii.
[2] *Ibid.* App. No. 20, p. lx.
[3] *Letters on the Neilgherries*, London, 1829, p. 75.
[4] *Madras Journ. of Lit. and Science*, 1836, vol. viii, p. 86.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1848, vol. xv, p. 1.
[6] *Manual*, p. 27.

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161 For the census of 1871 the records are conflicting. On p. 29 of the *Manual*, Grigg gives the numbers as 693, 405 males and 288 females. On p. 187 he gives instead of these numbers 376 males and 263 females, making a total of 639. Breeks gives the latter numbers and also a revised result which brings out the total population as 683. This figure, or the earlier of Grigg's figures, evidently approximates to the correct population, which shows a slight falling off as compared with five years earlier.

In the census of 1881, the numbers would appear to have continued to diminish, the population being put at only 675; 382 males and 293 females.

In 1891, the number had risen to 736; 424 males and 312 females.

In the census of 1901, which was taken with especial care to record all the Todas, there were found to be 451 males and 354 females, making together 805.

The population as recorded in my genealogical tables compiled in 1902 was only 736; 419 males and 317 females. My numbers fall far short of those of the census taken a year previously. As I have already pointed out, my genealogies are untrustworthy as a record of the young children of the community now living, and it is possible also that I have omitted a certain number of women. The excess of men over women is distinctly greater in my figures than in the census of 1901, and this may be due to the fact that I failed to hear of a certain number of widows or unmarried women or girls. If so, it is probable that these defects are in the genealogies of the Teivaliol, and it is in them that the excess of men is greatest.

The earlier records of the population are certainly far below the mark. Captain Harkness, writing in 1832, estimates the attendance at a funeral at 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and girls. Those seen by Harkness may not have been all Todas, since Badagas and Kotas undoubtedly attend Toda funerals, but we may safely call this a total attendance of 500, which would show that the records of Hough in 1825 and of Birch in 1838 are far below the mark, and that Birch's rough estimate of 800 is

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161 probably far more nearly correct, and may even have been too small.

The records have probably been fairly complete since 1866, and if so, they show a falling off in population from this date till the 1881 census. It is, however, possible that the gradual increase in numbers during recent censuses has been due to the greater care taken at each succeeding census. Unsatisfactory as the records are, they seem to point to a diminution of population about the middle of the last century, which ceased between 1880 and 1890, since which time the population has probably increased.

161 Mr. R. C. Punnett[1] has analysed the data furnished by my
162 genealogical records to ascertain the average size of the Toda family. He divided the families recorded in the genealogies into four groups: (A) those where the eldest child would in 1903 be over 90 years of age; (B) those where he would be between 60 and 90; (C) and (D) those where he would be between 30 and 60 and between 0 and 30 respectively. He has recorded the results for Tartharol and Teivaliol separately in the following table.

Group.	Tartharol.			Teivaliol.		
	No. of families.	Average size of family.	♂ s per 100 ♀ s.	No. of families.	Average size of family.	♂ s per 100 ♀ s.
A	9	3·0 [4·2]	237·5	4	4·5 [6·0]	200
B	49	4·1 [5·0]	159·7	21	3·8 [5·4]	259
C	87	3·3 [3·7]	131·4	40	3·8 [5·0]	202
D	104	2·5 [2·8]	129·2	45	2·3 [2·9]	171

The figures in square brackets give the average size of the family for each generation, making allowance for cases of female infanticide, which we shall see presently to be a Toda custom which is almost certainly diminishing in frequency.

The conclusion Mr. Punnett draws from this table is that there has been a marked decrease in fertility during the period covered by the genealogies.

The defects in my record as regards young children make

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

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any conclusions about the last generation very inconclusive, 161
but since the record for very young children is certainly
defective, and since many families now existing will certainly 162
increase in size, it is probable that any progressive decrease in the size of a family has now been arrested, and the details of the genealogical record would therefore agree with the Census Reports in showing the presence of a distinct tendency of the Toda population to increase.

None of the previous records have given any indication of 162
the numbers of the two chief divisions of the Toda people. According to my genealogical records, there were living, in 1902, 528 Tartharol and 208 Teivaliol. The defects in my record are probably somewhat greater for the Teivaliol than for the Tartharol, but any difference there may be is certainly not great, and I think we may conclude that, though these figures are not accurate, they represent approximately the true proportion of the numbers of the two divisions. It is quite certain that the Tartharol are more than twice as numerous as the Teivaliol. Mr. Punnett's table does not show any great difference between the two divisions in the average size of the family, so that the proportion between the numbers of the two divisions has probably not altered during the period covered by the genealogical record. It is probable that the Teivaliol have always or for a very long time been the smaller division.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record then agree 161
in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the
middle of last century which has now ceased, the probability 177
being that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers. 164

There can be little doubt that any decrease in the Toda population about the middle of last century was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. The adverse influences which came into the lives of the Todas probably owe their origin to the large immigration of native servants and to the development of the bazaar. Though Europeans first began to come to the Nilgiri Hills about 1820, it was not till twenty or thirty years later that they arrived in any considerable numbers, so that it was probably the middle of the century

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161 177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

164 842 [273] The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 842 Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 177 842 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

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The chief village of the Kars clan is situated close to Ootacamund and has suffered greatly from its neighbours, but many of the villages of the clan are more remote, so that the clan may be put down as one partly influenced. The people of Päm and Nidrsi, on the other hand, are more influenced than any other of the Toda clans, as is shown by the alterations in their villages and the neglect of the ritual of their religion. The villages of the Pämol are, or were, near to Wellington Barracks, and it is certainly the most degenerated of all the Toda clans. The following table, taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, shows the average size of the family in each case, and though the figures are somewhat irregular, they bear out the view that sterility is greater the more the people have come into contact with Europeans and their followers.

Name of clan.	No. of families.	No. of offspring.	Average size of family.	Average size of family for group.
Nödrs (uninfluenced)	14	54	3·84	3·59
Pan (uninfluenced)	8	21	2·37	
Taradr (uninfluenced)	9	43	4·77	
Kanödrs (uninfluenced)	11	33	3·00	
Kars (partly influenced)	25	76	3·04	3·04
Päm (much influenced)	10	22	2·20	2·60
Nidrsi (much influenced)	10	30	3·00	

Proportion of the Sexes

The records of the Toda population in the past all show an excess of men over women, and with the exception of the record of Ouchterlony, which is certainly untrustworthy, the excess is considerable. In view of their untrustworthiness no importance can be attached to the records taken earlier than that of 1866, and in the report for that year I have been unable to ascertain the proportions of the sexes. In 1871 there were 140·6 men for every 100 women; in 1881, 130·4 for every 100; in 1891, 135·9, and in the census of 1901, 127·4 men for every 100 women. My figures, derived from the

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

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accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative. 162 184

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk. 847

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children. 114 847 182

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which 161 847

[1] Pp. 194-5.

161 seems at present to exist may be due, wholly or in part, to
847 the diminution of infanticide.

There is one indication that female infanticide has almost
163 entirely ceased during the last five years, and even that there may now be an excess of female births. In the table of ages given on page 469, it will be seen that the pedigrees record more girls than boys of five years and under. There is no reason why my record of such young children should have been more defective for one sex than for the other, and the proportion here may be approximately correct.

Twins

845 Twins are called *ömumokh*, and it is the custom to kill one
849 of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or, at any rate, would have been killed in the past.

There is one case of twins in the genealogies. Iraveli, the wife of Kwötuli and Nudriki (8), gave birth to twins about twelve years ago. Both were boys, and I was first told that one had died shortly after birth, but later inquiries made it almost certain that the boy had been killed. Some time after the birth of the twins, one of the buffaloes of Kwötuli and Nudriki is said to have had a calf with one body, two heads, and four legs. The buffalo died before the calf was born, and the monstrosity was found by the Kotas, to whom the body was given. It was generally expected that something would happen to Kwötuli or Nudriki, but they have since been very prosperous.

The Determination of Age

805 This is a suitable place to say a word about the method I
128 adopted to ascertain the ages of the Todas. Like all people at a low stage of culture, the Todas are very uncertain about their ages, though their knowledge is more accurate than that of many peoples. Every Toda knows, however, whether he is older or younger than another, this fact determining the

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names and salutations they give to one another, as we shall see in the next chapter. A few of the younger men seemed to have accurate knowledge of their ages, and building up on this basis, and with a knowledge of the relative ages of the different members of the community, it became possible to arrive at estimates which probably do not deviate very widely from the correct ages; even in the case of the older people, I do not believe that my estimated ages are likely to be more than five years out in any case. As already mentioned (see p. 416), the Todas make use, in the estimation of age, of their belief in the eighteen-year period of a flower, and the ages so estimated in a few cases agreed fairly with those arrived at in other ways. 805 128

Among those now alive, it seemed that the usual time which separates the birth of two children of the same mother is about three years, and I have taken this time as the rule in estimating the ages of all those whose names are included in the genealogies. Similarly, so far as I could tell, women begin to bear children when about eighteen to twenty years of age. 163 128

The ages of the four groups given in the table on p. 474 were calculated on the assumptions that a woman had her first child when twenty years old, and that the interval between the births of two children was three years.

The oldest Toda now living is Kiugi (57). He looks an extremely old man, and is said by the Todas to be nearly a hundred years of age. There is evidence which makes it probable that he is at least eighty or ninety. Kòrs, the father of Kiugi, performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony before the birth of Teitchi (52) (see p. 564). Teitchi's grandson, Kuriolv, is now about fifty-four years of age. When Kòrs gave the bow and arrow he may have been only a young boy, and if we assume that he was fifteen years old, that Teitchi and Pareivan had their first children when twenty years old, and that the interval between the birth of Pilzink and that of Pareivan was six years, it would make the age of Kòrs, if he were still alive, 115. If Kiugi was born when his father was twenty years old, it would make his age ninety-five. If, on the other hand, we assume that Kòrs gave the bow and arrow when 128 165

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128 only ten years of age, and that he did not have his first
165 child till he was thirty, it would make Kiugi's age eighty. Kiugi's eldest child, if alive, would now probably be about sixty, and this supports the view that the lowest possible estimate of Kiugi's age is eighty, and he is not improbably a good deal older.

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CHAPTER XXI

KINSHIP

THE system of kinship was studied chiefly by means of the genealogies. The Todas are sufficiently intelligent to be able to give satisfactory definitions of their terms expressing different kinds of relationship, but the genealogies were very useful in checking these definitions and in working out several points in detail. 601

The Toda system of kinship is of the kind known as classificatory with several interesting special features. Perhaps the most important of these is the use of the same terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand, and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other hand. This is a natural consequence of the regulation which ordains that the proper marriage for a man is one with the daughter either of his mother's brother or father's sister.

Another important feature of the Toda system is the existence of two well-marked groups of terms expressing bonds of kinship; one used when speaking of relatives, and the other when speaking to relatives and in exclamations. The latter, which may be regarded as vocative cases of the former, are fewer in number and used in a much more general sense; and if the two are not distinguished, it is easy to understand that one may find only "inextricable confusion in Toda ideas as to relationship."[1] I will first give a list of kinship terms, together with the forms used in direct address, and the approximate definitions, and these will be followed by a

[1] See Marshall, p. 213.

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601 discussion of the exact meaning of each term. The vocative forms are enclosed in brackets.

Pevian, great-grandfather.
Peviav, great-grandmother.
Pian (*pia*), grandfather.
Piav (*piava*), grandmother.
In (*aia*), father.
Av (*ava*), mother.
Mokh (*ena*), son.
Kugh (*ena*), daughter.
Mokh pedvai mokh (*ena*), grandson.
Mokh pedvai kugh (*ena*), granddaughter.
An (*anna*), elder brother.
Egal (*egala*), brother of same age.
Nòdrved (*enda*), younger brother.
Akkan (*akka*), elder sister.
Nòdrvedkugh (*enda*), younger sister.
Mun (*mama*), mother's brother and wife's father.
Mumi (*mimia*), father's sister and wife's mother.
Manmokh (*ena*), sister's son.
Mankugh (*ena*), sister's daughter.
Matchuni, child of a mother's brother or father's sister.
Òl (*òl* or *òlia*), husband.
Kotvai or *tazmokh* (*tazmokh* or *tazmokhia*), wife.
Paiol, general name for male relatives of wife.
Motvilth (*ena*), son's wife.

A general name for those of the same clan is *annatam*, but I am not sure that this is not properly a borrowed word.

In giving a more detailed account of these terms of kinship, it will perhaps be convenient to begin with the relationship of *in*, or father.

In. A person speaks of his father as "*en in*," "my father," while "his father" would be "*tan in*." An *in* is addressed as *aia*. These names are applied not only to the father, but also to the father's brothers, whether they are husbands of the mother or not.

The names *in* or *aia* are also given to all the males of the clan (*madol*) who are of the same generation as the father;

also to the husbands of the sisters of the mother, sisters here including both own sisters and clan-sisters, *i.e.*, to the husbands of all those who are of the same clan and generation as the mother. Elder brothers of the father (either own brothers or clan-brothers) are often addressed as *perudaia*, while younger brothers are called *karudaia*, and in speaking of such men the expressions "*en in perud*" and "*en in karud*" would be used. When a man speaks of one of his more remote fathers, and it may be doubtful of whom he is speaking, he may add the name of the man; thus Siriar (20) would speak of Paniolv (26), the husband of his mother's sister, as "*Pani in*." 601

Av. A mother is spoken of as *en av* or *tan av*, and addressed as *ava*. These names are also applied to the wife of a father other than the actual mother, to the sisters of the mother, to the wives of the father's brothers, and to the sisters of the wife's father. Every woman of the same clan and generation as the mother is an *av*. In general the wife of an *in* is an *av*. As in the case of the *in*, a distinction is made between the elder and younger sisters of the mother, the former being addressed as *perudava* and the latter *karudava*. Similarly the wife of an elder brother of the father is *perudava* and of a younger *karudava*. Such relatives may be spoken of as "*en av perud*" and "*en av karud*."

Mokh and *Kugh*. Every one whom a man calls *in* or *av* calls the man *mokh*, and every one to whom a woman gives these names calls the woman *kugh*. In direct address, both *mokh* and *kugh* are called *ena* (? *enna*).

In speaking of his brother's children, a man may make clear whether he is speaking of the child of an elder or younger brother; thus he may say "*en nodrvedvain mokh*," "my younger brother's son." *Mokh* is often used as a general term for "child" and may be applied to persons of either sex.

Pian. This name is given to both paternal and maternal grandfathers and to their brothers, certainly in the narrow sense and probably in the wider. Every male of the speaker's clan of the same generation as the father's father would certainly be called "*en pian*." The brother of the father's mother is also called *pian*, but I am doubtful whether the term is used for all the clan-brothers of the father's mother

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601 Similarly I am uncertain how far the clan-brothers of the mother's father and mother's mother receive this name. A *pian* is addressed as *pia*.

Piav. This is the name of both paternal and maternal grandmothers, and in general the wife of a *pian* is a *piav*. A *piav* is addressed as *piava*.

All those addressed as *pian* or *piav* will address the speaker as *ena*. When speaking of his grandson, a man will say "*en mokh pedvai*" or "*en mokh pedvai mokh*," literally "my born to my son" or "my son born to my son," and there were no less elaborate terms.

The son of a daughter is called *en kugh pedvai mokh*, "my daughter who born to son," taking the words in order, or "my son born to my daughter." A daughter of a son is called *en mokh pedvai kugh*, and the daughter of a daughter, *en kugh pedvai kugh*. Since, however, *mokh* is often used as a general name for "child," I believe that this word usually takes the place of *kugh*, and that in consequence a grandchild of either sex is called *en mokh pedvai mokh*.

Pevian and *peviav*. These words for great-grandfather and great-grandmother have a similar wide connotation. The word *pef* is an ancient term for "great" which is used in some of the magical incantations (see p. 267).

An. This is the name for elder brother and for all members of the clan of a man or woman who are of the same generation as, and older than, the man or woman. An *an* is addressed as *anna*.

Nòdrved. This is the name for younger brother and for all members of the clan of the same generation as, and younger than, the speaker. *En nòdrved* or *nòdrped* means literally "my born with." A *nòdrved* is addressed as *enda*.

Egal. A corresponding relative who is of the same age is called *en egal* and is addressed as *egala*.

These terms are used both by men and women of and to men.

Akkan. This term is applied by both men and women to an elder sister, and is also given to all female members of the same clan who are of the same generation as, and older than, the speaker. An *akkan* is addressed as *akka*.

Nòdrvedkugh. A younger sister is spoken of by this name, which is also given to all the female members of the same clan and generation, but younger than the speaker. Such a relative is addressed by the same term as is applied to a younger brother, viz., *enda.* Two sisters of the same age are *egal* and *egala* to one another. 601

These terms for "brother" and "sister" are also applied to one another by the children of two sisters. Thus a man would call the son of his mother's sister *an*, and address him as *anna* if the latter were older than himself, and would be spoken of by the latter as *en nòdrved* and addressed as *enda.* If of the same age they would be *egal* or *egala* to one another. Similarly a man addresses the daughter of his mother's sister as *akka* or *enda* according to age. I am doubtful how widely the terms for brotherhood and sisterhood are applied in this case. I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in a large clan like that of Kars would call one another brother and sister.

Thus the children of two brothers are brothers and sisters, and the children of two sisters are also brothers and sisters, while, as we shall see shortly, the children of brother and sister receive another name. The children of two sisters belong to different clans except in those cases in which the sisters have married men of the same clan. Thus a man may have brothers and sisters in several different clans.

Mun. This is the name of the mother's brother, of the father's sister's husband, and of the wife's father. The last is also spoken of as *paiol* together with other relatives of the wife. In the case of the orthodox Toda marriage, in which a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister, the *mun* is at the same time both wife's father and either mother's brother or father's sister's husband, but the wife's father is still called *mun* even when a man marries a woman to whom he is unrelated.

The term *mun* is not only applied by a man to the own brothers of his mother, but also to her clan-brothers. When a man has many *mun*, he may show to which he is

601 referring by mentioning his name; thus Siriar (20) would say "*Karsüln mun*" if he referred to this relative, the husband of his father's sister, and he might speak in the same way of a clan-brother of his mother.

A distinction is often made between older and younger *mun*; thus, if a man's mother had two brothers, the elder would be called *en mun perud* and the younger *en mun karud*. A *mun* is addressed as *mama*.

Mumi. This is the name of the father's sister, of the wife of a mother's brother, and of the wife's mother, the terms brother and sister being again used in a wide sense. In general, the wife of a *mun* is a *mumi*. A *mumi* is addressed as *mimia*.

Manmokh. A person would apply the term *manmokh* to his sister's son and his wife's brother's son. It is a term reciprocal to *mun* in so far as this term is one for mother's brother and father's sister's husband. I am not quite certain whether it would be used for a son-in-law who was not also a sister's son, but I am almost certain that this would be done.

The term is also applied to the sons of clan-sisters, and when used in this more distant way a distinction is sometimes made. *En manmokh* would mean "my (own) sister's son," *Em manmokh*, literally "our sister's son," would be used for children of a more distant sister.

Mankugh is used in exactly the same way as *manmokh* for sister's daughter, &c.

Matchuni. This is the term applied to one another by the children, both male and female, of brother and sister. While the children of two brothers are brothers or sisters (*an*, *egal*, *akka* or *nòdrved*) and the children of two sisters are also brothers and sisters, the children of a brother and sister are *matchuni*. In other words, the children of an individual's mother's brother or of his father's sister are the *matchuni* of the individual.

When a man addresses his male *matchuni* he calls him *anna*, *egala* or *enda*, according to their relative ages. Similarly when a woman addresses her female *matchuni*, she calls her *akka*, *egala* or *enda*, according to age.

When a man addresses his female *matchuni*, he calls her either *tazmokhia* or *kughia* (see below). He gives her the former name because he is allowed to marry her; she is a woman who might normally be his wife and he therefore addresses her as wife. 601

Similarly a woman addresses her male *matchuni* as *òlia*; she calls him husband because he may become her husband.

As in the case of other relationships, a man may define more exactly of whom he is speaking when he refers to a *matchuni*, and may say instead *en munkugh*, the daughter of my *mun*. Two kinship terms are thus used which resemble one another closely, but have very different meanings:—*en munkugh*, my uncle's daughter, and *en mankugh*, my sister's daughter.

Òl, husband. A woman speaks of her husband as *en òi* and addresses him as *òlia*.

Kotvai and *tazmokh*, wife. A man speaks of his wife as *en kotvai*, and addresses her as *tazmokhia*.

Paiol. This is a general term for the male relatives of the wife. It is applied especially to the wife's father, the wife's brothers, and the brothers of the wife's father.

It seemed that this term should only properly be applied to the near relatives of the wife. Those whom the wife would address as *aia*, *anna*, or *enda*, because members of her clan, need not be called *paiol* by the husband.

Paiol is a reciprocal term, and it is therefore applied by a man to the daughter's husband, the sister's husband, and to the husband of the brother's daughter.

A *paiol* is addressed as *anna*, *egala*, or *enda*, according to age.

Motvilth. This term is the equivalent of daughter-in-law and is applied by a man to his son's wife. A woman is also the *motvilth* of the brothers of her husband's father. A *motvilth* is addressed as *ena*.

There did not seem to be any brief term for the sister of a wife, and a man would speak of her as *en kotvai akkan* if older, or as *en kotvai nòdrved* if younger than the wife.

Sometimes the Todas add to some of the kinship names

601 the word *potch*, which is said to have the meanings "begetting" or "begotten." I met with this especially in the lamentations used at funerals. A man would say, "*en potch aia*"—"O my father which begot me"; "*en potch anna*"—"O my elder brother begotten with me." For a younger brother, however, this word would not be used; a man would not say, "*en potch nòdrved ia*," because *ved* has the same significance as *potch*, *nòdrved* meaning also "born with" or "begotten with."

Every male of a man's own clan is either his *pian*; his *in*; his *an*, *egal*, or *nòdrved*; his *mokh*, or his *mokh pedvai mokh*. In most cases a clan consists of several families, and these families may be unrelated to one another so far as the evidence from the genealogical record goes. Nevertheless, every Toda knows exactly the proper kinship terms to apply to all the members of his clan. I inquired in detail into the basis of this knowledge in the case of the Taradrol, consisting of six *pòlm* or divisions. All the members of each *pòlm* trace their descent from a man whose name is known, and the pedigrees of the six *pòlm* are given in the genealogical tables 20 to 25.

It was known that three of these *pòlm* were closely related to one another, and that the other three were also closely related. The following table expresses the relationship in the first case:—

It was not perfectly certain whether Teithi and the two men whose names were not remembered were own brothers, but it was known that they were closely related and of the same generation. They were certainly clan-brothers and possibly own brothers. The kinship names applied by members of the three *pòlm* to one another were all in accordance with this scheme; thus, there was no one living in these three *pòlm* whom Siriar (20) called *aia*; he would have given this name to Nasidz or Peratuthi if they had been

alive. He calls Arthothi and Parkeidi *anna*; they are the sons of Peratuthi, who was of the same generation as Siriar's father. The following are called *mokh* or *ena*:—Püldenir, Keinodz, Idrshkwòdr (21), Polgar, Pundu, Keinmuv, and Pushtikudr (22), although at least one of these men is older than Siriar, and several others are approximately of the same age. Similarly, Muners (21) is the *mokh pedvai mokh*, or grandson of Siriar. 601

The other three *pòlm* of the Taradr clan are known to be related in a similar way: Kiusthvan (23), Pachievan (24), and Pungut (25) being either own brothers or men closely related and of the same generation. I was thus able to ascertain definitely how each member of the first three *pòlm* knew the appropriate name to be given to members of these families, and similarly how members of the other three *pòlm* knew the exact terms of kinship to apply to one another.

Each member of the first three *pòlm* also knew, however, the proper kinship terms to apply to members of the other three *pòlm*, although I could not obtain, and there seemed to be no record of, the way in which the two groups of families were connected. Thus Siriar addresses as *aia* Paners and his brothers (23) and Irkiolv (24). He addresses as *anna*: Teitukhen, Idjkudr and Kandu (23), Tòleidi, Nertiners, Mogai, Teimad and Orguln (24), and Kudeners and his brother (25). The children of these men are the *mokh* of Siriar, and are addressed by him as *ena*.

The explanation seems to be that the mode of relationship is handed down from generation to generation; thus Teithi, the grandfather of Siriar, called Kiusthvan (23) brother, and in consequence Ircheidi and Paners, their sons, also call one another brother, and so Siriar, the son of Ircheidi, knows that he has to call Paners father. In this way a man would know the correct term to apply to every member of his clan, though the links by which their pedigrees are connected may have been completely forgotten.

I also worked out the relationship of the different divisions of the Kuudr clan in the same way, and may perhaps give the record briefly.

601 Teitnir (52) calls the following Kuudr men *aia*:—Mutevan (52), Punatvan (53), Keitas (55), Tüliners (56), Kiugi (57), Tütners, Etamudri, Madsu, and Koboners (58), Ishkievan (60).

He calls the following *anna*:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52), Targners (53), Keinkursi (54), and Mudriners (57). The following are his *nòdrved*, and are called by him *enda*:—Kwelthipush and his brothers, Piliar and Piliag (52), Pungusivan, Tevò, Karov and Pòl (53), Pöteners (54), Sinar and Katsog (55), Erai, Kil, Kanokh (56), Onadj and Kiwòdrthotz (57), Kishkar and Tormungudr (59). All the sons of these brothers are the *mokh* of Teitnir.

In the above list Teitnir omitted Tikievan and Tushtkudr (56), who according to the genealogies are his *pia* or grandfathers, while their sons, though much younger than Teitnir, are his fathers, and are addressed by him as *aia*.

The other kinship terms are used in the same wide way. If a man's mother belonged to Kuudr all those Kuudr men would be his *mun* who were the *an*, *egal*, or *nòdrved* of his mother; and all the children of those men would be his *matchuni*.

The terms used for the relatives of a wife are also used for the corresponding relatives of a *sedvaitazmokh*. This is the name of the woman in the Toda institution according to which a woman consorts with one or more men in addition to her husband or husbands (see p. 526). The man, or *mokhthodvaiol*, calls the fathers and brothers of the woman *paiol*, and calls her father *mun* and her mother *mumi*.

Relatives are often spoken of by the Todas in a way that defines their relation to the speaker more exactly than is usual in the classificatory system. Thus, a man may call his brother's son "*en nodrvedvain mokh*"—"my younger brother's son"; or he may speak of his wife's elder sister as "*en kotvai akka*," an abbreviation of *en kotvai tan akka*—"my wife her elder sister." Similarly, a wife's younger sister may be called "*en kotvai nòdrved*."

It seemed to me that the Todas afford an interesting example of a people who are beginning to modify the classificatory system of kinship in a direction which distinctly approaches the descriptive system. The essential features

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of the system of kinship are those known as classificatory, but the Todas have various means of distinguishing between the near and distant relatives to whom the same kinship term is applied. Two examples of this have already been given; the son of an own sister may be called "my sister's son," while the son of a clan sister is called "our sister's son," and the own brother of a mother is simply called *mun*, while in the case of a clan brother of the mother, the name of the man is added. Further, a term which is definitely descriptive may be used in the examples quoted above. 601

The Todas have reached a stage of mental development in which it seems that they are no longer satisfied with the nomenclature of a purely classificatory system, and have begun to make distinctions in their terminology for near and distant relatives.

Another point of interest about the Toda system is that the two sets of kinship terms—those used in direct address and those used when speaking of a relative—do not correspond closely with one another.

The terms used in direct address are few in number compared with the kinship terms used when speaking of a relative. Brothers of all kinds, *matchuni* and some *paiol* (brothers-in-law) are all addressed as *anna*, *egala* or *enda*, according to age. Children, grandchildren, sisters' sons and sons-in-law are all addressed as *ena*. If exclusive attention were paid to the kinship terms used in address we should seem to have a kinship system which is almost wholly based on relative ages and generations, all other distinctions being ignored.

The Toda system distinguishes widely between elder and younger members of the family and clan. This feature, which is of very general occurrence in connexion with the classificatory system, has been highly developed by the Todas, and their system differs from any other with which I am acquainted in having a special term for relatives of the same age.

When two members of a clan or two men related in other ways address one another as brother, the terms employed depend altogether on their relative ages, and are not influenced by the relative seniority of the branches of the family or clan to which they belong.

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601 171 The Toda system appears to be closely related to that of the Dravidians of Southern India. In several cases the names for certain kin are identical with or closely resemble those of other South Indian languages.

The three most characteristic features of the Toda system are (i.) the use of the same term for mother's brother and father-in-law, &c.; (ii.) the marked development of vocative forms of the kinship terms; (iii.) the marked development of distinctions according to age. These three features are also found in Tamil, and as far as my information goes in Telugu and Canarese. The Toda system appears to be a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity. The resemblance between the Toda and the Tamil names seems certainly to be closer than that between the Toda names and those of the Telugus and Canarese.

I do not wish here to consider these resemblances and differences in any detail, but in the Table on the opposite page I have given a list of those kinship terms in which the Todas resemble other inhabitants of Southern India. The Tamil terms I owe to Mr. K. Rangachari of Madras; the others I have taken from Morgan's *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race.*

Kinship Taboos

601 551 784 A man never mentions the name of his *mun.* If he wishes to make clear of whom he is speaking he will give the name of the place at which his *mun* lives, as "*Tedshteiri ithvai en mun podchi,*" "My uncle who lives at Tedshteiri." This restriction only applies to the own brothers of his mother. Other more distant *mun* may be spoken of by name, and as we have already seen, if a man wishes to make it clear of whom he is speaking, he mentions the name in addition to the kinship term.

A man is also prohibited from uttering the name of the man from whom he has received his wife—*i.e.*, to whom he has done *kalnelpudithti* (see p. 502). This man, who is called the *mokhudrtvaiol*, is usually the father of the wife and would normally be also a *mun*, but sometimes the place of the

mokhudrtvaiol is usurped by somebody else and in such a case there might be no restriction on the name of the wife's real father. In the only case of this kind of which I have a record, the marriage of Siriar (20) and Pupidz, the place of *mokhudrtvaiol* was taken by Kuriolv, who was living with Pilimurg (7), the girl's mother, and though he was no real

	Toda.	Tamu.	Telegu.	Canarese.
Son.....	mokh	maghan		
Elder brother ...	an (anna)	aṇṇan (aṇṇa)	anna	anna
Elder sister	akkan (akka)	akkal (akka)	akka	akka
Mother's brother.	mun (mâmâ)	amman or maman (mama)	mena mama	mava
Father-in-law ...	mun (mama)	mamaner (mama)	mama	mava
Father's sister ...	mumi (mimia)	attai		
Wife of mother's brother	mumi (mimia)	ammami		
Wife's mother ...	mumi (mimia)	mamiyar (ammami)		
Sister's son	manmokh	maruman or marumakan		
Mother's brother's son	matchuni	maittunan (?)		
Father's sister's son	matchuni	attan or maittunan		
Wife's brother ...	matchuni or paiol	machchinan or maittunan		

relative of the wife, Siriar might not mention his name. In spite of the fact, however, that Kuriolv had become his *mokhudrtvaiol*, Siriar went privately to Patirsh (35), the real father of his wife, and did *kalmelpuditki* and would also refrain from saying the name of this man.

A man is prohibited from saying the name of his wife's mother (*mumi*), but my notes do not make clear whether he is also prohibited from saying the names of other *mumi*—*i.e.*,

601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this
551 restriction only applies to near relatives.

A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,
576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *minn*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

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before women, and men even may bow down before women (see p. 502). 601

Since, owing to the *mokkthodvaiol* connexion, a Tarthar woman may have a Teivali *mun* and *vice versa*, the *kalmelpudithti* salutation takes place between people of the two divisions, and I have often seen a woman of one division placing her head beneath the foot of a man of the other division. 602 576

When a person meets one of his kin, he uses a form of greeting which depends on the nature of the relationship. Most of these greetings consist of some form of the word *iti* or *itvi*, which was said to mean "blessing" or "bless," together with the kinship term.

A man would greet an elder brother or anyone whom he would call *anna* by the word "*tion*," cut very short so as to sound like a single syllable. This is a corruption of *iti anna*. A person greets a younger brother or one whom he would call *enda* by uttering his name followed by the word *ers*, as in "*Sakari ers*," "*Pakkwar ers*." A father is greeted as *itiai*; a mother as *itiava*. An elder sister as *itiakka*; a younger sister as *itvena*, and this latter form is used for any female relative younger than the speaker. It is the duty of younger female relatives to perform the *kalmelpudithti* salutation, and as soon as a man says *itvena*, the woman at once bows down and places her head beneath the raised foot of the man, helping him to raise it at the same time.

A mother's brother or father-in-law (*mun*) is greeted by *itimon* and a *munni* is greeted by *itimimia*, but so slurred as to be hardly recognisable. The grandfather and grandmother are greeted in the words *itin pia* and *itin piava*.

Whenever a new Toda came to join people who were with me, there would be a chorus of greetings, and the newcomer would look round carefully to see who was present, giving to each his proper salutation and obviously taking the greatest care that no one was overlooked. Since the relationship of brother is the most frequent, the greetings heard most often on these occasions were "*tion*" and ". . . . *ers*."

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to
764 the salutation of the dead. When the body first reaches
602 the funeral place it is saluted by all present, and in the
case of kin, the mode of salutation varies with the bond of
601 kinship. Those related to the deceased as *in*, *av*, *pian*, *piav*, *mun*, *mumi*, *an*, or *akkan*, bow down at the head of the corpse and touch the body with their foreheads, while all those whom the deceased would have called *enda* or *ena* bow down at the feet. The place saluted by those who are not kin is determined by age, but in the case of kin, the bond of kinship is more important than the age, so that the former condition determines the mode of salutation. Thus at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), Kòdrner (7) saluted at the head of the dead woman. He was the younger, but was her *mun* owing to the fact that Kiuneimi's step-mother Kureimi, was a Kars woman whom Kòdrner called sister.

The Duties of Kin

602 The funeral ceremonies provide the greatest number of
764 examples of kinship duties, the parts taken by many of the mourners being determined largely by their bonds of kinship to the deceased. The place of chief mourner is taken by the brother or son of a dead man, by the husband of a dead woman, and by the father of a dead child, though, at the funeral of a girl, the husband plays the most important *rôle*.

Various duties fall to relatives of the same clan or of the same family of the clan. The earth-throwing at the funeral of a male, the smearing of butter on the buffalo, lighting the pyre at the first funeral and the two fires at the *azaramkedr*, and ringing the bell at the final scene, are all performed by near relatives of the same clan and family as the deceased.

Cutting off a lock of hair and mixing food are acts performed by the chief mourner, who is of the same clan as the deceased, whether brother, son, husband, or father.

The *manmokh*, or sister's son (who may be also son-in-law), has certain definite duties. Formerly, when many buffaloes were killed, one was always given by the sister's son, and he still gives a thread cord, called *pennar*. Many other relatives give these cords, but that given by the *manmokh* is especially

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

honoured in that it is put round the body of the dead man inside his cloak, and not merely laid on the covering of the body as are the others.

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The *mun* does not appear to have any duties at a funeral, though in old days he contributed a buffalo, and, at the present time, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered may be given by the *mun* or other representative of the mother's family.

The *matchuni* (child of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt) has several duties, of which the most important are those at the *irsankati* ceremony of the *azaramkedr*. The other duties are the secondary result of the marriage regulation which makes the *matchuni* the natural bridegroom or bride, and, in consequence, it is the *matchuni* who performs the *pursütpimi* ceremony at the funeral of an unmarried girl. Similarly, the *matchuni* may take the place of a *paiol* at the cloth-giving ceremony.

The duties which have, however, the greatest social interest are those performed by the relatives by marriage. At the funeral of a woman certain ceremonies, such as that in which leaves of the *tiveri* plant are put in the dead woman's armlet, the *urvatpimi* ceremony for an unmarried girl, rubbing the relics, lighting the fire at the *azaramkedr*, and burning the funeral hut, should be performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman or the mother-in-law of a girl. These relatives are, however, of the same clan as the deceased, owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of the same clan as her husband; and I am therefore doubtful how far these relatives perform the duties in question as members of the same clan, and how far as relatives by marriage. Some of the duties, such as lighting the funeral fires, are done by men of the same clan at the funeral of men; and I am therefore inclined to believe that they are performed by a woman for this reason and not because she is mother-in-law or daughter-in-law, but this point is one which must remain indefinite with our present information.

Similarly the duty of covering the head is a little difficult to understand. The head of a widower is covered (see p. 365) by one of his *paiol*—his father-in-law or his brother-in-law—and in this case it is clearly a duty which falls to a relative by

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602 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own
764 father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by
604 different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tersampt-pimi* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

602 Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated
605 together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

Male matchuni have also to go through a ceremony when they pass in company over either of the two sacred rivers of the Todas, the Paikara (Teipakh) and the Avalanche (Pakhwar). As the two men approach the river, they pluck and chew some grass, and each man says to the other "*pò thdrikina, pò kudrikina?*"—"Shall I throw the river (water), shall I cross the river?" or, instead of the second sentence, they may say "*pò pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the river?" They then go to the side of the river and each man dips his hand in the water and throws a handful away from him three times and then they cross the river, each with the right arm outside the cloak as is usual when crossing these sacred streams. 602 605 788

If the *matchuni* cross on a Tuesday, Friday or Saturday[1] they do not throw water, but are content with chewing the grass, and if the funeral ceremonies of a person belonging to the clan of either are not complete the water will not be thrown.

This ceremony performed by *matchuni* when crossing a sacred river was said to be connected with the legend given on p. 592, in which two *matchuni* are concerned.

[1] Properly the river should not be crossed at all on these days (see p. 418).

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CHAPTER XXII

MARRIAGE

584 THE custom of infant marriage is well established among the Todas, and a child is often married when only two or three years of age. When a man wishes to arrange a marriage for his son, he chooses a suitable girl, who should be, and very often is, the *matchuni* of the boy, the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. The father visits the parents of the girl, and if the marriage is satisfactorily arranged he returns home after staying for the night at the village. A few days later the father takes the boy to the home of his intended wife. They take with them the loin-cloth called *tadrp* as a wedding gift and the boy performs the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father and mother of the girl, and also to her brothers, both older and younger than himself, and then gives the *tadrp* to the girl. Father and son stay for one night at the girl's village and return home on the following morning. Sometimes the girl returns with them to the village of her future husband, but, much more commonly, she remains at her own home till she is fifteen or sixteen years of age.

If a man has not been married in childhood he may undertake the arrangement of his marriage himself, and visit the parents of the girl unaccompanied by his father; and in this case the girl may at once join her husband if she is old enough.

From the time of the child-marriage the boy has to give a *tadrp* twice a year until the girl is ten years old, when its place is taken by a *putkuli*. The *tadrp* which is given at first is very small, worth perhaps only four annas, but as the girl

584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panm ûtpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

881 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tâzâr ûtiti*,
616 or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

881 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division and to any clan, except
836 that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night
626 and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,[1] different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

[1] The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madnol* or *palinol*.

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
588 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions
591 of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village. 582 616 588 591

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. 582 618

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The 835

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835 fact, however, that this restriction should exist in connexion with a ceremony suggests that even to the Todas there is something reprehensible in intercourse between man and woman of the same clan (see also p. 530).

582 There are certain special prohibitions against marriage between members of certain clans. Among the Tartharol
618 the Panol are not allowed to marry the Kanòdrsol, a prohibition said to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, and it is said that since that day no marriage has ever taken place between the clans of the two men. In the genealogical record there is no case in which these two clans have intermarried.

I was also told that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni might not intermarry, but there are three examples of such marriages in the genealogies. I could not obtain any reason for the restriction, and the information is probably incorrect. The restrictions on marriage between the people of Melgars and those of Kidmad and Karsh have already been considered.

Among the Teivaliol there are also prohibitions against intermarriage between certain clans. The people of Piedr may not marry those of Kusharf. Judging from the genealogical record, the prohibition is not strictly followed, for three such marriages have taken place in recent times. In one of these cases, however, in which a Piedr man married a Kusharf woman, the woman soon became seriously ill, and the marriage was annulled. I could obtain no reason for the prohibition of marriage between these two clans. Marriage was also prohibited between the Piedrol and the Pedrkarsol, this being due to a comparatively recent quarrel between members of the two clans, of which an account is given in Chapter XXVIII.

I have analysed the genealogical records with the view of ascertaining whether certain clans intermarry with any special frequency. Among the Tartharol, I find that the people of Nòdrs marry most frequently those of Kars and Taradr. The Karsol, the largest of the Tarthar clans, distribute their marriages widely over the whole Tarthar division. The Panol chiefly marry with Kars and Melgars.

582 618 The Taradrol have married most often with Nòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Keradr, a very small clan, shows no special predilection. The people of Kanòdrs have intermarried most often with Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Kars and Melgars. The people of Kwòdrdoni marry most often people of Kanòdrs, Kars and Nidrsi. The Pämol have married chiefly with Kanòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Most of the Nidrsi marriages have been with Kars. The Melgarsol have married in fairly equal proportions people of Nòdrs, Kars, Taradr and Päm.

These facts are interesting in that they show that there is a tendency for the three clans of Nòdrs, Kars and Taradr to intermarry. These are not only the most important Tarthar clans, but they occupy the same district of the hills, in the centre and towards the north and north-west. Similarly, the clans of Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni and Päm, situated towards the north-east and east, show a distinct tendency to intermarry. Further, the Melgarsol, who form a special group standing somewhat apart from the rest, distribute their marriages fairly equally, but have often married with Päm, a clan seated near them geographically.

The analysis of the genealogies shows that the geographical distribution of the Tartharol on the hills has had a definite influence on the intermarriage of the different clans.

Among the Teivaliol, intermarriage has been greatly influenced by the enormous size of the Kuudrol as compared with the other clans of the division. In order to marry outside their own clan, the people of Kuudr have married nearly all the available members of the other clans of the Teivaliol, leaving very few to intermarry with one another. Thus the genealogies record 161 marriages between Kuudrol and members of the other five Teivali clans, leaving only sixteen marriages between the members of those five clans. Owing to the enormous development of one clan, the Teivali division has almost come to be in the position of a community with a dual marrying organisation in which every member of one group must marry a member of the other group, but there is no reason whatever to think that this is due to any other reason than the excessive development of one clan in numbers.

582 618 On studying the marriages in detail, it is found that the Kuudrol have married members of the Piedr clan most frequently, but this is chiefly because the Piedrol stand second to the Kuudrol in point of numbers, although it is also furthered by the restriction in marriage between Piedr and Kusharf. The marriages of the Kuudrol with other clans seem to be determined more by the numbers available than by any predilection for special clans.

Both Pedrkars and Kulhem are said to be offshoots of the Kuudrol, but apparently the separation is so remote that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. It is possible that the necessity of providing spouses for the Kuudrol has tended to break down a restriction which probably once existed.

582 621 The Todas have never married people outside their own community, and a strong prejudice against such marriages still exists. This may be illustrated by two recent cases.

A woman, married in the usual way, was divorced by her husband because she became ill. She returned to her own home, where she was visited by a Tamil blacksmith. The latter was very anxious to marry the woman and on one occasion took her away to the plains, but she was followed by her relatives and brought back to her home. Later she married two Toda brothers and was taken by them to their village, but she was followed by the blacksmith, who brought her back to the village of her parents. The Todas seem to have no strong objection to her relations with the stranger so long as she remains among themselves.

In the other case a woman about twelve years ago was visited by a rich Mohammedan who gave money to her husbands, and it was said also that he bribed the chief Toda people, *i.e.*, the members of the council. The Mohammedan wished very much to marry the woman and for a sum of money the Todas consented. After the woman had lived for a few days in the bazaar with her new husband, her relatives came and took her away, and I was told that the Mohammedan took the loss so much to heart that he died of grief, but my informants were doubtful whether his grief was due to the loss of his wife or whether it was because

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he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had given. Here again the people appear to have had no objection to the relations of the woman with the Mohammedan so long as she remained in the community. 582 621

Kinship and Marriage

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general term, *püliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *püliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *püliol* of a man:— 582 601 618

(i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.

(ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.

(iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, *i.e.*, his *mumi* and his *mankugh*.

(iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, *i.e.*, of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *püliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *püliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *püliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *püliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

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kinship which a Toda has chiefly in his mind when he considers whether he may or may not marry a given woman. He has not two kinds of prohibited affinity, one depending on clan relations, and another on relations of blood-kinship, but he has only one kind of prohibited affinity, to which he gives the general term *püliol*, including certain kin through the father and certain kin through the mother, and there is no evidence that he considers the bond of kinship in one case as different from the other as regards restriction on marriage.

The fact that the Toda includes all those kin whom he may not marry under one general term, and that the kin in question include members both of his own and other clans, goes to show that the Todas recognise the blood-kinship as the restrictive agency rather than the bond produced by membership of the same clan.

The analysis of the genealogical record has shown that these restrictions on marriage are enforced. I have already stated that the genealogies show no single case in which marriage has occurred between members of the same clan, *i.e.*, between *püliol* who come under the first head in the list given above.

I have also failed to find a single case in which marriage has taken place between the children of two own sisters, or of marriage between the children of two women who would call each other "sister" whose names occur in the same genealogical table. Thus I have found no case in which a marriage has taken place between the children of two women so closely related to one another as Punzueleimi and Nasturs, of Table 3, these women being first cousins according to our system of kinship.

It would be a prolonged task to ascertain whether marriage ever takes place among the Tartharol between the children of two clan-sisters in the widest sense, and I do not know whether such marriage may not sometimes occur.

Among the Teivaliol marriages between clan-sisters even in the widest sense must be very rare owing to the fact that nearly all marriages take place between people of Kuudr on the one hand and members of the five other Teivali clans on the other. Since in most cases two women of any one

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of these five clans marry men of Kuudr, marriage between 582
their children would be restricted under the first prohibition, 601
and similarly the children of two Kuudr women could only 618
intermarry in those cases in which members of the other five clans have married one another. Among the Teivaliol, I do not believe that marriages take place between the children of sisters in the widest sense, and I have little doubt that they are very exceptional among the Tartharol.

There is no case in the genealogies in which the third restriction has been broken, in which a man has married his father's sister or his sister's daughter, his *mumi* or his *mankugh*.

There is at least one case in the genealogies in which there has been an infringement of the fourth restriction given on page 509. The marriage of Nargudr (62) with Tolveli (58) is an example of the marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister. I believe that this restriction is part of a wider regulation. Using Toda terms of kinship the law would run: a person must not marry the child of his *matchuni*. The marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister, such as that of Nargudr with Tolveli, would be an infringement of this law. I have only found one other case in the genealogies in which this law would have been broken, *i.e.*, in the marriage of Teitnir (52) and Tersveli (63). Tersveli's father, Teikudr, is the son of Kavani, the sister of Pareivan, Teitnir's father. Teikudr is therefore the *matchuni* of Teitnir, who has married his daughter.

I was told that though a man might not marry the daughter of his sister, he might marry the children of this woman. I do not know of any such marriage and it is improbable that it would often come about, since it would involve the marriage of a woman with the brother of her grandfather. There is, however, at the present time an example of the marriage of a woman with her father's mother's brother, whom she would therefore call *pia*, or grandfather. This is the marriage of Kaners and his brother Kudrievan (63) with Edjog (56), the daughter of Tüliners, the son of the sister of the two men. I was told, however, that this marriage met with a good deal of disapproval among the Todas, but I could not learn that there was any definite prohibition against it.

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THE MARRIAGE OF MATCHUNI

582 While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man. The orthodox marriage is marriage between *matchuni*, the children of brother and sister. Thus it is obviously not nearness of blood-kinship in itself which acts as a restriction on marriage, but nearness of blood-kinship of a certain kind.

I have analysed the genealogies[1] to ascertain the frequency with which marriages between *matchuni* occur. The genealogical tables record about 550 marriages, of which 373 are Tarthar and 177 Teivali. Only a small proportion of these are marriages between children of own brother and sister. Among the Tartharol there are 40 and among the Teivaliol 25 such marriages, making together 65 or 11·8 per cent.

Since, however, the *matchuni* of a man include a much wider circle of relatives than the children of his mother's own brother and father's own sister, the number of marriages between *matchuni* is very much larger than this.

Nearly all the Teivali marriages are marriages between *matchuni* in this wider sense, while among the Tartharol there are also many other marriages of this kind.

One of the reasons why the orthodox marriage custom is not still more commonly followed is the existence of the practice called *tererstbi*, to be considered later in this chapter. According to this practice wives are transferred from one man to another, and in this transference no attention appears to be paid to the kinship tie. The woman, or rather girl, originally married to a man may have been his *matchuni*, but the woman who finally becomes his wife by the working of the *tererstbi* custom may not be and probably in most cases is not his *matchuni*. In many cases in the genealogies, the original infant marriage may have been forgotten, and the marriage recorded may be the result of the *tererstbi* custom. If I had a complete record of all infant marriages, I have no doubt that the proportion of marriages between *matchuni* would have been larger.

[1] [see pp. 749-788]

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In some families marriages between *matchuni* in the near sense occur much more frequently than in others. Thus out of the forty *matchuni* marriages among the Tartharol, the husband or wife belonged to the Taradrol in fifteen cases, and in one large Taradr family, that of Parkeidi (21), six out of eight children married their *matchuni* in the near sense. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the Taradrol have been comparatively little affected by outside influences. They are a clan which might be expected to keep up the orthodox Toda custom. 177 582

Another example of a family in which the orthodox marriage custom has been frequently followed is that of Table 52, where there may be found eight cases of the marriage of *matchuni* in the near sense, and several others where the *matchuni* relationship is more distant. 582

In some cases marriages have taken place between the children of *matchuni*. Thus the marriage of Uvolthli (15) with Sinmundeivi (20) among the Tartharol, and of Pangudr (66) with Nelbur (54) and Kanokh (56) with Sanmidz (63) among the Teivaliol, are all cases in which marriages have taken place between the children of two men who called one another *matchuni*. There may be other cases, but these examples are perhaps sufficient to show that these marriages may be held to take the place of the orthodox *matchuni* union.

While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful. The more distant tie of kinship from our point of view is unlawful, while the nearer is commanded.

Marriage with a *matchuni* may often involve considerable disproportion of age. In one case at the present time a boy of about two years of age is married to a woman of about twenty. The woman, Nulnir (10), was still unmarried when she reached this age, so she was married to her *matchuni*,

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582 Kagerikutan (25), the son of her mother's brother. In this case the orthodox marriage was resorted to when the woman had failed to obtain a husband in any other way, although it involved marriage with a baby.

In another case, the marriage of Keitkarg (38) and Pötoveli (49), in which the woman is considerably older than her husband, the husband and wife are *matchuni*.

588 There is one ceremonial marriage in which the husband always stands in the relation of *matchuni* to the wife. This
766 is in the performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony at the funeral of a girl unmarried at the time of her death. The boy who is chosen to give the bow and arrow and to act as the husband is always, so far as I could discover, the *matchuni* of the dead girl.

Similarly, if an unmarried boy dies, the girl who is chosen to act as his widow should be his *matchuni*. In one case of which I have a record, the son of Tütners (58) died and Sotidz (66) was chosen to act as widow. None of the brothers of Puvizveli (65), the mother of the dead boy, had at that time a son, so the duty was undertaken by the daughter of Pangudr, of the same clan as Puvizveli, but belonging to a different family. In this case the *matchuni* was the daughter of a clan-brother because there was no nearer *matchuni* available.

Keinba, who acted as husband at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 394), was the *matchuni* of the dead girl in two ways, as the son of her mother's brother and as the son of her father's half-sister.

582 A *matchuni* may be either the child of a mother's brother or of a father's sister, and I have examined the genealogies to see if a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister the more frequently, and find that there is no great difference, though the former marriage is somewhat the more frequent. There are among the Tartharol twenty cases in which a man has married the daughter of his mother's brother, two of marriage with the daughter of a stepmother's brother, and one with the daughter of a stepmother's half-brother, making twenty-three cases in all. On the other hand, a man married the daughter of his father's sister in fourteen cases, twice he married the daughter of his father's

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half-sister, and once the stepdaughter of his father's sister, making seventeen cases in all. 582

Among the Teivaliol marriages with the daughter of a father's sister are the more frequent, there being fifteen of these as compared with ten cases of marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother. There is evidently no special preference for either kind of marriage.

POLYANDRY

The Todas have a completely organised and definite system of polyandry. When a woman marries a man, it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers at the same time. When a boy is married to a girl, not only are his brothers usually regarded as also the husbands of the girl, but any brother born later will similarly be regarded as sharing his older brothers' rights. 595

In the vast majority of polyandrous marriages at the present time, the husbands are own brothers. A glance through the genealogies[1] will show the great frequency of polyandry,[1] and that in nearly every case the husbands are own brothers. In a few cases in which the husbands are not own brothers, they are clan-brothers, *i.e.*, they belong to the same clan and are of the same generation. Instances of such marriages are those of Toridz (65) with Kulpakh (52) and Kiladrvan (60), and of Sintharap (68) with Kuriolv (52) and Onadj (57).

There is only one instance recorded in the genealogies in which a woman had at the same time husbands belonging to different clans, viz., the marriage of Kwelvtars (60) with Nidshtevan of Piedr (64) and Tütners of Kusharf (67), and in this case the men were half-brothers by the same mother, the fathers being of different clans. While I was on the hills, there was a project on foot that three unmarried youths belonging to three different clans should have a wife in common, but the project was frustrated and the marriage did not take place.

[1] In cases of polyandry the names of the husbands are enclosed in square brackets.

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595 It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas
578 was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present, and it is perhaps in favour of this possibility that in the instance of polyandry given by Harkness[1] the husbands were obviously not own brothers. It must be remembered, however, that this case came to the notice of Captain Harkness because the polyandry had led to disputes, and, as we shall see shortly, it is in those cases of polyandry in which the husbands are not own brothers that disputes arise.

The arrangement of family life in the case of a polyandrous marriage differs according as the husbands are, or are not, own brothers.

In the former case it seemed that there is never any difficulty, and that disputes never arise. The brothers live together, and my informants seemed to regard it as a ridiculous idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies of the kind that might be expected in such a household.
595 When the wife becomes pregnant, the eldest brother performs
842 the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow, but the brothers
851 are all equally regarded as the fathers of the child. If one of the brothers leaves the rest and sets up an establishment of his own, it appeared, however, that he might lose his right to be regarded as the father of the children.

If a man is asked the name of his father, he usually gives the name of one man only, even when he is the offspring of a polyandrous marriage. I endeavoured to ascertain why the name of one father only should so often be given, and it seemed to me that there is no one reason for the preference. Often one of the fathers is more prominent and influential than the others, and it is natural in such cases that the son should speak of himself as the son of the more important member of the community. Again, if only one of the fathers of a man is alive, the man will always speak of the living person as his father; thus Siriar (20) always spoke of Ircheidi as his father, and even after Ircheidi is dead, it seems probable that he will so have fallen into the custom of speaking of the latter as his father that he will continue to do so, and it will only be when his attention is especially directed

[1] See his account at the end of this chapter.

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to the point that he will say that Madbeithi was also his father. 595

In most of the genealogies, the descent is traced from some one man, but there can be no doubt whatever that this man was usually only one of several brothers, and the probable reason why one name only is remembered is that this name was that of an important member of the community, or of the last surviving of the brother-husbands. 842 851 611

When the husbands are not own brothers, the arrangements become more complicated. When the husbands live together as if they were own brothers there is rarely any difficulty. If, on the other hand, the husbands live at different villages, the usual rule is that the wife shall live with each husband in turn, usually for a month at a time, but there is very considerable elasticity in the arrangement.

It is in respect of the 'fatherhood'[1] of the children in these cases of non-fraternal polyandry that we meet with the most interesting feature of Toda social regulations. When the wife of two or more husbands (not own brothers) becomes pregnant, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall perform the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow. The husband who carries out this ceremony is the father of the child for all social purposes; the child belongs to the clan of this husband if the clans of the husbands differ and to the family of this husband if the families only differ. When the wife again becomes pregnant, another husband may perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and if so, this husband becomes the father of the child; but more commonly the *pursütpimi* ceremony is not performed at all during the second pregnancy, and in this case the second child belongs to the first husband, *i.e.*, to the husband who has already given the bow and arrow. Usually it is arranged that the first two or three children shall belong to the first husband, and that at a succeeding pregnancy (third or fourth), another husband shall give the bow and arrow, and, in consequence, become the father not only of that child, but of all succeeding children till some one else gives the bow and arrow.

[1] I use the term 'fatherhood' instead of 'paternity' because the latter term seems to imply a meaning which does not belong to the Toda notion of 'father.'

595 The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursütpimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as
842 the father of a child if no other man has performed the essen-
851 tial ceremony.[1]

In the only case in the genealogies in which the husbands of a woman were of different clans, it happened there were only two children, and that one father gave the bow and arrow for the first child and the other for the second.

If the husbands separate, each husband takes with him those children who are his by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 There is no doubt whatever as to the close association of
847 the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given
182 up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.

178 It has been stated by most of those who have written about
182 the Todas that the custom of polyandry is dying out, but a glance at the genealogies will show that the institution is in
595 full working order even in the case of the infant marriages which are being contracted at the present time. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is now less frequent for all the brothers of a family to have one wife only in common. A study of the genealogies shows that often each brother has his own wife, or that several brothers have more than one wife between them. It seemed to me, however, almost certain that in these cases the brothers have the wives in common. In compiling the genealogies, one informant would give me the names of two or more brothers each with one wife, while another would give me the name of one brother with two or three wives, and would say that the other brothers had the same wives. When I pointed out the discrepancy and asked which was the true account, they usually said it made no difference and were almost contemptuous because I seemed to think that there was any disagreement

[1] For an instance, see p. 535.

between the two versions. I think it probable that it has 178
become less frequent for several brothers to have only one 182
wife in common, but I am very doubtful whether this indicates
any real decrease in the prevalence of polyandry. 595

It seems to me that the correct way of describing the present condition of Toda society is to say that polyandry is as prevalent as ever, but that, owing to the greater number of women, it is becoming associated with polygyny. When there are two brothers it does not seem that each takes a wife for himself, but rather that they take two wives in common.

It is probable that this will lead in time to a state of society in which each brother will come to regard one wife as his own; and in a few cases it seemed to me that there was already a tendency in this direction. If this forecast should be fulfilled, the custom of monogamy among the Todas will have been developed out of polyandry through a stage of combined polyandry and polygyny.

One case happened during my visit which seemed to indicate 595
that though several brothers might be regarded as husbands 765
of a woman, the part of husband for ceremonial purposes might be taken only by one or two of them. In this case I was told that four brothers had one wife, but when the wife died only two of the brothers acted as widowers and performed the ceremonies associated with that condition. When I asked for an explanation of this, I was then told that the other two brothers were not husbands, but I strongly suspected that this was a mere device to enable two of the brothers to avoid the disabilities attendant on the condition of widowerhood. I have very little doubt that while the woman was alive, all the four brothers were her husbands, but after her death it became convenient to assume that only two had been husbands, leaving the others free from the restrictions of widowerhood.

Many writers have believed that the widely spread custom 587
of the Levirate is a relic of polyandry. If it were true that 595
the custom of polyandry is dying out among the Todas, this people might have provided material for the study of the relations of polyandry and the Levirate. It will be obvious,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

587 however, from the account already given, that polyandry is still
595 strongly established among the Todas. Still, there are a few cases in the genealogies which seem to show that when two brothers had different wives, and one brother died, the widow might be taken by the surviving brother. Thus, in Table 34, two brothers, Matovan and Kemners, had one wife, Sargveli, while Atcharap had his own wife, Puners. When Matovan died, Sargveli was regarded as the wife of both Atcharap and Kemners.[1] Again, after the deaths of Mulpolivan and Peigvan (3), the widow of Nersveli was married by Perol, the clan-brother (first cousin) of the husband.

In other cases, the widow of one brother has not become the wife of her husband's brothers, but has married elsewhere; and though the evidence is necessarily very unsatisfactory, it seems on the whole probable that the Todas show no special relation between polyandry and the Levirate custom.

If the widow marries a man who is not one of the brothers of her dead husband, the new husband has to pay a certain number of buffaloes. He does not, however, give these buffaloes to the brothers of the dead man, but to his children; thus, when Karnisi of Päm (37) died, his widow, Nersaveli, married Mutthuvan (34) of Kanòdrs, who paid fourteen buffaloes to Pungievan, the son of Karnisi. This payment of buffaloes is known as *terkudrichti*, "compensation he gives," and it is the custom for the number of buffaloes in this case to be twice the number given by the dead man for his wife; in this case Karnisi had taken Nersaveli from another man for seven buffaloes.

In relation to the Levirate, the important point here is that the buffaloes are paid to the sons of the dead husbands, not to his brothers.

174 I do not think that the Todas provide any definite evidence
847 towards the solution of the vexed question of the relation
595 between polyandry and infanticide. It is possible that at their first arrival in the Nilgiri Hills, the Todas had few sources of food, and had a severe struggle for existence; that

[1] It will be noticed that I am using the term 'Levirate' in a wider sense than that in which it is sometimes employed, for Sargveli was not a childless widow.

they therefore adopted the practice of female infanticide, and that polyandry followed as a consequence. At the present and during recent times there has certainly been no economical motive for infanticide, and I am very doubtful whether it has ever existed. I think it far more probable that the Todas brought the practice of polyandry with them when they came to the Nilgiris; but if this view should be adopted, there is still no evidence to show whether they also brought infanticide with them, or whether this custom developed owing to the fact that polyandry diminished the need for female children. 174 847 595

POLYGYNY

In the last section we have seen that there is a tendency for the polyandry of the Todas to become combined with polygyny. Two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule the two men have the two wives in common. In addition, polygyny of the more ordinary kind exists among the Todas, and is probably now increasing in frequency, as one of the results of the diminished female infanticide. 595

One example of polygyny is the marriage of Kuriolv (56) with two wives, one of about the same age as himself, the other a young wife whom he shares with Onadj (57). In another case Odrkurs (1), has two wives, the second wife being a young girl recently married in the hope of obtaining a son (see p. 550).

There is one example of polygyny in the genealogies in which a young boy, Mokudr of Nidrsi (42), has two wives, both young girls. He has been doubly married in order that he may get rid of one of his wives by the *tererstlii* custom and so become rich. He has been married to two wives in order that he may sell one. 595 557

When a man or a group of men have more than one wife, the two wives usually live together at the same village, but sometimes they live at different villages, the husband or husbands moving about from one village to the other. 595

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Exchange of Brother and Sister

582 Although I was not told that it was the custom for a
583 brother and sister of one clan to marry a sister and brother of another, examination of the genealogies makes it clear that this frequently happens. A good example which may be cited is the marriage of Kuriolv (52) with Punaveli (65), while Sinkòrs, the sister of Kuriolv, married the three brothers of Punaveli. Two other similar instances may be found in Table 52, and they are of general occurrence throughout the genealogies.

In some communities this custom of exchange is definitely connected with the bride-price, which may be so large as almost to compel a man to give his sister in exchange for the wife he takes from another clan. In the case of the Todas the bride-price is so inconsiderable that it is unlikely that it would form a motive for exchange, and I think it improbable that in such marriages as those cited above, the idea of exchange is even definitely formulated, but that the combination of marriages comes about for such obvious reasons as may occur in any community. The marriage of *matchuni*, if widely practised, would obviously lead to an appearance of exchange, and it may be that among the Todas this is the chief cause of its occurrence.

Similarly, instances will be found in the genealogies of two brothers (or two groups of brothers) marrying sisters. An example may be given from Table 53, where Orzevan marries one woman and his two brothers marry her sister. Another instance may be found in Table 58.

587 In several cases in which a man or group of men have had
595 two wives the wives have been related. Thus, Kutthurs (12) and his brothers first married Tedjveli (16). After her death, Kutthurs, the only surviving brother, married Sabnir (34), the daughter of Arsner, Tedjveli's sister. Again, Paners (23) and his brothers first married Pergveli, and when she died they married her brother's daughter. Pungusivan (53) married his *matchuni*, Sinodz (68), and when she was taken from him by the *terersthi* custom, he married Sintharap, her sister.

There is often very great disproportion of age in Toda 582
marriages. I have already given two cases in which the woman is the older, in each of which the disproportion of age is due to the custom of marrying a *matchuni*. More commonly the man is much the older, and there are at the present time many cases in which elderly men are married to young girls. This is partly due to the practice of infant marriage. Unless a widower can take advantage of the [587]
tererstbi custom, which is always expensive, he may have to marry a child and wait till she has reached a marriageable age. Thus, Kòdrner, my guide, lost his wife some years ago, and then married a girl whose present[1] age is only thirteen, Kòdrner being forty-two. The girl is still living with her parents, and will probably not go to her husband for another three or four years.

THE CUSTOM OF 'TERERSTHI

The marriage tie among the Todas at the present time has [581]
become very loose. Wives are constantly transferred from 586
one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new 587
husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old. The amount of the compensation or *ter* is settled by a council, and from this the transaction has received its name of *tererstbi*, or "compensation he tells (decides)."[2]

There is much reason to believe that this custom has [178]
altered its character in recent times. I was told that formerly the custom only applied to cases in which a man had lost his wife by death. If he wished to marry a woman who was already the wife of another or others, he went to the father of the woman and asked for his consent. The father would consult with two other elders, and if they were in favour of the proposed transaction the three elders would go to the woman, and if they obtained her consent they then went to her husband for his. If husband or wife were unwilling to be parted nothing was done, but if both consented, the new and

[1] In 1902.

[2] *Ter* is also used in the sense of 'fine,' but is only used when the fine takes the form of a buffalo or buffaloes. A money fine is called *sazer*.

586 the old husband, the father of the woman, and the two elders
587 met and decided on the number of buffaloes to be given as *ter* or compensation. This meeting was called *tererstbi*. The *ter* had to be paid within a month, and all the buffaloes given had to be females. The man who was giving up the woman went to the village of the new husband and received his buffaloes, of which he was allowed to choose a certain number. If he had been awarded more than four buffaloes, he might choose three, if four or less, he might only choose two. Among the Tartharol, a man would usually choose *wursulir*, and among the Teivaliol, *pasthir*.

At the present time the number of buffaloes given as *ter* varies very greatly; the most frequent number is three, but often more are given, and in one case, about ten years ago, a man had to give twenty-five. The number seems to depend largely on the size of the herd possessed by the man taking a new wife. The more buffaloes he has, the more he has to pay.

[574] When the buffaloes are given, the new husband has to give a feast, after which the old husband drives away his buffaloes. In a recent case Teigudr of Nòdrs (4) had taken Uwer from Nertolvan and Palpa of Pan (16) for nine buffaloes. These two men went to the village of Tedshteiri, where Teigudr was living, and were feasted, the food being cooked on nine ovens, corresponding to the number of the buffaloes. This correspondence between the number of the ovens and of the buffaloes given as *ter*, suggests that there may have been some definite ceremonial in connexion with this feast of which I failed to obtain an account.

183 The custom of *tererstbi* has some reason on its side.
586 Wherever infant marriage exists in a small community, it must often happen that a widower finds all the women of his
587 community married, and without some machinery by which he is allowed to take the wife of another, he must remain unmarried or be content with marriage to a mere child. Even at the present time, we have seen that an adult man who has lost his wife may marry a girl only a few years of age.[1]

[1] For an instance in the past see p. 538.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At the present time the custom of *terersthi* has a far wider range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age. It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *terersthi* should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.[1]

183 586 587 [662]

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *terersthi* custom should be remedied.

[177 691]

DIVORCE

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the transference of wives just considered.

586

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

[1] For an instance see p. 535.

Intercourse between
[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually
complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the
684 man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which
851 is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
616 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
"man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitasmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sedvaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitazmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitazmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
616 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give
837 the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[773] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage.
837 A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.
[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

and expensive for the *mokhthodvaiol* than for the husband. 588
Further, in some cases the *sedvaitazmokh* of a Teivali man 837
may live with him exactly in the same way as a wife. Except for the prohibition against Teivali women living at Tarthar villages, and the important difference in the mode of descent of the children there seems to be little essential difference in some cases between the *mokhthoditi* union and marriage. In describing the institution, one of my informants laid great stress on the disability of a man of one division to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a woman of the other division and treated this as the essential point of difference. He seemed to regard this ceremonial disability as primary and the other differences as the secondary results, but I do not know how far this is the general Toda view.

Sexual Morality

From the foregoing account it appears that a woman may 831
have one or more recognised lovers as well as several 837
husbands. From the account given of the dairy ritual, it [192]
appears that she may also have sexual relations with dairymen of various grades—that, for instance, the *wursol*, on the nights when he sleeps in the hut, may be the lover of any Tarthar girl. Further, there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse. I was assured by several Todas not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong. It seemed clear that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. My interpreter, Samuel, had translated the Commandments shortly before my visit, and only discovered while working with me that the expression he had used in translating the seventh Commandment really bore a very different meaning.

When a word for a concept is absent in any language it by no means follows that the concept has not been developed, but in this case I have little doubt that there is no definite idea in the mind of the Toda corresponding to that denoted by our word 'adultery.' Instead of adultery being regarded as

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Instead of adultery being regarded as

577 immoral, I rather suspected,[1] though I could not satisfy my-
837 self on the point, that, according to the Toda idea, immorality
attaches rather to the man who grudges his wife to another.
775 One group of those who experience difficulty in getting to the next world after death are the *kashtvainol*, or grudging people, and I believe this term includes those who would in a more civilised community be plaintiffs in the divorce court.

835 In nearly every known community, whether savage, barbarous or civilised, there is found to exist a deeply rooted antipathy to sexual intercourse between brother and sister. In savage communities where kinship is of the classificatory kind, this antipathy extends not only to the children of one mother, but to all those who are regarded as brothers and sisters because they are members of the same clan or other social unit. In some communities, such as those of Torres Straits, this antipathy may extend to relatives as remote as those we call second and third cousins, so long as descent through the male line from a common ancestor and membership of the same clan lead people to regard one another as brother and sister.

It is very doubtful whether this widespread, almost universal abhorrence is shared by the Todas. I was told that members of the same clan might have intercourse with one another, and in the preliminary ceremony for the office of *palol*, a special part was taken by a woman who possessed the qualification that she had never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it was said it was far from easy to find such a woman. When I collected this information, it seemed clear that this meant that a woman who, before marriage had belonged to a given clan, had never had intercourse with a man of that clan. But since a woman joins the clan of her husband, and since, marriage taking place at an early age, the woman belongs to her husband's clan from this early age, it has since occurred to me that an alternative explanation of the restriction is possible, though it does not seem to me to be likely. It is possible that what is meant is that the woman

[1] The definite appearance of jealousy in the history of Kwoten must, however, be noted in this connexion.

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should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursiitpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursiitpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 131 831

181 Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,[1] a reason why polyandry
831 is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

[177] The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

[144] That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

143 By means of the genealogical record I was able to work
831 out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

[1] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

seems to show that colour-blind men, or rather males of colour-blind families, had colour-blind descendants more often than perhaps might have been expected if the Todas are in practice quite as promiscuous as their social regulations allow them to be. The record of the affinity of the colour-blind suggests that in spite of the theoretical promiscuity, the husbands are, in practice, very often the fathers of their children. 143 831

A few histories of individuals may be given as examples of the various marriage customs which have been described in this chapter. One of the most married of Toda women is Puvizveli of Kusharf (65). She was married in infancy to Singudr (55), of the same clan as Sinkòrs, the mother of Puvizveli, and the two were probably the *matchuni* of one another, though only in a distant way. Puvizveli was taken from Singudr by Madsu and Koboners (58), who gave for her three buffaloes. From them she was transferred to Kangudr of Piedr (62), it being arranged that he should pay eleven buffaloes. Soon after joining Kangudr, Puvizveli became ill, and since there is a prohibition of marriages between the clans of Piedr and Kusharf, it was agreed that the pair should separate, and the woman was taken by Tütners and Etamudri (58). The eleven buffaloes had never been paid by Kangudr, so Tütners and his brother gave their buffaloes directly to Madsu and Koboners, but only four instead of eleven. All these transactions took place while Puvizveli was still young, but by her new husbands she had a son who died soon after birth. During her second pregnancy, she was taken by Perpakh and Tebkudr (68), who gave six buffaloes. The transference took place before the *pursiitpimi* ceremony had been performed. Perpakh gave the bow and arrow, and the daughter since born is regarded as the child of Perpakh and Tebkudr. Puvizveli has also a Tarthar *mokkthodvaiol*. 159 851 58

Edjog of Kuudr (56) was married in infancy to Nargudr (62), the son of her mother's brothers, and therefore her *matchuni* in the nearest sense. From him Kiudners (70) and his two brothers took her for five buffaloes. Kiudners died

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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before the buffaloes had been paid, and Edjog was taken by Mavòdriners (65), who arranged to pay the five buffaloes to Nargudr. He did not do so, but after having a son by Edjog, he sent her back to the father, paying a *kwadr* of one buffalo. So far, Nargudr had not received his five buffaloes, but he now obtained them from Kaners and Kudrievan (63), who took the woman although she was the granddaughter of their sister Narskuti. The marriage met with disapproval among the Todas on this account, though there does not appear to be any definite regulation against such a marriage; and at the time of my visit Edjog, a young woman of about twenty-seven, was still the wife of the two old men, aged about seventy and sixty-seven respectively.

Kuriolv of Kuudr (52) first married Punaveli (65), by whom he had two children. He then took to live with him Pilimurg (7), a Tarthar woman, giving to Pepners (44), the husband of the woman, fifteen buffaloes. Though Pilimurg is only legally his *sedvaitazmokh*, Kuriolv treats her as a wife. She lives at one of the Kuudr villages, while Punaveli lives at another. Pilimurg has had one son, Meilitars, since she has been living with Kuriolv, and Kuriolv always speaks of the boy as his son, though legally he is the son of Pepners, and his name will be found in the genealogies among the children of this man.

Recently Kuriolv has also married Sintharap (68), sharing her with Onadj (57), of the same clan as Kuriolv, but belonging to a different family. Sintharap has had three children, for the first of whom Kuriolv performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and since no one has performed this ceremony for the succeeding children, they are also regarded as the children of Kuriolv. One of these children was Sinerani, whose funeral ceremonies have been described.

Kuriolv's son, Kulpakh (52), married Toridz (65), sharing her with Kiladrvan (60), of the same clan as Kulpakh, but of a different family. At the first pregnancy Kulpakh gave the bow and arrow, and was regarded as the father of that child and of two succeeding children who were born while Kulpakh was alive. After the birth of the third child Kulpakh died,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and Toridz has since continued to live with Kiladrvan and has had two more children. Kuriolv, the father of the dead man, succeeded in preventing Kiladrvan from performing the *pursiitpimi* ceremony before the birth of either of these children, and consequently they are regarded as the children of the dead Kulpakh and belong to Kuriolv's division (*pólm*) of the clan and not to that of Kiladrvan. Here, by virtue of the *pursiitpimi* ceremony, a dead man is the legal father of two children who are known to be really the sons of his fellow-husband.

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In the preceding cases the people belong to the Teivaliol. Among the Tartharol there are similar histories.

Pupidz of Kwòdrdoni (35) was married in infancy to two brothers, Kalgeners and Kinagudr, belonging to the same clan as the mother of Pupidz, so that she would probably have called them *matchuni*, though they were not nearly related. From these boys Pupidz was taken by Patser (26), who gave for her three buffaloes. From Patser she was taken by Siriar (20) for five buffaloes. Some time later Pepob (44) wished to marry Pupidz, but both she and Siriar were unwilling to be separated. Pepob, however, persuaded the council to arrange that he should have the woman for three buffaloes, and soon after five or six men carried off the woman by force, entering Siriar's hut at night. Two of the men held Siriar while the others carried off his wife, who became pregnant by Pepob, but Siriar, who had been trying to get back his wife, succeeded when she was about at the sixth month. The hand-burning ceremony had already been performed, but Siriar gave the bow and arrow, and is therefore the legal father of the boy born afterwards, although Pepob is known to have been the real father. Siriar had to give Pepob eleven buffaloes, though he had only received three, and had given five to the previous husband.

Nanbarvan of Kars (7) first married Pothenir (47), by whom he had one son. Nanbarvan went to England with a party of Todas, and Pothenir then married Kutadri, Nanbarvan's first cousin. On his return from England, Nanbarvan married Sindod (38), by whom he had a second son. Then he fell ill, and in consequence sent Sindod away,

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
58 no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
627 on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it
851 appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
58 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners, the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pödri*, nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing purposes. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and *pödri* were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45). She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners from infancy, and after having three children, who died young, she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3), while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
595 married life, I add one taken from the book published by
851 Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by myself.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE HISTORY OF PINPURZ KUTAN

"I was not seven years old, when my father, taking a child's garment, in value about a quarter of a rupee, and selecting one of the best of our herd, desired me to accompany him to the morrt[1] of Kinōri. This Kinōri had, a month or two before, a daughter born to him. Soon after we had arrived at the morrt, it being understood that Kinōri gladly consented to the propositions which had been made by my father, I was directed to bow myself down, and in the presence of the whole family to ask his foot. This I did; and touching it with my forehead, the buffalo and the garment were presented him, and I was considered to be affianced to his daughter. We remained there for some days, during which period it was agreed upon, what number of kine I was to receive in dower, on my intended spouse coming of age, and we again set out to return to our own morrt. I had no brothers, or they also would have been affianced to my intended, as this was part of the agreement, in case of my father having any more sons born to him. In this case Kinōri's daughter would have been wife to us in succession as we arrived at manhood, and we should have formed one united family—the supreme authority, however, still resting with me. The next year, my father presented to my intended bride a garment, double in value to the first which he had presented, and in each succeeding year, one proportionately increasing in value. We also sacrificed a buffalo, and presented a kutch[2] on every occasion of a death among any of the relations of my intended's family, and one also at their obsequies. In case of any accident of the kind in our family, we expected the same to be observed towards us, except the presenting of the kutch, from which my bride's father was exempted on account of the dower he had to give with her, which would greatly exceed in amount any expense which I could be

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[1] This is evidently the same word as *marth*, which occurs in Chapter XIV as a word for village.

[2] This is the *kach*. Harkness states that it was generally a piece of dyed or printed cotton as at present.

159 to my father. My father died, and when I had attained
584 man's estate, I was not pleased with my betrothed; and
presenting her father with three kine, the contract was by
595 mutual consent dissolved. Had the reverse been the case,
851 and the bride or her father had declined to allow of consummation, I could have claimed of the latter a fine equal to fifty kine, and till this fine was paid the former could not marry any other. Freed from my contract with my first bride, I sought to affiance myself in a manner more to my own inclinations, and wishing to be connected with the family of my present wife, Pilluvāni, who was then only six years of age, I spoke to her father, and, obtaining his consent, presented her with a garment in value, according to her age, of about a rupee and a half, and a milch buffalo. I continued to present her with a garment every succeeding year; and on the occurrence of a death among any of the relations of her family, and at the obsequies, I always sacrificed a buffalo, and presented the kutch. Pilluvāni was afterwards betrothed to two others, Khakhood and Tūmbŭt. When she had arrived at a certain age, and had for eight days been living with one of her female friends in a dwelling separate from those of the family,[1] intimation was sent to me, and I went to her father's morrt, that is, Kerjwan's, her second father, the first one being dead. I was feasted and bedded; and after a few days, Kerjwan, laying on his hands, gave us his blessing, and I returned with my wife to my own morrt, receiving with her in dower four buffalo kine; her father also presented to her on this occasion a pair of ear-rings, a pair of armlets, a necklace, a brazen salver, and five rupees.

159 "Now, according to our customs, Pilluvāni was to pass the
first month with me, the second with Khakhood, and the third
595 with Tūmbŭt; and the two latter, waiting in succession on
851 the father-in-law, were to ask his blessing and claim their privilege in right. I was to give her raiment the first year, Khakhood the second, and Tūmbŭt the third. I had the option of claiming the first three children, Khakhood the second three, and Tūmbŭt the third three; when the option again revolved to me. It was my place to go to her father

[1] This is a custom of which I failed to obtain any account.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

two or three months prior to the birth of a child, and, delivering to him a small piece of wood, which we call a billu,[1] to claim the forthcoming infant, whether male or female, and acknowledge before him and his relations that I would protect and nourish it; and that, whatever might happen, I allowed this to be in satisfaction of one of my claims. On this occasion, also, I was to present him either five or ten rupees, and in return he was to allow me to select, if I presented him five rupees, three; if ten rupees, six of the best kine of his herd. If the child proved a boy he would have to present me with a heifer, and another one also on the birth of each son, but not on the birth of a daughter, as it is supposed that she will soon be betrothed, and that a fortune will accrue to her in that way.

159 595 851

"After the third birth the same observance and privilege would have fallen to Khakhood and Tūmbŭt successively, or if I chose to give up any of my rights the two latter would successively have had choice of adoption, &c., &c. We all three should have been equally bound to protect the whole of the children, to marry, and to give them in marriage; but the superior authority would always have rested with me.

"The case of Pilluvāni and myself, however, was at variance with this custom. We were very fond of one another and determined not to separate. I offered to pay the usual fines, but the other party would not accept of them. I had been unfortunate. A murrain had attacked my herd; the greater part of Korrorr,[2] and which belonged to my fathers, had been forsaken by the Marvs and Cūvs,[3] from the oppression of some of their rulers, and from being a leading man among my own people I was now reduced, but principally by the oppressions of my wife's relations, to comparative poverty."

[1] This is evidently due to misunderstanding of the *pursŭtpimi* ceremony. The Tamil word for 'bow' is *vil*.

[2] Probably Kerudr.

[3] Badagas and Kotas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

618 In this chapter I propose to bring together a number of matters connected with the social organisation; to consider the various sections into which the clan is divided for social or ceremonial purposes, the method of government, the laws concerning property and inheritance, and the position of women.

We have already seen that the primary fact in the social organisation of the Todas is the existence of two divisions, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol,[1] and the last chapter has shown that these divisions form endogamous groups, each of which is divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans. In some respects the clan is a definite unit in the social organisation with a certain amount of power in regulating its own affairs, owning property and having in many cases social or religious usages peculiar to itself.

THE CLAN

618 The clan system is territorial, and I could discover no trace of its ever having been totemic. The clan owns a number
621 of villages and takes its name from the chief of these, the
361 *etudmad*. The connexion of the clan with the village is so generally recognised that in some cases in which the *etudmad* of the clan has disappeared, or is rarely visited, there is a tendency to name the clan after the chief village

[1] A full account of the two divisions and of their relation to one another will be given in Chapter XXIX.

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season.

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position.

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans.

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 prise the remainder of the Tarthar clans—viz., those of Taradr,
177 Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm and Nidrsi. I could
618 obtain no direct information from the Todas which would
explain why the Badaga classification should differ from their
616 own. It is possible that it is an old classification of the Todas, but this is unlikely, since it is probable that the intercourse with the Badagas is not very ancient. It seems to me possible that it may have arisen out of the constitution of the *naim* or council. This has four Toda representatives belonging to Kuudr (representing the Teivaliol), Kars, Nòdrs and Taradr. This would correspond to four of the Badaga divisions, and the fifth, the Melgarsol or Pekkan, would certainly be well known to the Badagas through their privileges as *mòrol*. It is possible that the Nòdrs representative used also to represent Pan, and that the Taradr member represented the remaining clans, and, if so, it would point to there having been some old five-fold division of the kind believed in by the Badagas. It is quite clear that the five-fold division has no influence on the marriage regulations and Peiki, Todi and Kuttan all marry freely within their divisions. Except in connexion with the *naim*, I could learn of nothing which would show that the five-fold division has any social significance, and I know of no other way in which the Panol are associated with the Nòdrsol nor of any other way in which the six clans included in the Kuttan are associated together. It is possible that the five-fold division is connected with some customs regulating the payment of the Badaga tribute to the Todas, but I could learn nothing of such customs.

618 Each clan has divisions of two kinds called *kudr* and *pòlm*. The *kudr* is a division of ceremonial, the *pòlm* of practical, importance.

THE KUDR

Normally each clan has two *kudr* and two only, and, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, these divisions become of the greatest importance in connexion with the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the whole regulation of which is dominated by the division into *kudr*. So far as I could ascertain, the *kudr* has now no

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other significance, and I do not know whether the division is 618
one which formerly possessed a social significance which it has now lost, so that the *kudr* only persists in ceremony, or whether it is a mode of division of the clan which has arisen purely in connexion with the *irnörtiti* and other allied ceremonies.

In one or two cases there was some doubt as to whether a certain division of the people was a clan or a *kudr*. This was especially the case with the Kwaradrol, now extinct, who were said by some of my informants to have been a clan, but it seemed clear that they only formed a *kudr* of the Keadrol, and were not properly a distinct clan. This is one case in which a *kudr* has a distinctive name, and another example occurs in the Panol where the *kudr* have separate names, one the Panol or Pandar, the other the Kuirsiol or Peshteidimokh. In general, each *kudr* is named after its leading man, thus the two *kudr* of the Nòdrsol are spoken of as the *kudr* of Mudrigeidi (1) and Kerkadr (2). The man who gives his name to the *kudr* is probably responsible for the general management of the ceremonies in which the *kudr* is concerned.

In a few cases a clan was said to have more than two *kudr*, but on cross-examination it turned out in each case that the statement was due to the fact that the clan contained a section which had no part, or only a subordinate part, in the *irnörtiti* ceremony and that this section might sometimes be spoken of as a *kudr*. Thus, in the Kuudr clan there are three sections, two which have reciprocal relations in the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a third consisting of the family of Tövoniners (61) which lost certain privileges owing to a dispute many generations ago (see p. 675). This family could perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but in such a case the buffalo would go to the members of the two other divisions and Tövoniners would receive nothing if either of the other divisions performed the ceremony. Another example of a clan said to have three *kudr* is that of Piedr, where the family of Nongarsivan (62) stands in the same relation to the other divisions as is the case with the family of Tövoniners in the Kuudrol. In this case Nongarsivan's exceptional position is

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618 probably due to the fact that his family lives at Kavidi in the Wainad.

When a *kudr* becomes extinct a new division of the remaining *kudr* may take place, but, as a rule, this is not done till an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony arises. There are several cases in which one *kudr* of a clan has now been extinct for several years, but though the re-division is often a subject for discussion, it is not probable that a new *kudr* will be instituted till the necessity arises. Occasionally, however, it would seem that a new *kudr* may be decided on apart from an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony, for about the time of my visit the people of Keadr, who had lost one *kudr* by the dying out of the Kwaradrol, decided that the family of Karem (69), of which the sole living representatives are three boys, should form a new *kudr*. I could not learn what had been the motives for the decision. Some unimportant clans which have arisen by fusion from other clans, such as those of Kidmad and Kulhem, have no *kudr*, and do not appear ever to have possessed these divisions.

THE PÒLM

The word *pòlm* means 'portion,' and is the name of the section of the clan by means of which is regulated the sharing of any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole. Any expenses which the clan may incur as a whole are not equally divided among the individual members of the clan, but are equally divided among the *pòlm*. The chief occasion on which such expenses arise is in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy.

When a clan owns a *ti* and a dairy of the *ti* needs to be rebuilt or repaired, the expense also falls on the clan, and is equally divided among the *pòlm*, as in the case of the village dairy.

The outlay is equally divided among the *pòlm*, however much they may vary in size. Thus in the Kars clan one *pòlm* has sixteen adult male members, while another has only one, but this one man would contribute exactly the same amount as the other sixteen.

Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another. 618

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter. [623]

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers, who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source. [578]

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted. 618 184 554 463

The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

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618 *mongar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council
184 are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and
554 *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have
463 certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavodiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

Laws of Descent

611 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male
851 line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursütpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.[1] I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

[1] Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuli*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is determined entirely by the *pursütpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife. 611 851

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *tererstbi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two *rôles* he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote. 611 604

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *manmokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy 192 593 577

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the
234 existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 234 611

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect. 842 181

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies. 597

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pòlm* of the father. 736 611

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan. 842 618

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

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842 hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently
618 married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

GOVERNMENT

623 The most important feature of Toda government is the *naim*, or *noim*,[1] a council having a definite constitution. The
627 *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general, and, in addition, more informal councils,[2] consisting of the chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim* may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs of a clan.

623 The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five
177 members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri, from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the *naim*. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations between the Todas and Badagas.

623 The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda representatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8) and Piutolvan (10) of Kars, Kudòdrsvan (3) of Nòdrs, and Ircheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had not been taken by Piutolvan, the second Kars representative. All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

[1] A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kûtkhdriti*, "the assembly assembles," or *kûtpuniti*, "the assembly makes."

[2] It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

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Kuriolv, they are too old or infirm to serve. Kuriolv is still on the *naim*, and his influence is entirely predominant, and it appears that he has been instrumental in altering the constitution of the council very largely. The number of representatives has been increased, and the following were the members in 1902:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52) of Kuudr, Perner and Tebner (68), of Keadr, Parkeidi (21), Paners (23) and Siriar (20) of Taradr and Pidrvan (9) of Kars. Thus several members of the Kuudrol and Taradrol are serving, while there appears to be no representative of the Nòdrsol; and I was told by several Todas that Perner and Tebner are on the council because they are friends of Kuriolv, though, as members of the Keadr clan, they have no right whatever to the position. 623

On the slopes below the hill called Mirson, near Paikara, there are the remains of ruined walls marking a place where the *naim* used to meet. This place is called Idrgûdipem, and seems to have been at one time the chief meeting-place.

At the present time the *naim* meets anywhere. I have seen the council sitting in the compound of the bungalow at Paikara and on one occasion, when I was working in a bungalow at the Ooty Club, the *naim* sat in the grounds of the club. In general, they now meet at the places which happen to be most convenient for the chief members.

The members usually sit in a semicircular row. If they are considering a dispute between two parties, representatives of the parties take part in the sitting, and in these cases the members of the *naim* sit in the middle of the row while the representatives sit on either wing. 623 627 578

During my visit the council was chiefly occupied with the various complicated transactions which are always arising out of the custom of transferring wives from one man to another. This custom is the chief source of disputes among the Todas, and at times the *naim* may sit for several days before one case is settled.

I am doubtful whether the *naim* should have a definite head, but at the present time it certainly has such in the person of Kuriolv of Kuudr. He is the senior representative of the *manikudupel* of Kuudr, and is therefore the natural representative of this clan on the *naim*. He is highly intel- 623 159 555 176

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623 159 555 176

ligent, and gave me the impression that he might have risen to a high place in any community. He has the reputation among the Todas of being very eloquent and of having great persuasive powers. When persuasion fails, there is very little doubt that he resorts to intimidation of some kind, though I could not discover what his means of intimidation are.

FIG. 60.—KURIOLV AND PILJMURG.

On one occasion the *naim* spent a whole day discussing a marriage case in the compound at Paikara. On the following day they met in a distant part of the hills to continue the discussion of the case, and I was told that this was arranged by Kuriolv because he hoped to enforce his wishes in some secluded spot more effectively than in the publicity of Paikara where the evidences of the 'government' probably lent moral support to his opponents.

However Kuriolv effects his purpose, there is no doubt that

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he almost entirely dominated the Toda people at the time of 159
my visit. We have already seen that he has succeeded in 623
altering the constitution of the *naim*, and several examples
are given in this book of his interference in the normal course of 555
Toda affairs; interference usually in favour of his own family 176
or friends. In at least one case (see Chap. XVI) during my visit he considered himself superior to ceremonial laws.

He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died.

I did not obtain a full account of the duties of the *naim* 623
and of the affairs which come under its jurisdiction. There 627
is no doubt, however, that it is largely concerned with the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families, and clans. As I have already mentioned, it seemed to me that it was almost exclusively engaged during my visit in the regulation of the disputes arising out of the *tererstki* custom. In one such case the question of funeral contributions was involved, and I have no doubt that the settlement of any dispute arising from this source would come within the province of the *naim*, and probably any doubtful point in the working of the social regulations would be submitted to it.

In addition to its functions in disputes between individuals, the *naim* has wide functions in connexion with Toda ceremonial. It decides when many ceremonies take place, and has the chief word in regulating the affairs of the *ti* dairies. Thus it appeared that the various arrangements and alterations of arrangements in connexion with the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* which were made during my visit were the work of the *naim*, or, at any rate, of its chief members.

CRIME

I have no knowledge about the power of the *naim* in [623]
criminal as opposed to civil matters. I never heard of inquiry 694
by the *naim* into any criminal offence committed by one man against another or against the community. It is, however,

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view.

673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

578 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling
673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence
623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other
671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *tererstbi*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some-
586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been
674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be carried off by force from the home of the former, but,
177 however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

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In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Pardeu, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

SUICIDE

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

THE MONEGAR

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

622 The earliest *monegar* whom the Todas remember is Teitchi or Teiti (52). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Mutevan, who is still alive. The two eldest sons had died before their father, and Persevan, the third son, was said to be weak-minded, and Mutevan was therefore chosen to succeed.

Mutevan is now a very old man, probably about eighty [illegible] by his eldest son, Ivievan. Though Ivievan is the *monegar* he is not the chief representative of his family on the *naim*, this position belonging to Kuriolv, the son of Pareivan and Persevan. Ivievan is helped in collecting the assessment by an assistant *monegar*, and till lately this place belonged to Parkurs of Kars.

177 It does not appear that the monegarship is a real Toda office, but that the earliest *monegar* was appointed by Mr. 622 Sullivan, the first British official of the Nilgiris. The family, 554 however, to which the *monegar* belongs is called the *manikudupel*, which may mean the *monegar* family, but I could not discover definitely whether this title is older than the institution of the monegarship. It is possible that Teitchi was one of the chief men of the *naim* when the Europeans first came to the hills and that he was therefore appointed as *monegar*.

It is quite clear that at the present time the *monegar*, Ivievan, is not the most important man among the Todas, but that the predominant position belongs to his cousin, Kuriolv, the representative of the family on the *naim*.

HEADMEN

618 Though it is very doubtful whether the institution of *monegar* is not an innovation, and whether the Todas as a whole have properly any true chief, it is fairly clear that the clan and its divisions have definite leaders.

Each clan has a headman or *etudol*; usually, it seemed to me, one who had come to the top by virtue of his character and ability. I did not learn how far his position was generally recognised nor by what means he was chosen. It was quite clear, however, that the leading man of a clan

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions. 618

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pòlm* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property. 421 618 621

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy[1] was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual 177 421 423

[1] For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

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177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan. There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

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one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

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171 live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

234 *Buffaloes.* These are to a very large extent individual
422 property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the
428 property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion
176 arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes among them.

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.[1] When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *trvâkhtnûdr meilkûdr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

[1] On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kars clan.

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Thus, if sixteen buffaloes are to be divided among four brothers, the eldest and youngest would each take four, the second and third brothers would each take three, and the remaining two buffaloes would either be sold and the purchase money equally divided, or taken by one of the brothers, who would divide three-quarters of the value of the buffaloes between the other three men. If there should be only fourteen buffaloes, the eldest and youngest sons would each take four buffaloes and the others three.

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422
428
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The *meilkudr* is also operative if a man divides his buffaloes among his sons in his lifetime. In this case a man usually keeps some buffaloes for himself; thus I was told that a man who had sixteen buffaloes and three sons might give four buffaloes to the eldest, three to the next, and four to the youngest son, keeping five for himself.

The Todas told me of one apparent exception to the law of *meilkudr*. If, in a family of four brothers, the two elder brothers marry one wife and the two younger marry another and the two groups separate, the buffaloes would be equally divided, but this is because each would receive a *meilkudr*. If, on the other hand, the eldest and youngest son married one wife, and the other two sons married another woman, the first group would receive two buffaloes in excess of the second. The former example is, of course, an obvious consequence of the law of *meilkudr*. I only mention it because the Todas told me of it especially, and seemed to regard it as a case which might be thought to be a departure from custom.

I gave the Todas a number of hypothetical problems of buffalo division, and all were solved in accordance with the law of *meilkudr*. I have not been able to learn of any exact parallel in other parts of the world, and it seems possible that it is an independent invention of the Todas. The division is called *kudr*, or horn, and it seems to me quite possible that at some time it occurred to an ingenious Toda that the two extremities of the family should be regarded as the two horns of the family, and that this fact should be recognised in the division of property, or, it may be, that the custom of endowing the eldest of the family above his fellows

176 existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it
234 was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore
422 the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda
428 mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

234 There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies
422 involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a
425 member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *tererstbi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

234 Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas
609 and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

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piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes. 234 609

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons. 422 428 595

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljeidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men. [586]

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to 428

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428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends
428 on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known.
851 Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by
428 a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would
611 arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which
671 would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony was performed several generations ago. When the eldest
183 child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

421 himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the
428 buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known,
however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of
611 Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become
671 extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and
183 Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

[601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

157 The history is also very interesting in showing that a
184 century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

Debt and Servitude

426 It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt,
593 and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is
466 regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kûlvatkerthchi* or *kûlvatkerthiti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

[582] It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

The Position of Women

562 There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

562 community towards the sex. The laws regulating the relations of the dairymen with women also can hardly have contributed to raise the esteem in which they are held. The special ceremonies in which women are concerned involve various disabilities due to the ideas of impurity connected with these ceremonies. The seclusion-hut of a woman has attached to it the same ideas of impurity which attach to a corpse or its relics.

562 Not only are women excluded from any share in the
562 work of the dairies connected with the sacred buffaloes, but they are also prohibited from any part in the milking of the ordinary buffaloes or in the churning of their milk, which is performed solely by males in a part of the hut with which women have nothing to do. It seems that at one time women had the one function of tending the buffaloes at the time of calving, but even this is no longer allowed them.

In other household matters, the duties of women are very limited in scope. Their chief work is the pounding and sifting of grain, the cleaning of the hut, and the decoration of clothing. I am doubtful whether they are allowed to cook, at any rate to cook food in which milk forms one of the ingredients. With such occupations as divining and sorcery they have nothing to do, but one woman has the reputation of possessing the powers of healing which belong to the *utkòren*.

562 I could not learn of any matters of social importance in which women are consulted. When collecting genealogies in Torres Straits, I found that women were often repositories of this important branch of knowledge, but I received no indication that this was the case with the Toda women, though I cannot say definitely that they may not have possessed some knowledge of this and cognate subjects.

Though thus unimportant in ceremonial and of little influence in the regulation of social affairs, women have nevertheless much freedom. In general social intercourse the two sexes always seemed to be on the best of terms, and I never saw or heard anything to indicate that women are treated harshly or contemptuously.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[5[illegible]1] While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands 618 had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she 766 should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

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dependent on the transference of a young girl to the clan of a boy who acts as husband to the corpse. By her marriage to Keinba, the dead girl became a member of the Keadrol, and her funeral should have been held at the burning-ground of this clan. Many of the features of the ceremonies were in accordance with this change of clan, and since all were not so, the various mishaps which occurred at the funeral were ascribed by the Todas to the departure from prescribed custom.

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CHAPTER XXIV

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

181 THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple.
234 The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the
177 Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy. This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the affairs of daily life.

181 The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little
531 developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony that little is left for the development of art, even of a primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the person, and even here we shall find that the methods of wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their amusements again we shall find that the influence of ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely imitations of ceremonial occupations.

821 I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun, moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observations and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

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CLOTHING

The clothing of the men consists of a large cloak called the *putkuli*, a loincloth called *tadrp*, and a small perineal cloth called *kuvn*, kept in its place by a string round the waist called *pennar*. 291

The *putkuli* is made of a large piece of double cloth, which is usually worn by placing one side over the left shoulder and then throwing the whole garment round the back and over the right shoulder and across to the left shoulder, so that it completely envelops the body. This method of wearing the cloak, which is shown by the third man of Fig. 61, is called *kai ulk üt nidvai*, "hand into laid who stands," or "who stands with hand placed within the cloak."

The double layer of cloth of which the cloak is made is sewn together at the edges except at the upper part of one side, leaving the opening of a large pocket which is bounded by lines where the two layers of the cloak are again sewn together. This pocket is called *kudsh* and is very capacious, so that a Toda may produce a surprising number of articles from it. As we have seen, many of the articles given to the dead are placed in this pocket.

There are two methods of wearing the cloak adopted on special occasions. One of these is that called *kevenarut* (adopted by the second man in Fig. 61), with which we have already often met. The right arm is put out of the cloak, so that the arm and shoulder are bare whenever a Toda approaches certain sacred personages or objects. The cloak is worn *kevenarut* whenever the wearer is engaged in prayer or employed in any way at the dairy. It is also worn in this way when approaching a *palol*, when performing the *kaimukhti* salutation, and when crossing either of the sacred streams.

The other method is that shown by the fourth man in Fig. 61 and is called *mud ar mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands." The cloak is worn in this fashion by a widower between the middle of the first funeral ceremony and the final scene of the *asaramkedr*. It is also worn in 291 765

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony of each funeral.

291 The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus, 291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago, according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers 437 who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present 531 time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar. 463 When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*, 177 made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said 437 to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *ān* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

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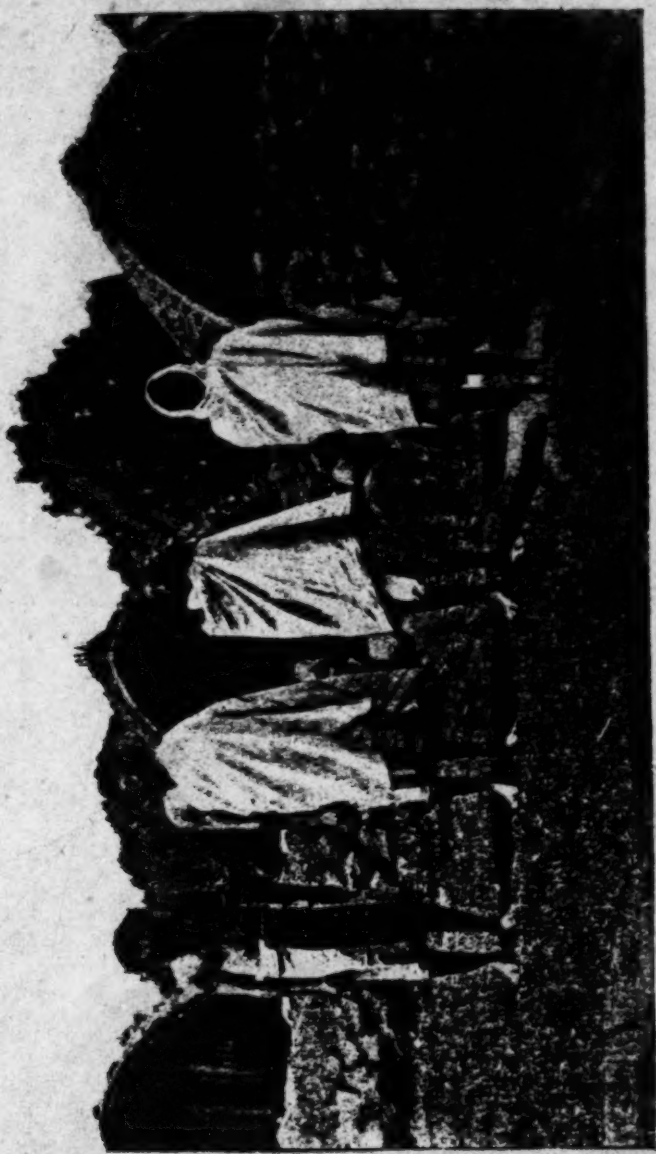

FIG. 61.—SHOWING METHODS OF WEARING THE TODA GARMENTS AND OF DOING THE HAIR.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordination of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the
292 *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvu* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
559 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kodrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

Methods of Wearing the Hair

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 13.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutwai*, "head (or hair) who

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

302 rolls," and the second man in Fig. 61 is wearing his hair in
765 this fashion, a girl of his clan having died not long before, whose second funeral ceremonies had not yet taken place.

302 Another method of wearing the hair is shown by the third man in Fig. 61. This method is called *mad nadrk vai*,
782 "head (or hair) long to who." It is adopted by anyone who

FIG. 62.—TILIPA (12) WEARING HIS HAIR LONG ON ACCOUNT OF A VOW MADE AT A HINDU TEMPLE.

has made a vow. In Fig. 62 another man is shown in the same condition, but his head has a different appearance owing to the fact that he has tied two locks behind in order to keep the long hair away from his face. This tying back has no other significance.

302 Women wear their hair as shown in Figs. 3 and 11, in long ringlets, and there do not appear to be any differences in

302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgarsol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjánkudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mikuti* (? *meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mikuti*.

Skin-marks

304 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form
751 of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the
755 elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered
304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

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FIGS. 63 AND 64.—TO SHOW METHOD OF SHAVING THE HEAD OF A CHILD.

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304 man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had [752] to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pöturers*, is used to hasten the healing.

[755] Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *sunurkudi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

304 Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns
531 consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.[1]

304 I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory
521 information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

304 The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might under-
463 take the business. The following are at present recognised as
465 experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *utkòren*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

304 The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

[1] Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of a fruit called *ilpom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit called *puthimulpom*[1] is used for the same purpose. The yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks of the Hindus.

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Ornaments

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten.

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The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Breeks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

[1] This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Taradr and Kanòdrs.

FOOD

262 The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and
272 sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

252 In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice, and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking
262 vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

262 A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is given by Mr. Thurston.[1] There is very little doubt that at
437 one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

252 A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from
262 *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkkartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkkartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*tôdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey,
261 are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.[2] A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four.

264 The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if
754 this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are produced by the evil eye.

[1] *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

[2] *Ashk* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat. 264 576

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men. 252 462

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide. 273 177 276

FIRE-MAKING

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon, 372

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372 and with a few powerful manipulations he was rapidly successful.

Several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being *kiaz* or *keadj*, *mòrs*, *parskuti*, and *main*. Only the first of these, however, may be used if fire is being

FIG. 65.—KAROL (64), THE 'WURSOL' OF TARADR, MAKING FIRE.

made for sacred purposes, and I was told that it was much easier to make fire with this than with any other.

In some Toda villages a stone is kept called *tütmûkal*, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron. Probably this method was employed for non-sacred purposes in the period between giving up the fire-sticks for ordinary purposes and the introduction of matches.

000 The Todas have two kinds of fireplace, the *waskal*, con-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas have two kinds of fireplace, the waskal, consisting of three stones, and the *kudrvars*, with four stones. The former is found in the dwelling-hut, in the *wursuli*, and in the *ti* dairy, and the latter in the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*; but I did not discover why the more sacred dairies should have the same kind of fireplace as the house. According to one account *waskal* is the name used by the Teivaliol and *kudrvars* by the Tartharol, and it may be that this is the explanation of the apparent anomaly. 354

THE HOUSE

Various parts of the house have definite names, and may only be used for certain purposes. As we have already seen, there are raised seats both outside and inside the house, the latter being used as beds. These are made of earth, the upper surface of which is made level, and the whole is usually well coated with a layer of dried buffalo-dung, sometimes nearly half an inch thick. The general name for these raised parts is *tün*, the seats outside the building on either side of the door being called *kwottün*, while the bed on the right side of the interior is the *meitün*, and that on the left side the *kitün*. The part of the hut where the bed or beds stand is called the *idrtul*. 342 352

The floor is called *kuter*, and this is divided into two parts by the hole in which the women pound the grain. The part near the door is called *kikuter*, and it is in this part only that dairy operations may be carried on. The part behind the pounding hole is especially assigned to the women and is called *meilkuter*.[1]

The end wall, on which various objects, such as sticks, are kept is called *taskten*, and the fireplace, usually on one side, is called *waskal*. The part above the fireplace where firewood is kept is called *waskalkübi*, and the place of the cooking vessels is called *adikudi*. The western side of the hut is sometimes called the *meilmakol*, and the eastern side the 342

[1] It might have been expected that the part of the floor near the door used for the dairy operations would be the *meilkuter*, but it is not so. *Meil* also means 'west,' and the explanation may be connected with this.

342 *kimakol*, but I do not know if this implies any rule as to the orientation of the houses.

The method of building is illustrated by Fig. 66, which
341 shows a hut only partially built. Certain Todas have special
335 reputations as architects, and the most famous of these at the present time is Kijievan (50), who superintended the building of the hut at Kiudr shown in Fig. 7, the most spacious and artistic of the strictly Toda dwellings which I saw on the

FIG. 66.—TO SHOW A STAGE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A HUT.

hills. Especial care is often taken with the arrangement of the rattan on the front of the hut, which is shown in Fig. 20. This is a picture of a dairy, but it shows the arrangement which is also found in the best of the houses.

343 The hut used for the seclusion of women before and after childbirth is a rough structure of wood and thatch, but its name, *pushars*, means "mud house," which suggests that huts made of earth may at one time have been used by the Todas.

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Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koòtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 178

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

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764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
735 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudskmurn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
178 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
174 when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments, and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
178

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

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the Todas were so much isolated that their only iron was that of the tips of their arrows. 411 174 178

The bow and arrow are also mentioned in the legend of

FIG. 67 (FROM BREEKS).—THE FIRST MAN ON THE LEFT IS HOLDING A BOW AND ARROW; THE SECOND A CLUB (PROBABLY THE 'NANMAKUD') IN HIS RIGHT HAND, AND THE 'TADRI' IN HIS LEFT; THE THIRD MAN IS CARRYING A CLUB, AND THE FOURTH MAN IS PLAYING THE 'BUGURI.'

Kwoten. Teikuteidi was killed by an arrow shot by a lame man who lay down when he shot. It is possible that this legend points to an ancient custom of shooting the bow and arrow by means of the legs.

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Measures and Numerals

804 The Toda measure of length is the *mogai* or *mogoi*, which corresponds to the cubit, being the length from the elbow to the tips of the fingers. The word is probably related to *mogal*, the term for fore-arm.

The usual measure of capacity for liquids is the *kudi*, said to be equal to about four pints. Another measure is the *kòni*, two of which make one *kudi*. The *kòni* probably corresponds to the milking vessel, or *pun*.

For measuring out grain, the Todas use a special table of measures consisting of *âk* and *kwâ*, eleven *âk* making one
802 *kwâ*. When measuring out grain, modifications of the ordinary numerals are used.

In the following lines I give these on the right-hand side of the page, those on the left being the ordinary numerals. *Urâk* is the equivalent of *ud âk*, or one measure.

ud	one	*ârâk*
erd	two	*frâk*
mûd	three	*mâk*
nonk	four	*oponi*
uiz	five	*oiâk*
âr	six	*ârâk*
ö or *eu*	seven	*öâk* or *euâk*
ôt	eight	*ötâk*
unpoth	nine	*unpâk*
poth	ten	*pothâk*
ponud	eleven	*ukwâ*
ponerd	twelve	*ponerâk*
ponmûd	thirteen	*ponmûdâk*
ponnonk or *pûnk*	fourteen	*ponnonkâk*
ponuiz or *poiz*	fifteen	*ponuiâk*
pâr	sixteen	*pârâk*
pö or *pür*	seventeen	*pöâk*
pût	eighteen	*pûtâk*
ponpoth	nineteen	*ponpothâk*
evoth	twenty	*evothâk*
evoth ud	twenty-one	*evothudâk* (doubtful)
evoth erd	twenty-two	*ikwâ*
evoth mûd	twenty-three	*ikwâ ârâk*
:	:	:
:	:	:

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802

mopoth	thirty	*ikwâ ötâk*
:	:	:
mopoth mâd	thirty-three	*mûkhwâ*
:	:	:
nîpoth	forty	*mûkhwâ ötâk*
:	:	:
nâpoth nmk	forty-four	*nâkhwâ*
:	:	:
epoth	fifty	*nâkhwâ ârâk*
:	:	:
epoth uâz	fifty-five	*aiiwâ*
:	:	:
âroth	sixty	*aiiwâ oiâk*
:	:	:
âroth âr	sixty-six	*ârwâ*
:	:	:
öwoth	seventy	*ârwâ oponi*
:	:	:
öwoth ö	seventy-seven	*ökwâ*
:	:	:
ötwoth	eighty	*ökwâ mâk*
:	:	:
ötwoth öt	eighty-eight	*ötkwâ*
:	:	:
unwoth	ninety	*ötkwâ ârâk*
:	:	:
unwoth unpoth	ninety-nine	*unpawâ*
:	:	:
anâr	hundred	*unpawâ ud*

Above a hundred the numbers of *kwâ* are continued to *potkwâ*, *ponudkwâ*, &c., up to twenty *kwâ*, which make one *siligh*, and then the people begin again at the beginning.

This occurrence of the number eleven is probably a consequence of the transactions between Todas and Badagas. 177 802 804

177 There was some reason to believe that the true Toda measure
802 is the *âk* (probably a contraction of *achok*) and that the
804 Badagas brought their grain to the Todas in vessels called *kwâ*. The *kwâ* contained eleven of the Toda *âk*, and hence came about the very unusual proportion between two measures.

802 In giving ages or any other period of time, the word for year, *kwòdr*, is often abbreviated to *wâ*; thus *nâpoth kwòdr*, forty years, becomes *nâpothwâ*.

In counting the Todas use their fingers largely and have a special method of indicating the numbers. To signify one, the thumb is placed against the tip of the little finger; for two, against the tip of the ring finger; for three, against the middle finger; for four, against the forefinger; for five, the tip of the index finger is placed over the nail of the thumb; the same position is used for six, while that for seven is the same as for four, and so on, so that when ten is reached the thumb is resting again on the tip of the little finger.

Money

177 The Todas use the ordinary Indian currency. In their
436 legends and ceremonies there is frequent reference to the *panm*, or four-anna piece.

Among the coins used by the Todas at the funeral ceremonies there are many of considerable age with Arabic inscriptions, and the earlier visitors to the hills describe the Todas as possessing old Venetian gold pieces. In the legend telling how the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* dispersed the invading Coorgs (p. 114), the boy made use of a small gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he had in his possession.

The Calendar

805 The Todas have twelve months, each of which begins with the new moon. The first month of the Toda year is *Tai*, which begins with the new moon in October, so that this month usually includes part of October and part of November. Some of the chief Toda ceremonies, such as that of *teutiit-*

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usthichi and the more important ceremonies of *erkumptthpimi*, take place soon after the new moon marking the commencement of this month, and these ceremonies were sometimes said to signalise the beginning of a new year. The following are the names of the Toda months, with the periods of our year to which they approximately correspond :— 805

Tai	October—November
Emioti	November—December
Kôdri	December—January
Alôni	January—February
Naltni	February—March
Âni	March—April
Âtheri	April—May
Âdi	May—June
Ovdni	June—July
Peritâthi	July—August
Tudsivi	August—September
Kirdivi	September—October.

Each month has thirty days. A record is kept of the number of days from one new moon to the full moon, and from that to the next new moon. The full moon is counted as being on the fifteenth day after the new moon, and the new moon as being on the sixteenth day after the full moon.

The Week

The names for the days of the week are as follows :—

Âsvom	Sunday
Tîvom	Monday
Ôm	Tuesday
Pûthvom	Wednesday
Tâm	Thursday
Pîlivom	Friday
Thanivom or *Tanivom*	Saturday.

According to Schmid, who wrote in 1837, *Ôm* is regarded as the first day of the week. Schmid also notes that the names for Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday agree in etymology with Tamil, Wednesday being Buddha's day and Friday the day of Venus. He gives *Etnat* as an alternative name for Saturday. [171]

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Astronomical Ideas

772 We have already seen that the Todas reverence the sun, and that the period of the moon is of the greatest importance
821 in the regulation of the times for their ceremonies. In this chapter we have to deal with their views as to the nature of these bodies and of the stars.

The Sun

The Todas believe that when the sun goes down in the west, it goes to Amnòdr. The same sun illuminates both worlds, and this is shown very well in the story of Kwoto; when this demi-god tied down the sun, there was darkness both in this world and in the other, and the people of Amnòdr joined with those of this world in imploring that the sun should be restored to its proper place.

When the Todas know that there is going to be an eclipse of the sun, they abstain from food, but they do not shout out during the eclipse as we shall see they do in the case of the moon. When the eclipse is over, they have a feast with *ashkkartpimi*.

The Moon

The new moon is called *mut* and the full moon *nêrv*. We have already seen the enormous influence of the period of the moon in Toda ceremonial and I have given above the method of counting between the periods of new and full moon so as to know the correct day of the new moon if for any reason it should not be visible.

772 The Todas see a figure in the moon which they call *mûrs*,
773 the hare.[1] The following story not only shows how the hare comes to be there, but also furnishes the explanation of
821 eclipses of the moon and the origin of the Paikara river.[2]

Two men who were *matchuni* (see p. 501) went out one day to fetch honey. After a time they separated, and one

[1] In India the marks on the moon are frequently supposed to represent a hare.

[2] For another version of this story obtained by Mr. Thurston, see *Bulletin*,

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found honey, while the other found none. The man who found the honey put it into a dairy vessel called *pun*, which he hid in a tree, and when he met the other did not tell him of his good fortune. After a time the *pun* containing honey which had been put in the tree suddenly broke, and the vessel became a snake, while the honey became the Paikara river. The snake ran after the man who had hidden the honey, and when the man saw the snake coming after him, he ran away. As he was being pursued, a hare came between the man and the snake. Then the man threw his cloak over the hare and hid himself, and the snake ran after the hare. The hare ran to the sky followed by the snake, and they came near the sun, which said, "Don't come near me because I am very hot. Go to the moon!" So the hare went to the moon, and the moon said, "Do not be afraid; I will protect you till the end of the world." The snake still goes sometimes to catch the hare in the moon, and when he goes the moon becomes dark and some people fire guns and send up rockets and the Todas shout. When it is known that there is going to be an eclipse the Todas abstain from food, and when they see the moon being eclipsed they shout out.

772
773
821

I was told that there was another incident of the story connected with shooting stars, but I was unable to obtain an account of it.

Planets

The Todas know Venus, which they call *Pili*, and they also speak of the "morning star."

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821

Constellations and Stars

The Todas have names for several stars or constellations. The Pleiades are called *Kadsht* and the constellation is believed to be composed of six stars.

Another heavenly body which I could not identify is called *Keirt*. *Keirt* has already been mentioned in Chap. XIV., and it is the evil influence of this body which is chiefly feared after

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772 childbirth. It is said to be a star which is never present
821 in the same part of the sky as *Kadsht*. The reason for this is that once *Keirt* and *Kadsht* fought together. *Kadsht* had six men and *Keirt* only one. *Keirt* broke the leg of one of the six men, so that now there are five stars close together in the Pleiades and one lags behind. On account of this quarrel Swami ruled that *Kadsht* and *Keirt* must never be together, but that when *Kadsht* is on one side of the sky, *Keirt* must always be on the other.

When talking about *Keirt* in connexion with the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut, it was said that *Keirt* was near the sun and that the sun was dangerous because *Keirt* was near it. It seemed that *Keirt* was always near the sun, which led me to suspect at first that it was Venus. It was quite clear, however, that this was not so. No one could show me *Keirt*, nor was anyone clear as to the part of the sky in which it was to be seen at any time in the night, and I think it most probable that this mysterious inhabitant of the sky is not a star at all, but a being allied to the Hindu *Ketu*. On the other hand, at a funeral attended by Samuel, the setting of *Kadsht* and the appearance of *Keirt* was taken as the sign that the proceedings of the *azaramkedr* might begin,
[177] which looks as if *Keirt* was a real heavenly body. I think it is most probable that the whole idea of the injurious influence of *Keirt* is borrowed from the Badagas, and, if this is the case, the Toda word is probably merely an altered form of *Ketu*. I was told that *Keirt* was a Badaga word and that the Badagas feared its influence on women after childbirth.

A group of stars called *Pòdimin*, or porcupine star, corresponds to the stars in the sword of Orion. They are regarded as a porcupine from which the three stars of the belt are trying to escape.

A constellation of seven stars is called *Katikâlmin*. From the description it appeared to be the Great Bear. This constellation was not visible, but when I made a drawing of its seven chief stars, it was at once recognised as *Katikâlmin*.

A single star called *Ishtkati* is almost certainly Sirius.

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A Single Star called Ishtkati is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishtkati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishtkati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*." 177 772 821

A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tûdrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably γ and ϵ Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky. 773 821 171

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tûdrval*, and so one star is called *tûdrvalmokh*. The *tûdrval* still sings "*Kudursami trrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tûdrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas. 177 772 773 821

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

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GAMES

541 It is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies, and in the old days when the *marvainolkedr* lasted two days, the first day, devoted to catching the buffaloes and putting them in the pen, must have been largely of a sportive character. Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is a spectacle which is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place.

The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired in a certain degree a ceremonial character.

524 In one of these games called *narthpimi*, a boy squeezes
526 through a narrow tunnel formed by a flat slab of stone over two upright slabs. Two boys start from different distances,
177 and the object of the nearer boy is to squeeze through the tunnel before the other can touch his feet. I did not have an opportunity of seeing this game, and I only saw the stones with which it is played at one village. This was at Nòdrs, where the three stones are called *menkars* and mark the spot at which one of the ordinary buffaloes is killed at the funeral ceremonies. The *menkars* is shown in Fig. 12 in front of and a little to the right of the entrance to the dairy.

Another game resembling tip-cat is called *eln*, and at some villages there is a special stone where the game is played. A piece of wood pointed at both ends is propped against the stone and struck with a stick, and should be caught by someone at a distance. The name for this game is probably Badaga,[1] and this suggests that the game has been borrowed from this people.

According to Breeks another game called *kdriâlapimi*, resembling 'puss in the corner,' is played by the Todas. The name suggests a true Toda game and I regret that I know nothing about it.

[1] The game is described by Breeks and Thurston under the name of *ilata*, but this again is certainly not Toda.

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One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good performance. 526

At many villages there is a large globular stone called *tukitthkars* (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukittthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings. 147 526 778

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream called Kavageir, winning eighteen *uakh* (three-year-old 517 526 211 525 177

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
964 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even
517 little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all thes mes are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

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in Torres Straits, where hardly a day would pass without seeing games being played. 517

The chief interest in the case of the Todas is the clear evidence they give of games arising owing to the sportive imitation by children of the more serious occupations of their elders. In some of these cases the games so arising are useful in providing the younger members of the community with practice in feats which they will in later life be called upon to perform. 857

RIDDLES

The Todas are very fond of riddles, which they call *werat*. The following are examples :— [517] 524 539

Mers	*illâth*	*harthti,*	*poi*	*illâth*	*âdti?*	*Mâ,*	*nelu.*
Udder	without	milks,	mouth	without	drinks?	Rain,	earth.

I.e., What is it that gives milk without an udder, what is it that drinks without a mouth? Rain, earth.

Urk	*mers*	*illâth,*	*hâdak*	*kal*	*illâth,*	*athinu?*	*Kâdi,*
In (or to) village	udder	without,	in forest	leg	without,	what is it?	Hen,

pob.	
snake.	

Kerâd	*mokh*	*perâd*	*ain,*	*perâd*	*mokh*	*kerâd*	*ain?*	*Kâdr,*
Little	son	big	becomes,	big	son	little	becomes?	Horn,

kewi.	
ear.	

This riddle depends on a comparison of the horn and ear of the buffalo. The horn of the calf is very small, the ear is relatively large.

Pîw	*pâvadi,*	*kaim*	*kaimadi?*	*Tâf.*
Flower	does not blossom,	berry	does not ripen?	Fern.

Wûrâdr	*nelu,*	*mokh*	*pachtam,*	*pîr*	*ârchtam,*
Whole year	days,	son	begetting,	pregnant,	

ithithanithi	*ank?*	*Pishkimân.*
this is custom	to it?	

Pishkimân is a tree which bears flowers or is giving fruit the whole year round.

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Puzhárgnûdr adetpolodthi? Kûdi kûgiti.
Calls out if why that says no? Cock crows.

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

Nelu tiri kai, pon tiri pûv? Eln.
Earth goes round fruit, sky goes round flower? The tip-cat game.

Mudûl pîr vatvai, pin marswati; pin pîr
First pregnant who becomes, later is delivered; later pregnant

vatvai, mudûl warswati? Tâmi, kodj.
who becomes, first is delivered? A grain, barley.

Tami or *samai* (*patm*) is the grain from which *patcherski*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

Poetry and Music

533 538 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kunedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are [195] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarzam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarzam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

occasion, and Mr. Thurston[1] has recorded examples of several such compositions. 538

Dancing takes place at the funeral ceremonies, and exhibitions of these or other dances are sometimes given by the Todas. The only dancing I saw was at a funeral and it was of the simplest possible description, the men who took part forming a circle and moving slowly round and round. 535 545

The only musical instrument of the Todas is a simple flute, called the *buguri*. It is shown in Fig. 68, where it is being played by the man on the right. The instrument is not much used by the Todas and is not, so far as I know played on any ceremonial occasion. The music at the funeral ceremonies is always performed by Kotas. 534

[1] *Bull.* iv. p. 7.

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CHAPTER XXV

LANGUAGE

121 My chief purpose in writing this chapter is to give information which, I hope, may increase the value of the linguistic material which is scattered throughout this book, and especially to describe some of the doubts and difficulties which I encountered in my attempts to reduce the Toda language to writing.

At the end of the chapter I give some new facts relating to the sacred and secret languages of the Todas, and I will begin with a brief sketch of the views commonly held on the linguistic position of the Toda language.

197 The Nilgiri Hills are situated at the point of junction of three of the chief linguistic districts of Southern India. In the country on the South and East, Tamil is spoken ; on the West, the language is Malayalam, and the people of Mysore to the North speak chiefly Canarese. The Todas live at this meeting-place of three languages, but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these, but has very definite and distinctive characters of its own, as might, indeed, be expected from the character of the people. The Badagas with whom the Todas have much intercourse speak a corrupt form of Canarese, and the Todas have undoubtedly borrowed many words from their language.

114 Previous writers have differed in their views on the special affinities of the Toda language. No one has now, I think, 197 any doubt that the language is Dravidian. Bernhard Schmid,[1] who wrote in 1837, appears to me to have known more of

[1] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1837, vol. v. p. 155.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the true Toda language than anyone who has written since, and he ascribed two-thirds of the Toda vocabulary to Tamil and was unable to trace the remaining third to any other language. Caldwell[1] believed the language of the Todas to be most closely allied to Tamil. According to Pope[2] the language was originally old Canarese with the addition of a few Tamil forms, but he has included in his vocabulary words which have probably been borrowed from the Badagas. 114. 197

The linguistic material which I have collected is far more extensive than that which was available at the time Pope wrote his sketch, and though the material is in one way less satisfactory since it has been collected after thirty more years of Toda intercourse with the outside world, it is in another way more satisfactory than any previous material in that by far the larger part of it is derived from the formulæ used in the religious ceremonies and in magic. It is, of course, well known that an ancient language may linger on in religious and magical formulæ long after it has disappeared from ordinary speech, and when I discovered how many of these formulæ were preserved by the Todas, I made a point of collecting as many as possible in the hope that they might preserve relics of the ancient speech of the Todas.

In collecting this material I suffered under grave disadvantages; firstly in not being a phonologist, and secondly, in my ignorance of any Dravidian language. I had had, however, a fairly large experience in taking down unwritten languages phonetically, and, whatever the errors into which I have fallen, I hope that they are consistent throughout my record. As a matter of fact, I find my spelling to be fairly constant, words taken down from different individuals and on different occasions being written in the same way. 114. 126

From one point of view my ignorance of Dravidian languages is not an unmixed evil. When anyone hears a language which is allied to one he knows, it is almost impossible to avoid being influenced by this knowledge. This

[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 537.

[2] *Outlines of the Toda Grammar* appended to Marshall's *Phrenologist among the Todas*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

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themselves. I have already pointed out that the great majority of the names of Toda places and institutions which have been recorded by previous writers are the Badaga names and not the Toda names, and, as might have been expected, many Badaga words have found their way into previously published Toda vocabularies. 191 192

In my own work my procedure was to take down a sentence first through the interpreter, then to go through the words of the sentence one by one asking the Toda to say each word carefully, and often he had to repeat it many times before I could satisfy myself about the nature of the sounds. Often I would get a second or third Toda to say the word, and I have frequently spent many minutes over one word, and have perhaps then been baffled in my attempts to write the word satisfactorily. 126 194

I noticed continually that the Toda words as pronounced by my interpreters were quite different in sound from those which came from the mouths of the Todas themselves. This was especially the case with the vowels, and in the addition of the initial *y*, so well known in the Tamil pronunciation of English. So far as I could detect, there was no trace of this initial *y* in Toda, although it occurs occasionally in some of the previously recorded Toda vocabularies.

These differences between the pronunciation of my interpreter and that of the Todas may often be the source of inconsistencies in my record, for on some occasions, owing to lack of time, I was unable to listen carefully to the Todas themselves, and had to content myself with the words given to me by the interpreter.

PHONETICS

In order to indicate the sounds of the Toda language, I have kept as closely as possible to the generally recognised system in use in India, but have been obliged to adopt many more signs than those usually employed.

The vowel sounds which I distinguished were very numerous. The following vowels and diphthongs certainly occurred:

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

126 194 *â, a, ä, ê, e, ê, i, ô, o, ö, ò, û, u, ü, ai, au, ei, eu, oi.*[1] I am doubtful, however, whether in some cases a distinction between two sounds was not due to individual differences of pronunciation or to dialectical differences. This is almost certainly the case with the distinction between *ai* and *oi*. Some other cases which are more complex may be considered in detail.

A, *ò*, and *o*. The first two sounds are often interchanged with one another. There is no doubt that the usual *â* of some Dravidian languages becomes *ò* in Toda, as in the change from *nâḍ* to *nòḍr*, and most previous writers have regarded this change as constant, and have used the sign *â* for the sound which the Todas undoubtedly pronounce like the *aw* of the English word 'law.' I should much have liked to follow their example, and by so doing could have avoided the introduction of a new sign for the Toda sound, a sound for which there appears to be no generally recognised symbol in the phonetic systems used by anthropologists. I could not do so, however, because the Todas sometimes use the true *â* sound. There are certain words which are always pronounced with exactly the same sound as in the English word 'father,' and I never heard these words pronounced otherwise. In some cases there is a definite reason why this should be so. Thus the Toda word for 'again' is *mâr*, and I never heard this word uttered otherwise than as I have written it. If it had undergone the common transformation it would have become *mòr*, the *ti* word for buttermilk, and in one case at least there would have been occasion for misunderstanding, for one of the salt-giving ceremonies is called *mârup* or 'again salt,' while another is called *mòrup* or 'buttermilk salt.' The syllable also occurs in the words *pâtatmâr* and *ertatmâr*, and is never pronounced in these words otherwise than as I have written it. On the other hand, there are certain words in which the sound is always that of *ò*, and in other cases the two sounds are undoubtedly interchanged, and in the latter case I have usually adopted the spelling in *â*. A good example of this is *pârs* or *pòrs*, milk, for which

[1] For equivalents of these signs in English words see the Phonetic System at the beginning of the book.

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I have throughout adopted the former spelling, though it is quite as often called *pòrs*. 126 194

The *ò* is often shortened into *o*, and this is especially the case with the word for 'man.' The general Dravidian form of this word is *ôḷ*, but in Toda it becomes *ò*ḷ or *o*ḷ (which I write as *ol*), and in compound words, such as *palol* and *wursol*, it is always, or nearly always, pronounced so as to be indistinguishable from the *o* of the English word 'olive.' The long *ô* is not a very frequent sound in Toda.

A and ä. The sign *a* is used, in accordance with the general Indian practice, for the sound of the English word 'hut,' one of the commonest of Toda sounds. It is undoubtedly interchanged sometimes with the sound of the English word 'hat,' for which I use the sign *ä*. In such cases of interchange, I use the sign *a* in preference, but when I always heard the *ä* sound, I have used it. It seemed to me that this sound was especially frequent in proper names, as in that of the village Päm and in such words as Kän.

Û and u. These are used for the sounds of the words 'moon' and 'full,' and both are of frequent occurrence. The short form seems occasionally to be changed into *a*; thus, the word *mun* means 'maternal uncle,' but the word for 'sister's son' is *manmokh*. This is a good instance of the value of vowel sounds in Toda; the *mankugh* is the sister's daughter, but the *munkugh* is the name of the daughter of a maternal uncle. The two words which resemble one another so closely have two very different meanings, those of niece and cousin.

Ê and ei. I use *ê* for the sound of the *ei* in the English word 'their.' *Ei* is the sign which I use for the long *ä* of the English word 'date.' A sound for which I often use this sign is one which gave me a great deal of trouble. In it the vowel sound is prolonged so as to form almost a dissyllable, and in my earlier records I wrote it *êe*, the first *ê* having the sound of the *ei* in 'their.' I decided later to use *ei*, though I acknowledge it is not at all a satisfactory representation of the sound I heard.

Î. The only point on which I have to remark about this sound is that it is sometimes prolonged so as to become a dissyllable as in the example already mentioned. In one

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126 case, the word *mtis*, used in the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony,
194 this prolongation of the sound is so marked and so constant that I have preserved a record of it in the spelling, but in most cases I have been content to indicate it by *t* only.

Eu and ö. I use the former sign for a sound which seemed to me very much like the French *eu*. It often resembled very closely the German *ö*, and in some cases, as in that of the word for the numeral 7, I was doubtful which was the right sign. The sound for which I use *eu* is, however, more prolonged, and approaches a dissyllable. It occurs in the most definite form in the word for god, *teu*. This is undoubtedly derived from the Sanscrit '*deva*' in general use in Southern India, and it is therefore very interesting that this word, which has become '*Dieu*' in French, should have become the very similar *teu* in the Toda language.

U, ü, and *i.* The *ü* sound, almost exactly like that of the German language, was common, though in many cases I was doubtful whether to write *u, ü,* or *i.* Thus it was difficult to say whether the word for bow was *purs, pürs,* or *pirs*; the last named would bring it in line with general Dravidian orthography, but the first seemed to me the most frequent, and I have therefore adopted it.

Ai and *oi.* The sound *ai* is not very frequent in Toda, and when it occurs is often on the way to *oi.* Thus the *naim* or council was often *noim*, and *mogai* and *mogoi* were said indifferently.

I had very much difficulty in writing the consonants, being especially troubled by my lack of familiarity with linguals. The following were those which I heard:—*b, ch, d, d, f, g, gg, gh, h, j, k, kh, l* and *l, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, sh, t, th, v, w, z, zh.*

In the text of the book I have not attempted to distinguish the lingual consonants, and I have also omitted the very common euphonic insertions, especially of *ch, sh,* and *th.*

B, p, v, w, and *f.* The sound expressed by *b* was heard very rarely, and I am doubtful whether it really occurs in true Toda. It is a common letter in Badaga, but when a Badaga word is pronounced by the Todas, the letter usually becomes *p.* In a few words I had much difficulty in making up my mind whether a given sound was *b* or *p*, and this was especially

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the case with the word *kudupel* or *kudubel*, which is probably a Badaga word. 126 194

One of the most frequent consonants in Toda is *p*, which often changes into *v*, especially when *p* is the initial letter of the latter part of a compound word; thus the word *pet* or wand in *pôkpet* became *pôkvet*, *kugpali* became *kugvali*, and *nedrpol*, *nedrvol*. Occasionally *p* would become a distinct *w*, as in the name of the flower *kargwûv* for *kargpûv*.

The letter *f* undoubtedly occurs in Toda, though not very frequently. It is sometimes changed into *v*, but in some cases, as in the name of the ancient village Kusharf, I never heard any sound other than a distinct *f*. I did not hear *f* and *p* interchanged.

As already mentioned, the letter *w* may occasionally occur as a variant of *p* or *v*, but it also occurs in words where it is never interchanged with either of these letters. The most frequent example of the occurrence of the letter is in the word *wursol*, and here the sound was so elusive that for a long time I hesitated whether to write the word as *wursol* or *ursol*. Breeks wrote this word *varzhol*, and we may take it that he distinctly recognised the initial letter as allied to *v* and *p*.

D, *d*, *t*, *th*. I have used the sign *d* for two sounds in the text. One I could not distinguish from the English sound expressed by this letter. It is sometimes the representative of *nd* of Badaga, *mand* or village becoming *mad* in Toda,[1] while the Badaga form of Pidati is Benduti. The *d* of other Dravidian languages often becomes *t* in Toda, thus *pandava* becomes *pateva*, and the Teivaliol almost certainly derive their name from some form of the word *deva*.

More frequently, however, *d* is used for the lingual consonant *ḍ*, which is one of the commonest sounds in Toda. Very often this letter is immediately followed by the letter *r*, and the combination *ḍr* (which in the text of the book I have written *dr*) is an extremely frequent sound. Often to my ear it was quite indistinguishable from the simple *r*, and usually I had to refer to my interpreter to know whether a given sound was *ḍr* or *r*. Neither of my interpreters

[1] *Mad*, or more usually *madth*, is also the Toda word for churn, and this word is probably derived indirectly from the Sanscrit *mantha*.

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126 seemed ever to be in any doubt, and they were so consistent
194 on this point that wherever this spelling occurs it is probably correct. So far as I can tell the *ḍr* is the representative of *ḍ* in other Dravidian languages; thus, *nâd* of Canarese becomes *nòḍr*, and the *kêdu* of Badaga becomes *kêḍr*. On reference to the list of Badaga and Toda names of villages given in Appendix III. it will be seen that the *ḍr* of the Todas is usually the equivalent of the Badaga *ḍ*, Telkodu becoming Telkudr, and Kudimal becoming Kudrmas.

The sound which I express by *dr* has been very variously spelt by previous writers; thus, the Toda future world has been written *Humanorr* or *Omnorr* by Harkness, *Amunâd* by Breeks, *Amnôr* by Marshall and Pope, and *Amnor* by Thurston, and the sacred plant *tudr* has been written *tûd*, *tûde*, *tiurr*, *tûre* and *tûr*.

When the sound *ḍ* occurs before letters other than *r*, I am afraid I may have often omitted it. Thus till nearly the end of my visit I wrote the word *teḍshk* as *teshk*, and the name of the village *Teḍshteiri* as *Teshteiri*, and I have little doubt that this letter, the presence of which I had so much difficulty in recognising, may have been omitted in other cases.

There seems to be no doubt that *ḍr* and *t* might sometimes be interchangeable. Thus the termination of personal names, *kûtan* seemed to be the same word as *kûḍr*. A horn is *kûḍr* and imitation-horns are *kûter*. An assembly is *kût*, and the corresponding verb is *kûḍriti* (3rd person singular). Sometimes *ḍr* becomes *rt*; thus the word *kêḍr* becomes *kêrt* in the compound word *kêrtnòdr*, and the names of the clans Kuuḍr and Pieḍr often become Kuurt and Piert in the words Kuurtol and Piertol.

I failed to distinguish between *t* and *ṭ*, and it is probable that my *t* includes both letters. My interpreters used the sign *th* for *ṭ*, as is common in the transliteration of missionaries and others in India, and I am afraid that in a few cases my *th* should stand for the lingual *ṭ*. It is very unfortunate that *th* should be used for *ṭ*, for the true *th* not only occurs among the Todas but is a very frequent consonant. It is frequently inserted euphonically in words which are at other times pro-

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nounced without it, and this is especially the case in connexion with the letter *l*. The consonant *th* also occurs frequently apart from any other consonant, in such words as *pûthi*, *pathanmul*, &c. :26 :94

I think it probable that under the sign *th* I have included two sounds, that of the English word 'though' and that of 'throw,' but I could not make up my mind whether the two sounds were definitely distinguished. The softer sound is undoubtedly the more common, and often it seemed to me to be even softer than this sound is ever heard in English.

K, kw, g, kh, gh, h. Perhaps the commonest Toda consonant is *k*, which often becomes *kw*, and it seemed to me that the two were sometimes interchanged, *kûḍr* becoming *kwûḍr*, &c.

The consonant *g* is less frequently heard, but *kûḍr*, especially as the termination of the names of men and places, is often pronounced *gûḍr*, and it seemed to me that this pronunciation is somewhat more common among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The sound *g* occurs very definitely, sometimes at the ends of words as in the names of villages, as in Kwirg and Perg, and in the word *kug*, and in these cases there is no doubt that it is a true Toda consonant.

The sounds which I have expressed by *kh* and *gh* are fairly common, though I do not feel quite confident that the two sounds are definitely distinguished from one another. I heard them very frequently in the words *mokh* and *kûgh*, and it certainly seemed to me that the final sound of the latter was always softer than that of the word *mokh*. When one or other of these sounds occurs at the end of a word, it is probable that I have in some cases omitted to notice it. A man named Perpakh was called by me Perpa till nearly the end of my visit, and it is probable that I made similar errors which were not detected. Similarly *kh* in the middle of a word may easily escape attention, and this has probably happened in some cases.

I also had much trouble about a sound occurring at the end of a word for which I have used the sign *h*. Its chief

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126 occurrence is in the word *pôh*, and the same or a closely
194 similar sound sometimes occurs in the middle of the word *pali*. The word *pôh* has usually been written *boath*, following Marshall, or *boa* (Breeks). The word certainly often sounded like a dissyllable, but I was doubtful whether this was anything more than the prolongation of vowels to which I have already referred in the case of *ei* and *f*. There is some kind of consonantal sound at the end of the word, but it is certainly not the ordinary *th* nor is it *kh*, and I have adopted *h* as the nearest equivalent though I recognise that it is not the right sign.

R, l. I have already considered the letter *r* in connexion with *d*, but it also occurs frequently by itself. At the end of a word it is sometimes distinctly rolled. When used after a short vowel, as in such a word as *persin*, it was sometimes not easy for me to detect its presence, and occasionally it is possible that I have omitted it from words in which it should occur.

The letter *l* is of fairly frequent occurrence, but has certainly often been lost in Toda in words which contain it in other Dravidian languages; thus the word *kfl*, lower. inferior, becomes *kf* in Toda, though the *l* has been retained in *meil* or *mel*, meaning upper or superior.

There are almost certainly two different *l* sounds in Toda which I failed to distinguish definitely. I have written the word for dairy *pali*, but the second consonant of the word is certainly a different sound from that of the *l* in *meil*, and is probably the representative of the *l* of Tamil. It is in connexion with this letter that the euphonic *th* is so often inserted, and I believe that the proper name for a Toda dairy is *pa[thl]i*. When this *l* occurs at the end of a word, it is sometimes hardly audible, and to my ear bears a very close resemblance to the French *u*. The end of the word Kudreiil seemed to me to be pronounced almost exactly like the end of Auteuil.

It appears that *r* and *l* may sometimes pass into one another; thus, the name of the bow and arrow ceremony is *pursütpini*, but the buffalo given on this occasion is called *pulkwadr*.

M and n. The letters *m* and *n*, indistinguishable to my

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ear from the corresponding English letters, are of frequent occurrence. They are, however, often omitted in the Toda forms of Tamil or Canarese words; thus, as we have already seen, the word *mand*, village, becomes the Toda *mad*; the Tamil *ambu*, arrow, becomes *ab*; and the Toda form of Kurumba is *Kârub*. 126 194

The *n* may also disappear from the Toda names of villages when it exists in their Badaga names; thus Tarnard becomes Taradr and Korangu, Kwirg. The omission of the letter *n* and other changes which words undergo in Toda are very well shown in the word *padjpateva*, which is the Toda form of the *Panchpandavas*. Although my ear failed to separate the *n* of the Todas from the English *n*, it is probably different and represents the *ṇ* of Tamil.

In addition to the ordinary *n* the Todas have another consonant which is extremely like the final French *n* for which I have used the sign *ñ*. The sound only occurs in certain exclamations or greetings; the *Oñ* which occurs so frequently in the dairy ritual is pronounced in this way, and so is *bañ*, which is uttered by the *palol* as a greeting to the Tartharol. The sound also occurs in the various kinship greetings. The commonest of these, *tioñ*, offered to an elder brother, is a corruption of *itian*, but I never heard the nasal pronunciation when the word *an* or *anna* was uttered in the ordinary way. In this case the sound I have expressed by *ñ* is undoubtedly the letter *ṇ* of Tamil, this word being *aṇṇa* in that language.

S, sh, z, zh, dz, j. The sound for which I have used the letter *s* is a somewhat harsh sound, harsher, I think, than is heard in English, but much like the sound which I have heard in English words pronounced by Scottish Highlanders. Breeks wrote *sh* for this sound, but I have used this sign for a different sound which was exactly like the *si* in the English word 'occasion.' It occurs not uncommonly in Toda in such words as *pusk*, earth, and in the verbal form *kaishvat*.

The sound *z* occurs frequently. I was often doubtful whether to write *dz* or *z*, especially at the ends of personal names, and in other cases what was obviously the same termination was pronounced more like *dj*; thus I was often

126 doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as
194 Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

Sacred Language

192 There are three varieties of sacred language in use among
198 the Todas. There is the *kwarzam*, the word or clause used in prayer and other sacred formulæ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwarzam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons, or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwarzam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwarzam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwarzam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwarzam* of the Tarthar clans:—

The Nòdrsol, *Nòdrstharkàtthars*; the Karsol, *Kârstharkunnadrpàdr*; the Panol, *Pandârpeshdthwainokh*; the Taradrol, *Pülkudutharpeithar*; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdrkâtan*; the Kanòdrsol, *Munantharpinnantho*; the Kwòdrdoniol, *Adutkarathiars*; the Pämol, *Pämâtharkathar*; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwarzam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivikanmokhkâtmeilten* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

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clear, is that of Pan, in which case the *kwarzam* gives the names of the two *kudr* of the clan (see p. 652). The latter part of the *kwarzam* of the Keradrol means a horn or son of Keradr, and is also the name of a man, and with further knowledge there is little doubt that the other *kwarzam* would be found to have some meaning. 192 198

The following are the *kwarzam* of the buffaloes of the different clans:—

Nòdrs, *kardàchtrkündkh*; Kars, *indtvidshti indtvan*;[1] Pan and Taradr, *Mutchthvanmodethokran*; Keradr, *miniaptr mdvolkar*; Kanòdrs, *Tirstashkharzikunp*; Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi, *Keitanheikar*; Päm, *Arzomolkutchi*; Melgars, *Narsulynatülundkh*; Kuudr and Pedrkars, *Kishvettarskvan*; Piedr, *Kösherikwelvpurserthunm*; Kusharf, *Nulkarstrnashuv*; Keradr, *Nelppdrstrkudeipar*; Kulhem, *Pelthrtrkan*.

The *kwarzam* of the Keradr buffaloes refers to the tradition of their creation (see p. 192), and here again with further knowledge there is little doubt that most of the *kwarzam* would be found to have a definite meaning, probably derived from legends concerning the buffaloes or the villages to which they belong.

The second kind of sacred language, in use at the *ti* dairies, has been already considered. Every kind of dairy vessel or other object used in the dairy ceremonial has a name at the *ti* different from that used in the house or village dairy. These different names have been given in describing the dairy ceremonial, but I have not hitherto referred to certain other differences of language, especially in verbal forms. Different words are used in the two kinds of dairy for the verb 'to drink'; thus, when a village dairyman orders another to drink buttermilk, he says "*Maj ün!*" while at the *ti* the *palol* says "*Kaishvat!*" This latter formula is interesting in that *kaish* is not the usual *ti* word for buttermilk (*mär*) and only occurs, as far as I can ascertain, in conjunction with the verb *vat*. A village dairyman uses the verb *part*, pray, while at the *ti*, the verb *pkhvetnürt* is used. Thus the question "have you prayed?" would be "*partikudricha?*" at the village and "*pkhvetnürtikudricha?*" at the *ti*. Similarly

[1] See story of Kwoto.

192 different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have
198 milked" at the village would be "*ŕrkartkudrvispimi*," often shortened into *ŕrkartspimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvukkudrivispimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*ŕrkarsmi*" at the village and "*ŕrkarpûkkami*" at the *ti*.

There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *irnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar tûrzhoḍthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*[1] was said to be the *teu* word for 'man.' The words *kwudrpedrzhai* and *kaipedrzhai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *teu* language.

Secret Language

177 The Todas have a large number of expressions which they
198 use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the
195 Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkaly* or "front fact."

[1] The last syllable of the name Mellitars given to Kwoto is probably this word, so that the name means 'superior man.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The following are the chief instances of which I was told. 195 198

Ordinary Language.	Secret Language.
Pörshk ntr at kwadr! Milk to water mix give. *i.e.*, give milk mixed with water.	*Nenk nördr pudvaink* Four sides which came from *kugtr pörs at kwadr!* old buffalo milk mix give! *i.e.*, give milk mixed with what comes from the four teats of an old buffalo.
Pörs ördr milk cook *i.e.*, cook food in milk!	*Nenk nördr pud mördn tarsk idihi!* Four sides come three on up put *i.e.*, Put what comes from the four teats upon the three (stones of the oven).
Tör tidshia? Have you taken food?	*Kötö nörth kershia?* Teeth between did you throw?
At vetth! There (or away) go!	*At erd af!* There (or away) two (legs) get!
Iren akaik ud! The buffalo in the wood hide!	*kördr vakpoi törs öldr ki!* Horn crooked wood into go!
Kan odthi? Is he not blind?	*Kördren pom odthinö* Black fruit has he not?

When a man is thought to be dying, the Todas may ask "Is this man going from one place to another?"

Whenever a Toda first sees a man, he looks at his feet, and, correspondingly, when a Toda asks another his opinion of a man, he says "*Kal pel ilödinö*, "What sort of leg and nail has he?" In secret language the leg may be called *metipol*, "walk thing," also used for footprints or *pömi öldr pi pol*, "thing that goes into the earth."

Many other things and persons have secret names; thus, a rupee, or money generally, is called *atchertvai*, that which is stamped; butter is called *pelthpol* or white thing; clarified butter (*nei*) is called *kärtpol* or melted thing; sugar and honey are called *tichedpol* or sweet thing; rice is called *peitpudvai*, that which comes from Peit, a place near Kavidi in the Wainad from which rice used to be procured; arrack (*saraiu*) is called *örthpol* or *pöshetpol*, each meaning "drink thing." The sun is called *erödol*, "great man."

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101 The various tribes on the hills have secret names; thus,
551 both Badagas and Tamils are called *tutâr katvai*, he who wears or ties the turban; a Kota is called *kîmas ithvai*, he who is beneath; a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, the man who watches the way; a European is called *pelthpol*, or white man. A forest guard is called *petuni ütvai*, *petuni* being here used as a term for uniform, so that if a forest guard has come, they will say, *petuni ütvai podvuchi*.

195 Several of the words used in the secret language do not appear to have any other meaning and are not ordinarily used.
198 Thus the ordinary word for tooth is *pars*, but in secret language *kâtô* or *kâtû* is used. This word is the name of the wall of a buffalo-pen and it is possible that it may mean stones, but I could not ascertain whether this was the derivation, and could only learn that it was another word for tooth. Similarly the ear, of which the ordinary name is *kevi*, is called *pertars*, and the question "Did you wear gold earrings?" becomes *pertarsk ütshia*? "to ear did you wear?"

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXVI

PERSONAL NAMES

THE ceremonies of name-giving have already been considered, the chief point of interest being that the name of a boy is given to him by his maternal uncle, while that of a girl is probably given by her paternal aunt. In this chapter I wish to consider the general nature of the personal names of the Todas and some special customs connected with them. 551

The genealogies provide a large store of material, for it is exceptional for two Todas to have the same name, and no Toda should bear a name which has been borne by another for four generations, and certainly not one which has been borne by one of his own family.

The great majority of Toda names have distinctive terminations which are different for men and women.

The common terminations for males are *-van*, *-kûdr*, *-kût* or *-kûtan*, *-olv*, *-eidi*, and *-ners*. The first was said to be the same word as *pan* or *pun*, the Toda name for the stone circles found on the summits of the hills. The names of deities often receive the same termination; thus Nòtirzi is also called Nòtirzivan, and, in several cases, men received the names of gods or hills followed by the syllable *-van*. The same termination is also given to names which have other derivations.

The terminations, *-kûdr* or *-gûdr*, *-kût* or *-kûtan*, are different forms of the word *kûdr*, which means primarily 'horn,' and when it occurs in a name seems to mean 'child.' The termination in *-kûdr* or *-gûdr* seems to be much more

551 frequently used by the Teivaliol than by the Tartharol, and in both divisions it is rare in older generations.

I do not know the meaning of the terminations in *-olv* and *-eidi*: it is noteworthy, however, that *-olv* is also a frequent ending of the names of dairies.

The termination *-ner* or *-ners* sometimes becomes *-nîr*, and it may be the word for water, possibly with the idea of 'spring.'

The usual terminations of female names are *-veli*, *-veni* or *-vanî*, *-eimi*, and *-idj* or *-idz*. Of these, the first is by far the most frequent, being usually pronounced with a *th* sound, as in *-velthli* or *-vilthli*. It is possibly the same word as a frequent Indian name of Venus, which is also the Toda name for this planet. The word also means silver and in the form *pelthiti* is used for 'white.'

The termination *-veni* or *-vani* is probably derived from *pani*, which is said to be an ancient name for a Toda woman. Occasionally the latter form occurred, as in the name of Sinadapani (67), and one of the wives of Kwoten was named Kwaterpani. I know nothing of the derivation of the terminations *-eimi* and *-idz*.

The names of Todas are often derived from villages, dairies or dairy vessels, hills and their deities, and objects of various kinds. There seems to be no objection to use the names of deities or of such sacred objects as the *mani* as personal [177] names, but only as those of men. Recently the Todas have begun to use words of Hindu or even English origin for the names of their children.

103 It is the names of men which are chiefly derived from villages, and at least twenty examples occur in the genealogies. 551 In some cases the name of the village is used without any suffix, as in Ushadr (48) and Madsu (58); in other cases one or other of the customary terminations is used, as in Keradrkutan[1] (26), Nongarsivan (62), Kuirsiners (18), and Karseidi (8). The special point of interest here is that the names of villages which have now disappeared may be preserved as personal names; thus Harkness mentions the village of Kattaul as being near Ootacamund, and, though the

[1] This name also occurs in the story of Kwoten.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 - Toda

village has now disappeared, its memory is preserved in the name Katolvan (44), borne by one of the Melgarsol, to whom the village belonged. Again, the village of Kepurs, an extinct village mentioned in the legend of Kwoten, is preserved in the name of Kepursvan (18), borne by one of Kwoten's clan, the Panol. 103 551

In general, when a man receives a name derived from a village or other place, the village or place is one belonging to his own clan. Names may be derived from *ti* places as well as from ordinary villages, of which Makars (10) and Pursas (42) are examples.

The special feature of interest about these sources of nomenclature is that personal names may thus preserve records of the past, and a full investigation of the genealogies from this point of view might bring to light the names of many other villages now extinct.

Names are also derived from dairies, buffalo-pens, stones, and other objects of the village; thus Tarziolv, the special name of the *kudrpali* of Kars, is borne by a member of the Karsol (15), and Tilipa (12) is probably a corruption of Tilipoh. A boy of Nidrsi is named Punatu (43) after the buffalo-pen of his village, and the men called Agar (7), Pepners (44), and Persinkudr (16), have received names connected with the operations of the dairy. 551

The names of stones occur in the examples Menkars (10) and Mutchud (45). Several men are named after the sacred bells, or *mani*, of which examples are Nalani (35), Kerani (35), Pongg (47), while Mudriners (57) is named after Mudrani, one of the *patatmani* of Kiudr. The name of Eshkiaguln of Kars (8) is very much like that of one of the bells of Nidrsi, Eshkiakudr, and in one case a man is called Maniners (62).

The *kwarzam* of the prayers form a frequent source of personal names. Thus the name of Puthion (64) occurs in the last clause of the Kuudr prayer, and no less than six men take their names, either directly or with some modifications, from the Kiudr prayer; these are Kil, Erai, Etamudri, Kwelthipush from Kwelpushol, Kishkar from Arsvishkars, and Keikudr, who was also called Parvakudr, derived from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

551 another *kwarzam* of this prayer. In one of these cases the name is taken from the *kwarzam* with so much modification that I should not have guessed its derivation if I had not been told; and if this extensive modification is frequent, there may be many more names derived from *kwarzam* than appears to be the case at first sight.

The names of deities are not uncommonly adopted as personal names; the chief examples being Nòtirzi (47), Meilitars (44), Teipakh (20), Etepi (26), Karzo (12), Pòrzo (4), and Pakhwar (16). Two people are also called Tevò (3 and 53), which is a corruption of Teipakh, and a boy is called Kòdrthokutan (43). In many cases men are named after hills, of which Drugevan (40), Kòdrner (7), and Mopuvan[1] (16) are examples, and it is not improbable that these hills are also provided with deities. Two of the instances given above are the names of river-gods, and there is also a man, Palpa (16), named after the stream by which Kwoten met the goddess Terkosh. Punatvan (53) is named after one of the personages in the story of Kwoto. Among these names it is noteworthy that Nòtirzi, the name of a female deity, is borne by a man, and that there is no instance in which a man is named after one of the three ancient and important deities, Pithi, Ön, and Teikirzi.

551 This use of the names of deities as personal names seems
771 to point to the absence of any high degree of reverence for the divine beings. The Todas are by no means free from the ideas of danger and disrespect connected with the utterance of names; and if their gods still received any great degree of veneration, I think it is improbable that their names would be allowed to be in everyone's mouth, as must be the case when used as personal names. It is possible that this use of the names of deities is recent; it is certainly more frequent at the present time than in the older generations recorded in the genealogies, and I strongly suspect that the practice adds another indication to those already given of the decay of the religious sentiment of the Todas.

551 It seems to be extremely rare for persons to have the same

[1] Mopuvan is named after the hill Mopuvthut, which is mentioned in the legend of Puzi (193).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

names as buffaloes. There is only one doubtful example in the genealogies, Kerani (35). This is also the name of a bell, and I am doubtful whether it is really a buffalo-name. It is probable that the absence of the names of buffaloes is merely utilitarian and has no deeper significance. Buffaloes are generally referred to by name, and it would obviously be inconvenient that they should have the same names as people. 551

Many other names are derived from objects or from the language of everyday life. Examples of such are Nipa, stream; Perol, unsanctified man; Irsimitch, lime; Sakari, sweet; Kakar, a grass; Mogai, cubit; Kapur, camphor; and Pòl, a two-year-old calf. Sometimes such words become names by the addition of the terminations *-kûdr* or *-veli*, as in Panmkudr, the horn of a four-anna piece, and Nirveli and Kadakveli, derived from the words for water and for the wild rose. Probably with a wider knowledge of the Toda vocabulary, it would be found that a very large number of the names are formed in this way.

In one case a girl was called Mudukugh (72). She was the third girl in the family, and the name was no doubt given to commemorate the fact.

Often two or more children of a family are given names with a considerable degree of similarity to one another. In one case two brothers are called Mongeidrvan and Tergeidrvan (53); in another, Piliar and Piliag (52); and in a third, Singudr and Sinar (55); three sisters are called Teinesveli, Ternersveli, and Kenerveli (51), and in such cases it seems probable that new names are invented.

At the present time children are in many cases receiving Hindu names. Three young boys are called Arjun, Parvishki, and Sandisparan, and a young girl is called Natcham, which was said to represent Latchmi. Other Hindu names are Katcheri (Cutcherry), Sirkar, Kedjeri, and probably there are many others. 177 551

In a few cases names of English origin have probably been given, as in the case of Pensil, and the name Birkidj was said to be derived from Breeks.

The genealogical record shows clearly that this use of names derived from external sources is quite recent. There is a very

177 striking difference in general character between the names of
551 the present and those of older generations, and a foreign origin is especially frequent in the names of children less than ten or fifteen years of age. The evidence from names would seem to point to a rapid spread of outside influence during the last ten years.

Shortened forms of names are often used. The termination of a word may be dropped; thus Nurmaners is often called Nurman, Ultzkudr becomes Ultz, and Paniolv, Pani. Sometimes the contraction is of a different kind; thus the girls Astrap and Pumundeivi are usually called Asp and Pumidz, and the name of the boy Kulpakh often becomes Kulen.

In addition to his proper name nearly every Toda has a nickname, usually given to him by the Badagas. These names often refer to some personal peculiarity, and this is probably the reason why nicknames were usually given to me with great reluctance, there being a distinct reversal of the condition found in communities of lower culture, where the proper names are usually kept secret, while only nicknames are uttered. Arpurs (46) was nicknamed Suri (knife) on account of his sharp nose, and Nertolvan (16) is called Teinkan or 'Bee eye,' on account of the smallness of his eyes, like those of the honey bee. In other cases I do not know the origin of the Badaga names, but they have usually different forms from those of true Toda names, often terminating in *-oin* or *-iiln*. Sometimes the Badaga name is merely a modification of the Toda name, as when Tudrvan becomes Utudiki. In a few cases I heard the Badaga name of a man more often than his Toda name; thus Tövoniners is usually called Aravoin, and a noted Toda of the last generation is always spoken of by his Badaga name, Mervoin. In a few cases, men long dead are remembered by their Badaga names, while their Toda names are forgotten.

551 As I have already indicated, nicknames are often used by people of low culture as a means of evading taboos, and though, as we shall see shortly, such taboos exist among the Todas, I met with no instance in which a Toda, who was unable to utter a name, gave a nickname in its stead.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

From the foregoing account it is evident that in the names of the Todas we have a storehouse of words the investigation of which might lead to many discoveries in connexion with their half-forgotten folklore and past history. We have seen that the names of villages which have now entirely disappeared may still be preserved in the names of persons, and I have little doubt that a complete investigation of the names included in the genealogies would furnish a record of many more extinct villages and possibly provide clues to institutions which have now wholly disappeared. 551

Change of Name

There are three chief conditions which lead Todas to change their names. If two men have the same name, and one of the two should die, the other man would change his name, since the taboo on the name of the dead would prevent people from uttering the name of the living. The most recent example of this occurred about six years ago. There were two men named Matovan, one of Pan (19) and the other of Kwòdrdoni (34). The Kwòdrdoni man died and Matovan of Pan changed his name to Imokhvan, and it is this name which will be found in his pedigree. 553

This change of name may also be effected even when there is only a similarity between two names. Thus when Punbuthuvi, the wife of Parkurs (8), died, Sinbuthuvi of Kusharf (65) changed her name to Pukuruveli. Similarly when Òners of Kuudr (56) died, Einers of Piedr[1] (64) changed his name to Tokulvan.

A person may also change his name merely because it is the same as, or very similar to, that of another, this being done simply to avoid inconvenience and misunderstanding. It sometimes happens that a child is given the same name as some other child, and then one or other is renamed. Thus a boy was named Oblodj, but it was found later that there was a girl at Kars called Obalidz (12), and so the name

[1] It will be noticed that, in these two cases, the old names are those which occur in the genealogies. My informant probably remembered these better than the new names, which had been assumed only late in life.

553 of the boy was changed to Meilitars (44). A boy of Päm was called Kudeners, but it was found that there was another Kudeners at Taradr (25), so the name of the former was changed to Arparners, often shortened to Arpar (38).

When Kainir (3) married, his wife's name was Kanir, but she changed it since it was so like that of her husband. It was said to have been changed to Singub, but she was always known as Udz at the time of my visit.

Change of name of this kind is not obligatory, and there are several cases in which two people now living have the same name. When a change is made because two people have the same name or similar names, it is the younger of the two who changes. In most of the cases in which two people bear the same name it will be found that one belongs to the Tartharol and the other to the Teivaliol, and I am doubtful whether in this case names are changed except as the result of death.

553 A third reason for changing names is illness or other mis-
755 fortune. When a man is ill, change of name is sometimes recommended by a diviner, but this is not often done. One of my guides, Kutadri (7), had changed his name twice. His original name had been Okeithi or Okvan, but as there was another Okvan of Keadr (68), he became Tagarsvan. Later he fell ill, and, on the recommendation of a diviner, Tagarsvan changed his name to Kutadri, and I never heard him spoken of or addressed by any but this name during my visit.

Taboos on Names

551 The only definite restrictions on the utterance of the names of living people are those connected with kinship which have already been considered in Chapter XXI. A man may not utter the names of his mother's brother, his grandfather and grandmother, his wife's mother, and of the man from whom he has received his wife, who is usually the wife's father. The names of the above are tabooed in life, while after death the restrictions are still wider, and it is forbidden to utter the name of any dead elder relative, while the names of the dead are in any case only said reluctantly.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

It may seem strange that this reluctance should exist among a people who possess so full a genealogical record. The reluctance probably only extends to the public utterances of ordinary life and disappears when the people discuss affairs in which genealogical lore plays a part, or when they are transmitting this lore to others. 551

In addition to the definite taboos, there is often much reluctance in uttering personal names. The Todas dislike uttering their own names, and a Toda, when asked for his name, would often request another man to give it. Sometimes my guide was obviously reluctant to give me the names of the people who came to see me, and it seemed to me that this was especially so when the people were related to him by marriage, *i.e.*, men who had married into his clan; but I could not satisfy myself definitely that it made him more uncomfortable to utter the names of such relatives than those of other people.

In some parts of the world the taboo on the names of the dead involves also a taboo on the names of the objects which correspond to the names of the dead or to parts of these names. If such restrictions existed among the Todas, they would have on the death of Nirveli and Panmkudr to find other names for water and for a four-anna piece. It was quite clear, however, that there were no such restrictions, and that this frequent cause of change of vocabulary has not been at work in the case of the Toda language.

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CHAPTER XXVII

RELATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

101 In this chapter I propose to put together the chief facts
177 with which I am acquainted which throw light on the very
difficult problem of the relations between the Todas and the
186 other tribes of the Nilgiri Hills. The chapter could only be written with any degree of completeness by one who had studied the question from the point of view of each of the Nilgiri tribes separately. I have only been able to do so, and that incompletely, from the Toda point of view. My information is derived almost wholly from the Todas themselves, and gives their way of regarding the relations between themselves and the other tribes.

The five tribes inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills are shown in Fig. 68 (taken from Breeks), the Todas in the centre with the Badagas on their right and the Kotas on their left. Next to the Badagas are the Irulas, and next to the Kotas are the Kurumbas.

The tribes with which the Todas come into contact habitually are the Badagas and Kotas, while their points of contact with Kurumbas and Irulas are much less important. The Badagas are not only the agriculturists of the Todas, but are the constant intermediaries between the Todas and the extra-Nilgiri world. The two tribes regard each other more or less as social equals. The Kotas, on the other hand, who are the artisans of the Todas, are regarded by them as social inferiors. The relations with the former may be considered first.

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Irulas. Badagas. Todas. Kotas. Kurumbas.

FIG. 68 (FROM BREEKS).—THE FIVE TRIBES OF THE NILGIRI HILLS.

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TODAS AND BADAGAS

101 The Todas call a Badaga *Mav*,[1] which seems to be a form of the Canarese word for father-in-law or maternal uncle. The origin of this term is said to have been that when the Todas first met a Badaga, they asked his name and he answered "*Mav*." A Badaga who performs certain services 177 for the *palol* is called *tikelfmav*. Certain elders of the 609 Badagas are also called *madtin*.

Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two which is represented in Fig. 69. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin*, you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas.

177 The Badagas perform definite services for the Todas and give what may be regarded as a tribute of grain at the harvest. 651 The tribute is called *gudu*. I did not myself investigate the nature of the *gudu*, and there is some difference of opinion among previous writers[2] as to whether a definite amount of grain

[1] *Mav* is also the Toda word for sambhar.

[2] According to Harkness, "each burgher, hamlet, or village" gives about two quarts (p. 108), or (p. 135) half a bushel to the *ti* and half a bushel to the other Todas. According to Breeks (p. 9), the *gudu* is about one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-fifth of the gross produce.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

or a given proportion of the crop is given. I have no information as to the way in which the giving of the tribute is regulated, and it is eminently one of those points on which evidence must be sought from both Todas and Badagas. In the case of the Kotas, we shall see that there is a definitely

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FIG. 69.—A BADAGA WRESTLING A TODA

organised system regulating the relations of certain Kota villages to certain Toda clans, and some such system probably exists to regulate the supply of Badaga grain to different clans, but I have no information on the point.[1]

[1] It is possible that the elucidation of this point might also help towards the explanation of the Badaga account of the Toda clans.

177 The contribution of grain from the Badagas has usually
651 been regarded as given in return for the use of the land, the Todas being supposed to be the original owners of the soil. That this is not the whole explanation is shown by the fact that the Badagas also give a tribute of grain to two other Nilgiri tribes, the Kotas and Kurumbas. Harkness[1] was told by the Badagas that the portion given to the *ti* was in return for the prayers of the *palol*, and that they did not believe that "their crops or their cattle, themselves or their children, would prosper without his blessing." The Badagas also stated that they generally desisted from cultivating their fields when the *ti* was left without a *palol*. They looked on the tribute of grain to the Todas as given of their own good will, while a similar tribute to the Kurumbas was dictated by fear of the consequences of sorcery which might be employed if the duty were neglected.

[754] It has been supposed that the fear of Toda sorcery is one reason for the maintenance of the tribute, and, since the Badagas undoubtedly fear the power of the Toda sorcerers, it is probable that this factor plays a part, though one less important than in the case of the Kurumbas.

[234] Another view which has been takem is that the Todas maintain rights over old dairies in the middle of the Badaga fields, and that any recalcitrance on the part of the Badagas might be followed by the taking up of these old rights. It is possible that the Todas have at some time threatened to resume their rights over disused dairies, but, in the case of the more sacred dairies, the fear of defilement of the sacred buffaloes by approaching a Badaga village would prevent the Todas from putting such a threat into practice.

The grain is probably given, partly because it is an immemorial custom, partly because the Badagas believe that they receive benefits and avoid evils in consequence of the custom.

177 At the present time, the amount of grain supplied by the
437 Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* must, however, be that supplied by

[1] P. 136.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas. 177 437

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus, from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as that described by Harkness. 177 234 609 437

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in the Toda community is in connexion with the *naim*, or council, of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of the two communities. 177 623

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other. 177

177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
621 huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as
437 having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *n'kòren*
278 (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
962 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common. 762

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas. 177 754 787

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the Nilgiri Hills. Breeks[1] states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes. 177 174

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

Todas and Kotas

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kuv*. The relation between the two people is very different from that between Toda and [101] 177

[1] P. 4.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 Badaga. While a Toda regards a Badaga as his equal, or
186 perhaps even as his superior, he looks down on the Kota as
inferior, as hardly to be classed as a man with himself. In
609 their secret language, a Toda speaks of a Kota as *kimas ithwai*, "he that is beneath," and in the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) the Kotas are the only hill tribe which is not thought worthy of mention—they are not thought to be of sufficient importance to be able to cast the evil eye. When a Kota meets a Toda, he raises both hands to his face and salutes from a distance. The two people do not touch one another in general, though I do not know that contact is definitely prohibited. A Toda will not sleep or take food at a Kota village in general, but makes an exception in the case of Kulgadi in the Wainad (see p. 200). It is usually supposed that the contempt of the Toda for the Kota is due to the flesh-eating, or even carrion-eating, habits of the latter, and this is certainly one of the elements which influence the relations between the two peoples.

177 The Kotas supply the Todas with the larger part of their pottery and ironware.[1] All the earthenware vessels of the
437 dairies, except those of the inner rooms of the *ti* dairies, are supplied by the Kotas, and the various knives and other metal objects of the Todas are chiefly obtained from these people. The Kotas supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals and they supply the music on these occasions.

Just as the Badagas do not supply grain to the Todas only, so the Kotas do artisan work for Badagas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Kotas are the artisans, not of the Todas only, but of the whole hill district.

101 The relations between the Todas and Kotas are strictly regulated, each Kota village supplying certain Toda clans.
177 There are seven Kota villages on the hills, of which the
437 following are the Toda and Badaga names :—

In the Todanad district :—

Tizgudr, Tizgadr, or Tizgwadr (Badaga, Tirichigadi), between Ootacamund and Kanodrs, near the Toda village of Ushadr.

[1] According to Breeks, the Kotas who supply the Todas are known as *mulfu* Kotas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kurguli (B. Padagula or Kuruvoje), near the Badaga village of Sholur. 101 177

In the Mekanad district :—

Kalmal (B. Kolamala or Kollimalai), not far from Kateri. 437

In the Peranganad district :—

Meilkukal (B. Melkotagiri or Perangada) in Kotagiri, one of the three chief European stations on the hills. Kikukal (B. Kilkotagiri or Kinnada), north-east of Kotagiri.

In the Kundanad district :—

Medrkukal (B. Menada).

The seventh is Kulgadi (B. Kalagasa) at Gudalur in the Wainad.

The village of Tizgudr is connected with the Toda clans of Kars, Melgars, Kanòdrs, and sometimes with the people of Kulhem. Kurguli supplies the clans of Nòdrs, Taradr, Kuudr, Piedr, and Kusharf, and occasionally Kulhem. Kalmal supplies Keradr, Nidrsi, Päm, Kidmad, and Keadr. Meilkukal and Kikukal are both connected with Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, and Medrkukal is the Kota village of the Panol. Kulgadi is connected only with the village of Kavidi, near Gudalur, which belongs to the Piedrol. When there were several Toda villages in the Wainàd, it probably served them all.

The connexion between clans and villages seems to depend almost wholly on geographical distribution. The clans are supplied by the Kota villages which are nearest to their headquarters. An outlying village such as Kavidi has not the same Kota village as the rest of its clan. The Kidmadol, who are a branch of the Melgarsol, have not the same Kota village as the parent stock; but, on the other hand, the Panol, who now live chiefly among other Todas near Governor Shola, are still connected with the Kundah Kotas.

Each Kota village is responsible for the supply of the clan or clans with which it is connected. Its inhabitants make the various utensils used in the household and in the less sacred dairy work of the Todas. At the funeral of any member of a clan with which they are connected, they provide the music and the following objects :— 177 437 764

At the *atvainolkedr*, a cloak in which the corpse is wrapped,

177 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*),
437 and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the
764 grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudshmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given
437 clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given
609 food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten
796 on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk, buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day
609 to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified
796 butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

rubs it on the heads of the two Kota priests, who prostrate themselves, one at each foot of the Toda, and the Toda prays as follows:— 177 609 796

Ullamâ;	*Kôv*	*erdm*	*tânunmâ;*	*kadr*	*pelumâ;*
May it be well;	Kotas	two	may it be well;	fields	flourish may;

mâ un mâ;	*ir*	*kar*	*mâ,*	*nîv*	*padr*	*mâ.*
rain may;	buffalo	milk	may,	disease	go	may.

The Toda then gives the two *mu* containing the clarified butter to the Kota priests, and he and his companions return home.

This ceremony is obviously one in which the Todas are believed to promote the prosperity of the Kotas, their crops, and their buffaloes.[1]

In another ceremonial relation between Todas and Kotas, the Kwòdrdoni *ti* is especially concerned. The chief annual ceremony of the Kotas is held about January in honour of the Kota god Kambataraya. This ceremony lasts about a fortnight, and, during part of the time, the proceedings are attended by Todas and other of the hill tribes. In order that this ceremony may take place, it is essential that there should be a *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, and at the present time this *ti* is only occupied every year shortly before and during the ceremony. The *palol* gives clarified butter to the Kotas, which should be made from the milk of the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the *ti*. Some Kotas of Kotagiri whom I interviewed claimed that these buffaloes belonged to them, and that something was done by the *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti* in connexion with the Kambataraya ceremony, but they could not or would not tell me what it was.

The relations between Todas and Kotas are probably of very old standing. The fact that the Kotas supply the bow and arrows burnt at a Toda funeral suggests that the connexion goes back to the time when the Todas used these weapons, while the special sieve supplied by the Kotas for a funeral is of a different pattern from that in use at the present 177 174

[1] The Kotas are agriculturists as well as mechanics, and, according to Breeks, they are quite as efficient as the Badagas in this occupation. They also keep buffaloes, though chiefly or entirely for their own use.

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177 time. The Kotas are mentioned in Toda legend. The
174 people of Tizgudr play a prominent part in the story of
Kwoten (p. 195), and this deity is said to have been the first
773 Toda who stayed at a Kota village, viz., at the village of Kulgadi (or Gudalur). He sat and slept on the Kota *tiin* and since that time the Todas have stayed at this village, though they will not stay at any other. The relation between Kwoten and the Kotas seems to have been especially close. The old woman, Muturach, from whom the present people of Kanòdrs are descended, according to the legend, may have been a Kota. The Kotas who give tribute to the Todas are known as their *muṭṭu* Kotas, and the first part of the old woman's name may have been this word.

Our acquaintance with Kota mythology is too scanty to contribute much to our knowledge of the relations between the two peoples. Breeks states that Kurguli (Padagula) is the oldest of the Kota villages, and that the Badagas believe that the Kotas of this village were made by the Todas. At Kurguli there is a temple of the same form as the Toda dairy, and this is said to be the only temple of the kind at any Kota village.

Breeks gives a legend which records the origin of the different foods of the Nilgiri tribes. Kambataraya, perspiring profusely, wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and out of these formed the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to live principally upon milk, the Kurumbas were permitted to eat the flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas were allowed perfect liberty, being informed that they might eat carrion if they could get nothing better. My interpreter, Albert, was told a different version of this legend, according to which Kambataraya gave to each people a pot. In the Toda pot was calf-flesh, and so the Todas eat the flesh of calves (*i.e.*, at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony); the Kurumba pot contained the flesh of a male buffalo, so this is eaten by the Kurumbas. The pot of the Kotas contained the flesh of a cow-buffalo, which may, therefore, be eaten by this people.

TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them. 101 609

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood. 177 437

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge. 177 754

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *tenol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners. 177 787

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf; 177 773

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were
773 deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

174 In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the
177 Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and
773 this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

TODAS AND IRULAS

101 The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and
177 have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by
609 the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted
754 in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

177 The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection
773 of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tîn* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 9).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

IN this chapter I propose to give a short account of each of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan. 618.

THE TARTHAR CLANS

NÒDRS

The people of Nòdrs owe their special importance to their connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nòdrodchi*, or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed certain special favours on her people. Chief among these is the possession of the Nòdrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact that the Nòdrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nòdrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *tesherst*, is also usually performed at a Nòdrs village. 173 773 618 234 554

234 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical
618 dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday,
764 and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Òdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Külthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

621 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still
381 inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts, so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum. 621 351 234

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*. 211 621 778

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among 234 621

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234 621 the villages of the Nòdrsol, and it was a question whether the *wursuli* dairy, though of the ordinary form, had not even a greater sanctity than the *poh* of Nòdrs. More difficulty was made when I wished to go close to it than at any other place during the whole of my visit (except, of course, at the *ti* dairy), but, unfortunately, the affair was complicated by the fact that on this day my usual attendant, Kòdrner, was not with me, and the difficulty may have been partly due to this. When I was allowed to approach the building, only

FIG. 70.—A VIEW OF NÒDRS. THE STONE IN THE FOREGROUND ON THE LEFT IS THE 'NEROVKARS'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'UTEIKS.' IN THE BACKGROUND IN THE CENTRE IS AN OLD 'TU.' THE LOWER PART OF THE CONICAL DAIRY CAN BE SEEN BETWEEN THE BOY AND THE 'UTEIKS.'

one man came with me and he would not go within several yards of the dairy, while allowing me to go on. The special sanctity of this dairy is due to the fact that the two *mani* of the Nòdrsol are kept here. Both this dairy and a smaller *tarvali* are at a much greater distance from the village than usual, but with that exception there is nothing to distinguish them from the dairies of other villages. The *wursuli* is one of those which has two rooms. It is at the village of Òdr that the *palol* passes one night during his

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ordination ceremonies, and I was shown the spot under a tree where he has to sleep, the same spot being also used by the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* when they undergo any part of their ordination ceremonies at Odr. 234 621 773

Another feature of interest is the connexion of this village with Kuudr. An Òdr man must be present at the *irpalvusthi* and salt-giving ceremonies of Kuudr, and a Kuudr man must attend when these ceremonies are performed at Òdr. Further, the *kwarzam* of Òdr are said in the prayer of the *erkumptth-pimi* ceremony at Kuudr and the *Kwarzam* of Kuudr are said at Òdr.

The following legend records the origin of these customs:—

Soon after Teikirzi had given the buffaloes to the different villages, the buffaloes of Kuudr and Òdr were grazing together, and when evening came they could not be separated and both herds went together to the funeral place called Keikars. The *wursol* of Òdr and the *palikartmokh* of Kuudr brought their milking-vessels, each to milk his own buffaloes, and they also brought their churning-vessels (*patat*) and cooking-vessels. After they had milked, the *wursol* of Òdr went to pour his milk into his *patat*, and when doing so some of the milk splashed into the vessel of the *palikartmokh*. They then cooked some food with the milk, and as the food was boiling strongly, some of it went from one cooking-pot to the other. Then the people of the two villages met and decided that, as the two kinds of buffalo had been milked in one place and the two kinds of milk had been mixed with one another, each of the villages should mention the *kwarzam* of the other in its prayer, and people of one village should attend the ceremonies of the other.

Tedshteiri (Talapattaraimand). This is another important Nòdrs village. It was vacant at the time of my visit, but is still often occupied. It had at one time a dairy called *Okurshapali* with seven rooms, which was, like that of Nòdrs, a *kudrpali*. It fell into disuse at the same time as the Nòdrs dairy, and its site is still quite distinct; but though it seemed larger than usual, I could discover no indication of the number of rooms it had had. When I visited the village there were nine ovens standing in a row, which had been used to cook the 234 621

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234 food when Teigudr (4) took his wife Uwer from Nertolvan
621 of Pan (16). On this occasion Nertolvan came to Tedshteiri to receive nine buffaloes from Teigudr, and the number of ovens corresponded with the number of the buffaloes.

Kudrnakhum (Kudinagamand). The chief point of interest about this village is that it is the place where the ceremony of *tesherst* often takes place. It is an outlying village to the west which I was unable to visit.

Perththo (Perattitalmand). This is a village which is shared by two clans. The part occupied by the Nòdrsol is called Meil Perththo, or Upper Perththo. The other part of the village was said to be general property, but it is at present occupied by Melgars people.

Kozhtudi or *Kozhteidi*. The special feature of this village is that it has a *wursuli* in which everything has to be carried out *kabkaditi*, *i.e.*, the dairyman is not allowed to turn his back to the contents of the dairy. This certainly points to the village having been at one time of importance.

KARS

618 This is at present the largest of the Tarthar clans, having
621 sixty-seven male and fifty female members. It is represented in the *naim*, and there was some reason to think that it occupies a more important position in this body than the other Tarthar clans. The family of Parkurs (8) is called *tinkanikudupel*, ranking next to a *manikudupel*, and Parkurs was till lately a second or assistant *monegar*.

There seems to be no doubt that the Karsol have always been an important clan and its members are often mentioned in the stories, though they do not appear to have had any legendary [illegible] such as those of Melgars and Pan. Their *nòdrodchi* (ruler or presiding deity) is Kulinkars, now believed to live on a hill near Makurti Peak. The Kars people possess a *ti* which in importance and wealth is second only to that of Nòdrs.

618 Kars resembles Nòdrs in having two *kudr* differing greatly in size. Kutadri is the head of one, which comprises all the members of the family given in Table 7. It has two *pòlm*, headed by Kutadri and Peithol. The other *kudr* has eight

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pòlm, of which the chief men are Parkurs (8), Pidrvan (9)[1], Piutolvan (10), Kudrvas (11), Kutthurs (12), Mongudrvan (13), Kiunervan (14), and Keitazvan (15). Till recently there appear to have been only five *pòlm* in the Kars clan, each of which has lately been divided into two. There is a very marked disproportion in the number of members of some of these divisions; thus the *pòlm* of Parkurs has sixteen males in five more or less distinct families, while others have only three or four males. Nevertheless each of the latter would contribute the same amount towards joint expenses of the clan as the sixteen males of the *pòlm* of Parkurs. 618

The chief villages of the Karsol are in or near Ootacamund, and this clan formerly had several other villages on sites now occupied by modern buildings.

The following are the chief places:—

Kars (Kandalmand). This village is one of the best known of Toda villages, being just on the outskirts of Ootacamund. It is a very typical example of a Toda village; there is a small group of houses, with a large dairy, the *kudrpali* (Fig. 21), called *Tarziolv*, close to them; just above the houses on the rising ground is a smaller dairy, the *wursuli* called *Karziolv*, shown in the background of Fig. 42 and partly shown in Figs. 23 and 44. Opposite the *kudrpali* are two raised circular mounds with flat tops called the *innudrikars* (seen in the foreground in Fig. 21), on which the body of a dead man is laid before being taken to the funeral hut at Taradrkirsi. Above the *kudrpali* is the hut for calves. 234 621

In the middle of the enclosure within which the village lies, is a row of stones (shown in Fig. 42) which are the *irnörtkars*, and in the ceremony of *irnörtiti* the calf is driven across these stones.

Behind the houses there is a small circular enclosure which is now used as a *tu* and is called *Althftu*. The entrance to this enclosure is shown in Fig. 29 just in front of the boy carrying the dairy vessels. Formerly there was a dairy of the conical kind within this circle, of which the name was *Ishpoh*. About five generations ago, this dairy still existed

[1] Pidrvan died soon after my visit.

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234 621 and was tended by a *wursol*; but several dairymen died in succession, and this so alarmed the Todas that it became impossible to obtain anyone to fill the office, and when the dairy decayed its remains were removed and the circular enclosure within which it stood has since been used as a pen. In size and appearance the enclosure is quite unlike other pens, and resembles much more nearly the circular walls round the conical dairies of Nòdrs and Kanòdrs.

Kuzhu (Kunditolmand). This, the second in importance of the villages of the Karsol, is a very picturesque place south of Ootacamund. There is a *kudrpali* called *Tudrpoh*, in front of which is a stone called *imudrikars*. The gold bracelet mentioned in the story of Kwoto is kept in this dairy. In front of the dwelling-huts is another stone called *menkars* (see p. 342). The *menkars* at Kuzhu and that at Nòdrs are the only stones of this name, but they do not resemble one another, and the Kuzhu stone is not adapted for the *narthpimi* game as is that of Nòdrs.

Keshker (Kakerimand). This is a large village near Ootacamund at which there is a *kudrpali*, but little else of interest. It is probably the Kishkeijar mentioned by Harkness.

Nasmiòdr (Aganadmand). This is a very old village which was probably at one time much more important than at present. It is situated about a quarter of a mile from the road leading from Ootacamund to Ebanad, not far from the Badaga village of Tuneri. There is now only a small dairy (*wursuli*) situated in the middle of a wood. When I visited Nasmiòdr, this dairy was unoccupied, and, as is usual in such cases, my Toda guide refused to go to the dairy with me, and remained outside the wood. Soon after I left the hills, it was to be occupied by the *wursol* of Kars, who would take his buffaloes there for a month.

This village is mentioned in two Toda legends, in both of which it seems to have been a village at which people were living. The dairy is called *Tilipoh* or *Pohtilipoh*, and it still contains the two *mani*, Karzod and Kòni, which were hung on the neck of Ennon (see p. 208). It is one of the few *wursuli* which have two rooms.

Pakhalkudr (Bagalkodumand). This village, not far from

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Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. 234
There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalars* 621
which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning.

Isharadr and *Peletkwur*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy 351
and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol.

Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are 621
still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Tùrskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tüli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr.

PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and 618
are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name 621
for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the

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618 Kundahs, but they are only visited during the dry season, and
621 for the greater part of the year the Panol live at the comparatively new village of Naters in the most thickly populated part of the hills. The legendary hero, Kwoten, belonged to Pan.

The clan is small, having now about twenty-seven male and nine female members. It is not represented on the *naim*, and in the Badaga grouping of the Todas this clan is joined with that of Nòdrs.

The Panol have two *kudr*, and provide the only example among the Tartharol in which the *kudr* have special names. The formation of the *kudr* is said to have been due to Kwoten, who divided the people into Panol and Kuirsiol, named after the two chief villages of the clan. The two divisions are also called Pandar and Peshteidimokh.

The Pandar or Panol have three *pòlm*, headed by Timurvan (16), Todars (16), and Nòrtiners (17). The Peshteidimokh or Kuirsiol have two *pòlm*, headed by Timners (18) and Imokhvan (19).

The *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* ceremonies are performed in front of the *wursuli* at Pan or Kuirsi. The spots on which the ceremonies take place are not marked by any stones, and the ceremonies are spoken of as *paliknörtiti*, *i.e.*, "he gives to the dairy," though, as a matter of fact, the calf passes from the men of the *kudr* to the men of the other *kudr* as in other clans.

The *madnol* of Pan are said to be Sunday and Wednesday, and the funerals of men take place on Sunday or Tuesday, and those of women on Thursday or Saturday. It is probable that Tuesday is the proper day for the funerals of men, but that they are now sometimes held on Sunday.

The following are the chief villages of the Panol :—

621 *Pan* (Onnamand) is commonly known to Europeans as
234 "One mand." It is a large village in the south-west corner of the Kundahs, with two houses of the long variety, with a door at each end and a partition in the middle. There is a *wursuli* called *Keinulv*, and a *kudrpali* called *Nersolv*, and outside the pen there is a stone called *mutchudkars*.

Kuirsi (Kolimand). This village is near Pan. It has a

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wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh. 621 234

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place. 621 764

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members. 618 621 234

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amnòdr) near Perithi. 775

618 The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has
234 three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

The following are the chief villages:—

621 *Taradr* (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most char-
234 acteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the
764 Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *püdrshtikars* after the name of the buffaloes (*püdrshtipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalikartmokh* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

621 *Kudrmas* (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.

Pashtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tasharst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed. 621

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Penar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members. 618 621

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pölm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood. [211]

KANÖDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of [177] 618 234

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618 the hills. The clan is distinguished by its possession of the
234 conical *poh* at Kanòdrs, and by the fact that many of the adventures of Kwoto or Meilitars took place in the region it inhabits. Although Kwoto was a Melgars man, he is regarded as having a close connexion with the Kanòdrs people, and various features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs *poh* are said to be derived from him.

618 The clan is at present a small one, with a distinct majority of females. In fact, it seems so usual for members of this
842 clan to have no children or only female children that there is some likelihood that the Kanòdrsol may become extinct. The present numbers are about thirteen males and twenty-three females.

618 There was some doubt as to the number of *kudr*. I was told that there are three, headed by Arsolv (27), Kineri (29), and Pòlkab (30) respectively, but at an *irnörtiti* ceremony both Arsolv and Kineri would give to Pòlkab, while the latter would give to both, so that it seems probable that there are properly only two *kudr*, as in other clans. One of these has only one *pòlm*, that of Pòlkab. The other has three *pòlm*, headed by Arsolv, Neratkutan (28), and Kineri.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Kanòdrsol:—

Kanòdrs (Devarmand). This village now consists of the *poh* only. There are still two *mazi* at this village, one of which is called *Pünkòghlag*, a name closely resembling the name of the churning-stick at the *ti*. There are at present no dwelling-huts at the place, nor any remains of such huts, though it would appear from the legend of Kwoten that the village was inhabited at one time.

Pishkwosht (Bikkapatimand). This is a large village where most of the Kanòdrsol now live. The only dairy is in ruins. Close to the village there are a number of flat stones almost level with the ground (Fig. 71) which are called *Teudr*, "the god way," and are said to mark the spot where the gods (*teu*) used to meet. Just above these is a large buffalo pen, which is reputed not to have been made by man. Whenever the gods went this way they used to deposit pieces of dried buffalo-dung on this spot and these became the stones of the *tu*.

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Near the village is a forest hut, and opposite this are two stones called *pedrkars*. The Todas once had a large gathering here, and a man jumped a long distance which was recorded by means of these stones. 621

The other villages of the Kanòdrsol, *Taknin*, *Kushu* or

FIG. 71.—THE STONES AT PISHKWOSHT CALLED 'TEUAR.'

Kushu, &c., are in the same neighbourhood, but I was unable to visit them, and do not know whether they have any objects of interest.

KWÒDRDONI

This is the most outlying of Toda clans, but numerous tea estates have been established in its neighbourhood, and the people appear to have been a good deal influenced by the altered conditions. I was unable to visit any of the villages, and I know less about this clan than any other. 177 618 621

All the villages of the clan are situated in the district of the hills called by the Todas Purgòdr, and the people of the clan are, therefore, often called the Purgòdrol.

618 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen
621 females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Punmud*.

PÄM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234 The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Päm* was then
621 adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Päm was called *Palikûdrbeds* and the buffalo-pen, *Tûgûdron*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmokh*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kwatkash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

618 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of
159 this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

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man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English soldiers came to Pàm and insulted the women and how Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at Wellington. 618 159

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Pàm for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 177 618 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The people have only one *wursudir* left. The dairy (*wursudi*) has fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo. 234 618

There are two *mani*, called *Eshkiskudr* and *Eikudr*, each with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pinuipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvali*. [178]

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of these seems to be of any importance. 621

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

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621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the 778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion 609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsiködri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of 618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a 234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the 554 Teivalliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

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an account has been already given. They are still capable of holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which are wholly unshared by other clans. 184 618 234 554

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi.* "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad otiti.* "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti.* "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug putz nitz ithtothi.* "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ithtothi.* "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part. He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning 554 796

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554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduthti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The
618 Me'gars people themselves believed that their exceptional position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan.
773 They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so
234

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that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the *tarvali* of another clan (see p. 66). 184 554 234 618

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other than that of Melgars. 184 554

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol. 618

There are two facts which show that there is some special relation between the people of Melgars and those of Kwodrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòdrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account. 618 621

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

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618 The one *kudr* has four *pòlm*, of which the chief men are
621 Kiunievan (44), Artholvan (45), Nòtirzi (46) and Ilgeivan (48). Tergudrvan (47) belonged to the same *pòlm* as Artholvan. The families included in Table 49 are all extinct in the male line, and, with the exception of Tikon, I am doubtful to which *kudr* or *pòlm* they belonged.

Melgars, the chief village, is situated behind the gardens of Government House at Ootacamund. It has few features of interest, and there is little to be seen at the other villages of the clan. *Nüln* (Narigulimand) is situated in the Kundahs.

Two Toda villages, Ki Perththo and Padegar, are said to be the general property of the Tartharol, but at the time of my visit both were inhabited by the Melgarsol.

The village of *Katol*, which is now ruined, is mentioned by Harkness as one of the villages near Ootacamund.

The chief funeral place is *Ushadr*, mentioned in the story of Kwoto. There is another funeral place called *Mirzoti* common to Melgars and Kidmad.

Kidmad and Karsh

618 These are two sub-divisions of the Melgarsol which separated
621 from the main body, probably about seven or eight genera-
554 tions ago. At first I heard only of Kidmad, and it was only when working over the Nidrsiol that I found there
578 were people living with this clan who did not belong to it, but were an offshoot of the Melgars people and were called Karshol.

According to one account, both Kidmadol and Karshol separated from the main body at the same time, but, according to another, the people who first separated belonged to Karsh and then split some generations later into the two groups.

The separation was due to a quarrel between father and son. The Melgars people were holding a council and one of the chief men of the clan was late in coming. When he appeared in the distance, he was recognised by nobody but his own son, who, when asked who was coming, said "*pazuli padmokh pòti âtham nòtthred? Kûtm it vòrs!*—*i.e.*,

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"A wanderer and bastard comes, why do you look at him? Let the council go forward!" (*Pazuli* is a name applied to a man who belongs to no clan, and *padmokh* is the name of the child of a woman with whom no man has performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony.)

The *manmokh* (sister's son) of the father was present at the council, and when his uncle arrived, the *manmokh* told him what had been said by his son in the council, and the father said, "I am no *pazuli*, it is you who are the *pazuli*: henceforward you must not live at Melgars; you will have nothing from me except what I give you to-day." The father gave the son a one-horned buffalo (*kwadrkutir*) and a portion of the Mirzoti funeral place.

Since that day descendants of the son have been separate from Melgarsol and they have held their funerals at Mirzoti, but not on the same spot as the Melgars people.

The Kidmadol and Karshol have lost certain privileges possessed by other Todas. The loss of these privileges is expressed by the Todas as follows:—

(i.) *Meitün kitht ðgadi.* "He may not sit on the *meitün*." When a man of Kidmad or Karsh goes to any Tarthar dairy he is not allowed to sit on the raised bed on the right hand side of the door.

(ii.) *Ntrsi nest ðgadi.* "He may not rub the fire-sticks." If fire has to be made at a male funeral, or on any other occasion, it must be done by a man of another clan.

(iii.) *Ertatpun pitth ðgadi.* "He may not touch the *ertatpun*," a dairy vessel which may be touched by any other Toda man. The result of this restriction is that a man of these clans can never hold a dairy office.

Marriages are not allowed between Melgars people and those of either Kidmad or Karsh.

The village of Karsh no longer exists; it was near Akirzikòdri, but in the time of Kilpan (51) the people were so poor that they went to live with the Nidrsiol and have remained with them since. Though living at Nidrsi, they are still regarded as a separate people, and marriages may take place between the two clans. They have only three or four ordinary buffaloes. If a male dies they have to kill

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618 a *persasir*, which they obtain from Melgars. The only males
621 living are one man and his son, the father having also two sisters.

The Kidmadol are more prosperous, and the men of the clan appear to be fairly prominent people among the Todas, in spite of their disadvantages. Kijievan (5) has the reputation of being one of the ablest people of the whole community. The clan numbers five males and three females.

THE TEIVALI CLANS

KUUDR

This is the most important of the Teivali clans, at any rate from the social point of view. It has supplied the *monegar* since the institution of this office, and it is the only Teivali clan represented on the Toda *naim* or council. From the religious point of view the Kuudrol are less important and have no exclusive rights to any sacred office,[1] though they are exceptional in being greeted by the *palol* with the *kwarzam* of their clan, *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu*, followed by *idith* as in the prayers. The origin of this custom is said to be that long ago strangers came to the hills and massacred all the people of the clan except one boy, who hid himself in the buffalo pen. The present people of Kuudr are descended from the boy and his escape is commemorated in the greeting of the *palol*. The Kuudrol also possess the very sacred dairy of Kiudr.

The Kuudr clan is the largest of the Teivali clans and stands second in point of numbers among all the Toda clans. It has at least sixty-three male and thirty-five female representatives. I omitted to obtain the children of two families, and these would raise the numbers slightly.

I had much difficulty in obtaining a correct account of the organisation of the Kuudrol, the difficulty proving to be due to certain anomalies in this clan. It has three chief divisions, headed by Kuriolv (52), Ishkievan (60) and Tövoniners (61),

[1] For the story how the Kuudr people came to lose the right of providing the *palol* for the Nödrs *ti*, see p. 114.

618 and each of these divisions is sometimes called a *kudr*.
621 From the point of view, however, of the *irnörtiti* ceremony it is clear that the division of Tövoniners is not a definite *kudr*, for the men of this division do not receive buffaloes from any other division, although they may themselves perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, in which case the buffalo goes to the men of the other two divisions. The family of Tövoniners differs also from other families of the clan in having no place at the village of Kuudr. This anomalous position of the family is due to the part played by the men of the family in the quarrel which led to the separation of the Pedrkars people from Kuudr (see p. 675). The family of Tövoniners is probably not a *kudr* in the strict sense of the term, and if so, the Kuudr clan falls into line with other clans in being divided into two *kudr* only.

There was also some confusion about the *pòlm* of the Kuudr clan, one source of confusion being due to the trouble connected with the parentage of Teitchi (52), which has been already considered (see p. 564).

It was quite clear that the *kudr* of Ishkievan has two *pòlm* only, headed by Ishkievan and Tadrners (60).

Kuriolv's division was said to have eight *pòlm*, the head men being Kuriolv (52), Targners (53), Pöteners (54), Keitas (55), Tüliners and Tikievan (56), Mudriners (57), and Madsu (58). The men of the first four *pòlm* are known to be closely connected with one another, and, as may be seen in the genealogies, the first three claim common descent from Tudrvan. Similarly the *pòlm* of Tüliners, Tikievan and Madsu are known to be closely connected. About the position of the *pòlm* of Mudriners, as we have already seen, there is much doubt, the state of affairs being that it is really most closely connected with the *pòlm* of Tüliners and Tikievan, but that Kuriolv claims it as closely allied to his own through the relation of Teitchi to Kòrs. Formerly the family of Arsners (59) formed a separate *pòlm*, but owing to the fact that it now has only two young members, and is very poor, it has been joined to the *pòlm* of Madsu (58).

Including the families of Tövoniners and Arsners, there

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618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Ôdr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
778 sacred than Kuudr.

It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in
[342] which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

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the huts to the dairy a shallow stream flowing over broad flat stones is crossed. This stream is called *Keikudr*, and is of some ceremonial importance (see p. 307). 234 621

The dairy which is called *Kilpoh* is shown in Figs. 20 and 31, and is a large, well-built structure of the ordinary shape. It is situated within a high wall, which is much thicker than usual, and in front it must be several yards across, so that it is possible to walk about on the top of it. On this wall, on the right hand side, are two old stones (shown in Fig. 31), called *neurzülnkars*. Close to the dairy there are two ancient and weatherworn stones, shown in Fig. 32, to which the same name is given. 778

There are six bells in the dairy. Two are kept on the *patatmar* and are called *patatmani*, the individual names of the bells being *Mudrani* and *Kerani*. The other four are called *ertatmani*, and are kept on the *ertatmar*; their individual names are *Pongg*, *Nongg*, *Pundrths*, and *Pan*.

Kiudr is one of the villages which was said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. In favour of this is the fact that its dairy is called *poh* and that there are stones called *neurzülnkars* which are usually found at a *ti mad*. The people have also to play a part during the procession of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, and there seems to be little doubt that the village is in some way especially connected with the *ti* institution, though exactly how is uncertain.

Kiudr is certainly a village especially revered not only by the Kuudrol, but by all Todas. It is a *sati mad*, and any Toda will be believed if he speaks in front of its dairy. Another sign of the sanctity of the dairy is the fact that the ceremony of *pilinörtiti* may be performed here not only by members of the Kuudr clan, but also by any other Toda.

Molkush. This is a recently established village, little more than a quarter of a mile from Kiudr. The scenes shown in Figs. 16 and 17 were taken at this village. It has no dairy and the milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut. This village may be regarded as an adjunct to the sacred village of Kiudr, at which the ordinary buffaloes are tended. At the time of my visit the wife of one of the men who usually lived at Kiudr gave birth 621

621 to a son and the seclusion-hut was at Molkush, and both before and after the birth the woman and those connected with her were living at this village. It seemed as if the restrictions connected with life at Kiudr are avoided by building at a little distance what is technically another village, at which the people live whenever for any reason they are not allowed to live at Kiudr. Its existence seemed to me to be one of the many devices by means of which the Todas keep the letter of the law with the minimum of inconvenience.

Miuni (Marlimand). This is a village of the Kuudrol which is reverenced by all Todas on account of the belief that it was formerly the meeting-place of the gods. It is a very picturesque village, situated near the Marlimand reservoir and has two dairies.

Kwirg is chiefly important as the place at which new *pep* is made for the Kuudr clan. Its prayer is given on p. 222.

Ars is an uninteresting village near Kuudr.

Peivòrs. This is a village near Paikara. It contains a double house, shown in Fig. 8, and has two dairies, one of which is now used as a calf-house. The second dairy was built when two families were living at the village, and the one dairy was not large enough for both.

Pirsush. This is a *kalolmad*.

Karia, a village near the Paikara road, from which a modern long house in the Tamil style is to be seen. Behind this are the old dwelling-hut and the dairy. At the time of my visit the new house was unoccupied and the people were living in the old hut.

PIEDR

618 The people of Piedr derive their special importance from
621 the fact that they provide the *palol* for the sacred *ti* of Nòdrs. According to tradition, they had this privilege exclusively at one time; later, they shared it with the Kuudrol, and now they share with the people of Kusharf. They form a fairly large clan, having about twenty-eight male and fourteen female members.

As in the case of the Kuudrol, there was some doubt about

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the divisions of the clan. There are said to be three *kudr*, of which the chief men are Teikudr (63), Eisòdr (64), and Nongarsivan (62). If a man of Teikudr's division has to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo goes to Eisòdr's division, and *vice versa*. If a man of Nongarsivan's division performs the ceremony, the buffalo would go to both the other divisions. Thus Nongarsivan's *kudr* seems to form an extra division, like that of Tövoniners among the Kuudrol. I did not obtain any explanation of this, but it is probably due to the fact that the people of Nongarsivan's division live at Kavidi in the Wainad, and are, in consequence, regarded as being outside the regular affairs of the clan. I failed to obtain an account of the *pòlm*. 618 621

The chief village of the clan is now rarely visited. It is in the northern parts of the hills near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I had hoped to have visited it and the neighbouring village of Kusharf, but had not time. Some members of the clan visit the village of Piedr once a year, but I did not learn what was done on the occasion.

Kundi. This is now one of the chief villages of the clan. It has a modern house, the largest and most highly ornamented Toda dwelling which I saw on the hills.

Tavatkudr is a village of one hut and a dairy. It was this dairy which was burnt during my visit as a consequence of the revelation of *ti* secrets to me by Kaners, who lived at this village.

Eparskòdr is an ancient village at which the first Toda died (see p. 400). At present the village consists of a dairy only.

Kavidi is situated in the Wainad, not far from Gudalur. I did not visit it, but, so far as I could gather, it contained no object of interest and there was no evidence that it was an ancient settlement.

The clan has several funeral places, partly owing to the fact that the Kavidi people are at too great a distance from the top of the hills to hold the *etvainolkedr* in the ordinary funeral place. The Kavidi people, therefore, have two special funeral places, called *Sudvaili* for males and *Mòmanothi* for females. The second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, was, however, held at the regular places of *Meroln* and *Pamarkol*.

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618 A disused village in the Wainad is called *Potvaili*. The
621 termination *vaili* of this village and of the male funeral place only occurs here, and is probably borrowed from some other language, possibly from the Kurumbas.

One abandoned village of this clan, *Nongarsi*, seems to have been situated near Ootacamund. Its Badaga name is Kettarimand, and it is possibly one of the villages mentioned by Harkness.

KUSHARF

The people of this clan are called indifferently Kusharfol or Umgasol. There seemed to be no doubt that Kusharf is the chief village, but, like Piedr, it is little used, and Umgas is coming to be regarded as the *etudmad*.

The Kusharfol seem to be in some way related to the Piedrol. They share with the latter the privilege of providing the *palol* for the Nòdrs *ti*, and the two clans are not allowed to intermarry. They have the same *nòdrodchi*, Teipakh, and it seems possible that they were originally two sub-divisions of one clan.

At present the Kusharfol are not numerous, having only about thirteen male and thirteen female representatives. They have two *kudr*, headed by Nòdrners and Ongudr, each of which has two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ongudr (65) and Pangudr (66); of the other, Nòdrners and Erkhud (67).

The chief village of Kusharf is near Hullatti, and, like the neighbouring Piedr, is rarely visited.

Umgas. This is at present the most important village of the clan; it is shown in Fig. 72. There are two large dwelling-huts shown on the right-hand side of the figure. The building to the left of them is the chief dairy, which is called *Kwotòdrwk*. It is a *pok* and not a *pali*, though of the ordinary form, and is exceptional in being situated so near the dwelling-huts. The *pali* is situated still more to the left, hidden by trees.

The two tall stones in the foreground are called *nadrkhars*. They serve as *irnòrthars* and also mark out the path by which women must go on their way to the huts, the women

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618 having to keep on the right-hand side of these stones. By the
621 wall of the huts and close to the *poh* there are two stones, the *majvatitthkars*, at which women stand when they receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairy. About fifteen yards in front of the other dairy (*pali*) there is a stone called *imudrikars*. On one side of this there is a narrow well-worn track along which women must go on their way to the dairy,

FIG. 72.—THE VILLAGE OF UMGAS, SHOWING THE 'NADRKKARS' IN THE CENTRE. BEHIND THE STONES IS THE 'POH' OF THIS VILLAGE, AND ON ITS RIGHT ARE THE DWELLING-HUTS.

and nearer the *pali* there are two *majvatitthkars*, where they stand when receiving buttermilk.

Between the *poh* and the *pali* there is the *tu* and at the far end of this is a large stone, the *muütthkars*, marking the spot where the *mu* is buried.

Teidr is not far from Nòdrs. It has two huts and a dairy. The *tridrtolkars* of Nòdrs takes its name from this village, the *wurzol* who gave the name to the stone being a Teidr man.

Teidr is one of the villages which is said to have been

formerly a *ti mad*, and in support of the statement I was taken to see two stones called *neurzülnkars* at some little distance from the village.

Pòln is close to the tree known in Ootacamund as "the umbrella tree." There are two huts and a dairy, which was in ruins at the time of my visit. Under the "umbrella tree" there are two stones. One of these has been overgrown by the tree so that it is now firmly imbedded. It is called *Korateu* and is said to have been thrown by Korateu from his hill. The other stone is deeply imbedded and only shows three small projections above the ground. This is the *Nòtirzikars* and was thrown to this spot by the goddess Nòtirzi from her hill.

In a wood near at hand overgrown by trees, there is another stone called *Känkars*, marking the spot where the *pasthir* were killed at the funeral place which formerly existed here.

KEADR

This clan had at one time the privilege of supplying the *palol* to the Pan *ti*, but its numbers are now small, and the *palol* of this *ti* at present belongs to the Piedrol. There are now only eleven males and ten females belonging to the clan.

Till recently there was a branch of the clan called Kwaradrol, taking their name from the village of Kwaradr. According to some, the Kwaradrol were a separate clan, but there seemed to be little doubt that they were part of the Keadrol and formed one *kudr* of the clan. The division only became extinct in the male line a few years ago, and the genealogical record of the family is given in Table 70.

The head man of the other *kudr* is Perner (68), and this division has three *pòlm*, two of which are headed by Perner and Pichievan (69), while the third has only three young boys, Karem (69) and his brothers, as members. Since the Kwaradrol died out, the clan has only had one *kudr*, but during my visit it was decided that a new *kudr* should be

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formed, and the *pòlm* of Karem was made the new division, so that in future the Keadrol will have one *kudr* consisting of one *pòlm*, and another of two *pòlm*. It was said that the original partition of the clan into Keadrol and Kwaradrol was due to Kwoten, who established the two divisions in order that there should be someone to take the place of a *palol* who left on account of a funeral in his clan. 618 621

Keadr. This, the chief village of the clan, is situated near Keradr. I was unable to visit it, and have no record of any features of interest it may possess.

Kwaradr, the village from which one division took its name, is near Avalanche, and is now falling into ruins owing to the dying out of the family which occupied it.

Pekhòdr is called by the Badagas Osamand, or "new village," and has only been in existence about ten years.

Kapthòri is now in ruins, but is mentioned in the story of Kwoten.

PEDRKARS

This clan is an offshoot of the Kuudrol, from which it has now for a long time been separated. The division arose out of a quarrel at a council which was once being held at Kuudr.[1] There were three parties in the *naim*, each wishing that a different ceremony should be performed. One party wished to give salt to the buffaloes, a second wanted to sacrifice a calf (*erkumptthpimi*), and a third were in favour of moving to another village (*irskidthtothi*). The three parties could not agree, and it was finally decided that those who wished to do *irskidthtothi* should separate from the rest. They did so and went to live near Kwòdrdoni, and have since been a separate clan, now known as the Pedrkarsol. The people who wished to do *erkumptthpimi* were the ancestors of Tövoniners, and it is in consequence of this quarrel that this family occupies its anomalous position and has no place at Kuudr. 578 618 621

At the same time the people of Pedrkars lost the privilege of being *palol* or *wursol*, but they may become eligible by performing the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr.

[1] This was evidently a council consisting of the members of the clan only.

578 For some time after the separation intermarriage was not
618 allowed between Kuudr and Pedrkars, but recently such
621 marriages have taken place, and several are recorded in the genealogies.

There are very few members of the clan, only seven males and five females. At present there is only one *kudr* and this has only one *pòlm*. Formerly there were two *kudr*, but one became extinct some time ago.

About three generations ago there was a quarrel between the people of Pedrkars and those of Piedr. A man of Pedrkars named Kavanadi had married a woman of Piedr and one day quarrelled with his wife's father. At Piedr there were at the entrance of the buffalo-pen two large wooden posts (*tüli*). After the quarrel Kavanadi went to Piedr and carried off both the posts with the wooden bars (*tasth*) by which the opening of the pen is closed. When Kavanadi had carried the posts and bars as far as a place called Kalin, near the Kota village of Tizgudr, a stone on the top of one of the *tüli* fell down. It may still be seen and is known as *Kalinkars*. Kavanadi went on, but he soon began to spit blood, and when he had gone some way further, he was obliged to drop the *tüli* at a place which is now called *Tülipudinpem*. He managed to reach his home at Pedrkars and then died. A council was held and it was decided that marriage should not be allowed in future between the Piedrol and Pedrkarsol, and no such marriages are recorded in the genealogies.

The stone called Kalinkars which fell by the way is now said to be able to move about and may be seen one day at one spot and on another day at another. The Kotas of Tizgudr have several times taken the stone to their village, but it has always gone back again. In spite of his unfortunate end, Kavanadi is regarded, more or less, as a hero by the Todas and is mentioned in the funeral eulogy of Pidrvan (p. 387).

621 All the villages of the Pedrkarsol are in the part of the
773 hills near Kwòdrdoni. Pedrkars itself is said to have been at
619 one time a *ti mad*. Some Tamil people once came to the hills and found some of the buffaloes of the *ti* standing by a

621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was
killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars*
773 *ama, kwòdr nòdr ama*," "may the Tamil stone become; may
618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people
who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes
were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people
who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living
at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to
live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence
of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name
from this village.

KULHEM

184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior
position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol
554 among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to
618 sit on the *meitün* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are
not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr*
773 bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*,
kaltmokh, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnörtiti* to Kuudr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulthlem*, is near Kanòdrs.

621 The only other village of importance is *Konikwòr*, near Paikara. At the time of my visit several of the clan were living at a place called *Kultu*. This is not properly a Toda village, the people living in a hut of the Badaga form near a tea plantation in order to sell the buffalo dung to the planters.

618 This clan now numbers only six males and three females, all belonging to one family (72). They have neither *kudr* nor *pòlm*.

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CHAPTER XXIX

TEIVALIOL AND TARTHAROL

THE existence of these two divisions of the Toda people raises one of the most interesting problems of their social organisation. The fact that the Todas are an Indian people at once suggests that we have to do here with some form of the institution of caste. Each division is endogamous, as is the caste, and each is divided into a number of exogamous septs resembling the gotras of a caste. Again, there is some amount of specialisation of function, the Teivaliol being the division from which the most sacred of the dairymen are chosen. 564 616

The names of the two divisions probably correspond with this differentiation of function. The Teivaliol evidently derive their name from the sacred office, *deva*, of Sanskrit origin, being in common use in South India for 'sacred,' while *devalayam* means a temple.[1] The origin of Tartharol[2] is more doubtful, but I believe that the word carries the idea of ordinary, *târ* being used sometimes in this sense.

There is little restriction on social intercourse between the two divisions. So far as I am aware, they can eat together, and a member of one division can receive food from any member of another. 616

Though intermarriage is forbidden, the irregular unions in which the man is the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman (see Chap. 588 616

[1] There is also a place called Devali in the Wainad which may possibly be connected in some way with the Teivaliol.

[2] Grigg (*Manual*, p. 187) derives the word from *tasan*, a servant. *S* or *sh* is sometimes inserted into the word Tartharol, but it is purely euphonic, and I do not think that this derivation is at all probable.

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588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
514 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
793 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas
184 belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol. This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
554 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

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they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, the moment he ceases to hold office. 184 616 793 184

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive. 554

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very striking point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the Tartharol that there were certain differences in language between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was 198 616 554

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the *monegar* is the collection of the assessment made by the Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
234 sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

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Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol. 184 234 616

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*. 616 764

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *koòtiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said 616 765 184

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
184 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo call for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tdsdr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

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belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other. 616

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali. 796 852 765 769

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division. 184 846 616

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another [272]

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
616 ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
796 differences between the two divisions may be regarded as
174 secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
184 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived
192 from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the
197 interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

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now proceed to give some evidence which points to this 174
having really happened. 184

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the 192
existence of the differences of language to which I have 197
already referred. The chief differences are as follows:— 616

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*khrstagi*
Basket	*tòdri*	*putukhri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tòdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kònipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pòditch*	*pòtch*
Comb	*tirkòli*	*siekhkòli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pòdri*	*idrnpòdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkòni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkòni*
Mushroom	*kiân*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipöti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*telikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect 184
many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two 194
divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself 616
—that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *piili*.

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184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful
184 kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
616 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning
775 the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
621 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which
616

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the Toda clans take their names, the Tarthar villages being in Roman type and those of the Teivaliol in italics. I have omitted the chief villages of those clans which I know to have arisen in recent times by splitting off from other clans, and I have included two villages of which I can only give the approximate positions. These are Piedr and Kusharf, which are now rarely occupied, and are situated off the main plateau, near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I also give

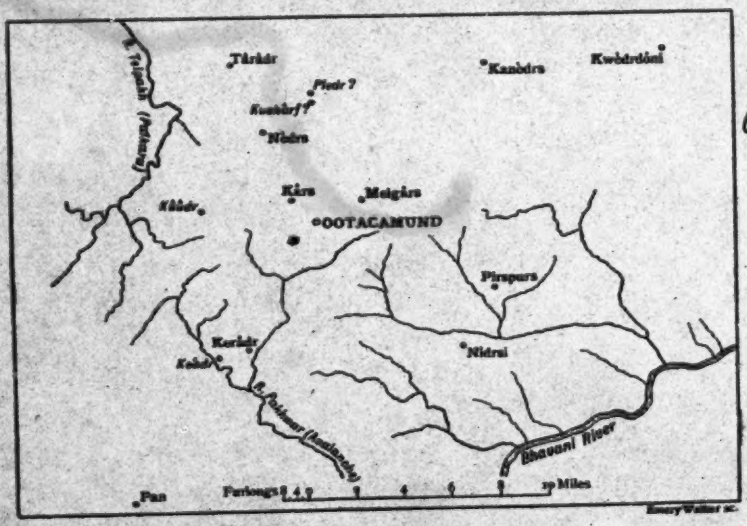

FIG. 73.

Pirspurs, the old *etudmad* of the Pämol. In Fig. 74 I give a second plan, showing the positions of all the villages which I know to be ancient, either because they possess sacred dairies or because they are mentioned in legend.

It will be seen that the greater part of the hills is occupied by the Tartharol, while the Teivali villages lie chiefly in the north-west part of the hills. The chief exception is the village of Keadr, which is situated some way south of the rest.

If, in coming to the hills, the Todas followed the routes now supposed to be traversed by the dead, the position of

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174 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference
616 in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

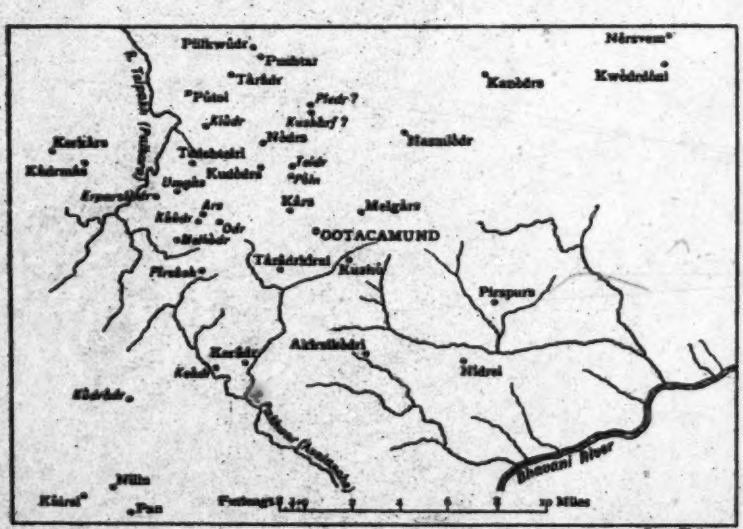

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnòdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a com-
616 munity, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards
791 of the community. At the present time the majority of the *teuol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

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sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical 184
powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided 616
among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical 791
powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other.

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief 174
evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by 184
the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is 616
far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills.

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out 174
some interesting differences between the two divisions. The 184
data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1] 616
would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the 847
Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males 177
for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol.

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

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174 and the greater freedom from external influence is probably
177 an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide
616 among them at present, though it will not explain the greater prevalence in the earlier generations.

847 The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two
184 divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.

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CHAPTER XXX

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE TODAS

I HAVE now given the whole of the material which I have collected on the institutions of the Todas. In describing these institutions I have discussed various general problems suggested by their nature, but I have said little about the points of resemblance or difference between the customs of the Todas and those of other peoples either in India or elsewhere. It remains in this last chapter to see how far the evidence which I have given throws any light on the very difficult questions: Who are the Todas? How do they come to be living on the Nilgiri Hills? 114 175

The evidence which might be available for our inquiry is of three kinds: records of the Todas in the past, traditions preserved by the Todas, and, lastly, evidence derived from the comparative study of physical and psychical characters, language, beliefs, and institutions.

The evidence coming under the first two heads is of the scantiest. Our earliest record of the Todas is contained in a Portuguese manuscript now in the British Museum. It records the visit of a Portuguese priest named Finicio to the Nilgiri Hills in 1602. This manuscript was partially translated and published by Thomas Whitehouse in a book dealing with the Syrian church of Malabar, under the title "Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land." As the translation given by Whitehouse is incomplete, I had the manuscript retranslated, and it was then found that several interesting details had been omitted, and that there were several errors in the translation, The new translation is given on pp. 721–730.

114 175 The account given by Finicio is very superficial, being the result of only two days' intercourse, but it is sufficient to show that there has probably been little change in the Todas and their surroundings in the three centuries which elapsed between his visit and mine. I have referred in the general body of the work to several of the points in which his account either corroborates or differs from my own. Perhaps the most important feature of his story is that it shows the relation between the Todas and Badagas three centuries ago to have been very much what it is at the present day, and shows clearly that this relation between the two tribes is of longer standing than has usually been supposed. Finicio's account is, however, so brief and superficial that it helps us little in our search for evidence on the evolution of Toda society. We know from it that the institution of the *ti* was in existence, and the scanty evidence goes to show that the life of the *palol* was much what it is now, but there is nothing to tell us whether the ritual had then reached the high pitch of development which it now shows, nothing to tell us whether since that time there has been development or degeneration.

From 1602 to 1812 we have, so far as I am aware, no record of the Todas. In the latter year William Keys, Assistant Revenue Surveyor, reported the existence of the Todas, or Thothavurs, and other tribes in a letter to the Collector of Coimbatore. His account gives little information about the Todas, except that they kept buffaloes and held it a sacred and inviolable custom to keep their heads uncovered. In 1819 "a Subscriber" wrote an account of the Nilgiri tribes which was published in the *Madras Courier*. Beyond a description of their appearance, the only information given about the Todas or Todevies is that it is against the custom to wear either turban or sandal, that they permit hair and beard to grow long, and that the Badagas pay a few handfuls of grain from each field as acknowledgment that they received their land from the Todas. In 1820 Lieutenant Macpherson reported the practices of polyandry and infanticide, and in the following year Captain B. S. Ward described the marriage customs more fully, and gave some account

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of the dairies and priesthood. In 1826 the Rev. James Hough addressed a number of letters to the Bengal Hurkaru, giving an account of the Nilgiris and their inhabitants, and these letters were republished in a book in 1829. A more elaborate and most excellent account of the Todas was given by Captain Harkness in 1832, in a work entitled *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, and since that time very many of those who have visited the Nilgiri Hills have had something to say about the Todas and their ways. As I have already pointed out, these records from the earlier part of last century differ but little from my own, and do not furnish us with any evidence that Toda customs underwent any great change during that century. 114 175

As regards the evidence from Toda tradition, we are in no better case. Several writers have stated that the Todas believe that they came to the Nilgiris from elsewhere, but whenever I made any inquiries on this point I was assured that they had always been on the Nilgiri Hills, the first Toda having been created on the Kundahs in the manner already described. 173 173

It seems most probable that those who have ascribed such traditions to the Todas have been misled by the account of the Kamasòdrolam. These are the people who are believed to have been driven away from Kanòdrs by Kwoten (see p. 195). The Todas have a very sincere belief in the existence of these people, and when I showed one man the frontispiece in Marshall's book, representing a Toda village and its inhabitants, something unfamiliar in the arrangement of the scene made the man think that it must be a picture of the Kamasòdrolam. Any Toda who is asked whether there are other Todas and where they live will at once think of the Kamasòdrolam and will tell of these people, and the story might easily be mistaken for a tradition of their origin.

The Todas are also said to believe in their descent from Ravan, and I was told by one man that they were descended from the Pandavas, but I have little doubt that such beliefs are only recent additions to their mythology.

In studying the origin and history of the Todas we have 173

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173 thus no record earlier than three centuries ago, and no traditions of any value, and we are altogether thrown back on the evidence furnished by the manners and customs of the people, their language, and their physical characteristics.

171 Though the manners and customs of the Todas are in many ways unique, or very exceptional, there is a general resemblance between them and those comprised under the general title of Hinduism, and especially with such more popular customs as are described by Mr. Crooke.[1] The great development of the ritual aspect of religion, the importance of ceremonies connected with birth and death, the sacredness of the milk-giving animal, the nature of the system of kinship, the marriage regulations and many other features bear a general, and in some cases a close resemblance to institutions found in India generally, or in certain parts of India.

On the social side these resemblances are perhaps closer than on the religious side. The system of kinship is very similar to that of other parts of Southern India, and, so far as my knowledge goes, to that of India generally. The marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister should marry is found throughout Southern India and probably throughout the Dravidian population of India. The practice of polyandry probably exists scattered here and there throughout India, and has undoubtedly existed in recent times in Malabar. The practice of the *mokhthoditi* union between man and woman has also close analogies in Malabar.

On the religious side the high development of the dairy ritual, so far as I know, stands alone, but the customs connected with birth and death have many resemblances to practices followed in other parts of India, though this resemblance is general only and usually breaks down on going into detail.

Thus in Brahmanic ritual there are several ceremonies prescribed at different stages of pregnancy, and some Indian tribes or castes have pregnancy ceremonies peculiar to themselves, but I do not know of any tribe or caste except that

[1] *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India.* London, 1896.

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of the Todas in which giving a bow and arrow forms the essential feature of a pregnancy ceremony, though it is not uncommon for this weapon to play a part in marriage rites, and in Coorg a little imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of a newly born boy. 171

Similarly, seclusion after childbirth is common in India, and in the Brahmanic ceremony of Jatakarma water is poured over the heads of mother and child by the priest. In some cases from Mysore (see p. 705) there is a still closer resemblance to Toda custom, but there are some features of the Toda ceremonial for which I can find no parallel.

In many points, again, there are distinct resemblances between the practices of the Todas and the more popular customs of India; thus the pounder, sieve and broom frequently play a part in the popular magic of India,[1] as of other parts of the world, but I do not know of any parallel for their being regarded as especially the emblems of women, as they appear to be in Toda belief.

It is perhaps in the funeral ceremonies that we find the largest number of resemblances between Toda custom and that of other parts of India. Thus, among those who cremate their dead, it is usual to have ceremonies some time after the cremation, and some have regarded the second funeral ceremony of the Todas, the so-called dry funeral, as the representative of the Sapindi ceremony of orthodox Hinduism. Among several tribes fragments of bone are preserved after the cremation, which become the objects of further ceremonies. Thus, the Hos and Mundahs[2] preserve large fragments of bone, which are hung up in the house and are buried in an earthenware pot much later, after being taken in procession to every friend and relation of the deceased. Again, among the Saoras of Madras[3] fragments of bone are picked out from the ashes and covered over with a miniature hut.

Animals are frequently killed at funerals throughout India, and among the Saoras, just mentioned,[4] the animal is a

[1] Cf. Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 187–191.
[2] Dalton, *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., 1868, vol. vi, p. 37.
[3] Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1888, vol. i. p. 249. [4] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 buffalo, which is killed close to the stone on which its blood is smeared. Again, among the Kois[1] a bullock is slain and the tail placed in the hand of the corpse.

A funeral practice which is very widely spread in India is the breaking of a pot, and in some cases the pot so broken is one which has contained the water used to quench the fire. Among the Naickers and the Reddies of South India[2] the body is bathed with water from an earthen pot, which is then dashed upon the ground, while in other places an earthen pot filled with water is carried round the body three times, after which the fire is lighted and later extinguished by water which runs from a perforation in the pot. The common Indian practice, according to Padfield,[3] is for the chief mourner to throw a pot over his head behind him so that it is dashed in pieces.

That the kindred should retire with averted faces from the place where the corpse is left is prescribed by Manu,[4] and the custom of burning or burying face downwards is practised by low caste people, the motive in this case being to prevent the evil spirit from escaping and troubling its neighbours.[5]

While there is thus a general resemblance between many of the manners and customs of the Todas and those existing in various parts of the Indian peninsula, there is one district which possesses customs and institutions which seem to stand in a much closer relation to those of the Todas than is the case elsewhere.

The social and religious customs of the west coast, and especially of Malabar, not only bear a general resemblance to the customs of the Todas, but this resemblance in some cases persists when followed into detail. The similarity would probably become still more obvious if we knew more of the customs of the less civilised inhabitants of this district of India.

In going over the resemblances I will begin with those on the social side. The most characteristic feature of the social

[1] Cain, *Ind. Antiq.*, 1876, vol. v, p. 357.
[2] Kearns, *Tribes of South India*, p. 51.
[3] *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, p. 234.
[4] IV. 240.
[5] Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 269.

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organisation of the Todas is the institution of fraternal polyandry. The Nairs of Malabar have given their name to a different type of polyandry, but it is extremely doubtful whether the relations existing in recent times between Nair women and their consorts should be regarded as examples of polyandry. Nevertheless, there is undoubted evidence that true polyandry has existed in Malabar, and in the most definite examples known this has been of the fraternal type. From the Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, published in 1891, it is clear that, though polyandry is now extinct in North Malabar, it still persists in some districts of South Malabar. One witness before the Commission stated that at one time polyandry was very prevalent in South Malabar, and that it was still the practice for a woman of the Kammalar or artisan caste to have five or six brothers as husbands, and the witness had known personally a woman in Calicut who was the wife of five brothers, spending a month at a time with each. Another witness stated that polyandry existed in some parts of Cochin, and in a few places in South Malabar. Another said that among the Tiyans of North Malabar it was the custom for one man to marry a girl for all the brothers of the family. One of the names for marriage in Malabar is *usham porukka*, which probably means "marriage by turns." The Kanisans or astrologers of Malabar proudly point out that, like the Pandavas, they used formerly to have one wife in common to several brothers, and that the custom is still observed by some.[1]

Polyandry is not the only marriage institution in which there is a resemblance between the Todas and the people of Malabar. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a Toda woman seems to be very much like the consort of a Nair woman, and when these consorts are, as they usually are, Nambutiris or Malabar Brahmans—*i.e.*, belong to a different caste—the resemblance to the *mokhthoditi* custom becomes very close.

More important is the custom of giving a cloth as the essential marriage ceremony. The two chief features of a Toda marriage are the giving of a loincloth to the girl and the salutation of the girl's relatives by the husband. Simi-

[1] Logan's *Malabar Manual*, vol. i. p. 141.

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171 larly the essential feature of the irregular union between man and woman is that the *mokhthodvaiol* gives a cloak to the woman, and the Badaga name by which the relation has previously been known is derived from this fact—the man is called the "blanket man" of the woman. Throughout the greater part of the Malabar coast the essential feature of the marriage ceremony is that the man gives a cloth to the woman. The Nairs have two marriage ceremonies,[1] of which the later, or *sambandham*, forms the actual alliance between man and woman. The ceremony of this marriage consists in giving a cloth, and various names for the ceremony, such as *muntukotukkuka*, *vastradanam*, *putavakota* and *pudamuri*, all mean "cloth-giving." In South Malabar a marriage is dissolved by tearing up a cloth called *kachcha*,[2] and among the Izhavas,[3] the actual wedding ceremony consists of the gift of a cloth.

The act of giving clothing as part of the marriage ceremony is found generally throughout India, but it seems to be a much more prominent and essential feature of marriage in Malabar than elsewhere.

Among the funeral ceremonies of the Todas there is one in which a cloth is laid on the body of the deceased. The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a man belonging to the clan of the deceased to those who have married into the clan, the cloth being then placed on the corpse by the wives of these men. The whole ceremony seems to be essentially a transaction between clans which have intermarried and evidently stands in a close relation to the regulation of marriage, and it is therefore of great interest not only that a cloth should play so prominent a part, but also that the word used for the cloth which gives the name to the ceremony should be *kach*, the same word as is used sometimes in Malabar for the cloth so important in the marriage ceremonies.

The resemblance between the Todas and Nairs in this direction goes, however, one step further. Among the funeral

[1] See *Malabar Marriage Commission* and Wigram's *Malabar Law and Custom*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1900.

[2] *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i., Eth. App., p. 136. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

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ceremonies of the Nairs there is one called *potavekkuka*, in which new cotton cloths are placed on the corpse by the senior members of the deceased's Tarawad (corresponding to clan), followed by all the other members, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, and other relatives. The details of the ceremony differ in the two communities; among the Nairs the placing of cloths is the duty of a wide circle of relatives, but the resemblance between the customs is sufficiently close to make it highly probable that we have to do with two developments of one custom.

The ceremony just described is not the only point in which the funeral rites of the Todas resemble those of Malabar. The earthen pot which I have already mentioned plays a part in the rites of both Nairs and Nambutiris. By the Nairs[1] the pot is carried three times round the pyre while the water leaks out through the holes, and on completing the third round the pot is dashed on the ground close by the spot where the head of the corpse had lain. The Nambutiris burn their dead and bury the ashes three days later, and when the body is being burnt an earthen pot containing water is carried round the fire, and is then punctured and the water received into another vessel, from which it is thrown on the fire, and then the pot is smashed and thrown away.[2]

We have seen that according to Toda belief it is necessary that those who have not been through certain ceremonies in life must do so after death, and the same belief is entertained by the Nambutiris, who tie the *tali* at the funeral of an unmarried girl,[3] just as the Todas perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

The Nairs collect pieces of unburnt bones from the ashes fourteen days after the cremation, but they either throw them into the nearest river or take them to some sacred place, thus following a frequent Indian practice.

There is one feature of the *urvatpimi* ceremony of the Todas which also suggests a possible link with Malabar, and this is the name, *pülpali*, given to the artificial dairy

[1] *Madras Gov. Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 247. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 61. See also Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, Oxford, 1899, p. 17.

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171 used by the Tartharol. The Nairs of Malabar have a ceremony at the ninth month called *pulikuti*, in which the woman drinks tamarind (*puli*) juice which has been poured over a knife by her brother.[1] The Toda word for the sour taste is *pülchiti*, derived from tamarind, and I have suggested that the name *pülpali* may mean 'tamarind dairy,' and be a survival of community between the Toda ceremony and that of Malabar.

171 I have now enumerated a number of points in which there is a close resemblance between the customs of the Todas and 174 those of the people of Malabar. In some cases, as in that of the cloth ceremony of the funeral, the resemblance is so close that we seem almost bound to seek its explanation either in identity of origin or in borrowing. We may be confident that if there has been any borrowing from the inhabitants of Malabar, it has not been recent, and we may also be fairly confident that the physical barrier in the past must have prevented any but the most infrequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the Nilgiri plateau and those of Malabar. If we attach any significance to the resemblances I have indicated, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that the Todas at some time lived in Malabar and migrated to the Nilgiri Hills, and it remains to inquire whether there are any other facts in favour of this view.

174 On one line of evidence I cannot speak with any authority, but I strongly suspect that there is a very close resemblance 197 between the Toda language and Malayalam.

I think there is little doubt that the Toda language is much more nearly allied to Tamil than to Canarese, and I believe that the contrary opinion of Dr. Pope was due to the inclusion in his material of many words borrowed by the Todas from their Canarese-speaking neighbours, the Badagas. Malayalam is closely allied to Tamil, differing from it chiefly in its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and in the large number of Sanscrit derivatives,[2] and I should like to make the suggestion, for the consideration of Dravidian philologists,

[1] *Madras Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 242.

[2] Cf. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 23.

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that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 175

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

101 was larger than it is at present, and it is tempting to suppose
174 that we have here evidence of the route of the Toda migration.
There are, however, facts which make it improbable that this
361 clue is of any value. If the villages about Gudalur had been survivals of the migration they would almost certainly have been sacred villages, but it was quite clear that they had no sanctity whatever and were not even saluted when seen from a distance. Unfortunately I did not visit Kavidi, the only village which remains, and if I had done so I might have discovered some evidence of sanctity and antiquity, but from what I was told it is very unlikely that any such evidence exists. This absence of sanctity is further in agreement with the traditions of the Todas, who say that the settlement at Gudalur is recent. There are, however, other facts which point to an ancient connexion of the Todas with this district. Some of the buffaloes of the most sacred and ancient Nòdrs *ti* are said to have come from Perithi in the Wainad, and the Taradrol, in many ways an exceptional Toda clan, are said to have their own future world or Amnòdr at this place.

174 It will thus be seen that, in addition to the points of similarity in custom and belief, there are definite facts pointing
487 to connexion with Malabar, and if we suppose that the Todas migrated from this district we have next to conjecture the path by which they travelled. If any importance is attached to the belief in the paths taken by the dead, we should regard it as the most probable view that the Todas travelled over the Kundahs, the two divisions of the people travelling by slightly different routes. The Toda tradition that men were created on the Kundahs is perhaps in favour of this route, which would seem to correspond with the road to the Nilgiris known as the Sisipara Ghat. If, on the other hand, we attach importance to the settlement at Kavidi, the route followed would be that through Gudalur. At the present time the latter road is far the easier of the two, and, if the Todas had travelled during the last few years, it would have been the natural road by which to come, but it does not appear that there was any essential difference in the difficulties of the two routes before the roads were made. The evidence in favour of either route is very scanty, but if the Todas came from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Malabar it is probable that they came by one or other of these paths.

There are two other districts which have some claim to be considered as possible places from which the Todas may have migrated—*viz.*, Mysore and Coorg.

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The Todas regard with some reverence a Hindu temple at Nanjankudi in Mysore, and visit it to pay vows, and there is little doubt that they have done this for a long time. Further, Nòdrs, one of the oldest and most sacred of the Toda villages, is close to the present road from Mysore and may have been near the most convenient route from Mysore in ancient times. I think, however, that, though not recent, the relations with the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi are not of very great antiquity, and I am inclined to ascribe the Toda reverence for it to their association with the Badagas, who almost certainly came from Mysore. I have not been able to find many parallels to Toda customs in Mysore. In one case, however, the resemblance is very close. Among the Gollavalu of Mysore[1] a woman after delivery is turned out into a leaf or mat hut, about 200 yards from the village, and on the fourth day a woman of the village pours water over her. In this case the woman lives in the hut for three months, her husband also living in a special hut. Again, among the Kadu (or forest) Gollas of Mysore[2] the mother and child remain in a small shed outside the village for seven to thirty days.

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The other district which has customs especially resembling those of the Todas is Coorg. Among the people of Coorg cloth-giving appears at one time to have formed the essential marriage ceremony, and there still exist what are called 'cloth-marriages,' in which a man becomes the husband of a woman merely by giving her a cloth. There is also some evidence that polyandry has been practised in Coorg, and I have already referred to the resemblance between the *pursütpimi* ceremony of the Todas and the Coorg custom of giving a little bow and arrow to a newly born boy. The bow is made of a stick of the castor-oil plant and for the arrow

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1889, vol. i. p. 535.
[2] *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, Pt. i. p. 521.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 the leaf-stalk of the same plant is used. In Coorg the imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of the newly born child, but this custom is not widely removed from that of the Todas in which the bow and arrow is put into the hand of the mother shortly before the child is born.

[173] The Todas know the people of Coorg, which they call Kwûrg, and have a tradition of an invasion of their hills by these people, but it is very improbable that there has been any direct borrowing, and it seems more likely that some of the customs of the Todas and Coorgs have had a common source.

171 The resemblance with the customs of Coorg are perhaps more striking than with those of Mysore, and the former
174 region is much more likely to have been influenced by Malabar than the latter. The links with Coorg do not weaken, and perhaps even strengthen, the conclusion that the Todas owe much to Malabar.

144 If we accept provisionally the view that the Todas migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar, we are next
174 confronted with the problem as to whether they are directly derived from any of the races now living in that district. The most diverse views have been held by those who have considered the racial affinities of the Todas. Leaving on one side the conjectures of those who have supposed them to be Scythians, Druids, Romans, or Jews, we find that the Todas have been supposed by several writers to be of Aryan or Caucasic origin. De Quatrefages[1] grouped the Todas with the Ainus of Northern Japan and Keane[2] follows him in putting the two peoples together, and regards both as witnesses to the widespread diffusion of Caucasic races in Asia. Deniker[3] suggests that they belong to the Indo-Afghan race, with perhaps an admixture of the Assyroid race.

Previous writers have found no special reason to link the customs of the Todas with those of Malabar, and, so far as I am aware, no one has considered how far the Todas may be of the same race as any of the inhabitants of

[1] *Histoire générale des Races Humaines*, Paris, 1889, Introduction, p. 469.
[2] *Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 418.
[3] *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 412.

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

this district.[1] In considering this matter, we may anticipate that even if the Todas and any of the tribes or castes of Malabar had the same origin, marked differences would have been produced by the long sojourn of the former on the Nilgiri plateau. How long the Todas have been on the Nilgiri Hills no one can say, but we may safely conclude that a very long time must have been necessary to produce the wide divergence in custom and belief which is found to separate them even from those other inhabitants of India whom they most closely resemble. If the Todas came from Malabar, they came from a country differing enormously in temperature and in general physical and climatic characters from the Nilgiri plateau. Life on the hills must almost certainly have altered the physical characters of the people, and it is perhaps now hopeless to expect that any exact resemblance would be found with the existing races of Malabar even if the Todas are an offshoot of one of them. Nevertheless, in comparing the physical measurements of the Todas, which we owe to Mr. Thurston, with those of various Malabar races taken by Mr. Fawcett, it would seem that the differences are not very great, and in the measurements to which anthropologists attach most importance, those of the head and nose, they are very slight.

In the table on the following page I give the chief measurements in centimeters for Todas, Nairs, and Nambutiris.

The average dimensions of the heads and noses of the Todas correspond very closely with those of the Nairs, and the differences from the Nambutiris are nowhere great. It must be remembered that the measurements on the Todas were taken by one observer, and those on the Nairs and Nambutiris by another,[2] and this may partly account for

[1] In a paper which I have only seen since the above was written (*C. R. de la Soc. de Biol.*, 1905, t. lix, p. 123) M. Louis Lapicque has called attention to the resemblance between Todas and Nairs. He regards the Todas as pure or almost pure examples of one of the two races of which he believes the Dravidian population of India to be composed, the Nairs being more mixed with the negroid element, which forms the other component of the population according to M. Lapicque.

[2] It must also be borne in mind that the figures of the Nambutiris and those of some of the Todas are based on the measurement of twenty-five individuals only in each case.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

141 the large divergence in the case of the maxillo-zygomatic
144 index, which is calculated from the bigoniac and bizygomatic
174 measurements, in both of which there is considerable scope for differences between different observers. The only other measurements which show any decided divergence are the stature and the length from the middle finger to the patella, and the greater stature of the Todas may well be the result of their more healthy environment. The cubit of the Todas also differs very decidedly from that of the Nambutiris, though little longer than this dimension of the Nairs.

	Todas.[1]	186 Nairs.	25 Nambutiris.
Stature	169·8	165 6	162·3
Span	175·9	175·1	170·0
Chest	82·0	80·6	83·7
Middle finger to patella	12·0	10·1	10·5
Shoulders	39·3	40·0	40·7
Left cubit	47·0	46·2	44·2
Left hand, length	18·8	18·5	18·0
,, ,, width	8·1	8·3	7·8
Hips	25·7	26·0	26·2
Left foot, length	25·0	25·4	24·5
,, ,, width	9·2	8·8	
Cephalic length	19·4	19·2	19·2
,, width	14·2	14·1	14·6
,, index	73·3	73·1	76·3
Bigoniac	9·6	10·4	10·6
Birygomatic	12·7	13·1	13·2
Maxillo-zygomatic index	75·7	80·1	80·4
Nasal height	4·7	4·8	4·9
,, width	3·6	3·6	3·7
,, index	76·6	76·8	75·5

We do not know the probable errors of these different groups of measurements, but the agreement between the Todas and the two castes of Malabar is so close as to suggest strongly a racial affinity between the three.[2]

142 The hairiness of the Toda is perhaps the feature in which
144 he differs most obviously from the races of Malabar, while the robustness of his physique and general bearing are perhaps
174 almost as striking. The latter qualities may be entirely due

[1] Some of these measurements are based on the examination of eighty-two men, others are derived from twenty-five men only.

[2] The relations existing between Nair women and Nambutiri men must have brought about an approximation of the two Malabar castes in physical characters, even if they were originally of different ethnical origin.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to his environment, to his free life in the comparatively bracing climate of the Nilgiris, and, so far as we know, the development of hair may have a similar cause. Of all the castes or tribes of Malabar, the Nambutiris perhaps shows the greatest number of resemblances to the customs of the Todas,[1] and it is therefore interesting to note that Mr. Fawcett describes these people as the hairiest of all the races of Malabar and especially notes that one individual he examined was like a Toda.

142
144
174

I am not competent to express a decided opinion on the amount of importance which is to be attached to the resemblance which is shown by the figures on p. 708, but it seems to me that the facts before us give no grounds[2] for separating the Todas racially from the two chief castes of Malabar.

The identification of the Todas with Nairs or Nambutiris would still leave their racial affinities somewhat indeterminate. The Nambutiris are often supposed to be Aryan invaders of Malabar, and, owing to the cause already mentioned, the Nairs are so largely of Nambutiri blood that, if the Nambutiris are Aryan, the Nairs must also be strongly Aryanised even if they were originally of pure Dravidian descent.

If future research should show that the Todas are an offshoot of one of the races now existing in Malabar, and if any definite conclusion can be drawn as to the time during which they have been on the Nilgiri Hills, physical anthropologists will be provided with a most interesting example of the influence of environment on the physical characters of a race. Few greater contrasts of environment could be found in a country than that existing between Malabar and the Nilgiris, and it is possible that the Todas may furnish a striking example of the influence of environment on physical characters.

[1] It is worth noting that they practise male descent, while the Nairs follow the Marumakkattayam system of inheritance.

[2] I should much like to know the ratios between the lengths of different limb bones, such as those shown by the radio-humeral or tibio-femoral indices. The observations on the cubit and the distance from the middle finger to the patella suggest that considerable differences might be found between the Todas and the Malabar castes in these ratios, which do not seem to me to have yet received from the physical anthropologist the attention they deserve.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 In endeavouring to link the Todas with Malabar I have
174 naturally dwelt on the points of resemblance rather than on the points of difference. The differences are, however, very great. The general manner of life of the two peoples is now wholly different, while on the religious side I may point to the wide prevalence of snake worship in Malabar, especially among the Nambutiris.

The hypothesis that the Todas are derived from one or more of the races of Malabar would not be tenable for a moment except on the assumption that the migration took place very long ago, and that the culture of Malabar has undergone great changes since the migration. As to the length of time during which the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, we can only offer the vaguest surmises. We know that three centuries ago the Todas were living on the Nilgiris, apparently in much the same state as at the present day. The appearance of some of their sacred stones suggests great antiquity, especially the well-worn polished appearance of the *neurzülnkars*, which, if the accounts are right, are only rubbed a few times in the year.

174 On the other hand, the history of Malabar is highly conjectural. The two great positive landmarks in its history are the beginning and end of the rule of the Perumal princes. The date of the first Perumal is put at about the time of Christ, or somewhat later, and it is tempting to surmise that the Todas may have been driven or have retired from Malabar in consequence of the political changes which took place at this time. The last Perumal probably reigned about a thousand years ago, but there does not appear to have been any political upheaval at the time, the last prince having his period of office prolonged beyond the usual twelve years, and having then divided his dominions among his family and retainers.

If we assume that the Todas came from Malabar, the date of their migration would be of great interest in relation to the possibility of Christian or Jewish influences on the Toda religion. There are ancient settlements of both Christians and Jews in Malabar. Tradition assigns the starting-point of the native Christian settlements in Malabar to St. Thomas;

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

but, leaving this on one side, there seems to be no doubt that both Christians and Jews were well established in Malabar more than a thousand years ago. An ancient document is still preserved by the Jews of Cochin, which was given to their leader by the Perumal of the day, and this document can be dated about 750 A.D. A similar document preserved by the Nestorian Christians can be dated 774 A.D. 174

If the Todas left Malabar at the beginning of the Perumal rule, Jewish or Christian influences can be excluded, but if at a

FIG. 75 (from Breeks).—A CAIRN ON THE NILGIRI HILLS.

later period such influences may have been present, though it is very improbable that they were important; for, unless the Todas have changed very much, they would have been very unlikely to have borrowed from religious settlers of an alien race. Still, in considering the strange resemblance between the Hebrew and Toda versions of the Creation, this possible influence should be borne in mind.

I have so far said nothing of the archæological evidence which may possibly help in the settlement of the vexed 172

172 questions which I have raised in the preceding pages. Our knowledge of the history of the Todas would be very materially advanced if we knew whether the cairns, barrows and other ancient remains which are found on the Nilgiri Hills are Toda monuments. In the cairns and barrows there are found objects which suggest a Toda origin, such as figures of buffaloes with bells round their necks (see Fig. 76, 9), but the vast majority of the finds are utterly unlike anything now possessed by the Todas. They include pottery of many designs, the lids of the vessels being often adorned with the figures of animals. Many other animal figures have also been found, and though that of the buffalo often occurs, figures of the horse (see Fig. 76, 10), sheep, camel, elephant, leopard (?), pig (?), and low-country bullock with hump are all found. Such figures can only have been made by those well acquainted with the low country, and none of these animals are ever mentioned in Toda legends.

Metal work is also found in the cairns and barrows; bronze vases, basins and saucers (Fig. 76, 1, 2, 3), iron razors, styles or pins (?), and daggers (Fig. 76, 8), while iron spear-heads (Fig. 76, 4, 7, 13) are frequently met with.

In addition to the more elaborate cairns, cromlechs and barrows found on the Nilgiri Hills, Breeks, to whom we owe most of our knowledge on this subject, found what he took to be ancient examples of the *azaram* or circle of stones within which the Toda buries the ashes of his dead at the end of the second funeral. In such *azaram* in the district between Kotagiri and Kwòdrdoni, Breeks found bronze bracelets and rings, iron spear-heads, a chisel, a knife and an iron implement in something of the style found in Malabar and differing from those usually found in the cairns.

Breeks points out that the characteristic feature of the cairns and barrows of the Nilgiris is the circle of stones, and that some consist of an insignificant circle hardly to be distinguished from the Toda *azaram*. He often found it difficult to say whether a given monument was a cairn or an *azaram*, so that it would appear that there are intermediate gradations between the more elaborate cairns or barrows containing the pottery and metal work and the simple Toda *azaram*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

FIG. 76 —VARIOUS OBJECTS FOUND IN THE NILGIRI CAIRNS, TAKEN FROM BREEKS.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 From the amount of rust on the iron implements, however, Breeks concluded that there was a long interval of time between the most recent of the cairns and the oldest *asaram*, but he points out that if the latter are really *asaram*, they show that the Todas used at one time to bury such objects as iron spears.[1]

As regards the cairns, Breeks points out that though the figures of many animals occur in addition to that of the buffalo, most of the animals are so badly imitated that it is difficult to identify them, while the figures of the buffaloes are singularly characteristic and often very spirited.

The only implements found by Breeks which might be agricultural were shears and sickles (Fig. 76, 12, 5), and he recalls the *kafkati* burnt by the Todas with their dead, which is a curved knife, different, however, in shape from the sickles often found in the cairns.

On the other hand, very few of the human figures found in the cairns resemble the Todas in any way; the women have the low-country top-knot instead of the Toda curls, and they carry chatties on their heads, which would never be done by a Toda woman at the present time, whatever she may have done in the past.

Breeks himself inclined to the view that the cairns are Toda monuments. One objection which has been made to this view is that the Todas exhibit little or no interest in the cairns, and offer no objection to their excavation. I have already given reasons[2] why this cannot be regarded as a conclusive argument against the Toda origin of the monuments. The Todas certainly identify the hills which possess stone circles with the abodes of their gods, and the absence of objections to the excavation may merely be due to the fact that they have no traditional injunctions against interference with these circles.

174 In dealing with the religion of the Todas, I have advanced
171 the view that the ritual and beliefs of the people furnish us with an example of a religion in a state of decadence. It seems probable that the Todas once had a religious cult of a

[1] It will be remembered that the Todas claim to have once possessed a spear which had belonged to their god, Kwoten.

[2] See p. 443.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture. 174 771

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great. 172 174 182 [517 53]

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.[1] Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show. [461]

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

[1] The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 furnishes us with another example of material objects which
174 have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken
182 place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas have had no enemies, either human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded by all.

174 In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration
182 the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with an example of a people who once have possessed a higher
771 culture of which some features have undergone degeneration.
788 If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district, and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have been on much the same general level as that of the dominant castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because in their very simple environment this was the most accessible object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris; and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most probable that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect of their religion.

171 If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of
174 one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation, the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ment provided by the Nilgiri plateau. I have already referred to the resemblance between certain Toda customs and those of one such tribe, the Hill Arrians, who live in the hills in Travancore and on the Travancore-Cochin boundary. These people are fair, about five feet six inches in height, and frequently have aquiline noses. They inherit in the male line, and have an early marriage ceremony, followed by another in which cloths are presented to the bridegroom. After childbirth the woman lives in a shed for sixteen days. They bury their dead, the earth being dug with the ceremony to which I have already alluded,[1] and though we are not told that a cloth is laid on the corpse at the funeral ceremonies, Fawcett[2] records the fact that a cloth is placed on the grave. There are thus several points of resemblance between their customs and those of the Todas, and this resemblance extends in some measure to the physical appearance and suggests, not only that they and the Todas have been influenced by the same culture, but even that they are people of the same race. We are here, however, plunged almost entirely in the region of conjecture, and we must wait for further information before we consider whether such tribes as the Hill Arrians are representatives of the same race as the Todas, both having been driven from the plains of Malabar into their mountain fastnesses, or whether the Todas and Arrians are two hill tribes of similar descent who have each been influenced by Malabar, of whom the Todas have advanced more in culture, owing to their exceptionally favourable environment on the Nilgiri plateau. 171 174

The whole of this last chapter is, I am afraid, open to the charge of being highly conjectural. It has, however, seemed to me desirable to raise some of the problems suggested by the existence of the Todas. In the settlement of these problems much further research is necessary, and I have somewhat reluctantly dealt so largely with the conjectural topics of the chapter, because they seem to point clearly to two lines of research in which further work is necessary. One is the archæology of the Nilgiris, which would, I believe, now well repay further investigation; the other is a detailed 121 174

[1] See p. 402. [2] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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inquiry into the more popular customs of Malabar and especially of its less known peoples, such as the Hill Arrians, of whom I have just written. It is in the hope that further interest may be awakened in these lines of inquiry that I have devoted so much space to the hypotheses and surmises of this final chapter.

If further research should show that the Todas are derived from ancient races of Malabar, it is possible that the existence of this strange people may help to illuminate the many dark places which exist in our knowledge of the connexion between the Aryan and Dravidian cultures. It is even possible that the Todas may give us a glimpse of what the culture of Malabar may have been before the introduction of Brahmanism, a culture from which many features would have disappeared, while others would have undergone special development; and, if this were the case, the complex dairy ritual of the Todas would be the most striking instance of the development, a development, however, carrying with it the germs of that degeneration from which the Toda religion now seems to be suffering.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

I give here a translation of two extracts from Portuguese manuscripts preserved in the British Museum. The original spelling of the names of places and persons has been preserved and I have added some notes. I am indebted for the translation to Miss A. de Alberti. 175

The Mission of Todramala.[1]—This new mission of Todramala belongs to the college of Vaipicotta, and it seems necessary to give your Rev. an account thereof that you may be informed of what has been discovered, as well as of what still remains to be done. Vague rumours had reached the Lord Bishop Dom Frco. Ros that in the interior of this Malabar, among some mountains, there dwelt a race of men descended from the ancient Christians of S. Thomas; in order to discover and open the way to them he sent from our seminary a Cassanar[2] and a Chamas, which means a priest and a deacon, who after travelling for more than fifty miles reached the summit of the mountain of Todramala. Here they came upon a race which appeared, in accordance with the rumour, to be of those who were driven from the territory of S. Thome by the many wars in former times and scattered through these parts. They did not call it by that name, however, but pointing in the direction of S. Thomas, they said that certain men came thence, some of whom settled in those mountains, and others went further down, of whom they knew nothing. The Cassamar thereupon took occasion to ingratiate himself with them, saying that those who settled lower

[1] Add. MS. 9853, pp. 464-5, MS. 25-26 vol. [Translation].
[2] Or Cattanar, a native priest of the Syrian Church.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

175 down were his ancestors, and therefore they were all of one race, and they had come solely to visit them as their brethren and relations. This moved them to such love and pity that men, women, and children embraced and welcomed them with tears. They found no trace of Christianity in them; they had neither crosses nor books, though they said they had some once, but they were lost as those who could read had died out. They have no pagoda worship nor pagan ceremonies. On being questioned concerning their god they spoke of a bird, a father, and a son, from which it may be presumed that they had some notion of the Blessed Trinity. They rejoiced to hear of the creation of the world and other discourses which the Cassamar and the Chamas held with them; and they were very eager that they should remain with them a long while, but they could not do so, as their guide was very pressing that they should return. They are a somewhat white-skinned race and tall of stature; they grow long beards and wear their hair after the ancient Portuguese fashion, bushy on the head and falling on the shoulders behind. They have necessaries in abundance, namely, rice, some wheat, vegetables, and meat in great variety, both fowls and wild game; quantities of cattle, and so much milk that they cannot use it all and give it to the very cattle to drink. Many other things were related of their customs which I leave until more is known of them. Upon this information the Father Vice-Provincial, at the instance of the Bishop, resolved to send thither a priest well acquainted with the Malabar tongue, and therefore he commissioned the father who was going to the residence of Calicut to inquire the easiest road and best season for this mission. He found that it was much nearer Calicut through the territory of the Samorim, and that the best time was the month of January, when, by the help of God, a father will set out with several Cassamars, and of what occurs your Rev. will be informed next year.

The Mission of Todamalâ.[1]—Last year your Rev. received a brief account of a new mission destined for Todamalâ to a certain race dwelling in the interior of this country of Malabar, among rugged mountains, at a distance of fifty leagues or thereabouts. These were supposed to be descendants of the Christians of S. Thomas who had somehow drifted to those parts. Though last year the Bishop of Angamale, Dom Frco. Ros, sent a priest belonging to the Christians

[1] Add. MS. 9853, p. 479. MS. 40 vol. [Translation].

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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of S. Thomas, accompanied by a deacon and a good guide, to explore the land and acquire information concerning this race, they did not bring back such full and certain intelligence as was desired. Therefore the Lord Bishop asked our Vice-Provincial to send one of our fathers, and the choice fell upon Father Yacomo Fenicio,[1] who has known the people of Malabar for many years and is well acquainted with their language. The father set out from Calicut, where he resides, and whence the road is easiest, and with the assistance of good guides reached the desired destination, though at the cost of great labour and risk. Having acquired ample information, he returned to Calicut from Thodomala, and on his arrival wrote a letter to the Vice-Provincial, dated the 1st of April, 1603, giving him an account of his discoveries, of which the following is a copy—

Copy of a letter from FATHER YACOME FINICIO *to the* VICE-PROVINCIAL OF CALICUT, *1st of April*, 1603

Thanks be to God, I am returned from Todamalâ, though with great labour and little satisfaction, for I did not find there what we hoped and were led to expect. And as the prosecution or abandonment of this mission depends upon it, I think it necessary to give you here a detailed account of all I discovered and endured. The road by Charti being impracticable on account of the wars which had broken out among the people, I was obliged to go by Manarechatem, and this was providential for us, it being the road taken by the Cacenar whom the bishop sent last year. It is thirteen leagues from the shore of Tanor. So far the way was safe and easy, this being the territory of the Samorim, and in every village we met people who knew our Christian Errari,[2] the nephew of the Samorim, who accompanied me. I was very glad of his company, because he offered it himself, and because he could speak Canara, the language of the Badegas, neighbours of the Todares. Before we reached Mararachate we had an interview with the chief ruler of the Samorim, who lives within two leagues. I gave him a palm-leaf from Carnor, chief ruler of the Samorim, in which he bade him give me the men and assistance necessary for my journey to Todamalâ, and to go with me himself if necessary. The ruler welcomed us with many

[1] In the translation given by Whitehouse the name of this priest is given as Ferreira.

[2] A member of the Errari or cowherd caste.

175 compliments, but as regards the journey he made many difficulties, and not only he, but many others of that place said that the way was very long and full of wild and rugged mountains; that there were elephants and tigers, that it was very cold up there, and finally that there was a risk that some of us would die. The ruler wished to send two Naires, who knew the way, with me, but they would not go for fear of falling sick, even though I would have paid them well. Finding that they made so many difficulties I pressed the Errari to return to Calicut with his people, as it was feared that they would fall sick upon the way, and I would go to Manaracathe and there provide myself with a guide and escort. This touched the Errari upon a point of honour, and he bade me not to speak of such a thing, for he was resolved to go, and his Naires had all bound themselves by an oath to go likewise. The Errari had with him a Varser,[1] which is little less than a Brahmin, and he said to me, "Father, if I die on the road, bury me where you will; it is of no consequence." I asked another young Naire if he wished to go, and he replied, "I will accompany your Reverence while I have breath." Upon this we took leave of the ruler and went to Manarecathe, where we found the very chatim who went with the Cacenar; however, the Errari thought it best to take another more trustworthy, who had relatives in the country. Here we were told that it was six Canara leagues to Todamalâ, which is twelve Malabar leagues, and that it would take two days and a half to get there. Everyone provided himself with clothes against the cold of Todamalâ, and with provisions for the journey; also with pots which the Naires carried on their heads, not for want of coolies, but because the Naires and Brahmins will not allow those of a different caste to touch the pots in which they cook their rice. The arms were left behind that the natives might not suppose that the people of Malabar had come to fight with them. Thus we set out cheerfully, and the first day, as we could not reach a village before night, we dined, and started between eight and nine in the morning, and marched quickly until evening that we might not be benighted in the thicket, for fear of the elephants, and yet our guide said we had only travelled two Canara leagues. That day we crossed a sandy mountain.

The second day we wished to start at dawn, but we met fifteen or sixteen men of that village coming by the road we were to pursue, all armed, and they told us that there were three elephants in the

[1] ? Vaishya.

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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way, so we waited until nine o'clock and in the meantime the elephants sought their pasture. This second day we supped at the foot of a very high mountain over which our road lay, and as there was no village and there were elephants about, after supper we climbed part of the mountain and slept there. After midnight we climbed nearly all the rest of the mountain by moonlight, with great labour and fatigue. On reaching the summit other great mountains appeared, and others beyond them, at which we were all astounded, for some of them were so steep that we were obliged to descend in a sitting posture. When the Errari found himself on these mountains, he said that God was punishing him for his sins, and that going up and down such mountains would shorten their lives by ten years. The chatim, our guide, looking down from a mountain, said that merely looking down dazzled his eyes, and so said the Naires on other occasions in similar circumstances. But I could not restrain my laughter, and began singing hymns in Malabar against pagodas, whereupon the others laughed too, and joined in the hymns. It was now noon, and we had still another mountain to climb before reaching the village of the Badagas, neighbours of the Thodares, but we were so tired that we could go no further. We wished to dine, and there was very good cold water flowing from a mountain, but we had no fire. The Errari offered to go up with the Brahmin and to send us down a light. I would not suffer him to take so much trouble, nor was it necessary, for the chatim, our guide, struck fire from two twigs, and thereupon everyone sat down to rest, cooking his rice meanwhile. When we had rested we climbed the mountain and reached the village of the Badegas. It is a village of 150 to 200 souls, called Meleuntaõ.[1] The Cacenar is reported to have visited it. Here we found the chief of the Todeos and spoke with him. He promised to go and assemble the rest, that we might speak to them. In this village they have fowls, cows, goats, rice, lentils, mustard seed, garlick, and honey. They brought me some wheat in the husk, which was very difficult to remove, and therefore it seemed to me more like barley or some other grain than wheat. The Badagos are like the Malabars, and they say there are two other villages like this in these mountains, four, five, and six leagues distant from each other. These trade with the Thodares and sell them rice, buying buffalo butter from them, which they carry to Manaracathe for sale. The next day I wished to discourse to these Badagas concerning our

[1] Whitehouse suggests that this is Melur.

175 law. I showed them the pictures of Our Lady of St. Luke, telling them that the child was God, who became man to teach us his law and save us. I showed them a gilt Bible and told them that it was the book of our law, and as they all surrounded me, I went up into a high place and the Errari with me. I spoke in Malabar and the Errari interpreted in Canara, which is their language. A Badaga who understood Malabar could not contain himself, but came up to where I was and spoke to me in Topas.[1] Then I taught him that the law given to us by the God made man was contained in ten commandments, &c., and they all rejoiced at the ten commandments and their explanation. Only at the sixth[2] commandment the Topas Badaga represented to me that the Malabars also had many wives. I told him that this law was not the law of the Malabars, but of God, and that they did wrong in having many wives, whereupon he was satisfied. Finally I told him that I had not come to teach the Thodares only, but them also if they would accept this law. They replied that the law was very good, but they did not dare adopt it, neither could I live in these barren mountains, &c. I make no doubt that if a priest were there they would all be converted. While I was in this village of Melentaõ the priest of the Thodares came thither, but he remained outside the village, for he may not touch a woman. I went to see him and found him seated on the ground with seven or eight others seated near him. He was a huge man, well proportioned, with a long beard and hair like a Nazarene falling on his shoulders, the front hair drawn back over his head, leaving his forehead uncovered. His dress was a shawl from the waist to the knees, and the rest of his body was naked; he held a sickle in his hand. When I had come up to him and sat down, he asked me how I was; I replied that I was well and all the better for meeting him, for it proved to me that God was my guide, since I had come from so far to see the Thodares and immediately met with their chief. He asked the purpose of my coming. I replied that I had come to see the Thodares, having heard that we were of the same race and laws, and that last year one of our people visited them and gave us a very good account of them. I asked him if they knew from whom they were descended. He said no, and thereupon would have taken leave of us. Then I said that it was not right to wish to leave us so soon, since we had come so far solely to visit them, and

[1] I do not know the meaning of this. One caste of the Badagas is called Torya.

[2] Seventh?

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upon this he remained. Then I inquired of those around who he was, and what was his office. They replied that he was called Pallem and was like the Belicha Paro among the Malabars. Belichaparo is he who takes care of the pagoda, and sometimes the devil enters into him, and he trembles and rolls upon the ground, and answers questions put to him in the name of the pagoda. I asked if the Thodares had pagodas; they replied that they had a live buffalo cow for a pagoda, and they hung a bell round its neck, and the Pallem offered it milk every day, and then let it loose in the fields to graze with the rest. And every month or thereabouts, the Pallem seizes the buffalo by the horns and trembles, saying that the buffalo bids them change the pasture, and thereupon they change their place and pasture. By the milk and butter of this buffalo and that of its children and grandchildren, which already reach 120, this Pallem is maintained. On this mountain where I was there were 100 Thodares,[1] and they had three pallems between them, each having his buffalo for a pagoda. When the buffalo dies the Thodares assemble, choose one of these hundred, tie the bell round its neck, and it becomes a pagoda. Besides the buffalo they have 300 pagodas to whom they also make offerings of milk. I asked him why he carried the sickle in his hand, and he replied that God commanded him to carry no other arm or stick but only that sickle. He used it to scratch his head, which was swarming with lice, and they could be seen crawling among his hair. I asked if he was married; he answered that he and his younger brother were married to the same woman, but as he might not touch a woman in the house she always lived with his brother, but he sent for her into the bush every week or so, when it was a fine day. And when he liked he sent for any of the wives of the Thodares whom he chose, and the husbands allowed it so long as he paid them. I asked if they had books and he said no; none of them can read or write. He also told me that they had a father whom God took up to heaven, body and soul, and the buffaloes looked up to heaven after him, and that was why they made offerings to the buffaloes. At last I gave him one of the looking-glasses from Calicut, with which he was very pleased and said he would give it to his wife. Then I took leave of him, after showing him the pictures and Bible, at which he wondered. Besides this pallem they have another whom they call Ferral,[2] who is present

[1] By the context this should be 100 buffalo cows.

[2] Evidently the *wurrsol*.

175 when they give the buffaloes salt water, and he trembles, bidding them give them drink, and they will give much milk, and grow fat, and give butter in plenty, &c.

The next day we went to visit the villages of the Thodares. We climbed quite half a league above this village, and on reaching the summit nothing was visible on every side but mountains and valleys; all was desert without a single fruit or forest tree, excepting in an occasional damp place where there were a few forest trees. There are no palm trees or jacks in all these mountains, nor any fruit trees, as I have said. As we traversed these mountains and valleys, every now and then we saw a herd of buffaloes in the distance with a Thodar or two guarding them. In this way we met four or five Thodares and sent them to fetch the rest. As no women were visible, I promised one a looking-glass if he would go and fetch them. He hastened away up a mountain and brought back four women, who remained at a distance through timidity and would not join the rest. I sent them word that they must approach if they wanted looking-glasses, and then they came up. After this we went on for another half a league or more and came upon two Thodar huts at the foot of a mountain. They were like a large barrel half buried in the ground, or like a covered bier. They were nine spans in length and the same in breadth; and six spans in the highest part. The hoops of the barrel were of thick reeds like Indian cane, bent into a hoop with both ends fixed in the ground. Pieces of wood from the bush were laid across these reeds and covered with grass. The front was made of stakes set on end, like organ pipes, with no other filling whatever. The door was a span and four inches wide, and two spans and an inch high, so that the Errari and myself could scarcely enter, and inside we had to kneel. There were two beds with grass mattresses on each side, and a small pit in the middle of the hut which was the fireplace. There was a little window on one side, a finger's length high and a span wide. Beside these houses was a pen for buffaloes, and close by another little house where they make the butter. They said the other houses were half a league distant from each other. Thirty or forty Thodares assembled; they are clothed in a large sheet with no other covering but a small loincloth four or five fingers wide. Their arms are long sticks smeared with butter; when new they look like strips of white paper at a distance, but they cure them and they turn black. They wear long beards, and rather long hair, but not so

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long as the Pallem. It was two months since I had shaved or cut my hair, so that I looked like one of them, and they did not wonder at me as they did at the Cacenar, who went there with no hair or beard. They never shave except when one of them dies. At a death they kill half of the dead man's buffaloes, and the other half goes to his heirs. If he has no buffaloes each person gives one, and half of them are killed and the rest are left. They burn the dead body, but it must be wrapped in a veil of pure silk, which they call a toda-pata, worth five or six fanams; and if this is lacking they must wait for it, though it be for a year. In the meantime, in order to preserve the body they open it at the loins, take out the entrails, and cut off the occiput; then they place it in an arbour and dry it in the smoke. Two brothers marry the same woman; she lives with the eldest at night, and with the youngest by day. Others have two or three wives. They do not eat fowls, cow's flesh, nor goat, and so they breed none of these. They do not eat buffalo's flesh, but only wild boar and venison. They eat no salt. They have no crops of any kind, and no occupation but the breeding of buffaloes, on whose milk and butter they live. They have no vassals, as was reported; on the contrary, they are subject and pay tribute to the Badega chiefs. When they eat they hold the rice in their left hand, take a lump of butter in the right, mix it with the rice, and so eat it; when their meal is finished they rub their hands together and wipe them on their hair, and so they all smell of butter. In colour they resemble the Malabars, some whiter and some darker; they are generally moderately tall. Their ears are pierced or bored, not long like those of the Malabars, and some wear a silver circle in them like a ring. They wear black threads round their necks, and some have a large silver bead like a pater-noster in front. I had a skein of black thread in my pocket and drew it out; a Thodar seeing it begged it of me earnestly two or three times. I told him that I must give it to the women, and I divided it in four and gave it to the four women above mentioned, and I gave them a looking-glass each, with which they were very delighted. The women wear nothing but a long sheet like the men; they wrap it round them, throwing the right end over the left shoulder, and so cover themselves. Their hair hangs loose, but their faces are uncovered. I said that the women lower down wore bracelets, chains, and jewels on their arms and necks, and in their ears, and thereupon one

175 of them uncovered her arm, on which she wore four large well-made copper bracelets. The sheet worn by both men and women is so filthy that it looks as if it would not burn if you put it on the fire, and if water were thrown on it, it would not penetrate. The men look after the house, cook the rice, do the milking, make the butter, and mind the buffaloes. The women do nothing but pound the rice, and sometimes mind the buffaloes in the absence of their husbands. In speaking with the Pallem I asked him whether he or his wife cooked the rice; he replied that it was a great disgrace among them to allow the wife to cook the rice. The Thodares being thus assembled, I told them that, hearing that we were of the same race and law, I had come to visit them, and as I knew they had neither priest, book, nor law, I being a priest had come to teach them. I asked if they were glad to have me with them, and they replied that they rejoiced greatly at it. I asked if they would follow all my instructions, and they said they would. Then I asked if they would leave off adoring the buffalo and the 300 pagodas. They replied that they feared the buffaloes and pagodas would do them some harm. I said I would be answerable for it, and that I had more power than the pagodas. Then they said that if I would defend them they would willingly leave off adoring them. I asked if they would give up the custom of two brothers marrying one woman, and they said they would. I asked if they thought it right to give their wives to the Pallem; an old man replied, "If it is the command of God, what can we do?" After this they asked me of their own accord to show them the pictures and the book; I did so, and they paid homage to them with great rejoicing. I also gave them a looking-glass each, and after discoursing and conversing with them for some time I asked them to give me two children to take away with me; they excused themselves, saying that they could not do so just then. I asked from whence they were descended, and one replied that he had heard that they came from the East, and some remained there while some settled lower down. They were amazed at seeing white men, and asked me to uncover my arms for them to look at. They were delighted with the Errari's red tunic and gold buttons, and velvet cap with the gold braid.

At last I took leave of them, promising to return at some time during the year and remain with them longer. It did not seem to me necessary to delay any longer, nor to lay any foundation of our

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faith, as I do not think that the present is a suitable time for the Company to undertake such out-of-the-way enterprises, since it cannot attend to others of greater importance which are close at hand, for want of workers. The Thodares only number a thousand, and these are scattered about four mountains, two belonging to the Malabar, where there are 300. I went to one of these which belongs to the Samorim, another belonging to the Naique, where there are another 300, or a little over; and another belonging to another king, near Charti, where there are another 300 or rather more; the whole distance being eight Canara leagues, which are sixteen in Malabar. And they live scattered about—every month or thereabouts they move their village. The whole district is uninhabited desert. The winds and climate are very cold; the water is excellent, but icy cold; it flows down from the mountains; it cannot be drunk at a draught because of the cold. One is obliged to pause, and after drinking one has to wait awhile for the gums and teeth to get warm. The journey there and back is very laborious and can only be undertaken in January and February. From Manarcate upwards it is impossible to travel in a litter. On the return journey I was very fatigued and asked if it were possible to find men to carry me. I was told that there were plenty of men, but that it was impossible to be carried over these mountains, where one person alone could only climb up and down with great difficulty. Besides this, the Errari and all the rest were very pressing that I should return before any of us fell ill; the Errari said he was himself indisposed, as well as some of the others. They could not tell me anything concerning the Blessed Trinity. I asked them why they wore their hair loose, and a Badaga replied that in the time of Charamparimatei they killed the father of the Thodares, and they asked, "Who killed our father?" and they answered that God killed him; whereupon they unbound their hair and said, "Never will we bind up our hair again until we have killed God, in revenge for our father [and] for the broken pots." On the return journey the Badegas showed us a shorter and less difficult road, which took us two days and a half, but saved going up and down the last steep mountains. However, there was no lack of mountains to climb, but they were not so difficult, though the first day we climbed down one which was very high and steep. We numbered fourteen with the guides. There was a Badega village at the foot of the mountain, and seeing us they took us for a hostile band and fled into the bush. Our

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175 guides called to them not to fly, for we were men of peace who had been to visit the Thodares, whereupon they returned, and coming down we found them armed with their little lances, but we saw the women and children still hidden in the bush. A little further on we came upon four or five more houses; these people also fled into the bush, the women carrying the children on their backs. The second day we slept in the bush two leagues from Manarecate. There were tigers and elephants about, but God preserved us and we all reached Calicut in safety, thanks be to Our Lord. Several afterwards fell sick, however, among whom was the Variel, who is still suffering. May God restore him, for he has promised me to become a Christian, and has already broken his own law as regards food, &c.

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APPENDIX II

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APPENDIX III

List of Toda Villages (not including *ti mad*)

	Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
103	Aklrsikòdri	Nidrsi	Taranadmand	male funeral place.
361	Ârpâr	Pim		
	Ârs	Kundr	Anekkalmand	
621	Artol	Tarsdr	Aretalmand	
	Âtimad	Tarsdr	Karadikottumand	
	Eirgûdr	Nòdrs	Nerkodumand	
	Erparskòdr	Piedr	Yeppakodumand	
	Îdrtol	Kundr	Edattalmand	
	Inîkitj	Pim	Bettumand	
	Isharûdr	Kars	Kadimand	
	Iûdi	Kwòdrdoni		male funeral place.
	Îvigar	Kundr	Kekidamand	in ruins.
	Kabûdri	Pan	Tebbekudumand	male funeral place.
	Kâkhûdri	Melgars	Kaggodumand	
	Kalmathi	Kars	Kalmattimand	in ruins ten years.
	Kalmad	Kars	Kulamand	in ruins.
	Kanòdrs	Kanòdrs	Devarmand	*etudmad.*
	Kapthòri	Kesdr	Kunnapemand	in ruins.
	Karars	Kersdr		
	Karia	Kundr	Kariyamand	
	Kârs	Kars	Kandalmand	*etudmad.*
	Kârsh	Karsh		
	Kashtkòdr	Kundr	Kattikadumand	unoccupied.
	Katerk	Nòdrs	Kaitarkemand	
	Katikdr	Kwòdrdoni	Kodanadmand	
	Katol	Melgars		in ruins.
	Kâvâther	Nidrsi	Kabaiteralmand	
	Kavkli	Piedr		in the Wainad.
	Kedr	Kundr	Karrikadumand	*etudmad.*
	Kebâr	Nidrsi		female funeral place.
	Kedâr	Nòdrs	Kangatarmand	in ruins.
	Keirod	Kundr	Keradamand	[place.
	Kerkdr	Kersdr	Kanagimand	*etudmad*, also male funeral
	Kerkârs	Tarsdr	Karrakalmand	
	Keshkar	Kanòdrs		

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Village.	*Class.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks*
Kashker	Kars	Kakerimand	also called Minikimand.
Kidmud	Kidmud		
Kholas	Melgars		
Kôdir	Kundr	Kengodumand	*ratimud.*
Kôdsh	Pîodr	Karimullimand	
Kôdrers	Pîodr	Hadamand	
Koers	Kundr	Kokimalmand	in ruins.
Koshber	Kundr	Kasebimand	disused.
Koshtôdi	Nôdrs		
Kôlimud	Tarndr	Kulimand	
Kudôdrs	Nôdrs	Kombetukkimand	
Kôdrkdr	Kendr	Kudukkadumand	
Kôdrndr	Tarndr	Kudimalmand	*kulelmud.*
Kâdrôdkhun	Nôdrs	Kudimagumand	
Kugwala	Kundr		disused.
Kôirsi	Pun	Kolimalid	
Kôlkâl	Kwbdrdoni	Kolkkalmand	in ruins.
Kalhôdri	Nôdrs	Kolakkadumand	in ruins.
Kôbmud	Kars	Malaividumand	female funeral place.
Kôthpali	Nôdrs		female funeral place.
Kôrkalmut	Kendr		female funeral place.
Kurvôn	Nôdrs	Kurudamand	
Kushôrf	Kusherf		*studmud.*
Kôôdi	Pîodr	Analkundukalimand	(? Kôôdi).
Kôôdr	Kundr	Kundakodumand	*studmud.*
Kushô	Kars	Kundôtolmand	
Kushô	Kenbdrs		near Kenbdrs : disused.
Kwashôr	Kendr	Kugadodmand	
Kwathash	Pîun	Marumallimand	female funeral place.
Kwbg	Kundr	Korangumand	
Kwbdrdôni	Kwbdrdoni	Kodudomomand	*studmud.*
Madôni	Podrkars		
Madash	Pîun	Manjathalmand	
Madash	Kendr		disused.
Mamuru	Pîun		
Melgôn	Melgars	Manjakkalmand	*studmud.*
Melkôdr	Kundr	Mekkodumand	
Mathr	Podrkars	Madaliyamand	
Markwadrvalth	Kenbdrs		
Marsin	Pîodr		male funeral place.
Mbrôri	Melgars		male funeral place.
Môni	Kundr	Mudimand	
Molkrash	Kundr	Malkodumand	
Mbmandthi	Pîodr		female funeral place.
Mulles	Nôdrs		funeral place for boys.
Muthôkhr	Kendr		disused.
Nanmôdr	Kars	(Agandumand)	
Nôrôrs	Pun	Naiaserimand	
Nedrdrsi	Tarndr	Kilimand	in ruins.

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Village.	Clan.	Badage name.	Remarks.
Nelkwsh	Nòdrs	Neykadimand	in ruins.
Nerigudi	Nòdrs	Nergulimand	
Nerngòdr	Kundr		disused.
Nerovem	Kwòdrdoni	Nervenamandi	in ruins.
Nerovem	Nidrsi	Nadumand	in ruins.
Nesikwòdr	Kendr	Nedikodumand	
Niklesi	Nidrsi	Nidimand	*studmad.*
Nirkàtji	Kundr	Nirkachimand	
Nirshr	Piedr		
Nirsk	Pàm		female funeral place.
Nòdrmad	Tarndr	Nadumand	
Nòdrs	Nòdrs	Muttanadmand	*studmad.*
Nongkrsi	Kars	Kettarimand	in ruins (? belonged to Piedr).
Nùln	Melgars	Nerigulimand	
Òdr	Nòdrs	Agasadmand	
Òrs	Tarndr	Alaikudalmand	
Padegkr	Melgars	Kottapolmand	also called Kotapol, see p. 664.
Pàkhalkòdr	Kars	Bagalkodumand	
Palimers	Kundr		
Pàm	Pàm		in ruins.
Pandrkol	Piedr		female funeral place.
Pan	Pan	Ommand	*studmad*: often called "One mand."
Panmati	Nidrsi	Banatimand	
Parrkadi	Nidrsi		in ruins.
Pathòdr	Nòdrs	Buddankodumand	
Pathmàrs	Pan	Bettumand	
Pòdrkàrs	Pudrkars	Bodakalmand	*studmad.*
Pugkesi	Kendr	Amamand	in ruins.
Pairdes	Kundr		
Pukhòdr	Kendr	Ommand	"new mand."
Pulatkwar	Kars	Attakorsimand	
Pòrg	Pan	Yenagimand	*kabbmad.*
Perthdro	Nòdrs	Perittitalmand	see p. 648.
Pedrkimad	Pedrkars		female funeral place.
Perar	Tarndr	Peverumand	in ruins.
Pidati	Nidrsi	Bendetimand	
Piedr	Piedr	Warugudumand	*studmad.*
Pìrth	Kundr		male funeral place, near Kundr.
Pisolwam	Nòdrs	Pinnapolmand	in ruins.
Pirabti	Nòdrs	Baggalamand	
Pirsdah	Kendr	Billanjikadumand	
Pìshkwashi	Kandrs	Bikkapatimand	
Pòdrkwar	Kars	Narigulimand	or Pìshkwar.
Poin	Kundrf	Pagalimand	
Pòmad	Pumand	Kars	in ruins twenty years: near Palatkwar.
Pongkdr	Pedrkars		
Pìsh	Melgars	Omakolimand	

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Pôti	Piedr	Pattimand	
Potvaili	Piedr		disused.
Pâlkwôdr	Taradr	Olakkodumand	
Palthkâin	Keradr	Bikkolmand	
Punmod	Kwôdrdoni	Banukudumand	female funeral place.
Punumikâtuni	Kundr		female funeral place.
Punati	Nôdrs	Portimand	
Puretimokh	Melgars		female funeral place.
Purikulâdr	Pan	Porikoliyoramand	
Pushtar	Taradr	Pattaraimand	
Putamud	Kundr		disused.
Pûtal	Nôdrs	Puttalmand	
Pûvars	Kars	Ammakoraimand	
Pûvi	Pîan	Pudiyapalamand	male funeral place.
Seltay	Pedrkars		male funeral place.
Sedvaili	Piedr		male funeral place in the Wainad.
Tâkrat	Pîan		place for small male funerals.
Takuin	Kanôdrs		near Kanôdrs.
Tâmâkh	Kundr	Tamogamand	
Târkdr	Taradr	Tarnardmand	*studmud*, and male funeral place.
Târkdrkîrsi	Kars	Kavaikkadamand	male funeral place, also *kalabmud*.
Tarkôdr	Kundr	Terkodmand	
Tavatkâdr	Piedr	Tavattakoraimand	
Tebendes	Taradr	Urutharaimand	
Tedabteiri	Nôdrs	Talapatharaimand	
Teidr	Kusharf	Denadmand	
Telgôdr	Taradr	Telhodumand	*kalabmud*.
Tigôir	Piedr	Tukkaramand	
Tîm	Pan		male funeral place: possibly another name of Kabôdri.
Tôthikair	Nôdrs	Jegadevarmand	in ruins.
Tôvalkan	Keradr	Tavalkandimand	
Tôdrkwar	Kusharf	Todakaraimand	
Tûkchowen	Pîan		male funeral place.
Uengân	Kusharf	Vemmekalmand	
Uthâdr	Melgars	Kavaimand	male and female funeral place.
Wengôdr	Taradr	Venakodumand	in ruins.

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APPENDIX IV

137 In the following list I give the botanical names of the plants or kinds of wood used by the Todas in their ordinary life or in their ceremonial. I owe these names to the kindness of Mr. Thurston and Mr. K. Rangachari.

Ammul	Rubus moluccanus, L.
Avalakhi	Hedyotis stylosa, Br.
Kabddri	Euphorbia Rothiana, Sprengl.
Kadak or *kalakmul*	Rosa Leschenaultiana, W and A.
Kibdr	Eragrostica nigra, Nees.
Kibbddri	Dregea volubilis, Benth.
Kibbddri	Gardneria ovata, Wall.
Kibbd	Mappia foetida, Miers.
Kirkobni	Rhamnus Wightii, W and A.
Karmini	Acronychia laurifolia, Bl.
Kirz	Eugenia Arnottiana, Wight.
Kiln	Litsaea Wightiana, Benth. and Hk. f.
Kid	Probably Olea robusta.
Kiri or *Kirzi*	Amaranthus (speciosus ?).
Kudi	Hydrocotyle asiatica, L.
Kurbrz	Eugenia calophyllifolia, Wight.
Kurzhat	Strobilanthes, ? species.
Kundibi or *kundribi*	Myrsine capitellata, Wall. var. lanceolata.
Kungul	Polygonum rude, Meisn. and P. chinense, L.
Kunttimali	Coriandrum sativum, L.
Main	Cinnamomum Wightii, Meisn.
Melbddri	Piper sp.
Mirz	Michelia nilagirica, Zenk.
Nirri	Andropogon schoenanthus, L.
Pirz (wood)	? Sideroxylon.
Pirz (leaves)	Pentapanax Leschenaultii, Seem.
Purzhati	Eleagnus latifolia, L.
Pibir	Dodonaea viscosa, L.
Pathan mul	Solanum indicum, L.
Pain	Panicum miliare, Lamk.
Pelbnditkunul	Rubus ellipticus, Sm.
Pezhtainmul	? Phyllochlamys sp.

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Pîkwat	Pavetta creniflora, DC.
Pîtâr	Anaphalis oblonga, DC.
Pôl	Ilex Wightiana, Wall.
Purz	Rhododendron arboreum, Sm. and Elaeagnus latifolia.
Pûthimul	Rubus lasiocarpus, Sm.
Pûv or *pâf*	Sophora glauca, Lesch.
Pûshat	Strobilanthes, ? species.
Takmul	Berberis aristata, DC.
Tawat	Rhodomyrtus tomentosus, Wight.
Tainkâdri	Senecio corymbosus, Wall.
Tîb	Leucas zeylanica, Br., and L. aspera, Sprengl.
Tirparikat	Strobilanthes, ? species.
Tiseri	Atylosa candollei, W and A.
Tîdrmitch	Diospyros sp.
Tîri or *tîrimul*	Berberis nepalensis, Sprengl.
Tîdr	Meliosma pungens, Wall. and M. Wightii, Planch.
Tmadri	Girardinia heterophylla DC.
Wâdr	Ochlandra sp.

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GLOSSARY

104 Only the more important Toda words used in this book are included in the glossary. The words are arranged in alphabetical order, neglecting the quantity or other value of the first vowel. The numbers refer to the pages on which fuller descriptions of the terms are given.

Âḍrpârs, coagulated milk, curd, p. 64.
aḍdr, a stand in the dairy, p. 60.
al, the deposit after the clarification of butter used as food, pp. 50, 242.
alug, a vessel of the *tl* dairy, p. 90.
Amnòḍr, the world of the dead, p. 397.
an (*anna*), elder brother, p. 486.
ân, ancient clothing of the Todas, pp. 196, 342, 572.
Ânto, a dairy, p. 112; also a god, p. 188.
ârpatunol or *ârpasnol*, a sacred day, p. 407.
ârs, house, p. 583.
ârsaitr, buffaloes of the Kwòḍrdôni *tl*, p. 121.
ârsâp, a salt-giving ceremony, p. 175.
atthkârtpini, a food used on ceremonial occasions, p. 580.
âtîr, buffaloes of the Nòḍrs *tl*, p. 112.
âv (*âvâ*), mother, p. 485.
âubrum, the circle of stones in which the ashes are buried at a funeral, pp. 337, 379.
âubramtḍr, the last part of the second funeral ceremony, pp. 337, 378.
Epetirikhtârs, a double hut, p. 29.
âr, a male buffalo, p. 47.
ârkumptthpini or *ârkumptthiti*, the ceremony of sacrificing a calf, p. 274.
ârubâr, sacrificial place at the *ârkumptthpini* ceremony, p. 276.
ârs, leaf.
ârsteiti, the act of making a leaf-cup, pp. 75, 148.
ertatpun, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
ertatmâr, part of the dairy where the less sacred vessels stand, p. 58.
ertatpur, the less sacred objects of the dairy, p. 58
etûdpali, chief dairy, p. 40.

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atûdmad, the chief village of a clan or other important village, pp. 24, 36, 419.
etwainalhôṛ, the first funeral ceremony, p. 337.
ichchil, a condition of impurity due to death or child-birth, pp. 102, 326, 368.
iḍith, "for the sake of," p. 216.
Iṛkwai, a vessel used at a *tî* dairy, p. 90.
Iṛrtul, part of a hut containing the sleeping-places, p. 583.
Imôṛrikârs, stones at certain villages, p. 439.
in, father, p. 484.
ir, a female buffalo, p. 47.
Irkarmus or *Irkarmûs*, the milking-place, p. 53.
Irkârtpun (*irkârithtpun*), milking-vessel, p. 58.
Irnûrtiti, the offering of a buffalo calf to the *tî*, p. 293; or to another division of the clan, p. 294.
Irnôṛrthual, the day of migration, p. 124.
Irpâlwusthi, ceremony after the birth of a calf, p. 172.
Irsamkâti, a funeral ceremony, p. 381.
Irskiḍithkâtual, the day of migration, p. 124.
Kaban, iron.
kabkaḍiti, procedure in which the back is not turned to the contents of the dairy, p. 73.
kachûtthti, the cloth-giving ceremony at a funeral, p. 358.
kaṛr, the calf-pen, p. 26.
kâfkati, knife burnt at the *âdramkôṛ*, p. 381.
kagârs, the *tî* name of the *kâvu*, p. 103.
kainûkhti, a salutation, p. 31.
kainkwatiti, the rite of pouring out buttermilk for the *palal*, p. 97.
kâkûârs, leaves of the *kâkâd* plant, p. 79.
kâkâl, stick used in the *ponûp* ceremony, p. 178.
kalkani, part of the dairy, p. 58.
kalmelpuḍithti, a salutation, pp. 34, 496.
kalolmad, villages where women may not live, p. 420
kâltmakh, the attendant on a *palal*, pp. 42, 105.
kalval, a path, p. 26.
Kamashôṛvlam, legendary Todas, p. 195.
kandrwasmûṛ, the evil eye, p. 263.
kar, a young calf, p. 47.
karempûk, the calf-house of a *tî*, p. 85.
kâryum, a milking-vessel of the *tî*, p. 90.
kârs, stone.
karûd, younger, p. 485.
karûmôṛ, the mother's village, p. 547.
kârvnal or *kâriwal*, the day after a ceremony, pp. 105, 333.
kâtâ, the wall surrounding a house or dairy, p. 24.
kawulpâv, a flower, p. 111.
kôṛ, funeral, relics, etc., p. 368.
keitankursîr, the *wârsullr* of Niḍrsi and Kwôḍrdôni, p. 71.
kepun (*kaipun*), vessel to hold water, p. 57.

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kerk, the name of the waist-string during the ordination ceremony, pp. 148, 572.
kérmôḍr, a funeral place, p. 338.
kesendrôt, mode of baring the right arm, pp. 31, 571.
kîṗ, the broom, p. 32.
kîtûn, bed on left-hand side of dairy, p. 57.
kô, stake used at the *ṫrkumṗtthṗimi* sacrifice, p. 276.
kôghlag, the name of the churning-stick at the *ṫl*, p. 89.
kôrôṗ, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
kuhuntumi, the cloak of the *ṗalol*, p. 103.
kudsiṗîr, the *wârsulîr* of Pan, p. 71; also the sacred buffaloes of Pleḍr, p. 81.
kudi, a measure used for liquids corresponding to about four pints, p. 588.
kûḍr, horn, a division of a clan, pp. 37, 295, 542.
kûḍrṗali, a Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 66.
kûḍrṗalikôrtmokk, the dairyman of the *kûḍrṗali*, p. 66.
kûḍrs mani, the bells of the *ṗunîr* of the *ṫl*, p. 91.
kûḍrṗurs, fireplace made of four stones, pp. 57, 583.
kudupel or *kudubel*, family, p. 545.
kûgâ, daughter, p. 485.
kûghîr, a buffalo whose horns bend downwards, p. 47.
kugvali, a sacred dairy of Tarâḍr, pp. 41, 76.
kugvalîr, the buffaloes of the *kugvali*, pp. 41, 77.
kugvalikôrtmokk, the dairyman of the *kugvali*, pp. 41, 76.
kâlîtîr, buffaloes of the Nôḍrs *ṫl*, p. 113.
Kâlimôtrs, a god, p. 188.
kumeṗîti, funeral laments, etc., pp. 385, 600.
Kôrub, a Kurumba, p. 641.
kôrubôṗrchîti, Kurumba sorcery, p. 262.
kush (? *kûḍth*), structure for young calves, p. 26.
kuter, floor, pp. 62, 583.
kôun, the perineal band, p. 30.
kôvun or *kôṗun*, a vessel used at the *kugvali* of Tarâḍr, p. 79.
kunimîr (*kunimîr*), the *ṫl* name of the *ṗunîr*, p. 103.
kunrhôl, stick used at the *ṗunôṗ* ceremony, p. 178.
kwarnam, name used in prayer, etc., pp. 216, 384, 614.
kuni, the milking-vessel of the *ṫl* dairy, p. 89.
kunimîr spring supplying water for a *ṫl* dairy, p. 85.
kunimîrṗel, a wand used by the *ṗalol* when milking, p. 90.
kwethrs, the calf-house, p. 26.
Kwetan, a *tan* or god, p. 193.
Kwoto, a god, p. 203.
kwettûn, seat, p. 29.
kwungg, the ordinary bell, p. 424.
Kwdrg, Coorg, p. 114.
Mad, village, pp. 24, 338; head, p. 282.
madsol, sacred day of village, p. 405.
madol, village people or clan, p. 36.
madth, the churning-stick, p. 60.

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maj, buttermilk.
majpartv, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
majvatitthkalvol, path reserved for women, p. 27.
majvatvailḍrn, spot on which women receive buttermilk, p. 28.
mailr, a barren buffalo, p. 47.
mani, the sacred bell, pp. 40, 66, 424.
mankâgk, er's daughter, 488.
manmokh, sister's son, pp. 484, 488.
marttr, the sacred buffaloes of the Kârs clan, p. 68.
mârûp, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
mârvainolkḍḍr, the second funeral ceremony, pp. 337, 372.
mastk, axe, pp. 57, 585.
matchuni, children of brother and sister, pp. 488, 512.
Mâv, a Badaga, p. 630; also sambhar.
meilkâḍr, extra share, 560.
meitün, bed on right-hand side of dairy, p. 57.
merkalârs, double hut, pp. 29, 318.
mersgûrslr, the *wûrsullr* of Nòḍrs, p. 71.
methkûdi, place of cremation, p. 343.
miniapîr, the *wûrsultr* of Kerâḍr, pp. 71, 192.
mogâl, forearm, also segment of forelimb of calf corresponding to metacarpus, p. 281.
mogui, a cubit, p. 588.
mokh, son, child, p. 485.
mokkthoditi (*mokhthodvaiol*), mode of union between the sexes, p. 526.
mokhḍḍrtvaiol, man who gives away a wife, p. 494.
Mondârâsstipol, Toda name of a tribe living in the Wainad.
mòr, the name of buttermilk at the *tl*, p. 107.
mòrkuḍriki, a ladle of the *tl* dairy, p. 90.
mòrol, privileged visitors to a *tl*, p. 107.
mòrpun, a dairy vessel used to hold buttermilk at the *tl*, p. 90.
mòrûp, the ordinary salt-giving ceremony at the *tl*, p. 175.
mû, a name given to several kinds of dairy vessels, pp. 58, 422.
muli or *mul*, a name for various plants, p. 145; also used for thorns, p. 194; and for the quills of a porcupine, p. 267.
mulintròditi, the ordination ceremony of the *palikartmokh*, p. 148.
mun, mother's brother and wife's father, pp. 487, 492.
mûrn, the sieve, p. 32.
mûrtkvichi, anger, p. 260.
Naim or *noim*, the council, pp. 32, 550.
nâkh, a three-year-old calf, p. 47.
nan, a young shoot, p. 145.
nânmakud, a club, pp. 381, 586.
nârthpimi, a game, p. 596.
nâshperthîr, sacred buffaloes originally given to Nòḍrs, p. 69.
nâḍrkursh, middle room of a three-roomed dairy, p. 57.
nâḍrvol, intermediary, pp. 258, 527

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nei, clarified butter or ghi, p. 50.
nersatiti, a salutation, p. 304.
neursûtpol, name of the *kâlmokh* at the migration ceremony, p. 139.
neursûlukârz, stones of ceremonial importance, pp. 129, 140, 438.
nîṭṭ, stream, p. 26.
nîr, water, spring.
nîrôdibudnâṭṭr, the initial stages of the ordination of the *kâlmokh*, p. 153.
nîrôdîti, the ordination ceremony, pp. 144, 157.
nîrsi, the fire-stick, p. 60.
nâṭṭr, country, place; sometimes used for 'ceremony.'
nâṭṭrkâtchi, ancestors of buffaloes, p. 112.
nâṭṭrodchi, a ruler, pp. 183, 186.
nâṭṭrvod, younger brother, p. 486.
Nôlîrzi, a goddess, p. 189.
Ol or *ôl*, man, husband, p. 489.
oṅ, a sacred syllable uttered in the dairy ceremonial, p. 65.
Ôn, a god, p. 184.
Pûsol, male relations-in-law, pp. 489, 492.
Pâkhmâr, a river, 418; also a god.
pali or *palikhi*, the dairy, p. 26.
palikhârtmokh (? *paḷikhârithtmokh*), the dairyman, p. 39.
palinol, sacred day of dairy, p. 405.
pâlmûn, staff used in churning, p. 52.
palol, the dairyman of a *tî*, pp. 42, 98.
panidṭ, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
pâpun, a water-vessel at the *tî*, p. 92.
pârkâl, stick used at the *panidṭ* ceremony, p. 178.
pârzkrz, milk-leaves, p. 317.
parzîr, buffaloes of the Kârs *tî*, p. 117.
pârzhadvonnd, vessel to hold butter, p. 58.
pathîr, the sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol, p. 39.
pâtat, vessel to hold milk, p. 58.
pâtatmâr, part of the dairy where the more sacred vessels stand, p. 58.
pâtaipur, the more sacred objects of the dairy, p. 58.
patcharki, the husked grain of *patm* (samai), p. 580.
pâtol, one who has held the office of *palol*, p. 104.
pâtun, screen separating the two rooms of a *tî* dairy, p. 86.
pâtr, threshold.
pâtnersatiti, saluting the threshold, p. 65.
Pâṭṭr, a Tamil.
pâṭṭi, the lamp, p. 60.
pâtkhaṭṭîkîti, the ordination ceremony, p. 144.
pâtkhatitthmokhal, fireplace at a *tî* dairy used in lighting the lamp, p. 92.
pen, a plateau or a gradual slope of a hill.
pen, butter, p. 58.
penmâr, the string supporting the *kâvn*, pp. 30, 572.
peṭṭ, buttermilk used ceremonially, pp. 64, 166.

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pepeirthti, a rite at the *kûḍrpali*, p. 67.
pepkarichâ or *pepkarichti*, the ceremony of making new *pep*, p. 166.
pepkarmus, the milking-place of a *tl*, p. 85.
peplòrzum, a dairy vessel of the *tl*, p. 89.
pepâti, the rite of drinking buttermilk at the ordinary dairy, p. 78; also the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk by buffaloes, p. 135.
peritklr, buffaloes of the Nòḍrs *tl*, p. 113.
perkûrzol, the lower stage in the office of *kâltmokh*, p. 105.
perol, an ordinary person, not ordained to any dairy office, p. 39.
persâsîr, sacred buffaloes originally given to Melgârs, p. 69.
persin, the vessel in which milk is churned at the *tl*, p. 89.
persinîr, the sacred buffaloes of a *tl*, p. 84.
perûd, elder, p. 485.
petuni, a piece of *tuni*, p. 105.
plan, grandfather, p. 485.
plâv, grandmother, p. 486.
pllikòren, sorcerers, p. 255.
pllinòrtiti, offering of a ring, pp. 294, 306.
pllitûtpol, a sorcerer, p. 255.
pllitûtvichi, sorcery, p. 255.
pinciplr, sacred buffaloes originally given to Pan, p. 69.
pòḍri, contributions from relatives by marriage, p. 396.
pòḍrshtuni, the loin-cloth of the *palol*, p. 103.
pôk, the conical and other sacred dairies, p. 45.
pôkkârtpol, the dairyman at Kanòḍrs, p. 79.
pôkvelkârs, seat on which the *palol* sits, pp. 87, 96.
pôkvet (*pôkpet*), a wand used by the *palol* when praying, pp. 89, 96.
pòl, a calf of one to two years, p. 47.
pòlm, a portion, a division of a clan pp. 37, 544.
pòlmachok, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
pon, festival, pp. 85, 161; up, p. 383; see also p. 496.
ponkârtvaimokh, boy who takes a leading part at the *frnòrtiti* ceremony, p. 302.
ponnol, festival day.
ponâp, a salt-giving ceremony at the *tl*, p. 177.
pòrmunkursh, outer room of dairy, p. 56.
pûḍrshtiplr, the *wûrsutlr* of Kârs and Târâḍr, p. 71.
pûkûrûputkâli, the ornamented cloak, p. 572.
pûl, surroundings or outskirts, p. 85.
pûliol, relatives with whom marriage is prohibited, p. 509.
punetkalvol, path reserved for the dairyman, p. 27.
punîr, the ordinary buffaloes of a *tl*, p. 84.
punrs, a name for two days, p. 142.
pûrsîr, buffaloes of the Kârs *tl*, p. 117.
pursûtpimi, the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow during pregnancy, p. 319.
pût, a stirring-stick, p. 60.
pûthpep, the buttermilk obtained in the *pepkarichâ* ceremony, p. 169.
putilr, ordinary buffaloes, p. 39.

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putkâli, the cloak, pp. 30, 571.
puzhâtr, seclusion-hut, p. 313.
puzhâtpimi, the ceremony of throwing earth at a funeral, p. 344.
Satimad, a village of especial sanctity, p. 421.
sedvaitasmokh, name of the woman in the *mokhthoditi* union, p. 526.
Tadri, pole used in funeral ceremonies, p. 376.
tadrp, the loin-cloth, p. 30.
tâf, fern.
tagâtr, a chain.
tarsîr, buffaloes of the Pan *tî*, p. 119.
Târthâroi, one of the two divisions of the Toda people, p. 34.
thrâpunhudi, hole used at the salt-giving ceremony at a Tarthar village, p. 177.
thrvali or *thrpali*, the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 61.
thrvalikhrimokh, the dairyman of the *thrvali*, p. 461.
tasth, the bars in the opening of a pen, p. 153.
tazmokh, woman, wife, p. 489.
teshkh, a ring used in carrying dairy vessels. p. 60.
Teikîrzi, a goddess, p. 186.
teiks, stone or post at which a buffalo is killed at a funeral, p. 349.
Teipkh, the Paikara river, p. 418; also a god, p. 187.
teirtîr, buffaloes of the Nòdrs *tî*, p. 112.
Teiwaliol, one of the chief divisions of the Toda people, p. 34.
tek (*tekk*?), basket, p. 57.
thrersthi, custom of transferring wives, p. 523
tersamptpimi, a ceremony of childhood, p. 333.
tersantirikiti, the rite of putting curd or milk on the bell, p. 66.
teshersi, a qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol*, p. 154.
teshmîr, the first stage of the ordination ceremony of the *palol*, p. 157.
teu, god, p. 182.
teukmoi, clay vessel made at the *ponâp* ceremony, p. 179.
teuol, diviner, p. 249.
teutitustikki, ceremony of lighting a fire on a hill, p. 290.
tî, the most sacred dairy institution of the Todas, pp. 42, 83.
tîtr, the buffaloes of the *tî*, p. 42; also used of a special group of these buffaloes at the Nòdrs *tî*, p. 112.
tîkolfmdu, Badaga associated with a *tî*, p. 98.
tî mad, a village or place belonging to a *tî*, p. 83.
thratthmarkal, fireplace at a *tî* dairy used to cook food, p. 91.
thrsum, the *tî* name of the *mâ*, p. 89.
tît, the buffalo-pen, p. 26.
tâkr, a sacred tree, pp. 67, 433.
tâkitthkârz, stone lifted as a sport, p. 597.
tâkulîr mani, a bell used in the funeral ceremonies, pp. 376, 424.
tîm, a seat or bed, p. 30.
tuni, the grey garment used by many dairymen, pp. 72, 572.
tuniîrtiti, offering of a *tuni*, pp. 294, 305.
tunitusthkâlimokh, the full *kâlimokh*, pp. 105, 152.

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tûrûvali, the cooking-pot of a *tî* dairy, p. 90.
tûri, knife.
twaḍrinâr, material made by the Todas, p. 574.
Ûlârwârîkkârs, a wand, p. 60.
ulkkursh, inner room of dairy, p. 56.
unîr, buffaloes of the Nòḍrs *tî*, p. 112.
ûppun, a vessel of the *tî* dairy, p. 90.
ûpunkudi (? *ûppunkudi*), hole used at the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 176.
ûrvatpimi, ceremony during pregnancy, p. 313.
ûtkòren, people who apply certain magical or medical remedies, p. 263.
ûtpol, medicine man, p. 263.
Wâk, vessels burnt at the *âsâramkêḍr*, p. 381.
warsîr, buffaloes of the Nòḍrs *tî*, p. 112; and of the Pan *tî*, p. 119.
wask, grain-pounder, p. 32.
waskal, fireplace of three stones, pp. 57, 582.
wârsol, the dairyman of the *wârsuli*, pp. 40, 72, 74.
wârsuli, a Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 71.
wârsulîr, the buffaloes of a *wârsuli*, p. 40.

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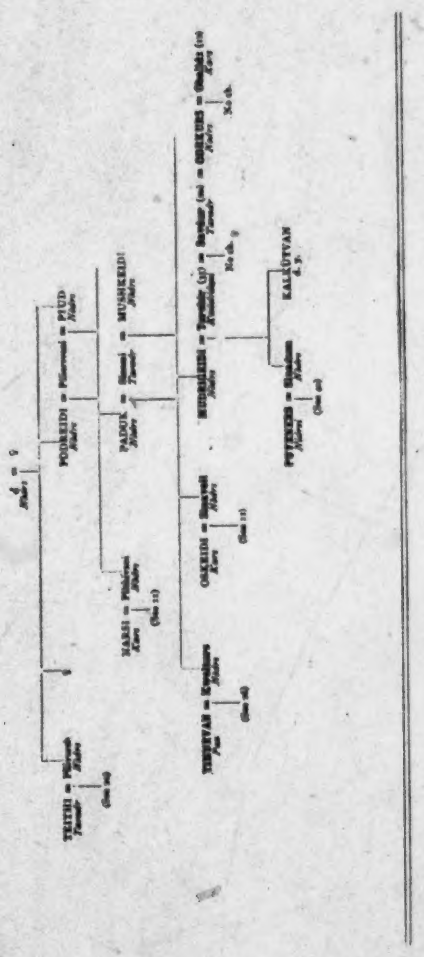
1.



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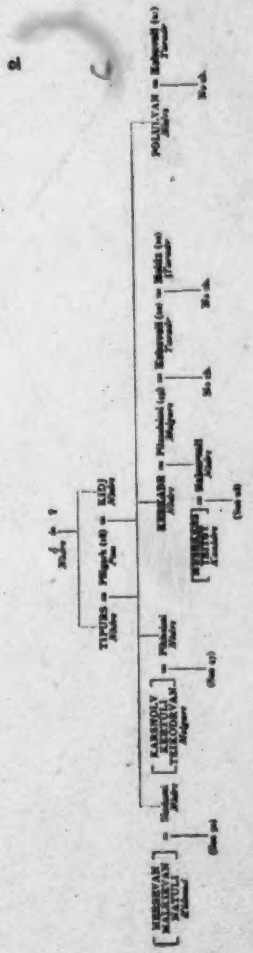

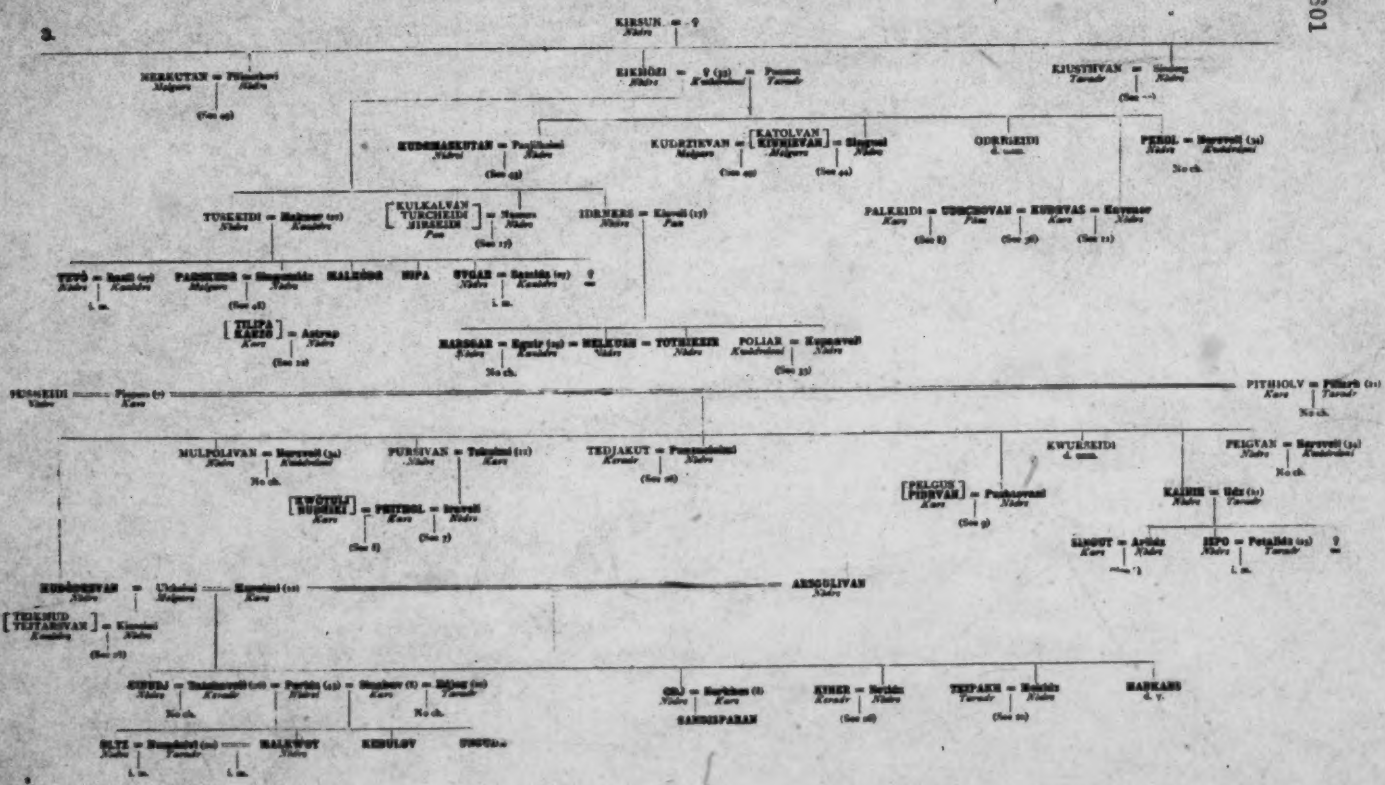
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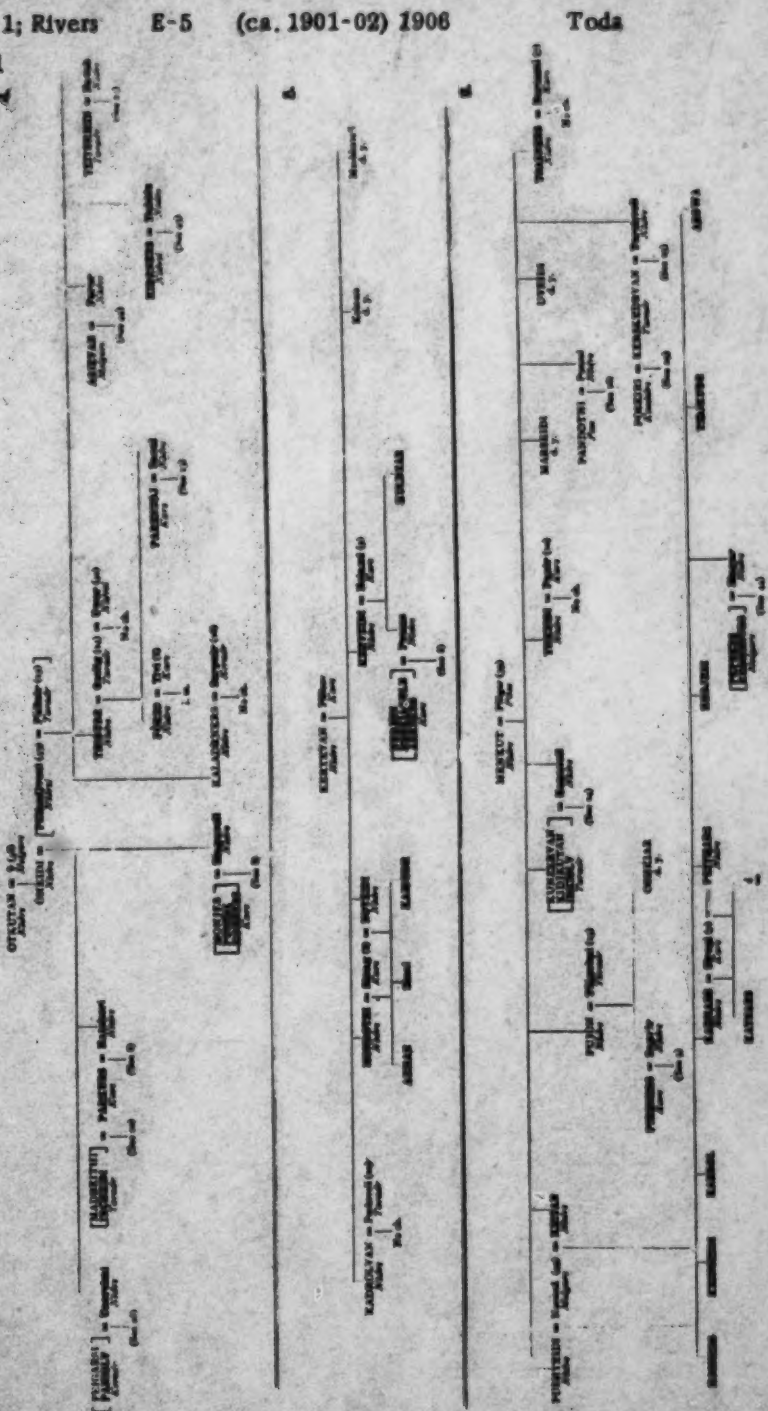

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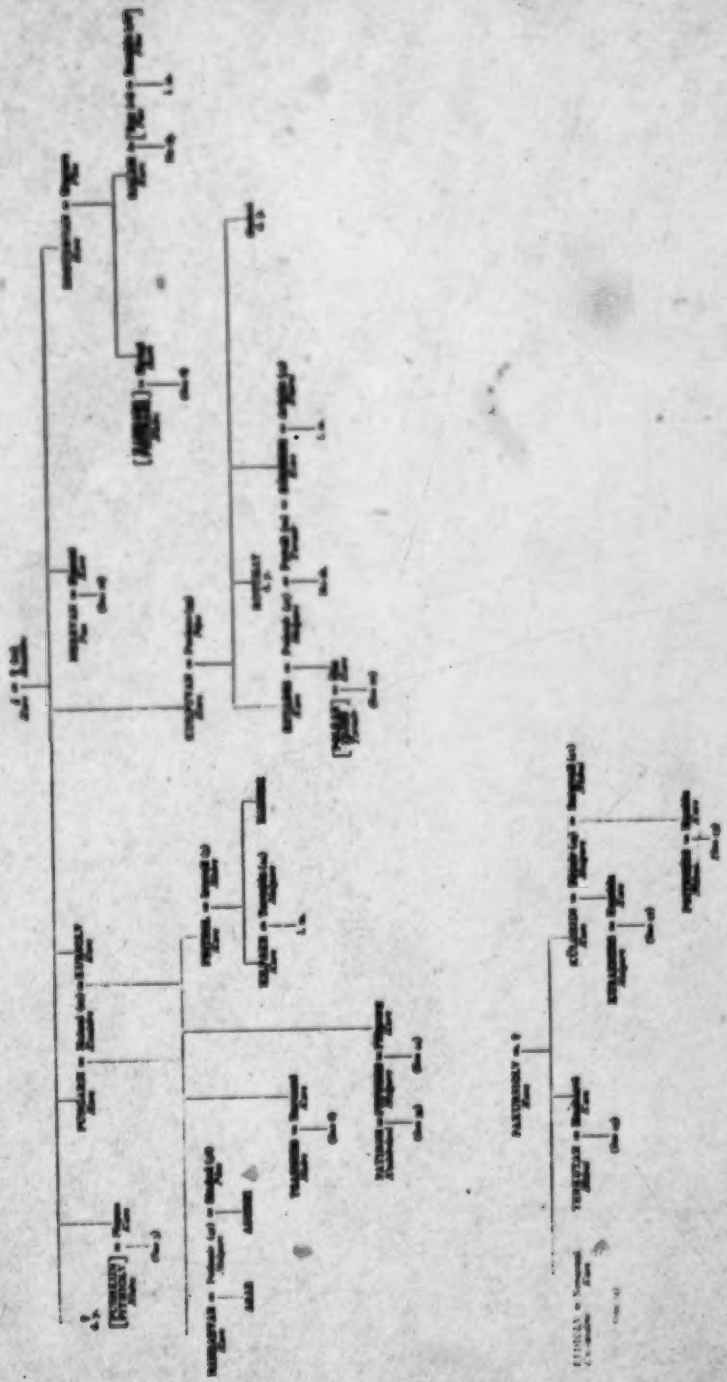

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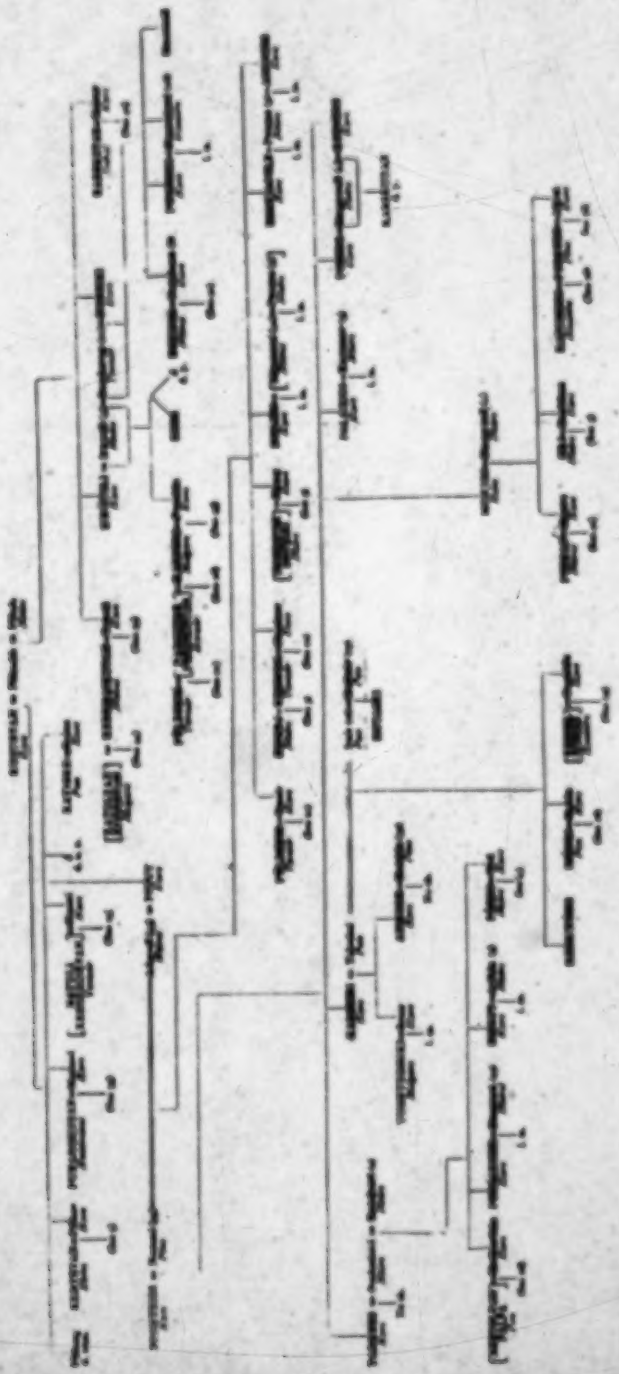

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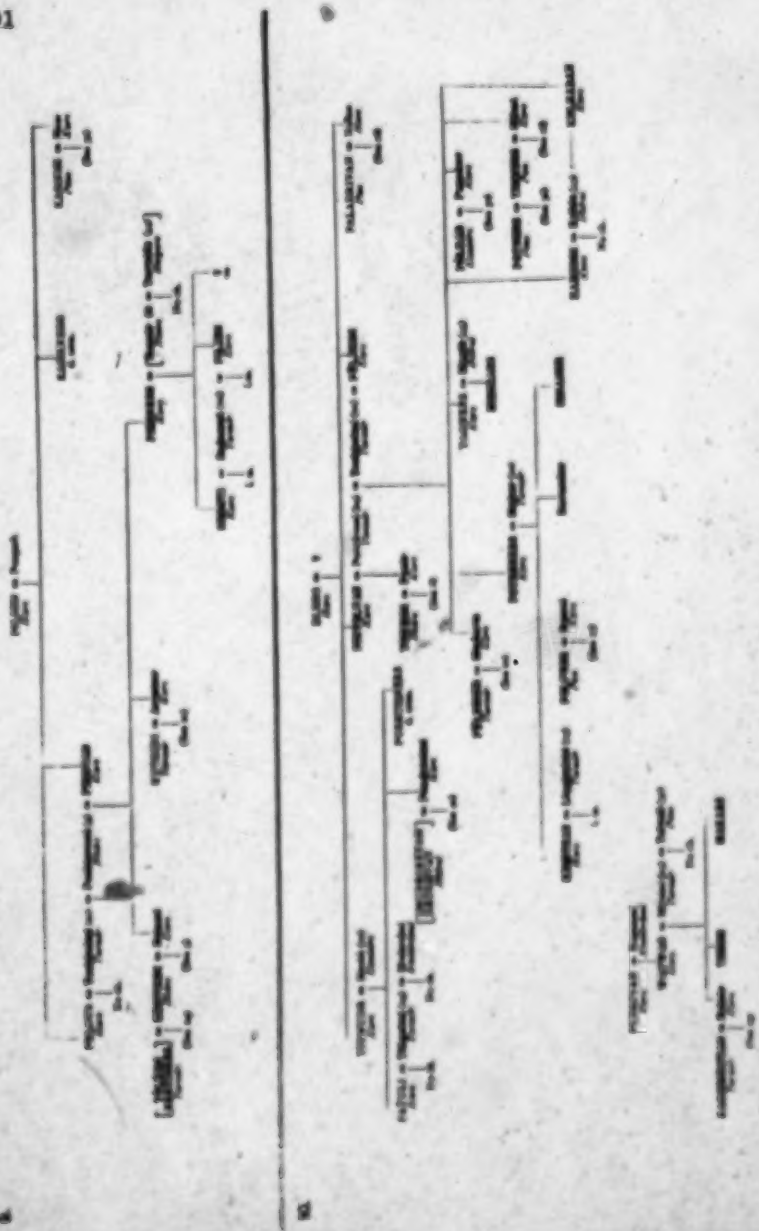

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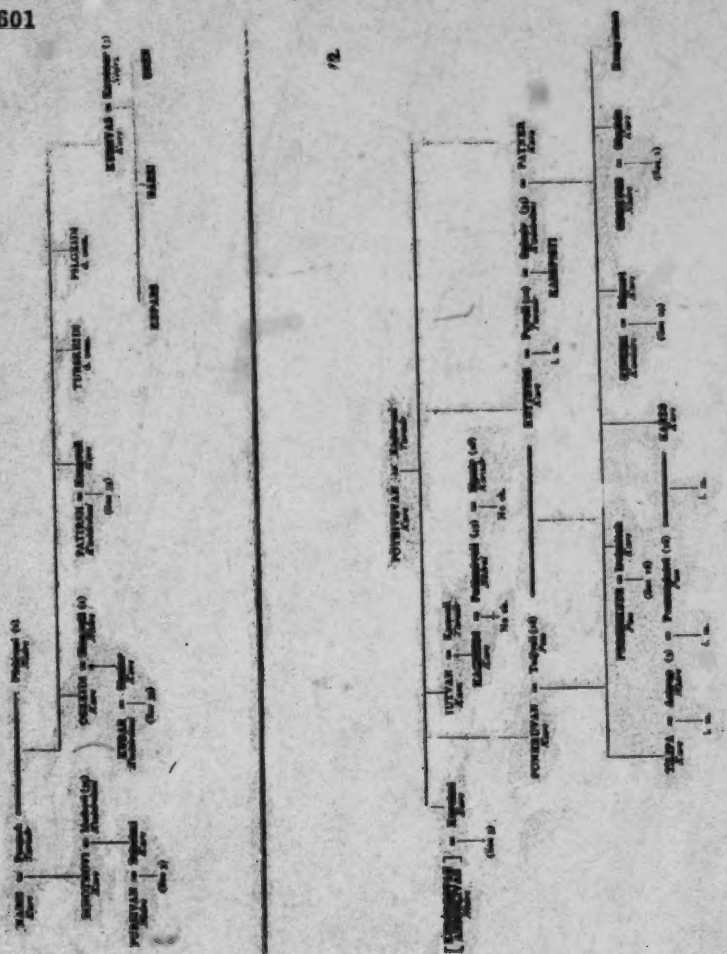

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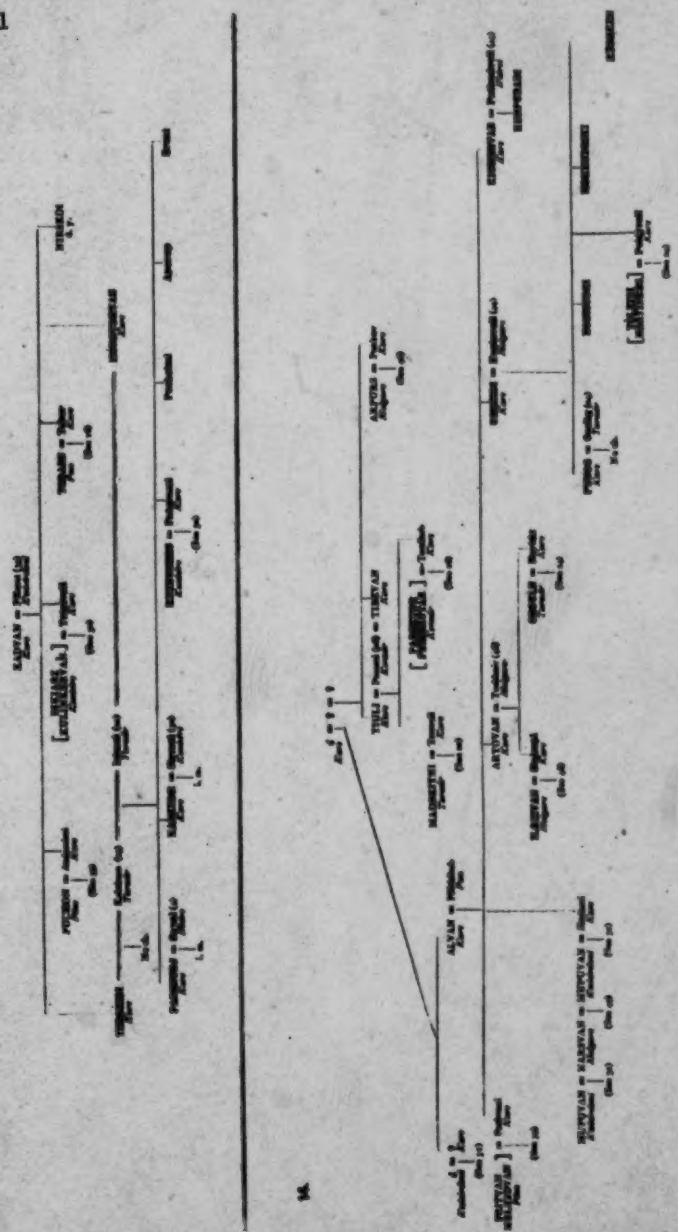

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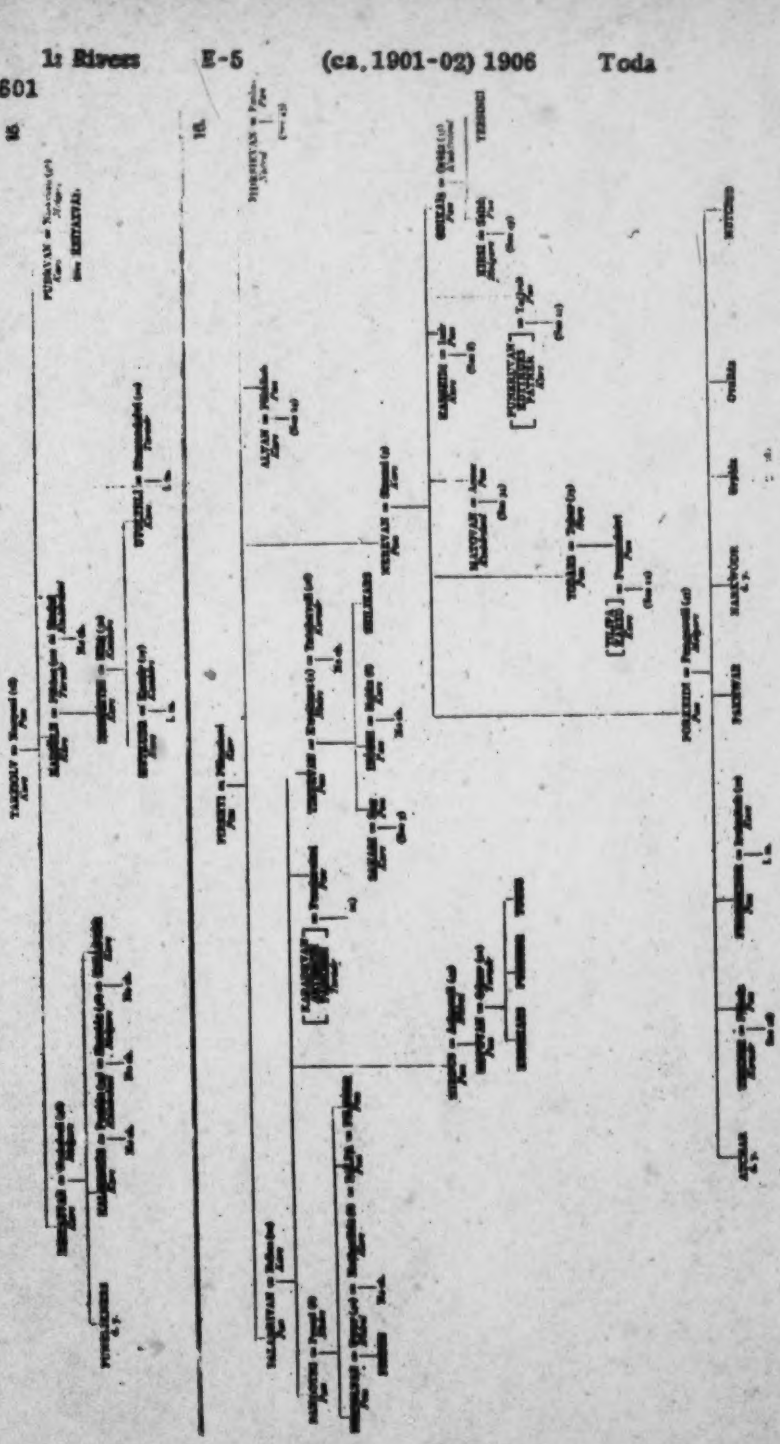

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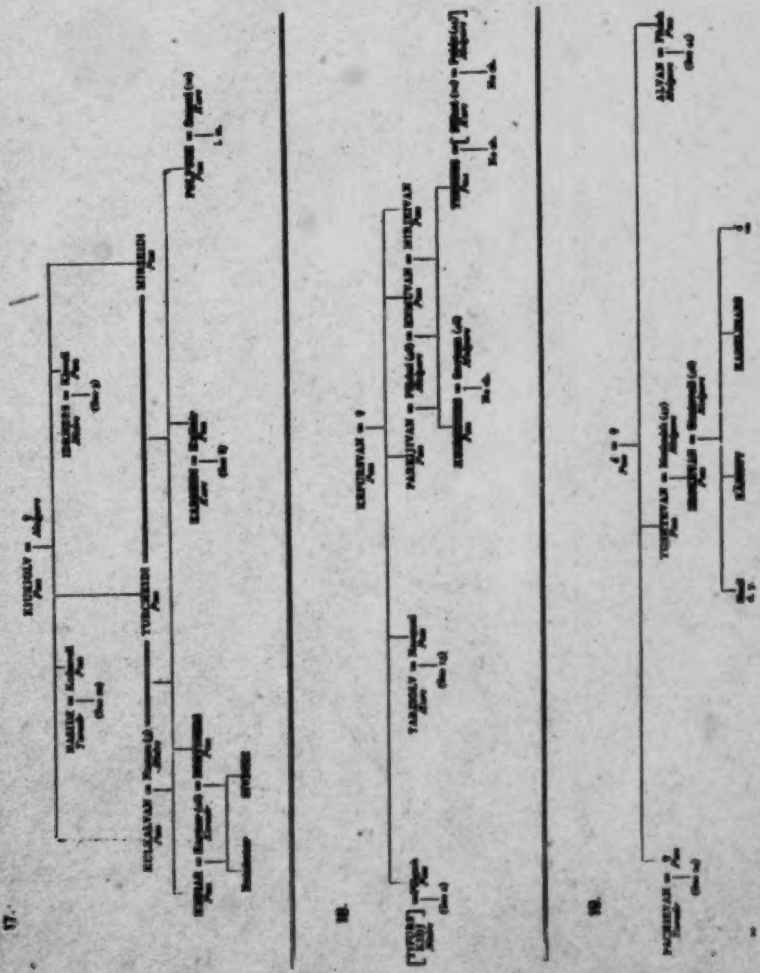

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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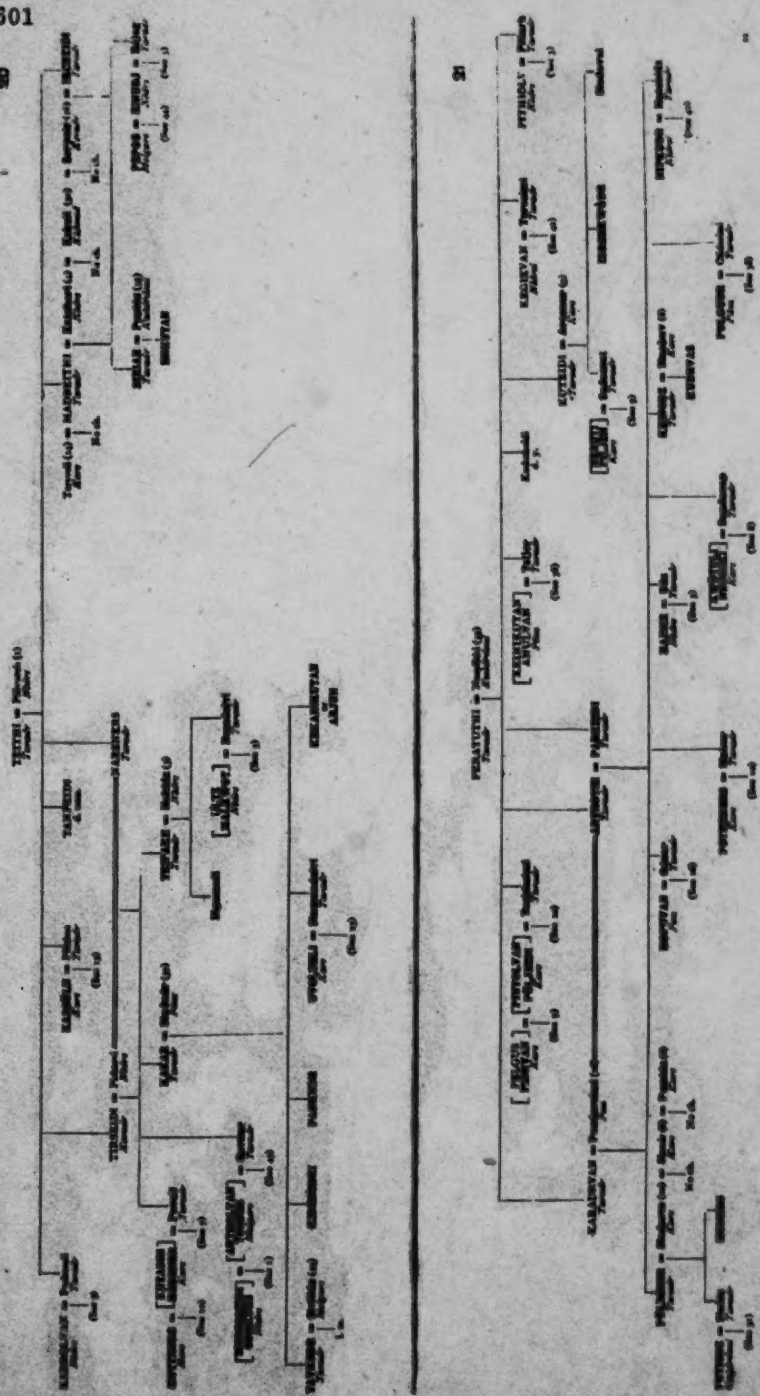

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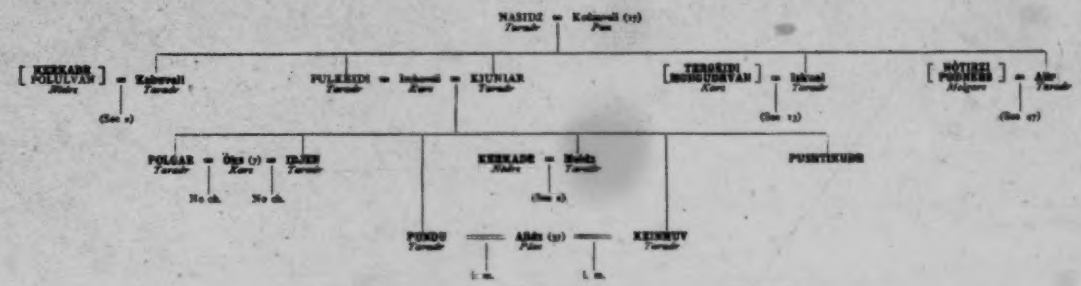
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Pan
KEKKADE
POLULVAN
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Kaberyli
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(See 2)
PULKEIDI
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Inkuwali
Kurv
KIUNIAR
Female
TERGEIDI
MOSIGUDEVAN
Kurv
Iskwal
Female
(See 13)
MÖTIBZI
PUNNERS
Malgurv
Ajir
Female
(See 17)
PULGAR
Female
Öes (7)
Kurv
IBJEN
Female
No ch.
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KEKKADE
Male
Ibidi
Female
(See 8)
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Pan
KEINNUV
Female
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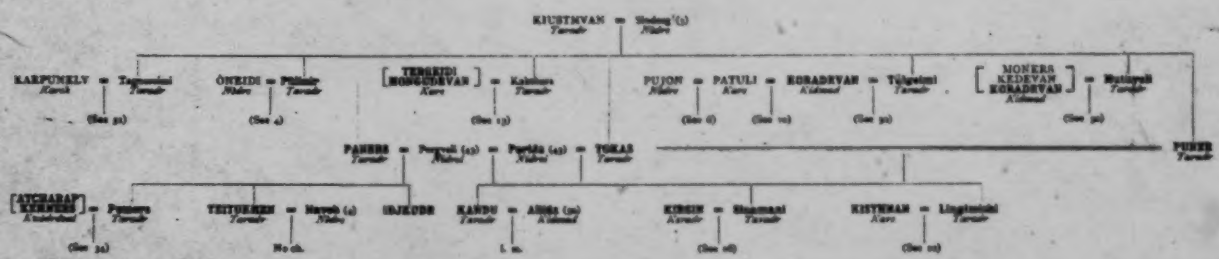
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Tagmuwiwi
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ÖNEIDI
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Pöbiwale
Female
(See 4)
TERGEIDI
MOSIGUDEVAN
Kurv
Kaberes
Female
(See 13)
PUJON
Male
PATULI
Kurv
KORADEVAN
Aldwal
Tilgeimi
Female
(See 31)
MONERS
KEDEVAN
KORADEVAN
Aldwal
Wetiyeyli
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(See 31)
PAHERS
Female
Pengeyli (11)
Male
Parkin (12)
Male
TOKAS
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PIRRE
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ATCHARAP
KEMMERS
Kudalwal
Pumeyre
Female
(See 31)
TEITUKEIDI
Female
Mayeb (4)
Male
No ch.
IBJEUDE
KANDU
Female
Abdi (10)
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Kurv
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(See 32)

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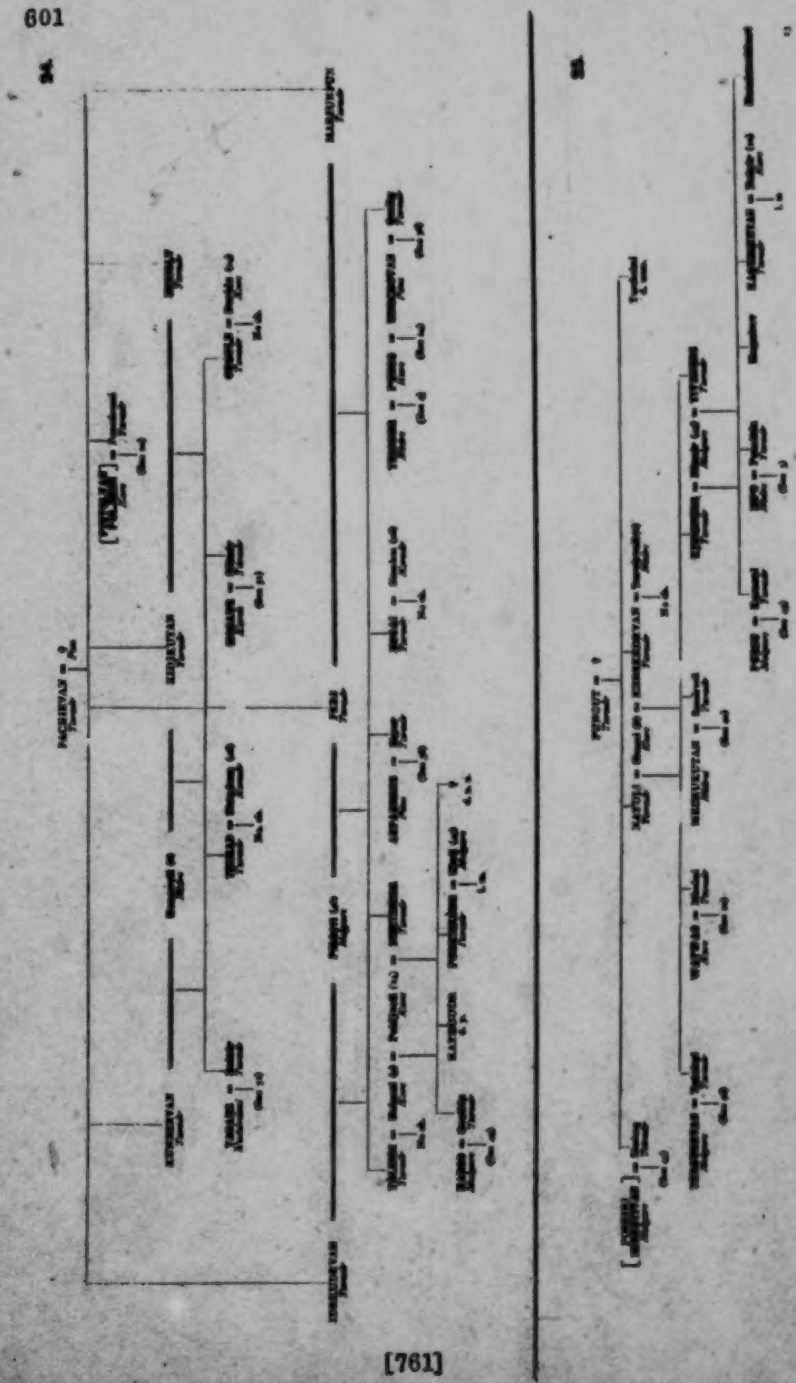

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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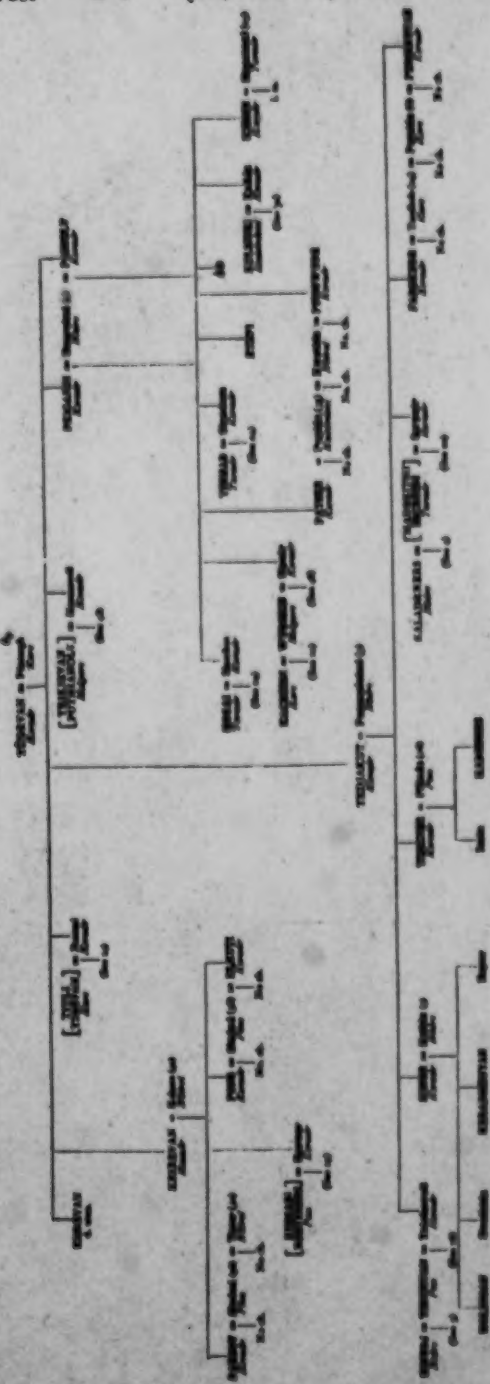

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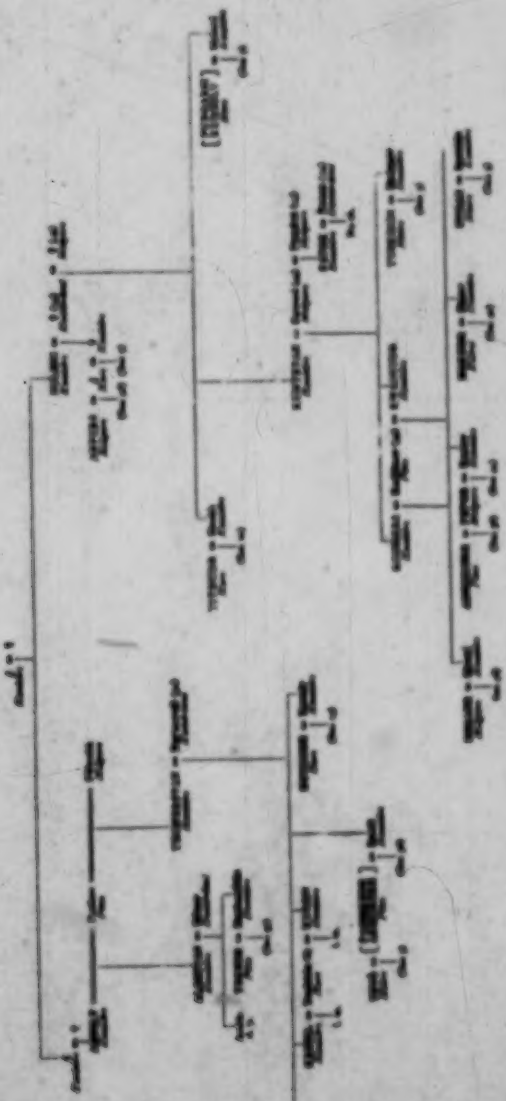

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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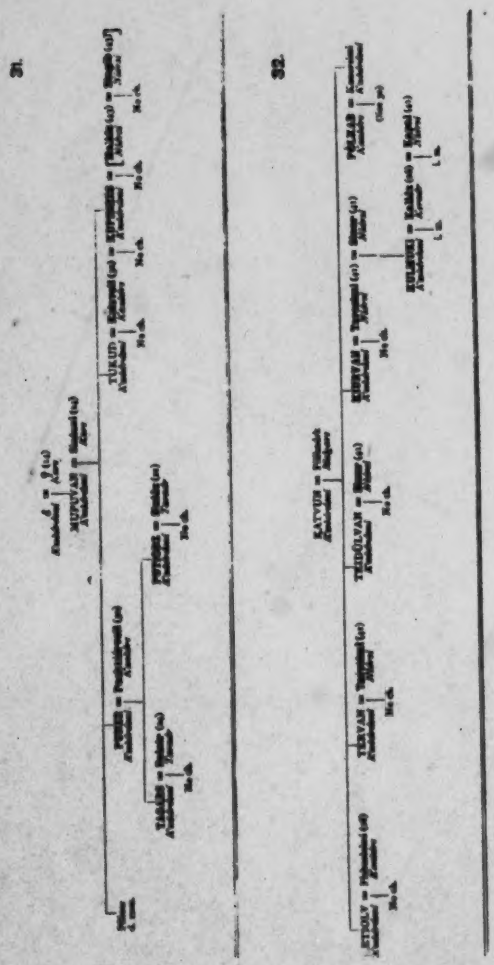

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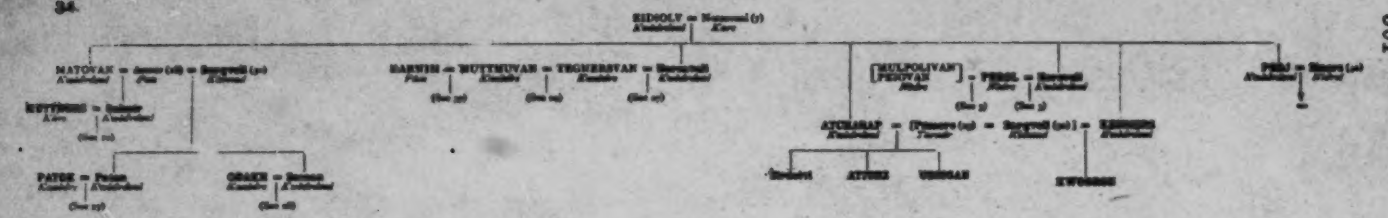

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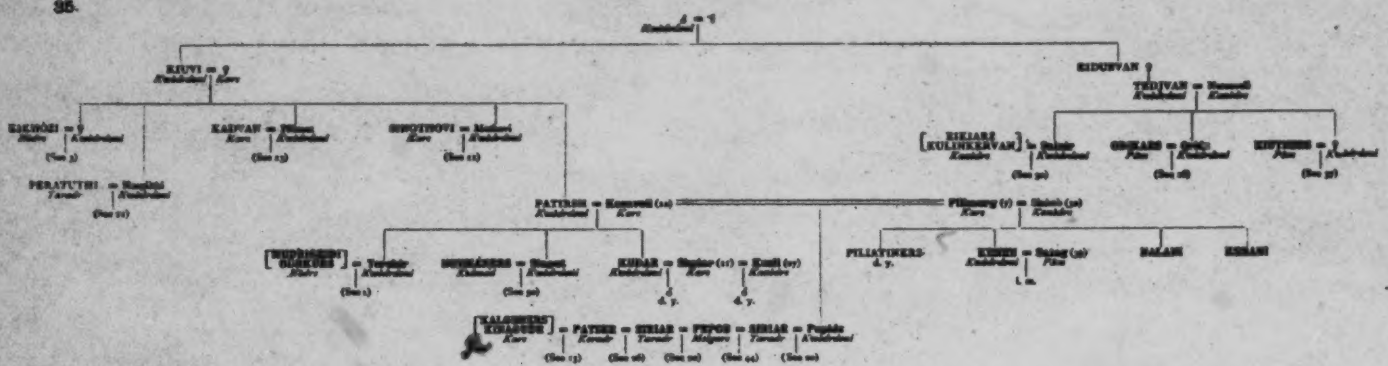

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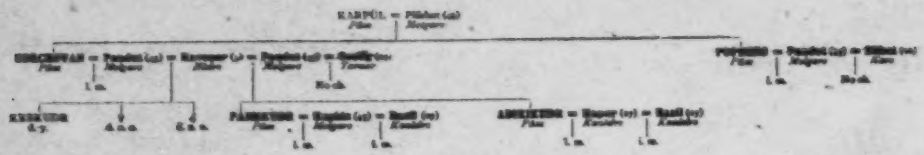

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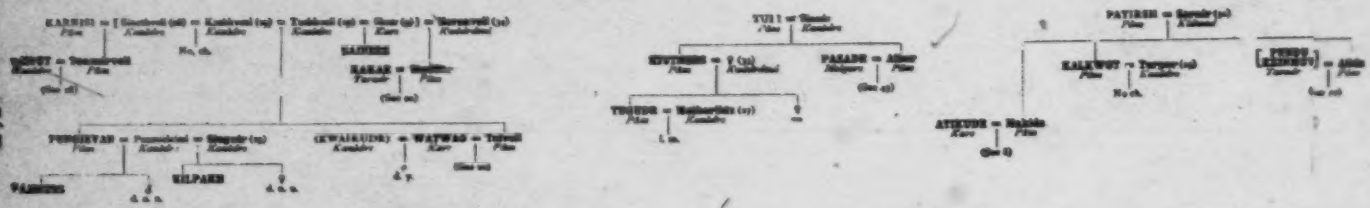

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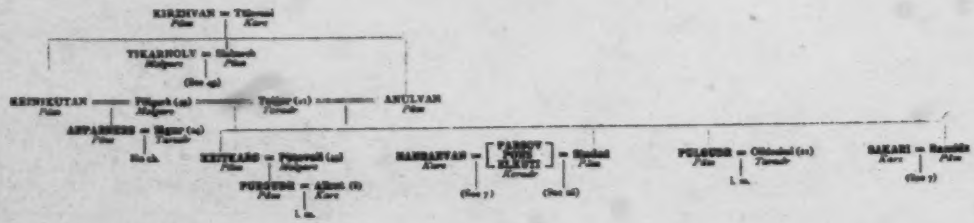

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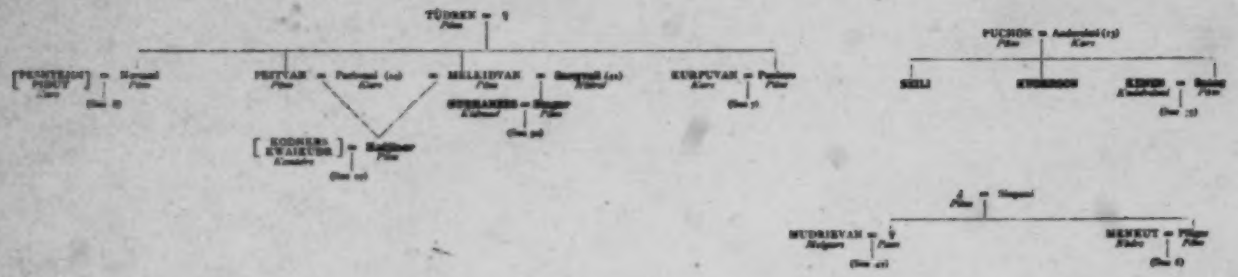

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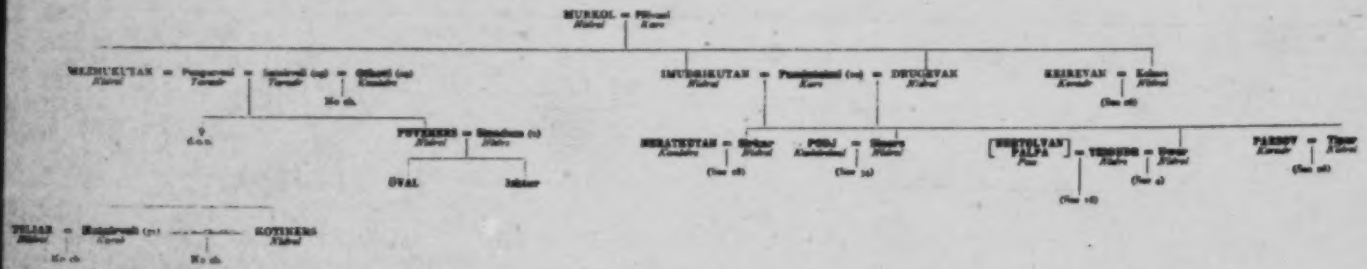

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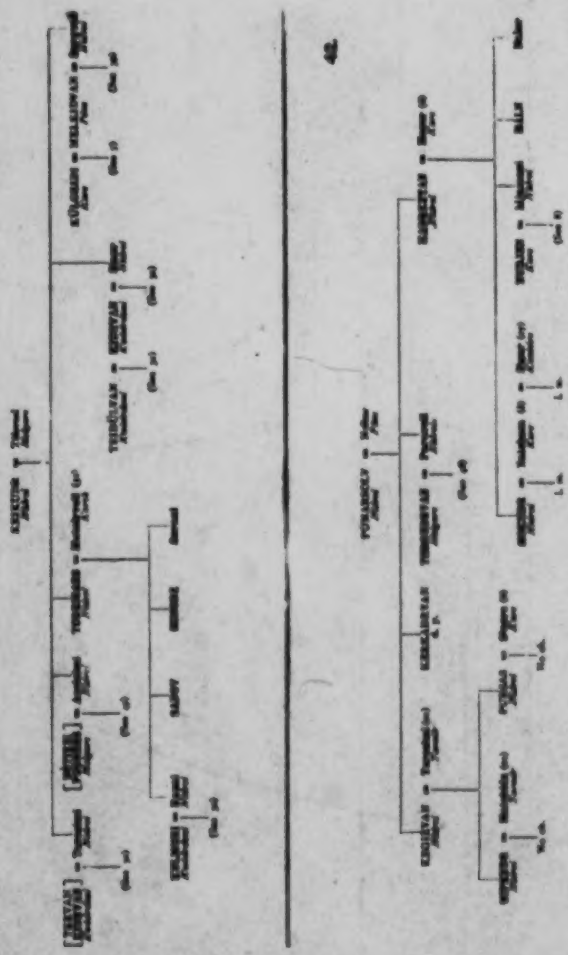

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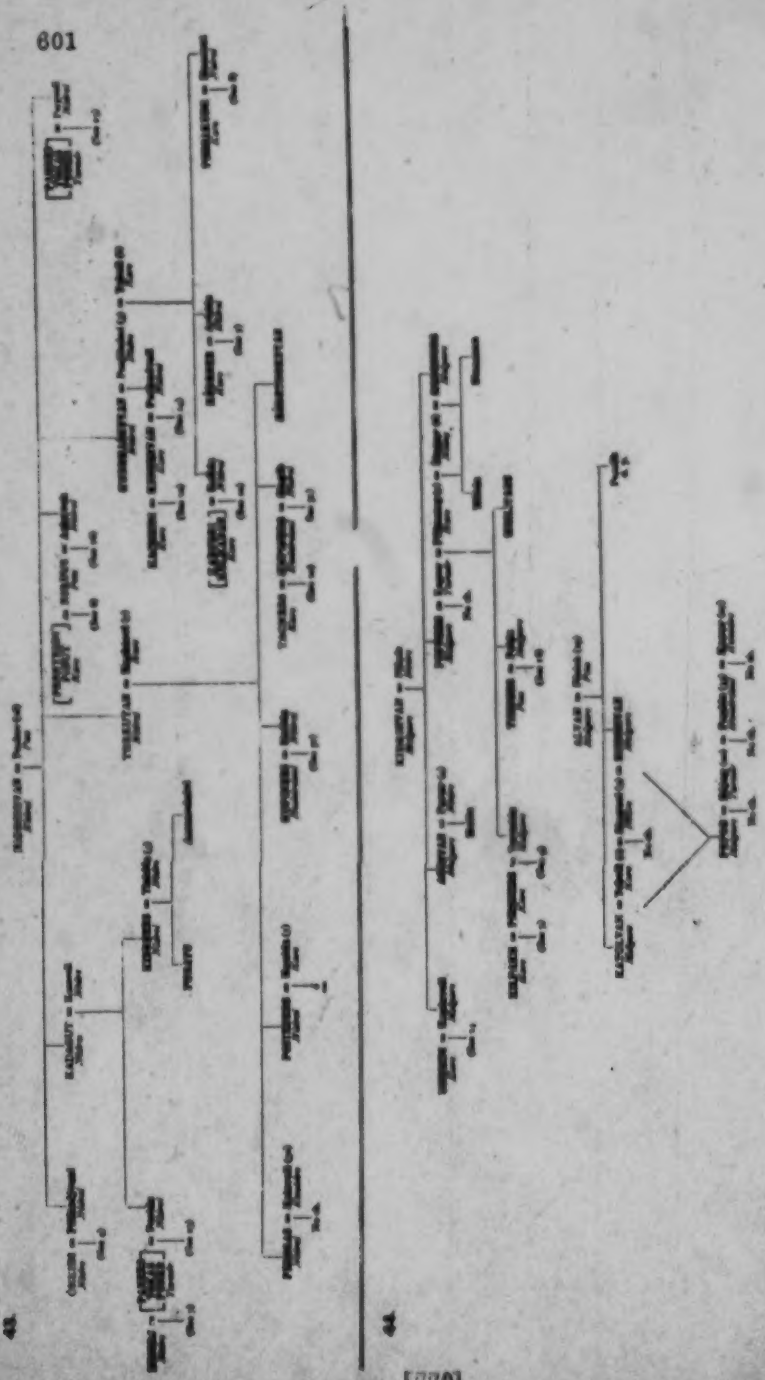

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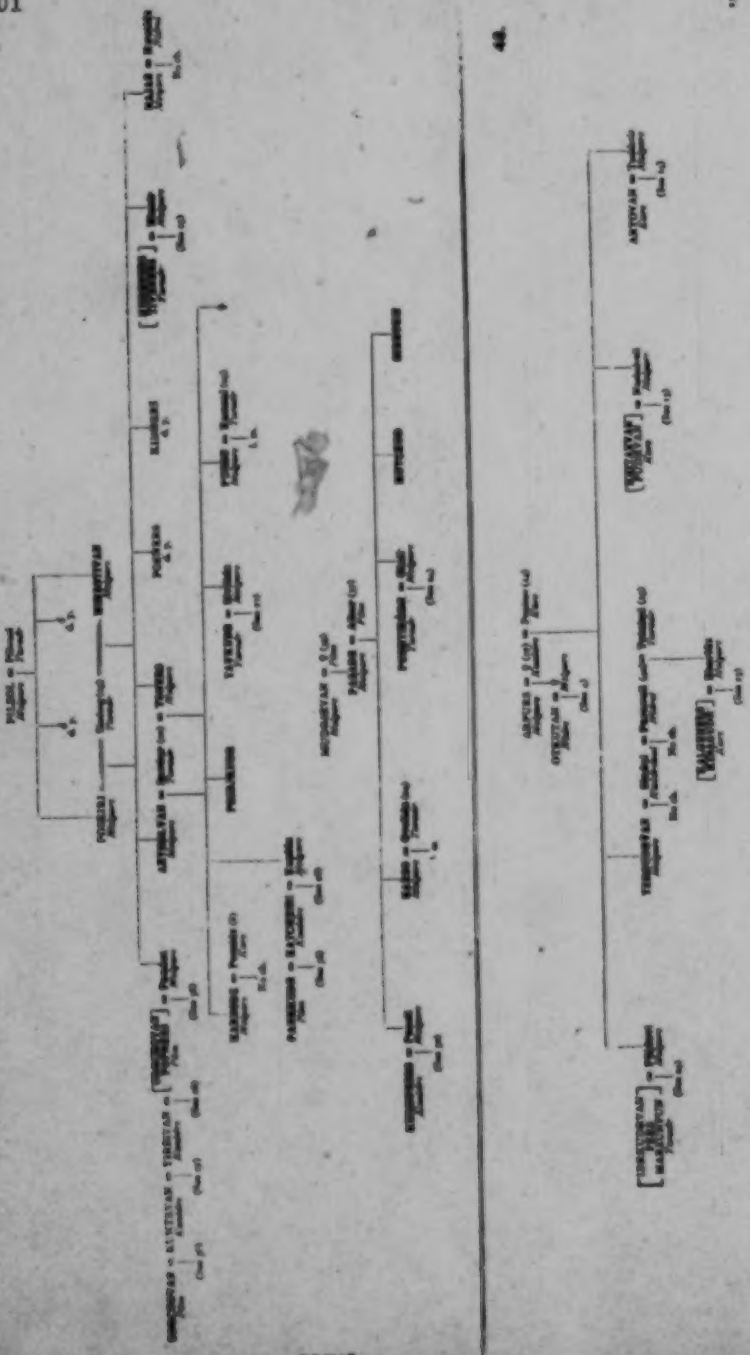

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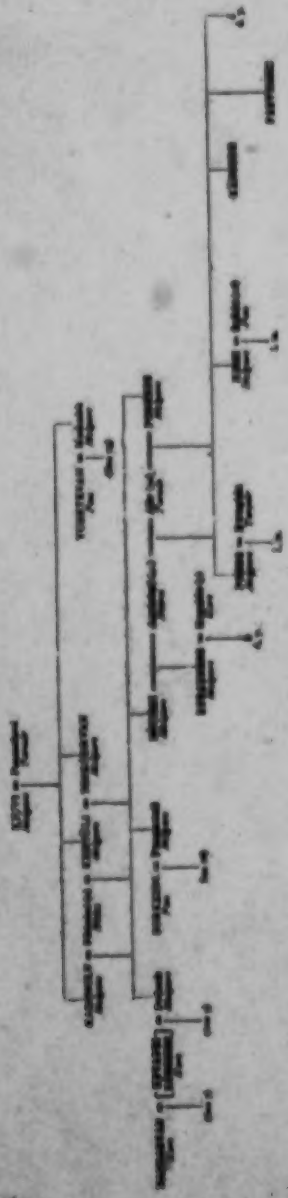

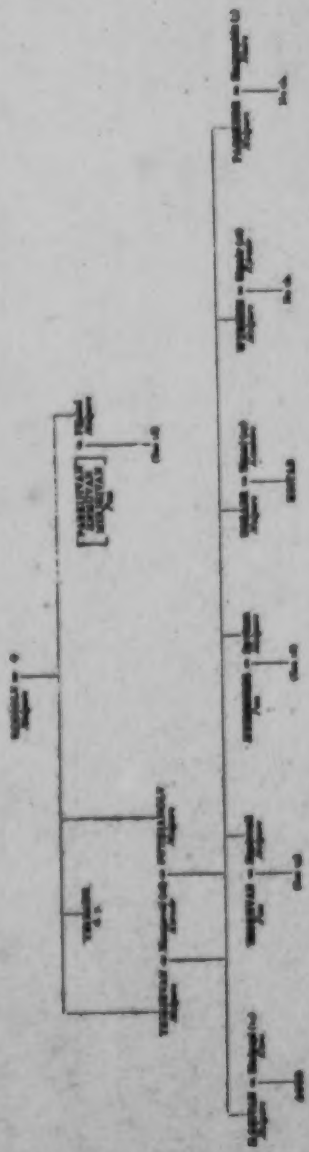

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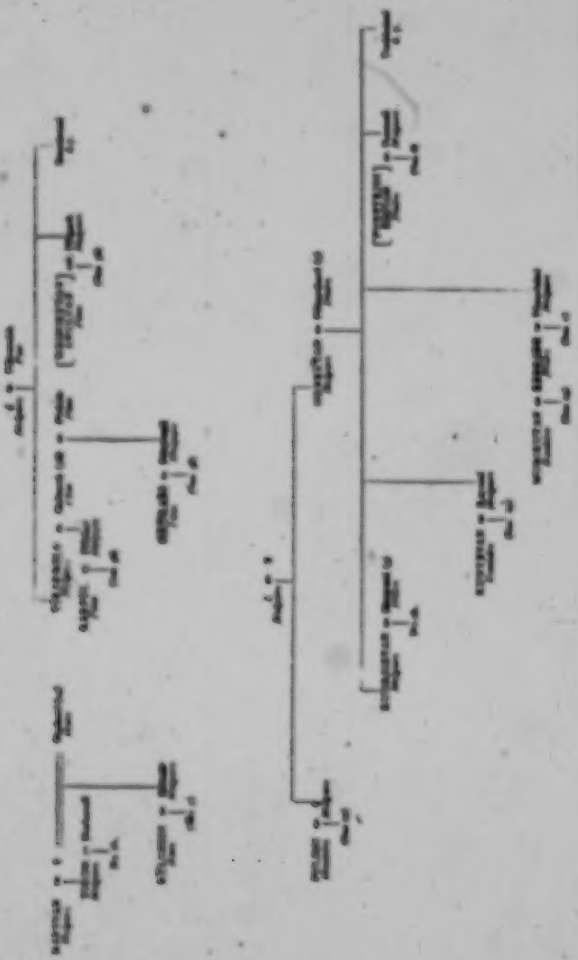

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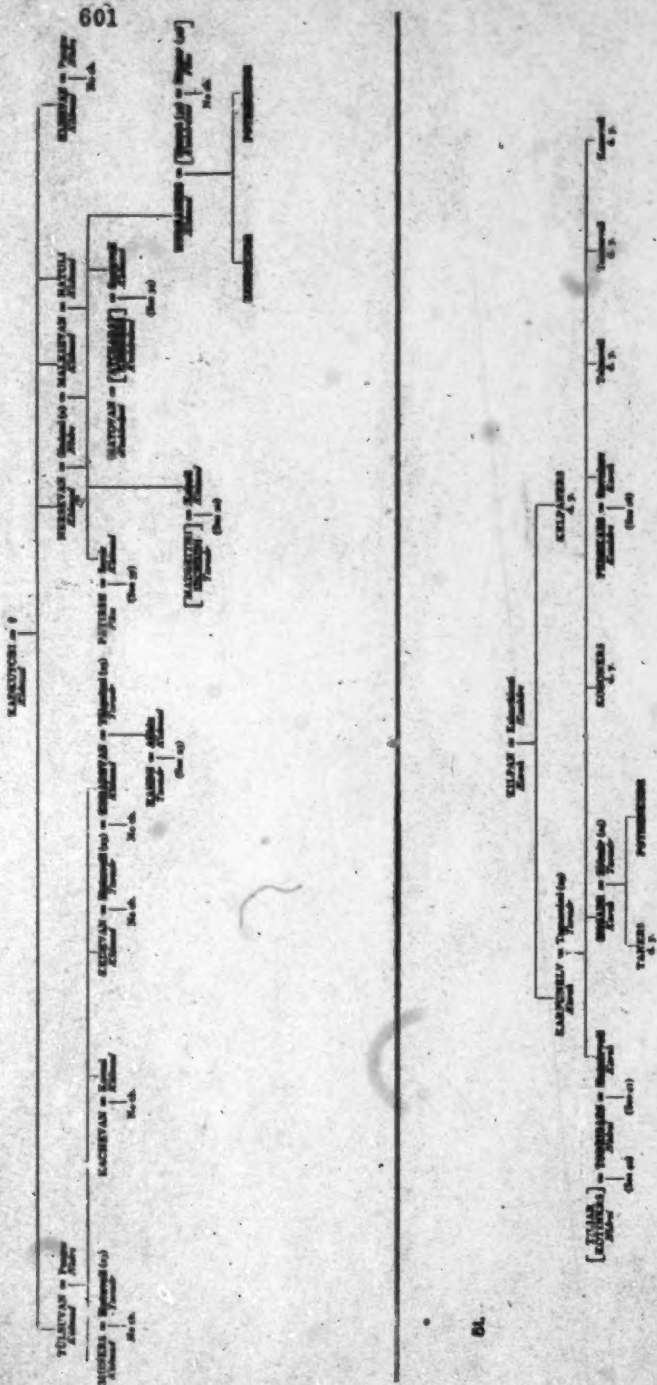

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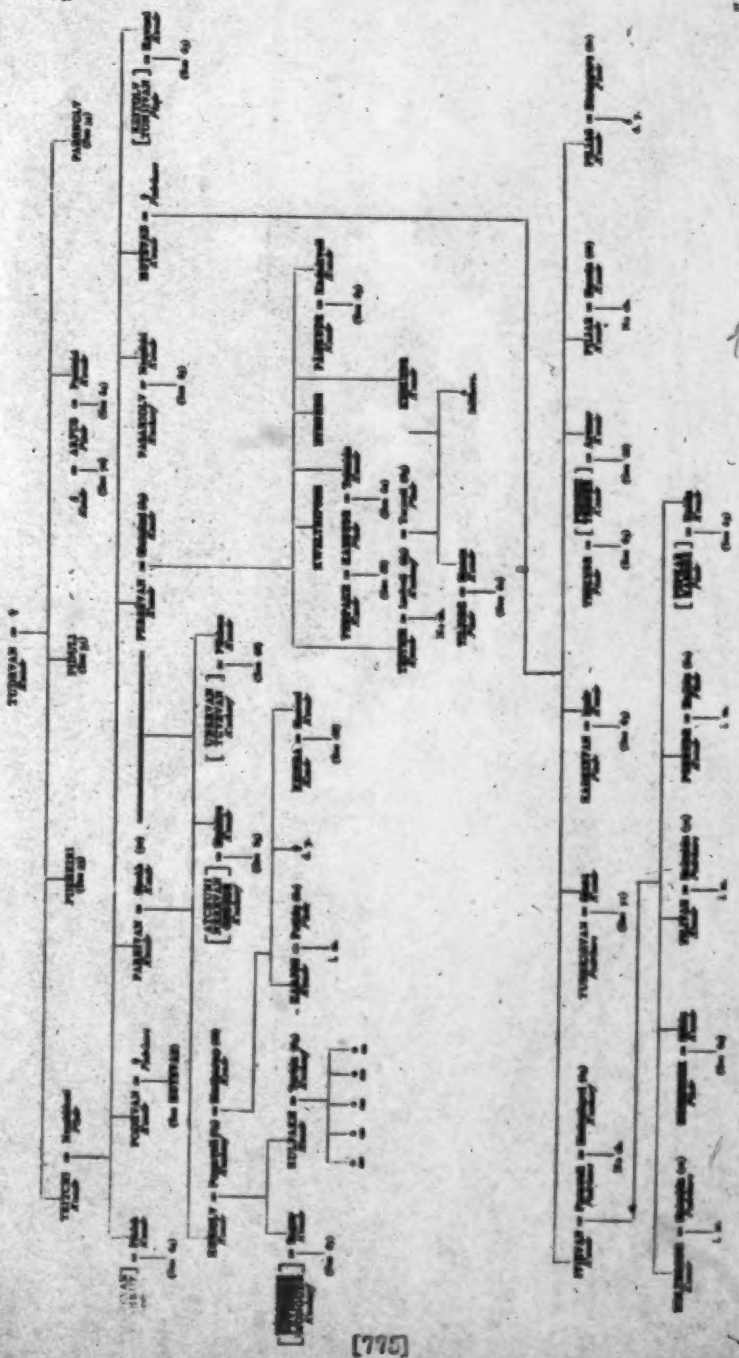

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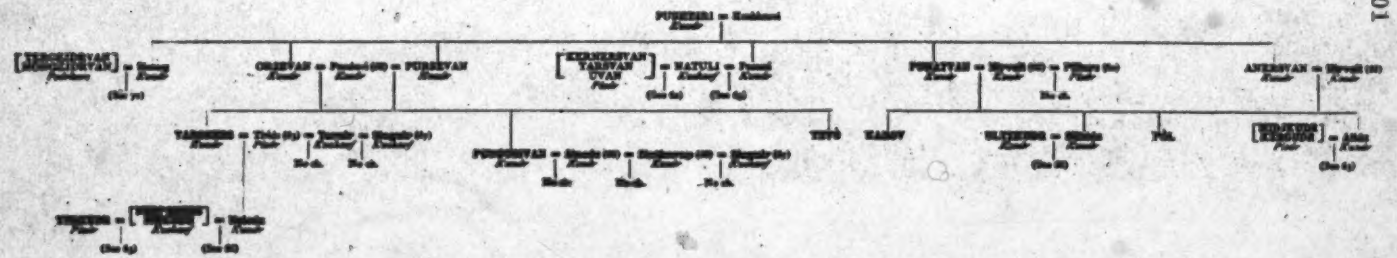

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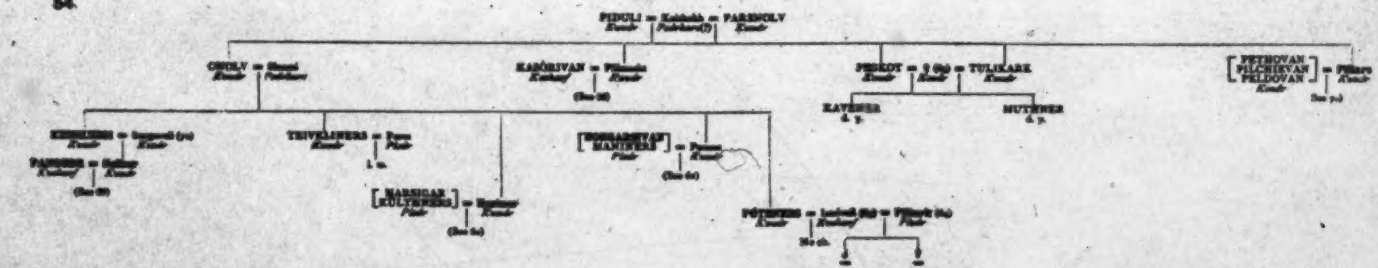

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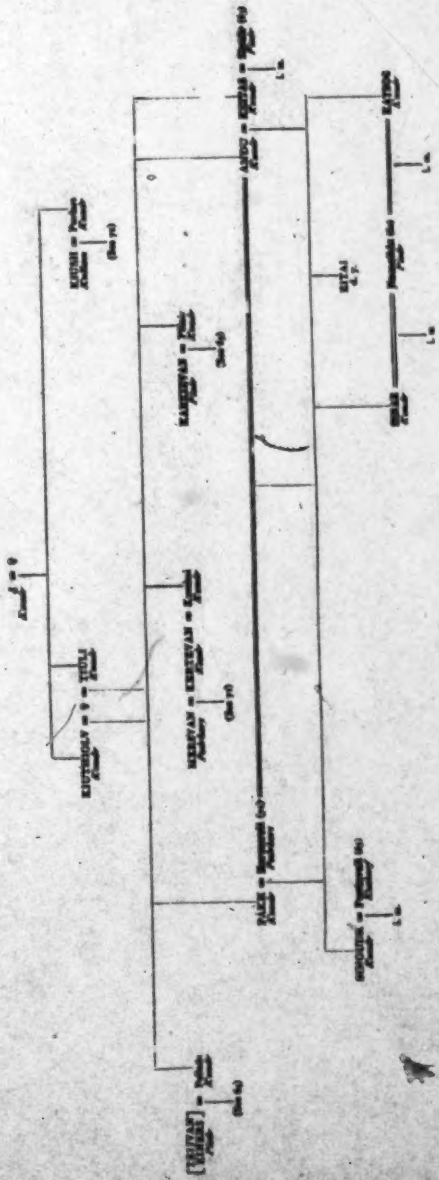

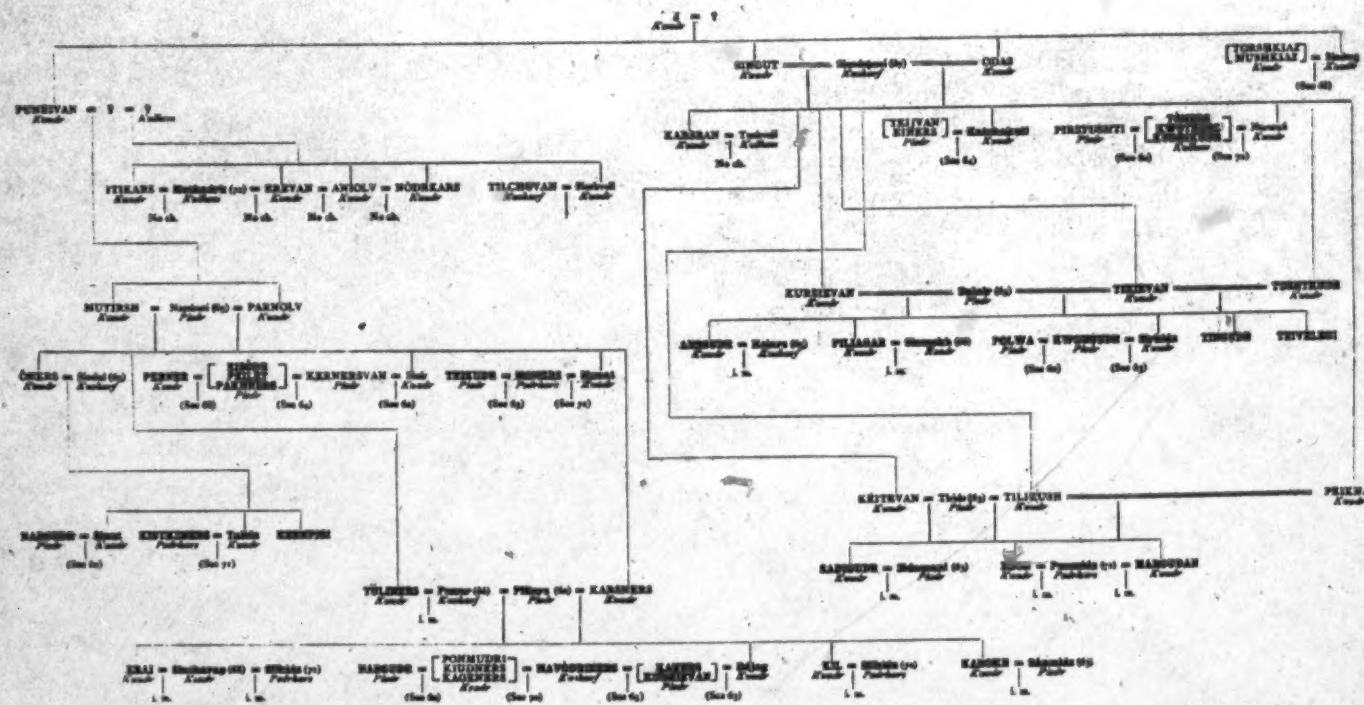
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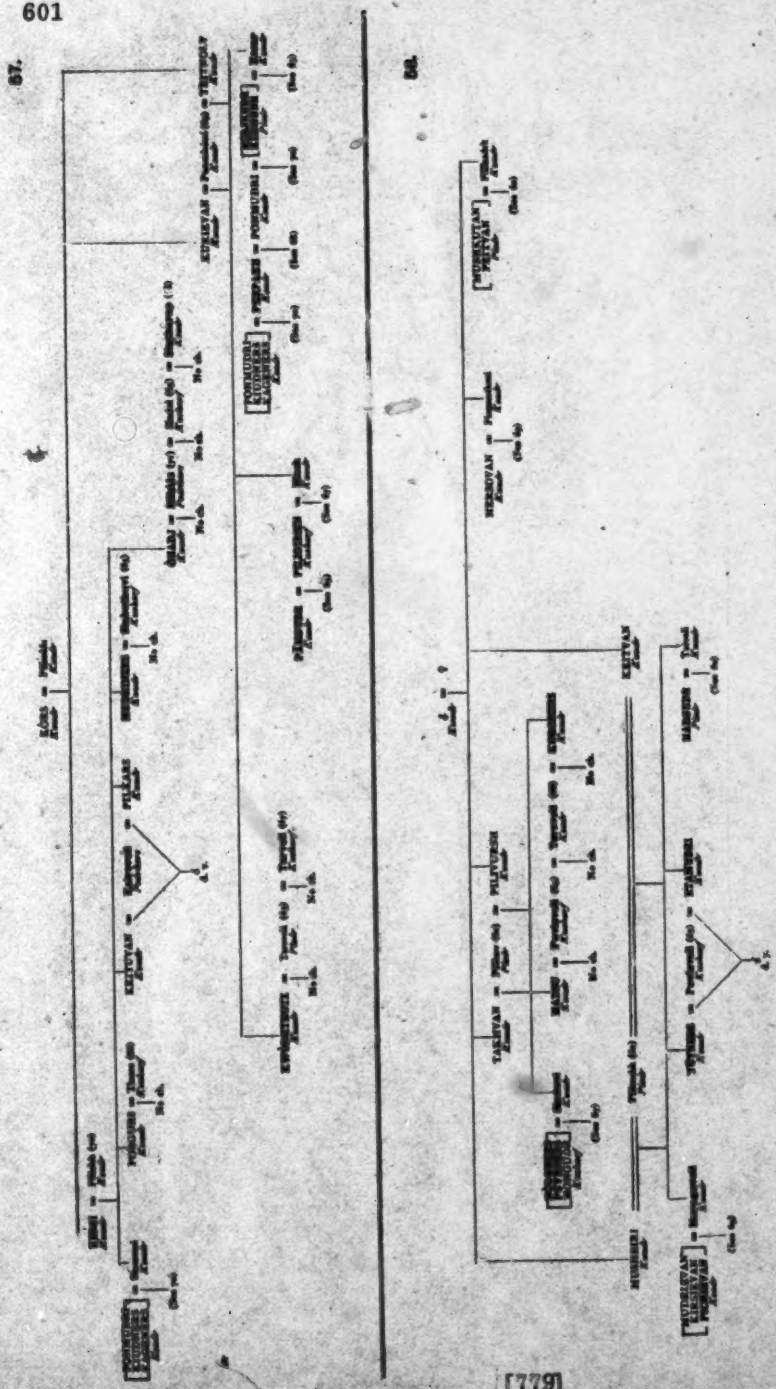

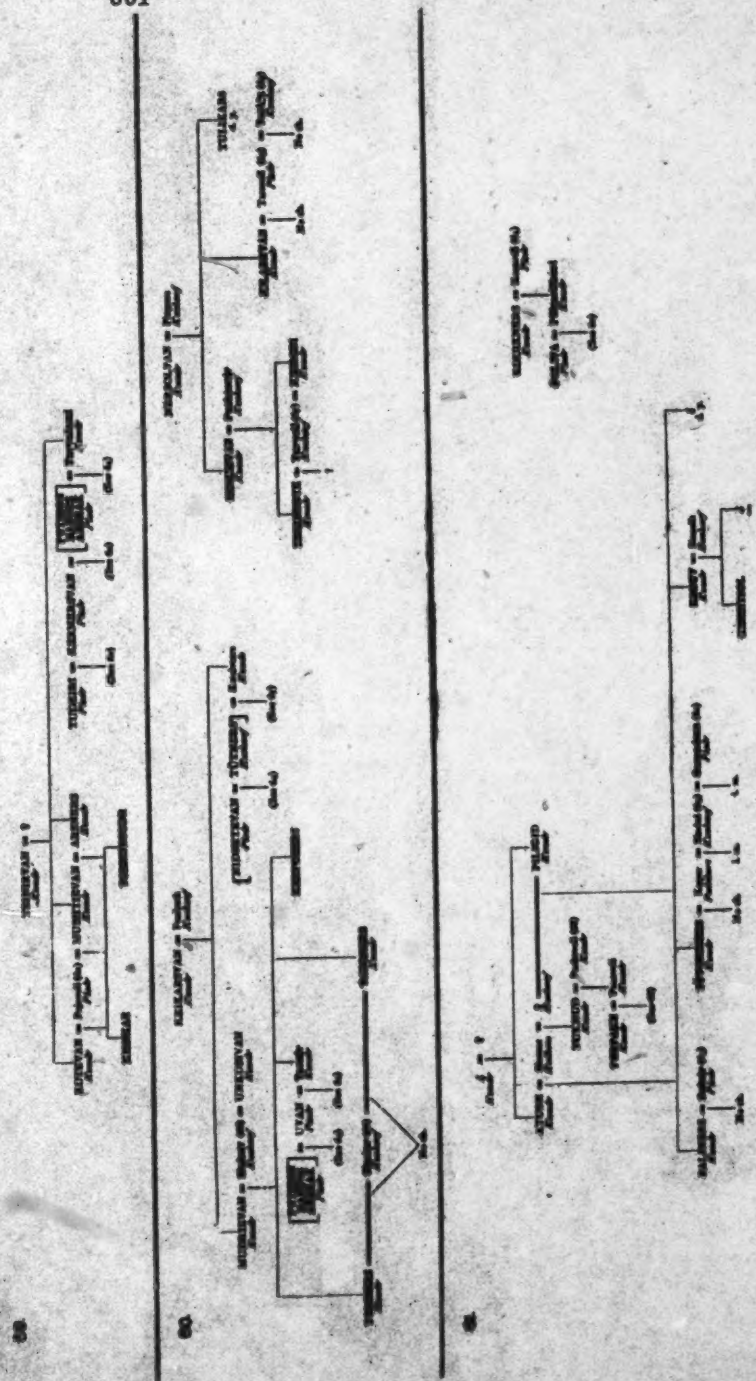

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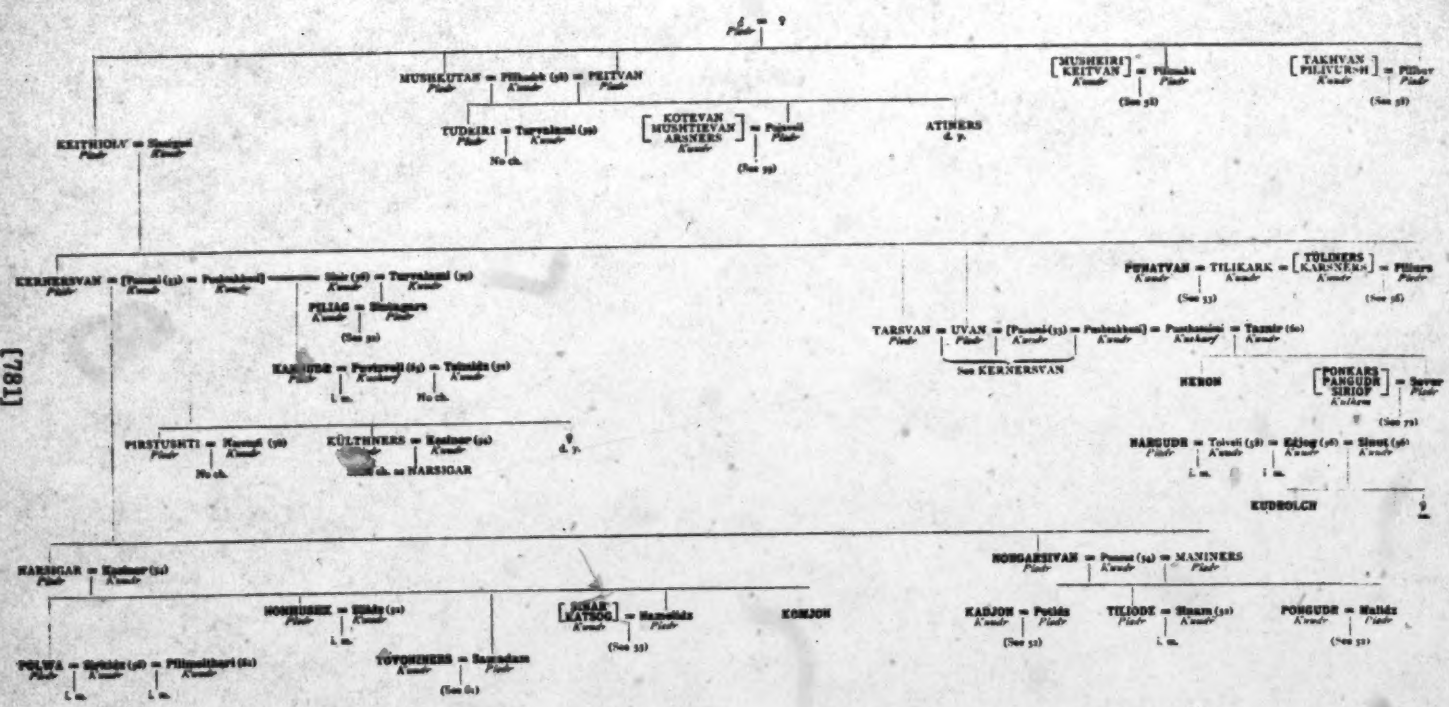

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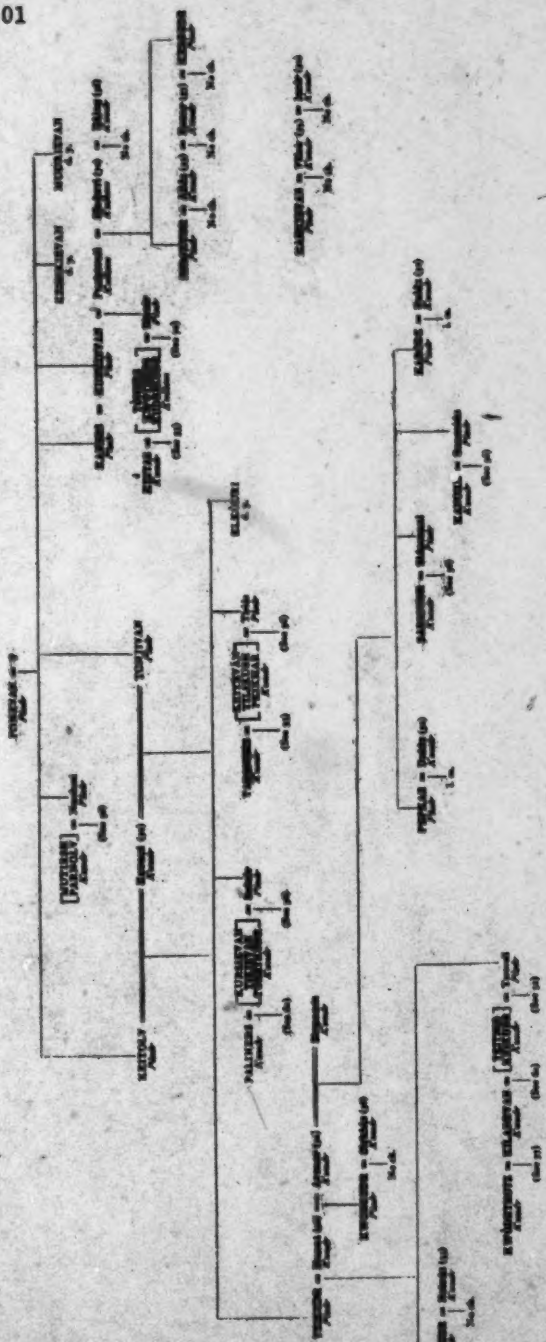

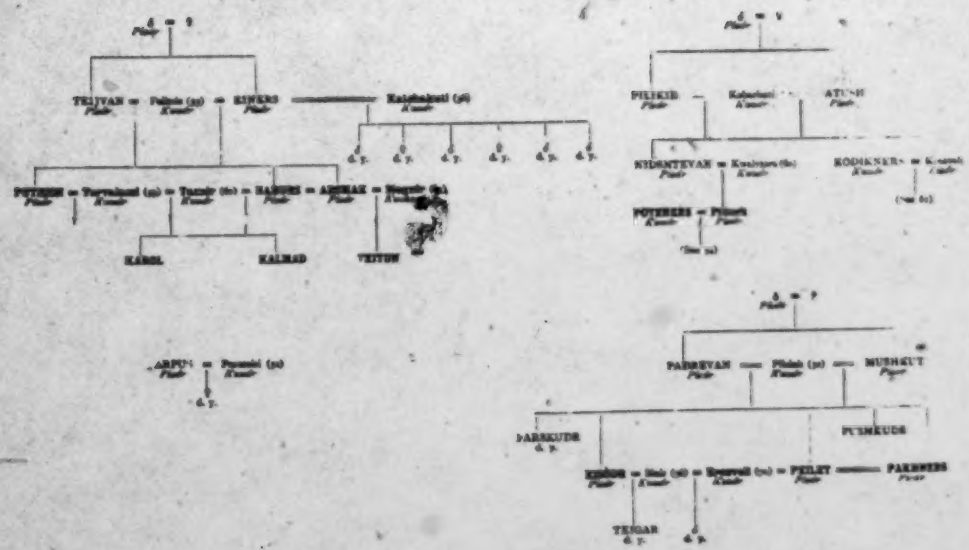
KARDL
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VEIYUN
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MUSHKUT
PUSMKUDS
TEIGAR

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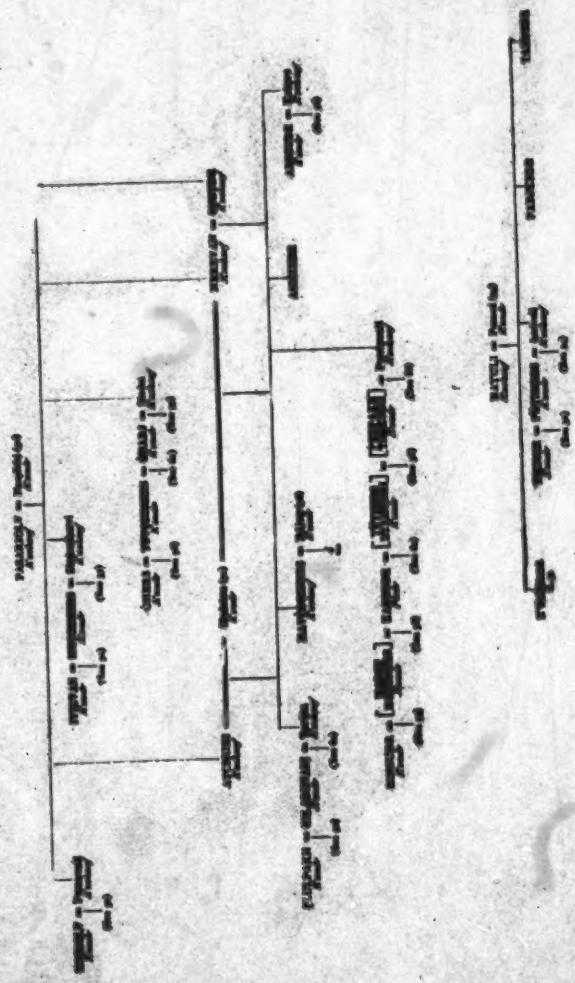

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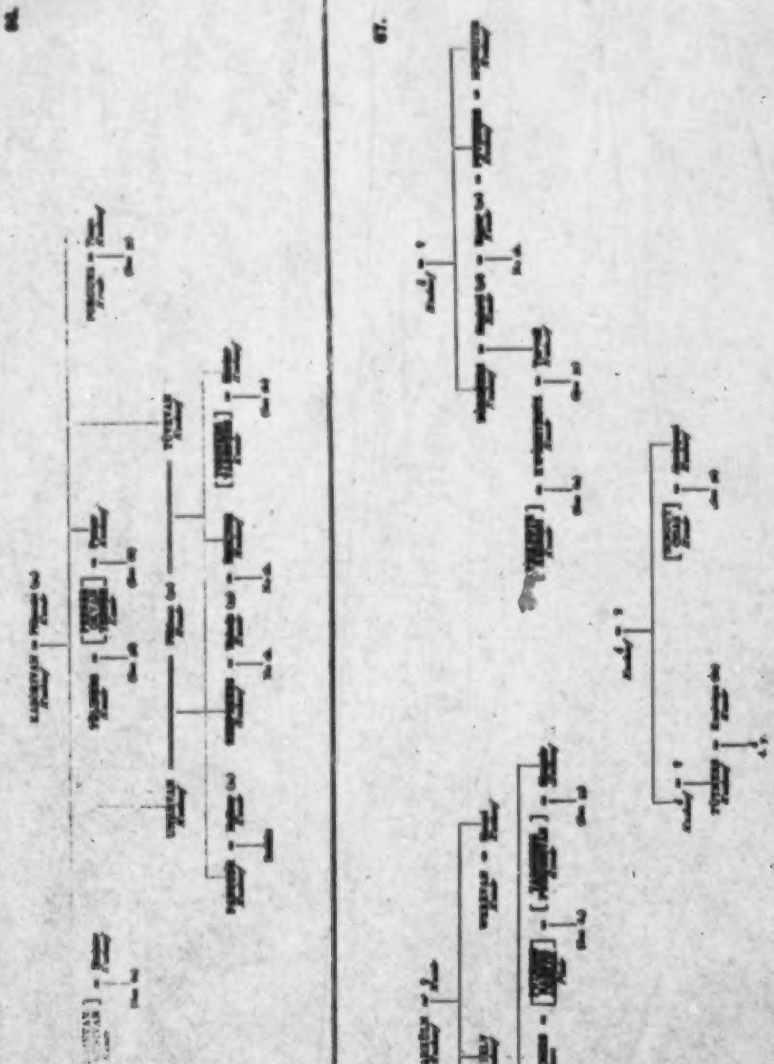

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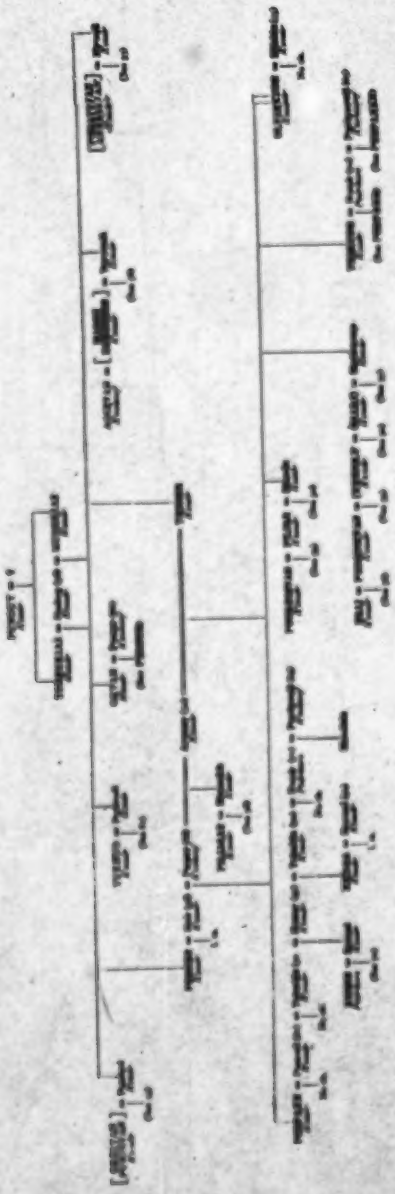

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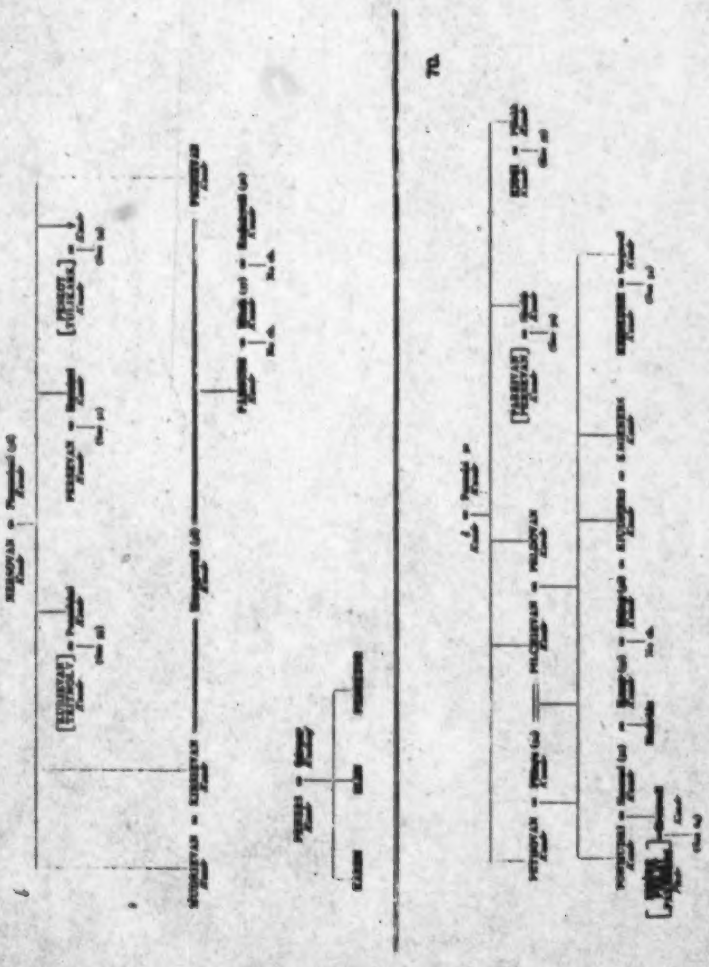

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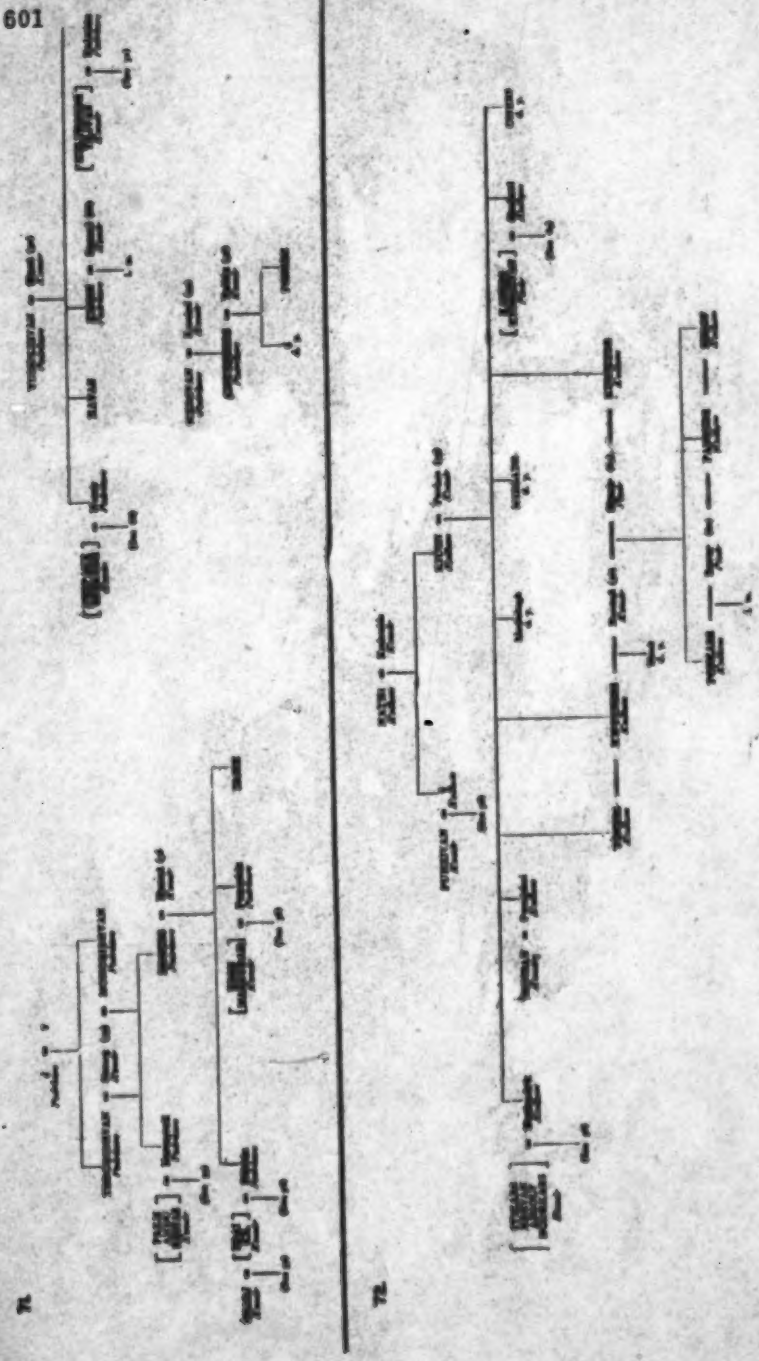

[Information on Toda sib organization will also be found in category 618.]

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A PHRENOLOGIST

AMONGST

THE TODAS

OR

THE STUDY OF A PRIMITIVE TRIBE IN

SOUTH INDIA

HISTORY, CHARACTER, CUSTOMS, RELIGION

INFANTICIDE, POLYANDRY, LANGUAGE

BY

WILLIAM E. MARSHALL

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OF HER MAJESTY'S BENGAL STAFF CORPS

PERMANENT ILLUSTRATIONS by THE AUTOTYPE PROCESS

SHEPHERD—'Mind, Sir, that I was na sayin that Phrenology was fause. On the contrar, I think there's a great deal o' truth in what they say about the shape and size o' the head' NOCTES AMBROSIANÆ

'Phrenology has done good service by showing us, with more emphasis than had ever been done before, that human beings are widely different in their mental tastes and aptitudes' Professor A. BAIN, 'The Study of Character'

'Learn what is true, in order to do what is right'

Professor T. H. HUXLEY

LONDON

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1873

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Frontispiece

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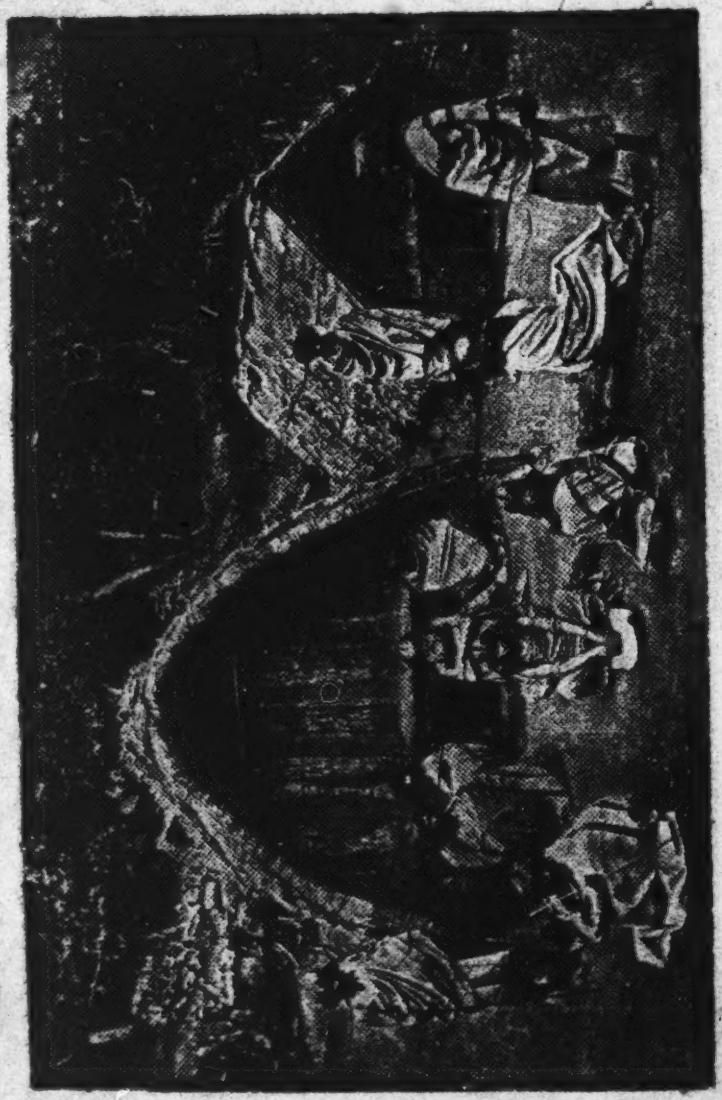

No. 1

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PREFACE.

114 115 121 In the course of a furlough I took in the year 1870 to the Madras sanatarium of Utacamand, in the Nilagiri mountains,[1] I heard much of an 'aboriginal race' living in the neighbourhood; which, infanticidal and polyandrous, was said to be fast dying out.

I had long been curious to understand the mysterious process by which, as appears inevitable, savage tribes melt away when forced into prolonged contact with a superior civilisation. But, ignorant of all the languages of South India, I should have relinquished attempt to study the Todas, had I not the great good fortune to make the acquaintance of the Reverend FRIEDRICH METZ, of the Basel Missionary Society, who had spent upwards of twenty years in labours amongst the primitive tribes forming the inhabitants of the Nilagiris; and who, in addition to being skilled in several Drâvidian dialects, was exceptionally practised in High Kanarese and Tamil. Above all, he was the only European able to speak the obscure Toda tongue.

Mr. METZ most readily agreed to co-operate with me in strict enquiry into the condition of the Todas, and

[1] Commonly called 'Ootacamund, in the Nilgherry hills'; it being the peculiar Anglo-Indian custom to style all mountains, hills. Thus the Himalayas are only hills, whilst in England, Ben Nevis and Snowdon are mountains.

114 henceforth became my sole associate in all expeditions
115 amongst them—save one or two.

121 It is the more proper and just that I should in this place render Mr. METZ the warmest acknowledgment of the very disinterested and important share he had in the undertaking, that there is so little in what I have written in these pages to recall his name. It was not only that his knowledge of Toda dialect was invaluable for minute and truthful investigation, but the personal respect in which he was held by the people, and the confidence they placed in his fidelity to them, obtained for us a more friendly welcome and complete exposure of their minds than would have been accorded had we been mere strangers. I must state, however, that my friend is not, even in the slightest degree, responsible for any opinions I have expressed.

A small Vocabulary, compiled and carefully revised by Mr. METZ, will be found as the groundwork of the last Chapter. It may be said, more entirely to consist of actual Toda words than any other existing.

121 Our operations began with a census of a portion of
124 the tribe, combined with an examination of each of the families that came before us. But in proportion as our work advanced, so did interest in the subject develop, until the scheme was entertained of enlarging the topic from its original design, so as to embrace 'a study of the manners and customs of a primitive race of man.'

With this evolution grew also the desire so to describe what I had seen, as to enable readers who could never have an opportunity of witnessing life amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

untutored races, to realise justly and without exaggeration, what it really is, and—by analogy—what it must have been in the pre-historic era, long ere 'Adam delved and Eve spun,' *before man had much developed in manly qualities.* 121 124

I have actually witnessed most of the scenes here described. Such of the remainder as are not otherwise authorised, I have compiled from direct narrative of the most reliable Todas.

Whilst hoping, though not without some misgivings, that the ugly statistics collected with so much care, and the speculations advanced to account physiologically for the origin of obscure customs, may have some slight value, even to the savant, I am sanguine that the antique practices now brought to light, and the illustrations I have attempted of every-day life, may render the book acceptable to the general reader. I may say, that great and especial pains have been taken to render as large a portion of the work as the subject permits, attractive, and suited for ladies' reading. 128

A few words of explanation are perhaps called for; to account for my having devoted an entire chapter to the description of some of the first principles of phrenology—a subject which is fully treated in standard works by acknowledged authorities. I wished primarily, to show the premises forming the basis for many conjectures which otherwise would have borne too much the appearance of dogmatism, or that might have been misunderstood. Secondly, I desired to show for phrenology, a marked practical value for ethnological purposes: and no single work containing, with clearness 121

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121 and brevity combined, so much information calculated to be serviceable to enquirers disposed to pursue the phrenologic mode of enquiry into the nature of barbarous races, which I have here faintly attempted; I trusted that the chapter might be useful, in some sort, as a manual for ethnographers so circumstanced.

But in this matter, as indeed throughout the book, I must trust very much to the lenient judgment of my readers; if, as a solitary Indian, far away from contact with men of science, but fresh from the actual and impressive presence of 'nature's children,' in attempting to work out for myself some of the vastly interesting unsolved problems of our day, I air some seemingly quaint ideas. *The public is concerned simply in their truth.*

128 The publication of these results of investigations made two years ago, has been delayed through the impossibility of finding in a very hot climate, and in the intervals of official duties, leisure sufficient for completing a subject demanding much thought and care.

I beg to invite especial attention to the important contributions made by the eminent philologist and great Tamil scholar, the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., at present Head Master of the 'Bishop Cotton' School at Bangalore. These will be found both in the form of foot-notes throughout this little work, and forming a distinct chapter at the end. The interesting and often most valuable derivations of Toda words given in these notes, have enabled me, in the absence of other evidence, to explain several customs and to work out some speculations that otherwise seemed quite incomprehensible.

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But for the linguist, I trust Chapter XXIX. will have 000
especial attractions.

To the Honorable Sir A. ARBUTHNOT, C.S., K.C.S.I., /127
Secretary to the Government of Madras, I am greatly indebted, for having placed at my disposal, the records existing in the Revenue Department, on the subject of Toda infanticide.

I am beholden to the skill of the distinguished 000
artists, Messrs. BOURNE and SHEPHERD, of Simla, and to Messrs. NICHOLAS and CURTHS, of Madras, for the photographs which decorate the book. These have been printed in carbon, by the Autotype Fine Art Company, 36 Rathbone Place, London.

W. E. MARSHALL.

FAIZABAD:
2nd October, 1872.

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SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

FOR

THE TODA LANGUAGE.

a = u in 'cut'		**e** = e in 'pen'	
â = au „ 'caught'		**ê** = a „ 'sale'	
i = i „ 'pin'		**ei** = i „ 'pile'	
ī = ee „ 'thee'		**o** = o „ 'potato'	
u = oo „ 'cook'		**ô** = o „ 'dote'	
û = oo „ 'booth'		**au** = ou „ 'out'	
oi = oi in 'oil'			
ch = ch in 'niche'		**kh** = kh in 'khan	

Erratum.—Page 129, line 19, *for* No. 15, *read* No. 14.

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A PHRENOLOGIST

AMONGST

THE TODAS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE.

Meaning of the Name Toda—Names of Clans—Kôls, the Aborigines of India—Todas are Drâvidians—Drâvidians penetrate India, and dispossess the Kôl Race—Affinities of the Drâvidians—Âryan Conquest; its Effects on the Kôl and Drâvidian Races—The mutual Influence of the Kôl, Drâvidian, and Âryan Races on one another—Positions in India now held by the three Races—Positions in the Dekkan of the Drâvidian Tribes—Affinities of the Toda Dialect—Last Migration of the Todas—Kairns and Kromlechs on the Nilagiris—Are the Kairn-builders allied to the Todas?

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THE PEOPLE whose ancient customs and primitive habits form the topic of these pages are called by the English Todas; but in their own language an individual of the tribe is Todan,[1] the plural being Todaru.

The Badagas—of whom more hereafter—who for centuries past have lived in close proximity to the Todas, style them in the singular Todawanu,[2] and in the plural Todawaru: from which, by abbreviation, Todawan or Todawar. Hence

[1] Todan. Tamil, Toṛavam and Tôṛam = *a herd*. And thus Toṛavan or Tôṛan = *herdsman*. [POPE.]

On this note, Mr. Metz remarks: 'As the d in Toda is not a lingual ḍ, but dental, I do not believe the word means *herdsman*, as Toḍa in Old Tamil. I do not know the meaning of Toda with the dental d.'

[2] Todawanu. Tora = *a herd*, Wanu = *a person*. Drâvidian. [POPE.]

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also have arisen other corruptions in English; as Torawar, Thautawars, Todars, Todies, &c. Dr. Hunter gives, in his Dictionary,[3] a Toḍuva variety of the Toḍu language; which is an error.

The Toda tribe is divided into five clans, called Pēiki, Pekkan, Tôdi, Kuttan, and Kenna.[4] The two first are very closely related, although they do not now intermarry; the former having become what might be termed a Levitical clan. All of the remaining four freely marry amongst one another.

We have very little positive information of the earliest inhabitants of India; but, so far as the existing condition of evidence enables us to determine, they were of a race whose speech, having analogies to the extensive Hô or Kôl group of languages, 'derived from a source common both to themselves and the Chinese,'[5] gives grounds for the belief that, at some extremely early prehistoric period, a migration of barbarians into India took place from over its north-eastern confines 'from the northern shores of the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Sea;'[6] thus *seemingly* earning for themselves the title of children of the soil, the aboriginal inhabitants of at least the central and north-eastern tracts of India.

The physical type of this race, judging from the many distinct tribes of the family still to be found in various hill ranges, partook of the main features of the Mongol—in the hairless face, broad and short, the spreading unshapely nose, small eyes and high cheek-bones: and evidences of the people exist even in the southern portion of the Indian peninsula, both in the presence of this peculiar stamp of countenance, and apparently in the names of places and of natural features of the country.

The Toda tongue is entirely apart from that of the Kôl

[3] Hunter, 'Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia.'

[4] Mr. Metz writes me that he believes he has found a sixth clan, called Târâl; but the statement needs confirmation.

[5] Hunter. [6] Hunter.

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tongue is entirely apart from that of the Kôl

family. It is, indeed, now known with absolute certainty to be a dialect of the development of Turanian speech styled Drâvidian;[7] the language of a group of primitive, illiterate, and perhaps warlike tribes who, between three thousand and four thousand years ago, migrated from tracts of Western Asia, and penetrating India, probably through Beluchistan and the natural water lines[8] of the country, filled all its western and southern districts, pushing before them, in some period of their advance, the various tribes of the Kôl aborigines, some of whom, in slavery or menial conditions of life, survived as subjects of their conquerors. 174 197

The Rev. Dr. Caldwell[9] has drawn attention to the remarkable circumstance that the closest and most distinct affinities to the speech of this race are those which have been discovered in the languages of the Finns and Lapps of Northern Europe and of the Ostiaks and other Ugrians of Siberia: and consequently that the Drâvidian is proved, by 'language alone, in the silence of history, in the absence of all ordinary probabilities, to be allied to tribes that appear to have overspread Europe before the arrival of the Goths and the Pelasgi, and even before the arrival of the Celts.'

The characteristics of the Toda branch of this race, form the burden of the following pages. In the process of writing 174

[7] A term which, applied by the Brahmans apparently in supercilious envy and contempt of the people they could not conquer—the word Drâvida implying the condition of being beyond the pale of the castes—is now used ethnologically, to designate that which has grown to be a distinct race of man.

[8] It would seem an absolute necessity, that primitive tribes should maintain the water-lines of the country they penetrated. 'If such be the case, noticing the geographical peculiarities of the west frontier of India, this Turanian race would have divided at the Desert of Scinde; one branch following the course of the Indus and its tributaries to the Land of the Five Rivers: the other, turning south, would have both crossed and followed the many watercourses which drain into the Arabian Sea, on their way towards the Dekkan.

[9] Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of the Drâvidian Languages.' I beg here to acknowledge my debt to the above valuable work for much of the information I have incorporated in this chapter.

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of them, I have grown to the very strong conviction that the people are a surviving sample of some portion of the Turanian race when in its very primitive stage. Without much exercise of the imagination, I can picture them the cotemporaries and neighbours, even perhaps the ancestors, of races of South-Western Asia which have made a figure in early history. There is much of the 'blameless Ethiopian' about them: something of the Jew and of the Chaldean in their appearance. I do not venture to hazard an opinion as to their cradle-land. It is safer to draw attention to what, judging by appearances and customs, are their possible ethnic affinities.[10]

At a period which historians have placed 300 or 400 years subsequent to this Turanian inroad, a branch of the Âryas—an Indo-European race of the Caucasian mould, speaking Sanskrit—burst in on India from the north-west. At first occupying that part of the country now known as the Punjab, these warlike colonists grew in the course of centuries into a conquering power, establishing empires on the Indus and Ganges after the fashion of lawless times, on the ruins of the Kôl aborigines and Drâvidians, holding possession of the soil of various parts. And with a success so complete, that we find the Âryas ultimately occupying the whole of the arable tracts which in the main follow the course of those rivers, and form the northern base of the Indian Peninsula. As a consequence of this crushing conquest in the north-west, we recognise Drâvidian tribes in the inferior strata of the resident populace, and their blood mixed with that of even the highest Âryan castes. The Sikh bears a considerable though refined likeness to the Toda. And the province of Oudh has manifestly a large Drâvidian substratum.

Warlike and gifted though this branch of the Indo-European family has shown itself to have been, it does not appear

[10] On the eve of sending this work to the press, I would beg again to urge my belief in the connection between the Drâvidian Toda and the Ethiop. Dr. Pritchard's 'Natural History of Man' might be compared.

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to have subjugated those Drâvidians which colonised the Dekkan; but rather obtained sacerdotal influence amongst them through the means of a superior religious culture and civilisation, of which ambitious and wily Pundits, like monks in the barbarous days of Europe, were the exponents and pioneers.

As might be expected, the three main races of India could not be located in the close contiguity which resulted of repeated conquest and subsequent expanding numbers, before their various religious customs, their languages, and even their blood, began to show their influence in reaction on one another. Perhaps the most striking effect of all these operations, was that which the barbarous rites and beliefs of the inferior races exercised on the purer and more spiritual religious faith which originally distinguished the Âryas.

In their desire to absorb all the subject and utterly savage tribes of the conquered inhabitants, the Brahmans opened the portals of their religion, and incorporated the many gods of the aborigines with the ancient deities of their Vedic pantheon.

The pure Hindu religion, although thus actually debased in the process, probably became an instrument of even greater efficiency, when wielded by clever priests, for the purpose of obtaining an ascendancy over races in an extremely low stage of culture. And we recognise this truth in the great influence which Hinduism and the Sanskrit tongue, have obtained over the entire Indian Continent.

In the case of the Drâvidians; it seems to me, on reviewing Toda religious practice, an extremely probable event, that a possible early contact with the Âryas, long before either race entered India, rendered Sanskrit, especially in regard to all pious notions and reverent observance, influential amongst them, even then. This is a very interesting consideration; one which must render it difficult to determine at what early period this Drâvidian branch of the

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opp. p. 6.

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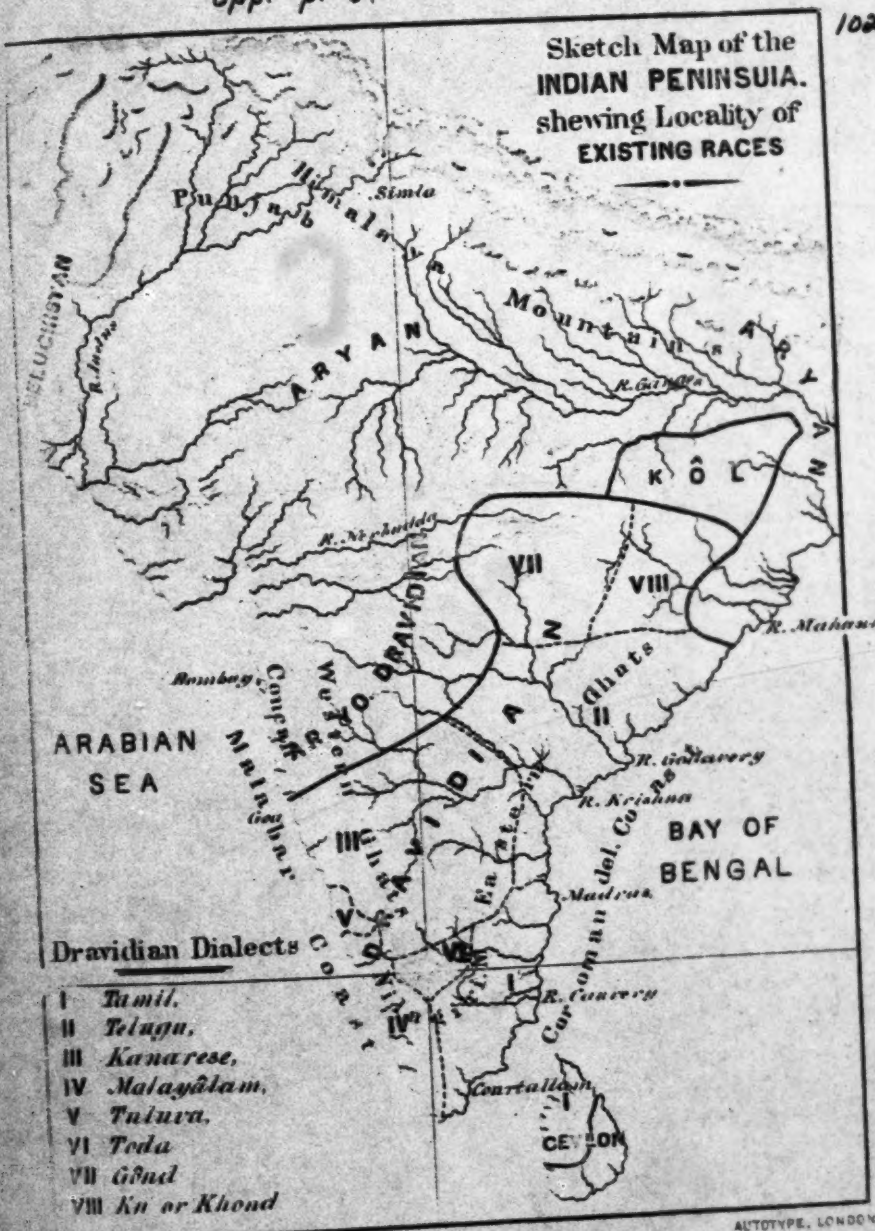

Drawn by Sheick Amir-ud-din.

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Turanian tree had first been biassed through the superior religious instinct of the Ârya.

If we consider that the many tribes of these three dominant races, brought into India the various habits, religious observances, and dialects of the diverse tracts of Asia whence they emigrated. When we further reflect on the different results which must have ensued during their residence in the country of their adoption, from the contiguity of certain of them to the progressive Brahmanical race, with its refined and copious vocabulary, its elevated moral code, with idealised pantheon of heroes and heroines; and the proximity of others to the carnivorous Kôl, his tutelary deities and bloody rites. Further, bearing in mind the isolation of tribes kept asunder by the lawlessness of the times, the pathless nature of the country, and the conservative nature of tribal barbarians;—we can readily comprehend why Drâvidian tribes have now concreted into separate nationalities, whose dialects are 'distinct though affiliated languages,'[11] and whose religion varies in every shade, from the simple but senseless, or perhaps cruel, observances introduced by original immigrants, to the complex rites of corrupted Hinduism.

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The accompanying sketch map of the Indian peninsula describes the position in the country which the Drâvidians hold at the present day; when, after their wanderings and their wars, the various tribes of which the race is composed had settled down, then expanded into important nations, speaking distinct dialects, of which the following are now highly cultivated:—

i. Tamil. iii. Kanarese.
ii. Telugu. iv. Malayâlam.
v. Tuluva.

Three others, viz.,

vi. Toda. vii. Gônd. viii. Ku or Khond,

[11] Caldwell.

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remain in their pristine barbarous state; innocent even of written characters; and there are said to be several other minor dialects or corruptions belonging to small sylvan families holding unimportant geographical positions in the Drâvidian area. 102 197

Remnants of the ejected Kôls are shown on the eastern limits, and Âryanised peoples are closed in on the entire northern boundary.

The Rev. Dr. Pope, in his contribution to this book,[12] gives it as his opinion that the Toda language was originally old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. He thinks that the language has dwindled to a mere skeleton, as a result of isolation and consequent degeneration of the people. 197

The early Indian history of the Todas has been as completely lost as that of the long protracted period which preceded their migration to the Dekkan. 173

We know, indeed, with a tolerable degree of certainty, both from their own legends and from those of neighbouring tribes, that until the last few hundred years they inhabited a jungle tract of inferior hills situated between the Kanarese and Tamilian districts, in the direction of Hâsanûr; which, on E. longitude 77° 20′ and N. latitude 11° 45′ form portion of the Eastern Ghats. And that they then divided into two or more parts, of which one settled in a northerly direction, near Kôlegâll, and the other migrated or was driven in the direction of the Nilagiri Mountain;[13] the greater number 101 131 173

[12] Vide Chapter XXIX., 'Outlines of the Tuḍa Grammar.'

At the time of recording this opinion, Dr. Pope had not had opportunity of perusing any portion of my descriptions of Toda life. Had he done so, it is possible he might have modified his views. I, who judge the Todas physically and through their antique customs and practices, fail to discover any degeneracy in the people; rather regarding them as not only without evidence of having been better, but with little appearance of having been materially different from what they now are, within any period whose length may be fixed or even approximated.

[13] Mr. Metz, who obtained this information from the Todas, is my authority for this paragraph.

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settling on its very topmost plateau, where we now find them, whilst a small remnant, winding behind its north-western slopes, remained on one of the lower plateaus, called the Wynâd.

This modern place of Toda residence is an isolated mountain, upwards of seven thousand feet above sea level, upreared on E. longitude 76° 45′ and N. latitude 11° 20′, amidst the plains of South India—the gigantic and sudden culmination of the minor mountain-chain system, called the Eastern and Western Ghats, which there meet.

These, their last movements, having been very small and of minor importance, I have included their past and their present places of residence in one area, marked VI. on the map.

Not only the summit of the Nilagiris, but the tops of the minor rounded eminences thereon, are studded with kairns, raised for the reception of ashes of the dead, by a race whose history has been so completely lost that not a tradition even of it remains. On the same plateau are also a few kromlechs, also many deserted circles of stones, situated near streams of running water; some manifestly constructed for pounding cattle, others, with equal certainty, not made for that purpose —being in exposed situations and having rocky beds.

These erections undoubtedly do not belong to the Todas, who not only do not regard them with reverence, but assert that they were of a people antecedent to themselves on the mountain. Moreover they are found in many parts of the Indian peninsula and of Western India. But I may do service in drawing attention to points in which the cremation customs of this unknown race are those of the Todas, and to those in which they differ from them.

In brief, we find, from relics exhumed from kairns, that their owners made use of the horse: that they practised agriculture, holding the buffalo in high esteem, and burying its bell with the manes of the deceased. We learn that they were acquainted with the use of the spear, bow and arrow:

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that their women wore simple jewelry, and that all their implements, weapons and ornaments, whilst of a very primitive nature, were of designs extant, not only in India, but in this part of the country.

We may safely deduce from the evidences of care manifest in the solidity of these stone receptacles, as well as from the positions in which we find them, both that these people held the memory of the dead in great respect, and their property alive to be their property when dead, and that their religious belief, as regards the future state, was connected by some line of thought with prominent natural features of the country.

In many respects, viz. in the custom of cremation, the regard shown to buffaloes, the especial notice of its bell, the practice of burying weapons and personal ornaments, we shall find in due course, almost an identity with the obsequies and modes of thought now displayed by the Todas; and Mr. Metz writes, concerning the Toda faith: 'Their idea is that the spirits of deceased Todas, together with the souls of the buffaloes killed by their friends to accompany them to heaven and supply them with milk there, *take a leap from Makurti Peak*, as the nearest way to the celestial regions.'[14]

The chief points of variance between the two peoples, consist in the evidences in the Kairn-builders, of a civilisation —implied in the practice of agriculture, and in raising stone constructions to contain their dead—somewhat superior to that of the Todas. Regarding the matter of husbandry, the Todas could not be more backward in respect to these unknown Kairn-builders than they are behind all the tribes of Drâvidians which at this very day surround and isolate them. A certain small degree only of civilisation is of necessity implied in the presence of simple implements of cultivation.

The evidence of ~~stone-cemeteries~~, probably does not imply

[14] Metz, 'The Tribes of the Nilghiry Hills.'

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the exercise of so much labour as would at first appear; for what more likely—indeed, almost certain—than that each village or family erected one once for all for itself, and that it was filled in by degrees? But it would express a method of disposing of the ashes, somewhat superior in completeness, refinement, and perhaps in depth of religious feeling, to that practised by the Todas, nothing more. No essential difference in race, but merely a tribal custom.

I would advance, therefore, the great likelihood of these Kairn-builders having been members of certain Turanian tribes of a similar stage of culture to our early Drâvidians; each of which would have brought with it the custom of the particular portion of Western Asia from which it migrated—this tribe, apparently, from a rocky and hilly region.

It does not seem too much to insist that, in grand migrations of primitive races, not merely families of one spirited tribe would move together, but they would be attended or followed at intervals of time by other tribes dependent on or patronised by them; not necessarily closely related, though perhaps near neighbours. All, however, moved by the same impetus: continued pressure from without, a succession of famines at the door, or a vacuum to be filled up.

Had the Todas died out a hundred years ago, but little remembrance of them would survive at this day. Similarly, these defunct races live solely in their imperishable monuments.

In Chapter XIX., on the Boath, will be found the suggestion that that eccentric building may have belonged to the Kairn-builders. I do not wish to press the theory with undue vigour; yet, if form is in a degree, a sort of index or expression of the mind that adopts it, I think that, in the unusual shape of roof (pointing upwards) in the Boath, may lurk a mental impulse in co-ordination with that which prompted them to place kairns on the top of hills; some superior

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religious development of the tribe; the root, I may term it, of some such conception as leads us to the words:

Nearer, my God, to Thee, nearer to Thee.

Certain it is that the Todas, who grovel to the earth, show in their cremation custom, as in the architecture of their most holy place, a parity in lowliness as much marked as this prominence of individuality which we note in the Kairn-builders.

I have apparently stepped out of my way to speculate on the remains of an unknown people, but my object has been to show a possible connection between the Kairn-builders and the Todas.

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CHAPTER II.

PHRENOLOGICAL BASIS.

Contrast between simple and complex Races—Advantages in noting Groups of Organs—Necessity for studying individual Organs—The Properties and Positions of Groups and of the Organs in each Group—Effects of Size and Quality in Brain—Power—Two Varieties of Energy—Mutual Influence of the Organs—Correlation between Organology, Temperament, and Bodily Structure—Description of the main Temperaments amongst Oriental Races.

CHAP. II.

In the practice of phrenology amongst a civilised people, more especially in one which is—like the English for example—the resultant breed of several distinct races, which though intimately mixed have never completely amalgamated and fused into a single type; an apparently endless variety of combinations of organs and temperaments is met with, sufficient to tax the utmost sensitiveness to perception of varieties and experience of character, to decipher and analyse. In such circumstances, amongst such races, ability to estimate the exact size of each separate faculty, and its value relative to the whole mass of the cranium: to understand the influence of each mixed-temperament upon that complicated headpiece, and to take into just consideration each one of the many circumstances that would influence its activity, is absolutely essential to success.

But in the examination of primitive tribes, particularly *one which having long practised endogamy*—or the habit of uniting in wedlock solely within its own community—*is uniform in appearance*, we escape most of these difficulties. Nothing perhaps marks the difference in cranial appearance, between savage

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and civilised races, more than the complexity in variety of temperament, the numerous shades of capacity and shape of brain, and the many degrees of sizes in organs amongst the latter, as compared with the extreme simplicity and uniformity of the former.

Visit one of these very primitive endogamous tribes, and we at once find ourselves in the presence of a crowd of individuals all of the same type, whose temperaments are in their least complex forms, the general size and configuration of whose skulls is very uniform and easy to read, whose figure, voice, and carriage, are similar, and whose circumstances of daily life, whether they be the cause or the effect, or the joint-cause and effect of this similarity, are throughout alike; who in fact differ in outward appearance only in modifications—generally slight—of a few single organs.

They present scarcely more differences in appearance and character than any one dog does from any other of the same kennel of hounds.

For general ethnographic purposes therefore, in which research would probably be limited in its aim to determining a certain few specific points; as for instance the relation of a given tribe to any other rude stock of man, or the acquisition of such knowledge of tribal idiosyncrasy as would afford the key to its management and education, a study of the physiognomy and powers of the main *groups* of cognate faculties, by which the elementary cranium of the savage acquires its distinguishing form, combined with observation of other external evidences—as size in mass of head, simple national temperament, as illustrated by physique: with voice and habits of life—will, whilst affording us much of the evidence obtainable during lifetime, also give the information necessary for learning early conditions of the human race, before the brain has acquired the great diversity in development and the amplitude in convolution which must accompany advance from absolute savagery—or extreme primitiveness—towards the

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superior stage, that of barbarism.[1] At this point of progress, the study of character growing involved and complicated, by reason of the subtle influences which fine nervous conditions exert on the form of the brain, a more minute record of the sizes of *single organs* becomes essential, more particularly if one desires to utilise phrenology to the more advanced ethnographic study, for which the science is peculiarly adapted, viz. to tracing the *correlation between the progressive growth of races, and the development of their skulls* at corresponding æras of advance.

If one wished to ascertain the true type of the English character—supposing there to be a type, and that it could be found—it certainly could not be even approximated, except by the analysis in character of a vast number of individuals of the race. But an average of ten of each sex would give us all we should care to know of the simple Toda.

With the view of enabling such of my readers as are willing, to follow me into the phrenologic mode of studying traits and customs of early races, I here give[2] briefly and concisely the attributes of each single organ and of each of the groups into which the faculties have been collected, as they would be exhibited, not so much in the conduct of civilised man, as in that of the same creature when acting under the inferior impulses of his primitive organisation.

The capacity of the following organs and groups being described as if they were each large, *their action when small* must be judged by supposing a *proportionate absence* of manifestation.

[1] Yet all barbarians have not been savages. The savage state is an energetic stage of barbarism, through which all races—especially so those who are natives of the torrid zones—do not pass.

This subject is further prosecuted in the Chapter on 'Savage Antitype.'

[2] I beg to acknowledge the advantages I have acquired in the compilation of the following pages from the perusal of Professor Bain's 'The Study of Character,' and Mr. Fowler's 'Synopsis of Phrenology,' in addition to the standard works of Mr. George Combe and others.

GROUP A.—CONCENTRATIVE.

Constituent organ.

000

1. *Concentrativeness.*

This group has but one organ. Centripetal; it affects every faculty in the head by imparting to it continuity of thought and feeling, enabling it to concentrate the attention on one object, as contrasted with a desultory tendency. Thus it is an important element in steadiness of character, presence of mind, and good memory. It gives powers of self-abstraction. It impels to conservativism, abhorring change. It adds to the power of the will, by prolonging the sensations. Combined with Group B, it probably originated the belief in a future state, and suggested the desire for pyramids and mummies.

A steady voice marks this Group.

Position and form. Creates a fulness in the back of the head, between Groups B and D.

GROUP B.—DOMESTIC.

Constituent organs.

2. *Amativeness.* Gives desire for the companionship of the opposite sex. An element in gallantry. Tends to general indecency.

3. *Philoprogenitiveness.* Is the faculty which primarily gives the love of a parent for its young whilst in the weak and defenceless state. Thence general fondness for the young and weak of all ages.

4. *Adhesiveness.* Creates a desire for friendship apart from considerations of sex. Hence gregariousness and clannishness.

Group B. Composed of the domestic and gregarious propensities. It impels to marriage; and in its love of children, fondness for the opposite sex, desire for friendship, regard for

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the dead, and love for the family or home, imparts the constituents of a warm-hearted disposition.

Low and tender notes are the expression of this Group.

Position and form. Causes elongation and fulness in the middle and lower portion of the back of the head.

GROUP C. INVIGORATING.

Constituent organs.

5. *Combativeness.* Occasions opposiveness and willingness to meet physical danger; is therefore a main element in active courage and fortitude. Likes close fighting.

6. *Destructiveness.* Prompts to overcome difficulties by exertion, and gives the energy required. Tends to acts of revenge and cruelty, to suicide, sanguinary rites and cannibalism. Suggested the idea of perpetual punishment. Is accompanied by violence of temper. Believed to give fortitude to bear physical pain.

7. *Secretiveness.* Enjoins secrecy and silence. Gives the main element of tact, finesse, cunning, and capacity to hide one's own feelings, with skill to penetrate the designs of others. Tends to distrust, duplicity, and treachery. Combined with Destructiveness, enjoys the act of torture and refinements of cruelty. In war would be partial to ambushes and perhaps night attacks; in religion would practise mystic rites.

8. *Acquisitiveness.* Occasions desire generally. Gives talent for accumulation. Tenacious, it is opposed to communism. Tends to rapacity and theft.

9. *Alimentativeness.* Is the organ which gives discrimination in the flavour of food, and fondness for variety in diet; tends to gluttony. Combined with Destructiveness, demands flesh and stimulants; and, under exciting circumstances, prompts to cannibalism. When combined with a high coronal region, is also very partial to sweets.

10. *Constructiveness.* Creates talent for building and contrivance. Gave men houses, implements, forts and weapons.

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Group C. Gives impulses to overcome difficulty of every nature, and to subdue. To provide by *action* for the daily animal wants of self and—in combination with Group B—of family. Hence it imparts vigour, skilful efficiency, and impetus to the whole character, by stimulating the other faculties. When in excess, the character tends to treachery, avarice, gluttony, and general ferocious habit.

Harsh low tones express the activity of this Group.

Position and form. Gives breadth and fulness to the sides of the head, immediately around and in front of the ears. When Destructiveness is very large, the holes of the ears are placed low with reference to the line of the eyebrows.

Group D. Personal.

Constituent organs.

11. *Self-esteem.* Gives self-regard and pride. Tends to self-reliance. Is fond of power. Sensitive to personal position. Enamoured of freedom.

12. *Love of approbation.* Desires to please. Vain. Fond of ornament. Sensitive to outside opinion. Tends to courtesy and the use of flattery.

13. *Firmness.* Gives capacity for pursuing a line of conduct, when unopposed. Is the main element in decision of character. Apt to decide too soon. Tends to obstinacy.

Group D supplies will and self-confidence, and gives personal motives, as pride, vanity, and perseverance, tending to action on account of self or—in combination with Group B—of family interests. Connected with Group E, it assumes an elevating and ennobling character, with a hatred of tyranny and desire to protect. Combined with Groups A and E, gave mainly the conception of Jehovah to the Jews.

The voice of this Group is firm and measured.

Position and form. Creates an elongation and fulness of and around the pole of the head, whence the hair radiates.

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GROUP E. MORAL.

Constituent organs.

000

14. *Conscientiousness.* Gives love of truth, and of what is honest, just, right or faithful. Gives earnestness and simplicity to character. Gives the appearance of truth even to falsehood. Is apt to be harsh and exacting. Tends to austerities, asceticism, and general self-sacrifice.

15. *Veneration.* Desires to pay respect; raises and multiplies objects of worship; prompts to religious service, the nature of rites and sacrifices being dependent on the combinations made with other organs, as Amativeness, Destructiveness, Hope, Conscientiousness. Tends to slavishness.

16. *Hope.* Gives sanguine feelings, supporting and encouraging the belief in a future state, and inciting to acts by which it may be attained. Leads to idleness. Is a great element in the gambling spirit.

17. *Benevolence.* Leads to kindness, liberality, and mercy. Its impulse is, to give; thus tending to prodigality.

18. *Cautiousness.* Affords the desire to act with care and circumspection, and to provide for dangerous contingencies. If not coupled with Combativeness, tends to cowardice.

Group E. Creates virtuous sentiments, emotions, and duties of a sincere, generous, hopeful, and reverential nature. Combined with Amativeness and with Group C, religious action degenerates into the performance of sensual and cruel rites. In combination with Group D, it partakes of a personal nature; Group F supplying it with an element of romance, poetry, or superstition; and Groups G, H, and I with system and logic.

Soft and rich tones are the natural expression of this group.

Position and form. Gives fulness, height, and an arched appearance to the whole crown or roof of the head.

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GROUP F. REFINING.

Constituent organs.

19. *Imitation.* Copies sounds, actions, forms, thoughts. By perpetuating usage, preserves results of progress. An element in all arts. Induces men to follow a lead. 000

20. *Wonder.* Is interested in the unseen or unusual. Tends to superstition. Gives credence in gods, spirits, ghosts, and witchcraft. Is a source of myths and legends. Exaggerates. Leads to investigation and to gossip.

21. *Ideality.* Loves the beautiful. Gives grace to all conceptions. Partial to ornament. Is a bardic element, and gave gods to the Âryas.

Group F. The refinement of the human race, or its progress beyond the material, owes its growth to the impulse given both to morals and the intellect by the imaginative, inquiring, speculative, inventive qualities of this group.

Position and form. Causes breadth and fulness of the head, from the top of the temples to the forepart of the crown.

GROUP G. REFLECTIVE.

Constituent organs.

22. *Wit.* Notices incongruity. Is a main element in the sense of the ludicrous. Gives suppleness, discrimination, and resource to the intellect by presenting various sides of a question. Assists in caricaturing.

23. *Causality.* Observes the just relation between cause and effect. Acts with reason and judgment. Tends to excessive refinement in logical conception.

24. *Comparison.* Notices resemblances. Reasons by analogy. Is a source of parables and proverbs. Assists in

CHAP. II. creating gods, and fashioning idols and symbols generally. Gives nicknames.

Group G. By its evolutionary powers of thought and reason, by its capacity for perceiving the connection between cause and effect, and for dividing truth from absurdity, is rendered not only competent to superintend the operations of all the other groups—leading them to act with judgment—but places them in a position to realise the true connection of all the parts of the universe. When this group is well developed, man has long left the savage stage.

Position and form. Gives height, fulness, and breadth to the upper part of the forehead.

GROUP H. { PERCEPTIVE. DYNAMICAL.

Constituent organs.

25. *Language.* Gives to every faculty, power of expressing itself by signs or words. Articulates. Tends to garrulity.

26. *Eventuality.* Observes movements, events, and muscular expressions. Gives an inquiring nature, with much of intuition. Impulsive. An element in all dances. Gesticulates.

27. *Time.* Notices lapse of time. Gives cadence in song or dance. Tends to periodic celebrations.

28. *Tune.* Observes quality, succession, and harmony in tones of sound. Is an element in singing, and chief organ in musical composition. Prompts to invention of musical instruments.

Group H. Contains such faculties as obtain practical knowledge through observation of movement. Has great power of expressing ideas.

Position and form. Creates fulness, breadth, and squareness to the middle-horizontal zone of the forehead, and gives prominence to the eyes.

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GROUP I. { PERCEPTIVE. STATICAL.

Constituent organs.

29. *Number.* Gives conception of numbers, and power to calculate and compute values. Is an important element in the talent for commerce and barter. Tends to economy and to love of money.

30. *Order.* Notes method in the relative position and succession of things. Gives neatness, and fondness for dress.

31. *Colour.* Perceives colours, the quality and harmony of their shades. Renders the sight of flowers pleasing. Gives colour in dress.

32. *Weight.* Gives sensibility in matters of weight and lightness, stability and resistance; as in the balance or poise, the touch, degree of force to be used. Gives dexterity in mental processes. Is fond of glitter. Is a source of skill in many games, as riding, and throwing weapons. Suggested the shape of the Pyramids.

33. *Locality.* Takes cognisance of the relative position of objects. Gives *coup d'œil.* Is fond of travelling; combined with large Eventuality, and deficient Concentrativeness, Acquisitiveness, and Order, tends to a vagrant life.

34. *Individuality.* Notes the existence of objects, without regard to their properties or modes of action.

35. *Form.* Judges of form; aids in making idols, hieroglyphs, and weapons. Joined with Size, Weight, and Comparison, gives judgment in the useful qualities of animals.

36. *Size.* Estimates size. Takes cognisance of space. Geometric. Is necessary in projecting missiles at unknown distances.

Group I. Is constituted of such faculties as obtain practical knowledge through noting statistics; as material objects,

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CHAP. II. facts, places, and numbers, with their physical properties and mutual relations.

000 *Position and form.* Causes protrusion, breadth and squareness of the whole ridge of the forehead on which the eyebrows grow; forming what is termed 'deep-set eyes.' The distance from the hole of the ear to the forehead is long.

It is not to be expected that the precise same collection of organs as I have included in each group will meet with universal approval. It must remain a matter of opinion whether certain faculties included in one cluster should not more properly belong to another, owing to the circumstance that organs often possess qualities partaking somewhat of the nature of one or more of those immediately adjoining them. Thus, Wit may by some be held a reflective faculty; by others to be more imaginative. And with much appearance of truth, Cautiousness, whilst acknowledged to be eminently conducive to morality, may yet be esteemed a propensity.

Whilst adopting from Mr. Fowler[3] the idea of grouping organs together, I have yet been induced to make certain modifications from the groups he formed, guided by personal observation of the forms which—as I think I notice—the skulls of simple races actually assume. Prolonged study alone of such people, in various stages of their early culture, will demonstrate with any degree of certainty, the exact mode and succession by which man's cranium expands, unfolds, or blooms; but assuredly that study will well repay all trouble that can be bestowed upon it.

It is now universally admitted that, other conditions being equal, size of brain—the organ of the mind—is a measure of power in its manifestation, as in that of all other organs of the body. Professor Bain writes, 'Just as largeness of muscle gives greater strength of body as a general rule, so largeness

[3] Fowler, 'Synopsis of Phrenology.'

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of brain gives greater vigour of mental impulse.'[4] 'The causes which modify the effects of size, are constitution, or quality, health, exercise, excitement from external objects, and in some cases the mutual influence of the organs.'[5] In fact, 'quality is as important as quantity, whether in nerve, muscle, or any other portion of the animal structure.'[6] What holds true of the whole is equally applicable as regards its component parts; hence, size of any organ, or of any group of organs, is, *cæteris paribus*, a measure of its or their capacity to act.

Power is the product of size and quality. Energy and rapidity being results of size and quality, combined in different proportions.

In studying the subject of energy in character, we should be careful to make a marked difference between that nature of vigour which arises from a brilliant temperament combined with well-developed Destructiveness and Combativeness, and that which is the result of the fine temperament acting with those organs small. The former works full power; actively, energetically, and with strength rising in proportion to the obstacles it meets, and lasting into advanced years. The latter shows the greatest brilliancy in positions where least opposition is met with; and its energy being very largely dependent on the state of the nervous system, the vigour of youth and health is often early supplanted by indolence.

It must be remembered, when judging of the joint action of two or more organs, that they habitually exert a mutual influence, tending to modify the mode in which both operate. But that at times they may act individually or separately according as one or other may be under the influence of exciting causes. Thus, Benevolence and Destructiveness when in unison, may give either active energy in doing a kind act, and in overcoming obstacles that may intervene between its

[4] Bain, 'The Senses and the Intellect.'
[5] G. Combe, 'Elements of Phrenology.'
[6] Bain, 'The Senses and the Intellect.'

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performance; or they may operate to modify desire for revenge. On the other hand, if acting apart, the head would at one time be influenced by bloodthirsty desires, and at another by kindly motives.

Important constitutional qualities are to a certain extent indicated by Temperament; regarding which, although we have very much to learn as to its origin, modes of action, and precise effects in the economy of our system: yet, judging from the analogies nature continually presents to our consideration, in which—as an illustration—we observe the concord between the habits of birds of prey and the shape of their skull, beak, talons, and general configuration as contrasted with the inoffensive character and forms of the pigeon; I hold the belief—which can become illusionary only when hawk's talons are met allied with pigeon's brains—that an intimate connection, more close than we perhaps generally apprehend, will be shown with the advance of morphology and physiology, to exist through links of simple cause and effect, between the shapes which portions of the brain assume, and the temperament which results from certain conditions and relative proportions of our physical structure.

The study of temperament has hitherto been mainly conducted by examination of its effects in complex civilised life: but much advantage might accrue to our stock of knowledge, if the subject was prosecuted amongst isolated wild tribes. The conditions of their lives would afford many opportunities of watching the effects on negative as well as on positive developments of mind, of temperaments in various simple and healthy forms. 'There may be one' organ of the body 'vigorous and all the rest weak; one vigorous, the rest average; two vigorous and all the others weak; none preponderating, and all good, all middling, or all bad; and so on through endless combinations.'[7]

At present there is a seeming antagonism between organ-

[7] Bain, 'The Senses and the Intellect.'

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ology and temperament, which further information might perhaps dissipate. For instance, the Fibrous combined with a brain deficient in the propensities and power of Will, or the Sanguine with small Hope and desire for motion, would seem to be anomalies. In both instances, the desire for action which the temperament brought, would not find correlation with harmonious mental desires.

The following extracts from Mr. George Combe's interesting work, 'Phrenology applied to Painting and Sculpture,' affords some examples of his opinion as to the relation between size in particular regions of the brain and particular characteristics of the body. 'There is a correspondence between the thorax and abdomen and brain. It is rarely that a large anterior lobe and narrow base are combined with large lungs and a large abdomen. And equally seldom that a large base and small anterior lobe are combined with small lungs and a small abdomen.' Again, 'There is, generally speaking, a decided character pervading the whole corporeal frame of man, which bears a relation to the size, form, and condition of the brain. And every part of the visible surface expresses the quantity as well as the quality of the mental power which animates it.'[8]

I have observed a marked connection between the brachycephalous head—so termed by ethnographers—and broad shoulders. Although from exceptional causes the rule will not always hold good amongst individuals of a *mixed* race, yet an inspection of masses of men of the dolichocephalic type of nation, will convince most people that they cannot campare in width of shoulder with the brachycephali.[9]

A correlation may be noted between the high coronal region and sloping shoulders.

A connection between Alimentativeness and the organs of digestion is evident. When the faculty is small, the abdomi-

[8] G. Combe, 'Phrenology applied to Painting and Sculpture.'
[9] This subject is continued in Chapter IX.

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nal region will be small also; and be generally accompanied by tendency to the maladies which arise from weak powers in that region. When large, the converse may with equal certainty be looked for.

The following are the outward indications by means of which the four main temperaments may be recognised amongst *dark races*, and their effects on the working qualities of body and brain.

THE TEMPERAMENTS.

Fibrous.

Physiognomy. A large lean frame of compact bone and hard spare muscles. Thorax broad rather than deep. Abdomen moderate.

Feet and hands broad and thick. Strong fingers and stout nails.

Teeth strong, broad, yellow, and blunt-edged.

Bold features: nose a coarse aquiline.

Eyes bright and dark; the whites not clear.

Skin coarse and hairy.

Hair coarse and curly.

Brain. The mind energetic, but not vivid: with power of long continued action, conspicuously so when 'mental exertion involves the muscles, which happens in such avocations as military command, teaching, speaking.'[10]

This temperament, from the excess of muscular energy over nerve, forms an excellent combination with the nervous; the amalgam, where the brain is large, giving great intellectual activity joined with powers of mental and bodily endurance. Where uncombined with the nervous temperament, and the brain is small, the energies show best when employed in operations requiring physical strength and moderate intelligence.

Muscular action. Sedate.

[10] Bain, 'On the Study of Character.'

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Nervous.[11]

Physiognomy. A slight frame, with small bones and muscles. Small thorax and abdomen.

Feet and hands narrow. Taper fingers and thin, often paper nails.

Teeth very white, and frequently sharp-edged. Apt to be crowded together, and to decay early.

Refined features: nostrils long, narrow, and thin.

Eyes bright and often brilliant. Whites very clear.

Skin thin, delicate. Body nearly free from hair.

Hair on the scalp, close, silky, and nearly straight, but often very long.

Brain. All the senses very acute. The mind impressible, clear, active, vivid or intense, but fatigues easily. Expression eminently intelligent and sensitive. Great definition of organs, arising from leanness of the skull.

This temperament, from the excess of nerve, 'delights in mental emotion and intellectual pursuits.'[12] But where the brain is intrinsically small, the energies waste themselves in excitement about trifles. It gives what is termed 'blood,' and tends to degenerate into 'want of bone,' with its concomitant, deficient strength.

Muscular action. Rapid and sharp, often confused and hurried.

Sanguine.

Physiognomy. A well developed handsome form, with full rounded, rather than hard muscles. Thorax deep rather than broad. Abdomen full. Sternum protruding.

Hands and feet well shaped, with high instep. Healthy looking, pink, rounded nails.

[11] Perhaps the inhabitant of Bengal Proper, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, affords the best *national* example of this temperament.

[12] G. Combe, 'Elements of Phrenology.'

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Teeth long, strong, rather yellow, blunt-edged.

Nostrils broad and rather open.

Eyes open, ardent. Whites often blood-shot. Pupils blue amongst some races. More generally hazel.

Skin moderately fine, warm, often rich coloured and ruddy.

Hair: plenty of beard and whisker, of moderate firmness, wavy and flowing.

Brain. Vigorous, vivacious, ardent, enthusiastic, where the interests, emotions, or passions are engaged; otherwise apt to be indolent. Works best when business and physical pleasure combine. This temperament, with its vigorous circulatory system, combines well with the nervous and fibrous temperaments; the three together giving activity, strength, and buoyancy both of mind and body. But 'combined with much of the lymphatic, it is unfavourable to mental manifestations, and requires almost constant exercise in the open air.'[13]

Muscular action. Buoyant and active.

Lymphatic.

This temperament is rarely to be met with amongst dark races. But Mr. Combe describes its appearance in western nations as follows:—'The lymphatic temperament is distinguishable by a round form of body, softness of the muscular system, repletion of the cellular tissue, fair hair, a pale clear skin, and a hazy sleepy eye. It is accompanied by languid vital actions, and weakness and slowness in the circulation. The brain, as a part of the system, is also slow, languid, and feeble in its action, and the mental manifestations are proportionally sluggish and weak.'[14]

[13] Fowler, 'Synopsis of Phrenology.'
[14] G. Combe, 'Elements of Phrenology.'

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CHAPTER III.

PHYSIOLOGY OF THE TODAS.

Table of Relative Proportions in the Toda Head—Scheme of numbering Organs—No Skulls procurable—Individual Organs frequently assume abnormal Proportions—Difference between the Sexes—Calliper Measurements—Amativeness of moderate Size—Why should Form be singularly small?—Physical Appearance of the Todas—Their Temperament—Largest and smallest Groups.

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THE Table No. 1, which represents the relative *proportions* in size of organs and groups of organs in the Toda head, is the recorded result of thirty-six manipulations in each of eighteen nearly unselected adults of both sexes. In inviting some degree of confidence in these investigations, it is necessary for me to disclaim pretensions to their absolute accuracy; for many circumstances which need scarcely be here enumerated, including the actual difficulty in obtaining satisfactory results in investigations amongst very thick tangled hair, oppose themselves to the practical attainment of such a result, however desirable. Yet, confident in my desire to obtain a correct record of the form of the savage skull, by maintaining as far as possible, freedom from bias or preference, I think that the *averages* at least, both of organs and of groups, may be recommended as containing as much of truth as may be obtained under like circumstances by any process of analysis with which science is at present acquainted.

The unvarying type of the Toda head, and the extraordinary uniformity of its general size, suggested to me both the possibility and the advantage of the principle adopted in recording these measurements; of referring them all to one

TABLE I.

Relative Proportions in Size of Organs and Groups of Organs in the Toda Head.

Groups			Organs																											
Letters	Proportionate sizes		Names	Average sizes		Largest sizes		Smallest sizes		Proportionate sizes in Individuals																				
										Males										Females									
	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	7	7	Concentrativeness	5·6	5·4	7	6	6	4	5	6	7	6	6	5	6	5	5	5	5	6	5	6	5	6	4	6
B	7	7	Amativeness	4·0	3·3	5	4	3	3	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	3	3	3	4	3	4	3	3
			Philoprogenitiveness	5·9	6·4	7	7	5	6	5	7	6	7	6	6	6	5	5	6	6	7	6	7	7	6	6	6
			Adhesiveness	6·6	6·3	7	7	5	6	6	5	6	5	6	6	7	5	7	7	6	6	6	6	7	6	6	7
C	1	1	Combativeness	3·3	3·3	4	5	2	2	2	2	4	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	2	3	3	4	3	4	2	5
			Destructiveness	2·7	2·8	4	4	1	2	1	2	3	4	3	3	2	3	4	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	2	2
			Secretiveness	2·9	2·8	4	4	1	1	2	4	3	4	3	3	2	4	3	1	2	3	3	4	3	4	1	2
			Acquisitiveness	2·5	2·6	3	3	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
			Alimentativeness	1·9	1·9	3	3	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	1	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	1	1
			Constructiveness	2·8	3·0	3	4	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	2	4	3	4	3	3	2	3
D	4	4	Self-esteem	3·6	4·3	6	6	1	2	3	6	4	5	2	3	1	5	4	3	4	5	2	3	6	5	4	5
			Love of approbation	3·9	4·4	6	6	2	2	2	4	5	6	3	5	3	4	5	2	4	6	2	3	5	5	4	6
			Firmness	5·0	5·0	6	6	4	4	6	6	5	6	4	5	4	6	4	4	4	6	4	4	6	6	5	x

E	4	5	Conscientiousness	3·8	3·8	6	5	2	2	6	5	5	5	2	4	2	4	2	3	2	5	2	4	3	5	4	5
			Veneration	4·5	5·4	6	6	3	4	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	5	4	3	6	5	6	4	6	6	5	5
			Hope	3·3	3·9	5	5	2	3	3	5	5	4	2	4	2	3	3	2	5	4	3	3	4	5	3	4
			Benevolence	4·4	4·8	6	6	2	4	5	6	5	5	5	4	2	3	6	3	5	5	6	4	5	5	4	4
			Cautiousness	3·7	2·9	4	4	3	2	3	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	4	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	4
F	1	1	Imitation	3·6	3·4	6	5	2	2	3	5	4	5	3	3	2	3	6	2	2	3	4	3	5	4	3	3
			Wonder	2·3	2·5	4	4	1	1	1	3	3	3	4	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	3	4	3	1	3
			Ideality	2·6	2·6	4	4	1	1	1	4	3	4	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	4	1	4	2	3	2	3
G	2	1	Wit	2·3	2·0	4	3	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	1	2	4	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	3
			Causality	3·1	2·9	4	4	1	2	3	3	4	4	3	4	1	3	4	2	2	3	3	3	2	4	2	4
			Comparison	4·1	3·6	6	5	2	1	4	4	6	5	4	5	2	5	3	3	2	4	5	4	4	4	1	5
H	3	2	Language	4·0	3·0	6	4	2	2	3	5	3	6	6	5	3	4	2	3	2	4	2	4	2	3	4	3
			Eventuality	5·4	3·9	6	5	4	1	5	4	6	6	5	6	6	5	5	6	1	5	5	5	5	4	2	4
			Time	4·5	3·0	6	4	2	1	2	4	4	6	5	6	5	4	4	5	1	4	4	4	4	3	1	3
			Tune	1·4	1·9	3	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	1	4	1	2	1	2
I_1	1	1	Number	2·4	2·3	4	3	1	1	1	4	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	1	2
			Order	2·6	2·3	4	3	2	1	3	4	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	1	2	3	2	3	1	3
I_2	6	3	Colour	3·8	3·3	6	4	2	2	4	4	4	6	3	4	3	4	2	4	3	2	4	4	4	3	2	4
			Weight	5·5	3·9	7	5	4	2	6	4	6	6	4	7	5	6	5	6	3	3	4	5	5	4	2	5
			Locality	6·5	4·0	7	6	5	3	7	5	7	6	7	7	6	7	6	7	3	4	3	5	6	3	3	5
			Individuality	5·9	4·1	7	6	4	3	7	4	6	6	6	6	5	6	6	7	5	3	3	5	6	3	3	5
			Form	3·2	3·5	4	4	1	3	3	2	5	4	1	4	3	4	2	4	3	3	4	4	4	3	3	4
			Size	4·5	3·6	7	5	1	3	5	1	7	5	5	5	2	5	4	6	4	3	3	5	3	3	3	5

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standard by giving one number (7) for the largest, and one number (1) for the smallest organ in every head. Thus each number in the table not only indicates the relative proportion which a certain organ bears to every other faculty in the same head, but in all the crania of both sexes throughout the tribe. In pursuing this scheme, not only has a fair amount of accuracy been maintained in the observations, but a trustworthy average has been recorded for each organ, and thence—by similar process—of each group in the Toda skull. It will prove an interesting and valuable practical result, if by means of this process, we may be enabled to form a really true estimate of savage type, and learn the precise character and capabilities of any individual wild tribe.

Although amongst these figures the proportions of some of the ablest[1] and most respected members of the tribe are represented, it will be observed how similar the main forms of their skulls are, and that variations are confined entirely to single organs whilst the groups maintain a surpassing uniformity of appearance.

Two portraits—in side and full face—of a man and a woman, photographed to scale, are here given, by which some means are afforded of comparing the descriptions which are given in these pages with examples of 'real life,' and of enabling my readers to supply any other processes of estimating character from forms of crania, or of usefully classifying races that may be known to them.

It is unfortunate that no member of either sex could be induced to submit to having the head shaved. As the practice of cremation is the universal mode of disposing of the dead, the portraiture of a head without hair or of a skull without flesh could by no manner of chance be obtained. The male subject in the picture was selected solely

[1] This reminds one somewhat that the emperor of the Lilliputians was 'taller, by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into his beholders.'

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Opp. p. 32-B

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on account of being one of the baldest men of the tribe, though his head is also above the average. The woman—well, beauty has charms! She was so good-natured or so vain as to put her hair into 'curl-papers' for me; but she was photographed as she now appears because the curls formed artificial 'bumps' interfering with my purposes.

In other parts of this book the portraits of two women will be found who had been chosen on account of unusual development; No. 25, 'The Little Savage,' has the largest Veneration, and No. 16, Avv, the largest Firmness I saw.

Perhaps the most noteworthy information which a close scrutiny of the figures of Table No. 1 affords, is that notwithstanding all the members of this little tribe have—as will be described in future chapters—intermarried most intimately for untold generations, and have lived under precisely similar circumstances, yet *in the midst of the remarkable uniformity of cranial development, which is evidently a result of this incestuous state, individual faculties frequently assume abnormal proportions*, large and small, considerably at variance with the common average. This affords us some slight insight into the working of nature in respect of national growth; enabling us to apprehend with what readiness, varieties may originate in a race whose marriage custom is opposed to incest, or whose families separating from one another, form social unions varying with the differing circumstances in which each may in course of generations be placed. It is the induration of these eccentric organic growths through hereditary descent, which gives us permanent varieties of the human race.

Although this Table bears internal evidence to the fact that the Toda head, simple as it is, is not as simple as it might be, and that in consequence it has no title to be considered as a sample of an absolutely primeval race; yet, amidst many points deserving attention, it possesses one of peculiar interest; through pointing to the nature and amount of difference existing between the sexes, in a tribe

TABLE II.

Sizes of Heads in both Sexes of the Todas, as obtained by Calliper Measurements.

Position of Callipers		Average size		Sizes of Individuals, in inches																		
				Males										Females								
From	To	M	F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Occipital spine .	Individuality .	7·39	7·14	7¼	7⅛	7½	7¼	7½	7½	7¼	7½	7½	7⅜	7¼	6⅝	7½	7¼	7	6¾	7¼	7½
Occipital spine.	Hole of ear .	4·67	4·70	4¾	4¾	5	4½	4½	4	4½	4¾	5	4⅞	4¼	4⅜	4½	4¾	5¼	4¼	4¾	5
Individuality .	Hole of ear .	4·94	4·50	5	4¾	5	5	4¾	5	4¾	5¼	5	4¾	4½	4⅜	4½	4½	4½	4½	4½	4¾
Firmness . .	Hole of ear .	5·75	5·78	5¾	6	5½	5¼	5¾	5¾	6	5¾	5¾	6	6	5¼	6	6	5¾	5½	5¾	6
Destructiveness.	Destructiveness	5·41	5·17	5¼	5¼	5½	5½	5½	5¾	5	5½	5½	5½	5¼	5½	5¼	5¼	5	5¼	5	5¼
Cautiousness .	Cautiousness .	5·44	5·17	5¼	5½	5½	5½	5½	5½	5½	5½	5¼	5⅜	5¼	5½	5½	5¼	5	5	5	5¼
Ideality . .	Ideality .	4·39	4·37	4¼	4	4½	4½	4⅜	4½	4¾	4¼	4¼	4½	4¼	4⅜	4⅜	4½	4¼	4½	4½	4¼
Constructiveness	Constructiveness	4·91	4·66	4¾	4¾	5	5	4¾	5	4¾	4¾	5¼	5	4½	4¾	4¾	4¾	4¾	4½	4½	4¾
Circumference of head through Concentrativeness and Eventuality		22·21	21·37	22	22	—	—	21½	—	22	22¼	22	22¾	21¾	20¼	22	21½	20¾	—	22	—

NOTE.—The heads are not in the same succession as those in Table No. 1.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

which is not more advanced than the remotely-ancient people living towards the end of the glacial period in Europe, the surviving records of whose dexterous skill and admirable artistic efforts, mark them as having been fully the Todas' equal in point of talent, and who certainly could not have been much their inferior in point of reverential and moral qualities.

The calliper measurements of Table No. 2 distinctly show the mass of the female head of this early type of man to be smaller than that of the male. It appears by the evidence of Table No. 1 to have a small advantage in organs affording the love of children and adhesive feelings, also in Veneration among the moral faculties. But the women are strikingly inferior to the men in respect to the entire range of the perceptive faculties, and even in the reflective powers, small though they are amongst the latter. Amativeness is rather small in both sexes, and it is remarkable and seemingly unaccountable that in the midst of so many large perceptive faculties, the organ of Form should frequently be found undersized. I cannot doubt the correctness in my observation of this organ, for the characteristic I notice, will be found in several places in this book, to be fully borne out by the evidence of facts.

One of three occurrences must have happened; the ancestral Toda must have developed, with the organ of Form alone small: or, supposing all the perceptive faculties to have been originally given to him of small size, Form must have failed to progress from its primeval dimension at the same rate as those other faculties by which we find it immediately surrounded; as for instance, Size, Individuality, Locality, and Weight; or, again, supposing the converse to have happened, that man was originally formed with all the perceptive powers large, this organ must at some subsequent period have become atrophied. The point of interest lies in the speculation; what nature of selection operating on man's characters, what circumstance in which simple races

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ever find themselves, could have had an impression so great as to have left this permanent stamp on the Toda forehead.

The following description of the physical appearance of the Todas will, I trust, prove of some value.

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Eyebrows. Horizontal, straight and of medium length; never short, sometimes long; approach each other. Sometimes fine—willow leaf—generally somewhat bushy, with hairs close and, amongst the women, soft like a beaver's.

Nose. Generally *narrow* and of medium height at the base; nasal bones broad at the lower end; long; superciliary ridge in both sexes often very strongly marked; sometimes aquiline, often nearly so, never *retroussé*. Rather fleshy; nostrils rather dilated, but sometimes long and fine. The nose rarely appears at perfection before mid-age.

Mouth. Somewhat fleshy; rather short upper lip, and rather protruding and pendant lower lip—often strikingly so, becoming more evident with advancing years.

Gums. Generally purple, but often of a bright, highly oxygenated red colour.

Teeth. Sometimes short and broad, in others long; nearly all are even, yellowish, but bright, with rounded edges, set in roomy but not large jaws. With some the teeth are set at intervals, spreading outwards like a fan. In a few cases they were found cramped and crushed together; in one or two instances the eye-teeth were prominent. The teeth last till old age.

Ears. Generally flat to the head, never standing out; long, and with a large fleshy lobe. The orifice is nearly on a line with the eyebrow.

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Hair of head. In both sexes black and heavy; in some cases close and tolerably fine, in others as much separate as in a wig, and coarse; wavy rather than curly. Both men and women habitually cut their hair, the former to about the level of the nose, and the latter at the shoulder. There are two or three nearly bald men in the tribe, but no bald women.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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Beard and whiskers. As a general rule very thick and coarse, wavy rather than curly, extending to the eyes. A few delicate men are deficient in hair.

Hair on body. At about the age of thirty often covers the entire body, as appears on the full-length photograph, especially over abdomen, chest and shoulders. Boys of fourteen are often covered with down. Women have sometimes fine hair between the shoulder-blades.

Eyes. Of medium size, a few rather large; somewhat long, though some are nearly round; horizontal; in varying shades of brown, from hazel to snaky or beady, never blue or bluish; whites rather yellow. General expression of full average intelligence, some very soft and even sad; doggish; almost all have a great power of lighting up, in some to a wonderful extent, flashing, when under even slight excitement, like brilliants.

Eyelash. Rather straight, and of moderate length and closeness, never short, but sometimes long.

Face. Rather long, oval, of pleasant contour, without anything harsh or unusual in it, but, on the contrary, often refined; a few instances of rather high cheek-bones. The jaw is sometimes, but very rarely, a little prognathous.

Nails of hand. Sometimes short and square, but more generally long and oval; convex, strong.

Nails of feet. Are more flat, probably from walking barefooted on the wet grass.

Fingers. Some square; more often rather taper.

Feet. Of medium breadth. In strong people thick, but among the weakly, thin. The instep is rarely above an average in height, often very low; the heel of ordinary shape, and rather small.

Skin. Of medium texture, brown, much the colour of the Sikhs, often warm and copperish, a few fairer.

Abdomen. Small; a paunch is never to be seen.

Thorax. Moderate; the largest girth does not exceed

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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33 in. Photograph No. 7 is the picture of one of the most sturdy men of the tribe.

142 Height. Of men, from 5 ft. 4 in. to 6 ft. 1 in.; average about 141 5 ft. 8 in. Of women, from 4 ft. 10 in. to 5 ft. 4½ in.; average about 5 ft. 1 in. There are no very short people.

Weight. Of men from about 110 to 155 lbs. There are reasons why the weight of women cannot be accurately ascertained; but it is believed to vary between 90 and 130 lbs.

142 Shoulders. Angular, never sloping, generally with a flat back.

Muscles. Never large; hard rather than full; some decidedly below the average.

The general mass of the tribe are fairly, often well grown; straight and lank, without deformity, but without any really fine people.

The men's carriage is erect, free and unconstrained, without 157 being either bold or athletic. Their manners and tone of voice are self-possessed, suave, quiet, and solemn: the women substituting a pleasing cheerfulness for solemnity. When quiescent, their expression and carriage has much oriental repose in it.

The temperament of such a people as has just been described would in the main be fibrous, with some of the sanguine or the nervous in individuals; especially so in the female sex, many of whom I noticed show a considerable amount of the nervous with advancing years. Such a national temperament is more suited to the display of qualities requiring muscular energy for their support, than of those in which the subtilty of intellect would take part.

141 We find the cranium, taken as a whole, to be of an average size; comprising certain very strong, and certain equally and lamentably weak, points of form. The singular uniformity in contour of all the heads has already been observed upon.

000 In order to form a correct, and therefore complete judgment of a man's character, it is not sufficient to take a

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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mere general view of its shape, and imagine it as acting under the influence of an average pressure. But it is necessary to master all its details. Firstly, to study the relative sizes of the groups; which knowledge will give a good general acquaintance with the disposition. Then to fill in this outline by examining all the organs of each group, so that an estimate may be formed of minute peculiarities in the idiocrasy of the person. By these processes we shall ascertain the greatest capacity of the head for acting, when most favourably placed for the display of its highest qualities; and to learn in what direction, and to what extent, it will certainly fail when situated under the influence of adverse circumstances.

By abstracting from Table No. 1, we find the following to be the largest and the smallest groups; the action of which, will, as might be expected, display the real character of the Toda. The medium groups will not exert much active influence one way or the other.

Very large. The Domestic (B) and Concentrative (A) Groups, almost throughout both sexes of the entire tribe, would be considered large in any race; Amativeness, which is of average dimensions, being undoubtedly the smallest organ in them.

The $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Perceptive}\\ \text{Statical}\end{matrix}\right\}$ Group (I_2) is, in the case of the men, nearly equally large as the above; though it varies in size considerably in individuals. Locality, Individuality, and Weight are the largest organs of the group; whilst Form and Colour are often very small, and never attain the highest figure. Amongst the women this group is below average.

Very small. The Invigorating (C), the Reflective (G), the Refining (F), and the orderly-calculating organs of Group I^1, are, with little exception, extremely small in both sexes; Comparison and Imitation being exceptionally large; and Alimentativeness, Wit, Wonder, Order, and Number the smallest organs.

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Medium. Those groups which record events, give self-reliance, and tend to general morality (H, D, E), can neither be termed large nor small; but vary considerably with individuals of both sexes, in the size of their composing organs; Eventuality, Firmness, Veneration, and Benevolence being the largest, and Language, Tune, Caution, and Hope the smallest faculties. Women have a superiority in Veneration and Benevolence over the men; whilst the males are the more observant.

The character of the Toda is written in his acts, described upon the whole face of this book.[2] I see no reason why, if caught young, he should not prove as intelligent and as useful a member of society as the humble Ryot of India. We may at least compare him with the ancient Celt of our own country, of whom it has been written; 'Do not obtain your slaves from Britain, because they are so stupid, and utterly incapable of being taught, that they are not fit to form part of the household of Athens.'[3]

[2] I abstain from giving a diagnosis of the Toda character; such as would be deduced from the sizes of his organs, the nature of his temperament, and the circumstances of his life; fearing to trespass on the patience of my readers.

[3] Cicero's letter to Atticus.

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CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTERISTICS.

Talking Voices—Modes of Salutation—Home Life—Frank and obliging Natures—Colour of the Skin—Tattoo Marks—Ornaments—Boys distinguished from Girls—Apparel—Toilette.

CHAP. IV.

THE Toda talking voice is peculiar; particularly so that of the women. Whilst on the part of the men it is strikingly grave and sedate, spoken almost *sotto voce*: the women's voice, on the contrary, is rather high, appearing to come altogether from the region at the back of the ear—the 'mastoid process.' In both sexes, but particularly with the female, the sound of the voice is somewhat musical and refined, though fatiguing to listen to from its monotonous tone. Indeed, it is somewhat astonishing that some harsh syllables of their language should come so softly from such mouths. The refinement arises doubtless, from the gentleness of their dispositions—void of asperity; its friendliness, accompanied by desire to please. Not from any innate sense of tune, for they have no more ear for music than so many crows.

Their amiability shows itself also in their observance of courteous customs. The salaam of the East, performed amongst the Todas by raising the thumb-edge of the right hand vertically to the nose and forehead, is a respectful form of address; used in addressing superiors, and on approach to sacred places, and other like occasions. When asked by what name they styled that form of salute, they replied: 'Itvâ eshken, swâmi eshken,' or, 'I say, come! I say, Lord!'

That mode of salutation which is most employed amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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equals, is the short exclamation of 'Tya!' or 'Tcha!' corresponding in its tone and mode of use to our own expression of 'Good morning!' when friends meet or pass one another. The meaning of the word is not known to me. Perhaps it has no actual meaning, though similarity of sound suggests the Hindustani word 'Achcha,' good, well—as having the same derivation.

The salute called 'Âdabuddiken,'[1] or 'I seize the foot,' is very singular. Performed when people meet who have been apart for some time, it seems to combine an expression of fealty with that of courteous respect, and perhaps of affection. Suppose a case; a group of men and women, conversing in their village, is surprised by an inroad of Toda visitors. The exclamation, 'Here is Beliâni, Beliâni's wife, and her little-sister Penpuv!' The cheerful smile lights up the assembly. Every operation is suspended. Every house discharges its occupants. All rise pleasantly, and with much gentle urbanity, to meet the new arrivals.

What now ensues depends on certain points of etiquette; matters of prudence, quite understood amongst them. In this early stage of society, the dues to sex and to age and relationship, are clearly defined. Early and constant practice has long made every woman acquainted with the position in which she stands with regard to her relatives, and to her husband's parents, elder and younger brothers; and there is little else to remember. Hence, amongst the two groups of both sexes which now meet, a glance of the eye suffices to enable each member to apprehend the position to be taken.

A man never bows down before a woman; not even a son before his mother.

A man does not bow down before another man; but women do so before women.

[1] Âdabuddiken. Aḍi = *foot*, Piḍi or Pattu = *seize, take hold of.* To *seize the foot* is a common Drâvidian expression for *homage, reverence.* [POPE.]

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A GREETING—ÂDA BUDDIKEN.

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576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Ådabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Ådabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
593 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of Ådabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

CHAP. IV. blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

531 462 The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

157 181 583 It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of [578] grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

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The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful; seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of opposiveness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

[1] The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike pertinacity; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

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153 Toda blood may ever arise to influence the tribe, yet what they do know, they know well. They are intelligent within limits. Although they take contracted views of things, yet they work and act within the circumscribed limits of their mental vision with great steadiness, intelligence, and some sense.

124 I am indebted to the quick-wittedness and patience of both
153 men and women, for the accuracy and definition of the information on the manners and customs of the tribe which I have been able to afford. I cannot present a stronger tribute to their frank and obliging communicativeness, than in stating that we made a habit of very close cross-questioning in tiny villages for three and four hours together. One woman well earned the title of Munshi, by telling us at a sitting the Toda words for the long list of relations given in Chapter VII. Notwithstanding the questions were often repeated, and many of them puzzling, she kept her head quite clear throughout, dexterously speaking with slowness and marked intonation, showing pointedly with tongue and teeth, how the syllables of the difficult words should be pronounced.

153 Though their brains became fatigued sooner than ours did, I doubt if they tired more quickly than would those of illiterate peasants in other parts of the world.

302 Travellers have affirmed that the Todas stain their skin by the use of a blue colour; but I have ascertained, both by personal inspection and by direct enquiry, that this statement is incorrect. Dark races are apt to have the skin in some portions of the body naturally of three or even four shades darker tint than in others, indeed often so strikingly dark as to give the impression that those parts had been stained. This peculiarity is nowhere more remarkable than in the nape of the neck. I have often observed it amongst the Sikhs, and it is quite apart from freckling or the effects of exposure. I noticed it so very much the case in one young woman, that I asked her if she had coloured it. The reply convinced me

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that the practice of staining the skin is quite unknown to them. CHAP. IV.

They—the women—however, mark or tattoo portions of the body, terming it Gurtu. Dr. Shortt has recorded these marks so carefully, that I cannot do better than quote his own words:—'The women,' he writes, 'are tattooed about the arms, chest, and legs in the following manner: Three semicircles of dots on the outer side of each arm, each semicircle containing nine points; a double row of dots across the upper part of the chest, about an inch below the clavicle, each row consisting of thirty-six points, about the eighth of an inch apart, the rows themselves being one inch distant from each other. Those on the arms have an intervening space of two inches; two rows, containing eight or nine points each, on the shoulders, commencing in front where the lines on the chest terminate, and extending backwards to a point on a level with the superior semicircle on the arm; a solitary dot in the centre of the chin; two circular lines of dots on each leg, the upper circle containing twenty-five and the lower only twenty dots; and a row across the dorsum of each foot, numbering from nine to eleven points. The terminal point of each row is marked by a ring, the interlinear points being simple dots, frequently taking the form of squares.'[8]

The most characteristic personal ornament amongst them, is that carried by women; an extremely clumsy metal ring—Tulwaji—weighing sometimes as much as five pounds, which is carried on the upper part of the arm, and worn according to taste; sometimes one ring on each arm, or sometimes a pair on one arm, kept apart—so that the skin may not be pinched between them—by means of a slip of padding. These rings are often built half of copper, half of brass, so that one day they may be worn presenting the one metal, and another day turned to show the other. In order that the arm may be introduced into this ponderous mass of brass, the ring is cut

[8] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

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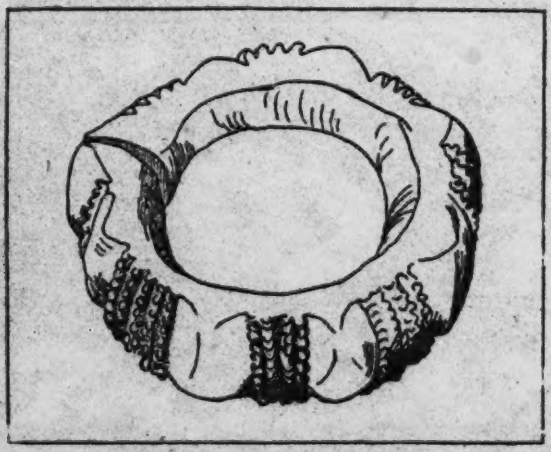
through at one place in the circle, so that by introducing a lever into the crevice it may be opened a little.[4]

The device being so heavy and inartistic, and these rings known to be often ancient heirlooms, I do not doubt we have in this quasi ornament an armlet belonging to very primitive times; one that certainly could not have undergone very great improvement since it was first adopted by the people.

No. 9.



TODA ARMLET.

Hence it may prove of some value as a means of tracing the Todas to the unknown race from which they sprang and separated.

[4] Curiously enough, on return from the Nilagiris, a friend living at Kheri in Oudh, showed me an armlet which had just been cut out of the stomach of an alligator caught in the neighbourhood. Although the workmanship of this bracelet was far more artistic than that of the clumsy Toda ornament, yet the mode of opening and shutting it was identical, and the general design, suggestive. As it was not in wear amongst any of the civilised natives of the place, and there are known to be primitive tribes living in the neighbouring jungles, it is just possible there may be some real connection between the two armlets, though separated during 3,000 or 4,000 years.

Perhaps the ornaments, likely to be equally primitive with these armlets, are the heavy bunches of coiled iron wire or of little bits of the same metal, worn like charms from both waist and elbow. Very tasteless and heavy. 301

I do not see, in the form of their finger and ear rings, necklaces and girdles, anything deserving of remark. They do not appear to me to be especially characteristic of the Todas, but rather, just what they can purchase from the tribes surrounding them. The photographs of women, show the nature of necklace worn as marriage tokens. [439]

The nose and lips are never perforated or ornamented; nor are bangles for the ankles, or bells on the toes, worn. [304]

You may distinguish a boy from a girl by the mode in which the hair is cut. With the latter, the entire back-hair is kept short from infancy till the approach to marriageable age. The former have a band of hair cut short, or shaved, along the head, from the nape of the neck, over the poll to the top of the forehead, and a cross slip carried over the top of the head from ear to ear. The smallest male infants are often so distinguished. 302

The wearing apparel of the sexes is identical. First comes the loin-cloth—Kûvn—corresponding to the Hindustani Lungoti, over which the toga—Putkuli—measuring about six feet long by four feet broad, made of coarse unbleached cotton, and worn double; ornamented at the two ends with red and blue stripes, and sometimes with a little embroidery in blue cotton. This mantle is sufficiently large to envelope a woman most completely. A decent though cumbersome garment to wear, better suited for sitting and sleeping in than for any purposes of labour. Pockets are made in the corners of the mantle, by sewing the double cloth together at those places. This dress is more properly Drâvidian than mere Toda, and is purchased in the bazaars. 291 439

They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises 000

 They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises

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515 from circumstances somewhat beyond their control; such as crowded establishments and poverty. They bathe their bodies in the running brook, and even sometimes use hot-water for the same purpose. Yet I do not remember to have seen a Putkuli fresh from a wash.

302 A pretty sight, that rewarded one of my expeditions, was a group of women and girls just returned from the stream, sitting, clean and bright, curling one another's hair. The locks were separated neatly, and the partings made accurately with the finger-nail. Each lock having been dressed straight, either with the fingers or a forked stick, is twisted and twisted until it has formed a tight coil, when the end is tucked in among the roots. The *well developed* female back-head looks remarkably pleasing under this treatment—unadorned, adorned the most. The curls are opened out in the morning.

The eyebrows are sometimes touched up with a charred stick from the fire-place; the fancy being to join them over the bridge of the nose.

If they would only not grease the hair with butter, I could close this description of the toilette without unpleasant reminiscences of some phrenologising experiences.

145 515 The mouth and teeth are often kept in wonderful order up to a late age. But they take care of them; using daily a little wood ash—not charcoal—and the forefinger, for dental purposes. I have seen people of all ages with teeth as bright, and mouths as fresh-looking as an infant's—or a dog's.

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CHAPTER V.

THE LAND HE LIVES IN.

The Todas a very ordinary people: the Interest they attract greatly due to Association—Habits and Manners free from Eccentricity—The Scenery of the Country: its Silence and Grace—A cool Morning grows to a Summer Day—Tasteless Toda.

181 A MOST interesting people is this to contemplate. The well-marked Assyrian stamp of face, amidst more clumsy types, would, if for no other reason, make them attractive to us. CHAP. V.

But when one has actually witnessed and realised what I am about to describe; the patriarchal mode of life in all its wonderful artlessness: the antique religious usages—effete, the forms remaining, their motives lost: the quiet deam-like lives; the even tenour of which reposes on custom, whose rare simplicity and immemorial practice indicates a strange proximity to primeval man;—then the interest in them redoubles, and one appreciates the fact, that he actually views a state of society more primitive than, though somewhat similar to that of our own Celtic ancestors, who *tilled* British soil. And the traces in his language, of what is cognate to the Celtic, increases the points of curious resemblance.

But it must be acknowledged that the interest we take in the Todas, is chiefly due to these associations: for of themselves, and apart from considerations connected with the evidences of the vast antiquity of their habits, or with their relationship to other races of which we may have especial knowledge, there can, I think, be no doubt they must be held a very ordinary people; whose peculiarities result mainly

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No 10

REDUCED FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MESSRS BOURNE & SHEPHERD SIMLA.

THE LAND HE LIVES IN.

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from combinations of negative qualities, and the contrast they present to all the activities we have been accustomed to.

181 It is humanising, however, to recognise in them—ignorant, dirty, and unkempt—the likeness to ourselves, inheritors of many centuries of civilisation. Their children laugh and play as ours do. Their tricks are the tricks of our own boyhood. Their women display, with direct simplicity, many of the exact same characteristics of ours; even the most refined, even the debased. And they are repositories of family lore—staunch conservatives. The men rule their households on principles of worldly policy as we do, and without any striking point of dissimilarity; and, as I have already noted, are treated somewhat arbitrarily by their wives too, as we are apt to be also. Their natural language is precisely the same as ours; not a sign, not a demonstration of the feelings, not a movement, but may be understood at a glance as well as if we had all been brought up from infancy together.

The customs of the people strangely seem to suggest the germs of many that even now exist among us. Indeed, nothing in their ways surprised me more than to see them act so much as we do; to an extent, even, that deprived them of much interest in my eyes.

133 The country in which we find the Todas, though not by many moves perhaps the seat of his origin, is worthy of notice; for thus we shall better realise how man lived in days when he had advanced scarce more than one step from the period of his rude simplicity; in what style of place he gradually acquired forms and social habits, that he never forsook entirely; and how he multiplied unobserved, until his country could no longer contain his progeny—then migrated and founded nations.

Picture an abrupt-edged table-land, on the apex of a solitary mountain—a very Laputa in its complete isolation of some 7,000 ft. in altitude—whose evergreen surface is one continued intermixture of rounded hills, with tracts of rolling

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

prairie. The hills as accessible as those of Malvern; the prairie land as ceaseless, in its long undulations, as the billows of an ocean. Short coarse grass, clothes the whole, save where the deep forest holds possession of the damp secluded valleys, or the cool little woods moss the banks of the prolonged gulleys, through which the trickling streams or dashing bourns course down the silent hill-sides: then collect, and, through successive vigorous rapids and tumultuous cataracts—where from behind the clouds of spray and mist, noise roars its prolonged approval—precipitate themselves into the plains below. Wherever, in fact, rich soil and a perennial supply of moisture may be found, there are the ever silent woods; for the periods of annual drought are long: the monsoon rain flows quickly off the hard surface of the exposed hills, and the scorched grass containing the young saplings is yearly fired.

These woods and forests, and lovely glades, whose perfect quiet is broken only by the calls of wild animals and birds, or by the rustic sounds of Toda cattle—almost equally wild—herding in the open, form pre-eminently the characteristic features of the scenery; *adding emphasis to the singularly* peaceful beauty of the view.

The grass, in spots where the buffalo has not grazed it short, and where moisture favours growth, is crowded with wild flowers. Climbers, in great variety of grace and form, swing in festoons from the limbs of the gnarled old forest trees, bearded with hoary lichen, or ornamented with varieties of flowering orchids, which cling to the branches of the moss-covered timber. In the dank secluded shades a great variety of ferns; from the tree-fern to those of the smallest size, grace the gloom:—

> 'O, might I here
> In solitude live savage, in some glade
> Obscured, where highest woods, impenetrable
> To star or sunlight, spread their umbrage broad.'

All round the circle of this high-perched green plateau, one unbroken sweep of low flat country, dotted with hills.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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unbroken sweep of low flat country, dotted with hills. Picture it an island in a tropical archipelago; storm, cloud, and driving mist intervening between periods of brilliant sunshine. Try to realise the equatorial sun acting through this ever-changing sky and rarified atmosphere, both on the sweet inland prospect, and as you turn to take an eagle's view outwards, over the grand panorama of the long horizon. Both are unique and lovely.

There is one view, on the precipitous western ridge of the plateau, below Makurti Peak—

'The last hill that parleys with the setting sun,'

which seems to unite all the *possible* beauties of such a land. Such a mixture of the lovely properties which a landscape may derive from the presence of stupendous depths, brilliantly transparent and buoyant atmosphere, delicate distances, changing tints, and wonderful shadows, I have not seen combined, even in the Himalayas; and, I believe, few spots in the world can exhibit.[1]

Had the Toda made this spot the entrance to his heaven—Amnôr (of which, more in its proper place), he would at one *step* have placed himself on a pinnacle of good taste, from which it would not have been easy to dislodge him. But to have omitted all notice of these extraordinary beauties, marks him as the tasteless man he is.[2]

Let me here describe an *inland* scene; which, though casually witnessed by myself, must often be surveyed by the

[1] The artist in search of a study of aërial effects, could nowhere find them so complete and satisfying as in this view. Owing to monsoon rains, clear days in which to watch it cannot often be got before the month of October. To be seen to perfection, both sunrise and sunset should be witnessed.

132

[2] In Chapter I. I have quoted a Toda legend, that the souls of men and cattle leap from Makurti on their journey to Amnôr; but in the expression of this belief there appears to be no appreciation of the beauty in the scene;—merely that Makurti is the highest and westernmost hill, nearest the setting sun (See Chapter XII.), and therefore the *most suitable locality* for the purpose.

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2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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people living their lifetime in the midst of such sights. A brilliant and powerful sun is no such rare object to those who have dwelt in tropical climates, as, under ordinary circumstances of heat and dazzle, to merit a description of its effects. They are but too well known by actual familiarity to many Englishmen. But few have experienced the pleasure of spending an hour or two under this equatorial sun, when it strikes through the attenuated atmosphere of high elevations, filtered by means of the deposit of moisture through *frost*, as realised in the cold season of this favoured land. And I can hope but approximately to depict the rare sight, which has made a lasting impression on my memory.

After a perfectly still, clear, cold night, the dawn had broke on the green country, suffused with moisture; close hoar-frost in the damp valleys, dense dew on all the high lands—a frosted emerald.

The slanting beams of the yellow rising sun, as they glance over the hills, illuminate with cold shades of prismatic colours all the drops of dew hanging in rich completeness suspended from the delicate seed-stalks of the summer grass with which the foreground is clothed. It is cold. The breeze that accompanies the dawn, waves the water-laden herbage, and in the pulsation of the full drops and the fresh sparkling of their lights, an interest is attracted. 'Tis the passage of Aurora! She sweeps lightly along over the drooping grass stalks, scattering their burdens as she goes; reminding one of all that is fresh and cool—fountains, crystal, the happy tinkle of silver bells!

Soon we find that cheerful draught has awoke all living nature. The birds are shaking out their feathers, and calling from tree to tree. The Toda buffalo in his pen looks over the fence at his pastures, and moves towards the gate. His master opens the little door of his hut, and, putting his towzled head into the air, mutters 'Êrigitâshk!'—dawn, rising time. All creation is alert; the day has begun!

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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As the luminary continues to ascend, his rays, now grown brilliant, penetrate more and more the frosted valleys: and nature shows herself in a new phase. The little patches of water glare like daring mirrors; the hoar frost melts at once, and its vapour ascends in volumes on every side, filling the atmosphere as it rises. The zealous sun now reigns supreme —its floods of light illuminate the steaming mass; its dark beams, through which the view behind is seen, radiates from the skies into the bright mist carrying the elongated shadows of trees and hill-sides balanced and undefined upon it. The close cattle herd tracks the hill-sides through the dewy grass.

A near view of the sedgy swamp below, presents at this time a rich picture of quiet nature in a dynamical fit. The dark mass of green reeds seems, though the only quiet thing, to be on the eve of movement; its outlines all brilliant with the melted frost, and undefined through the sun's halo: the shadows hazy and drowsy green. The while the glaring water is giving forth clouds of vapour. Insects and creatures, forgetful of their cold night, revel in the present heat, and animate the air with their busy progress. The water-rat, returning from a nocturnal excursion, pushing through the swamp with emergent speed, partakes of the glory of the water, his little body idealised as to appear a magnified spot in the sun.

As the mist continues its rise and fills the air, that which in the early morn was cold and steel-coloured, then steaming and busy, now becomes quiet, genial and radiant up to the zenith. The trees on the distant hills stand out distinctly, each in its dark blue patch of shadow. The cattle lie ruminating in the swamps. And all nature smiles. The clear morning sky is flecked with fleecy clouds, till the midday summer heat dispels the whole, and

> 'O'er heaven and earth, far as the ranging eye
> Can sweep, a dazzling deluge reigns.'

This wonderful country, ever beautiful and expressive,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

silent yet speaking, quiet and secluded, forms the *beau idéal* of a breeding-place and nursery for infant races.

The Toda buffalo has roamed over this land for centuries, and his master, calling his orders to the cattle he leisurely tends, has witnessed the many beauties of nature which I have merely suggested. But I do not find, by his language, religion, or tastes, that they have had any effect on him. He sees the grass. Ha! He sees the dew. Ha! He sees the forest. Ha! But apparently it is only so much cattle's food with water on it, and fuel in the distance. Ha! The sun is shining on it, and the water will soon dry; then the cattle will grow thirsty!

The prevalent idea is that primitive man, uneducated man, working man, is so engrossed in cares and in the occupation of providing himself with food, that he has no leisure for contemplating nature's beauties. The phrenologist knows better; and you, reader, will shortly agree that the Toda has unlimited leisure, as I now show that he has endless opportunity of noting the beautiful.

These hills are covered with good soil—indeed in the moist hollows it is pre-eminently rich and productive, and the land is very accessible to the plough. There is excellent clay for pottery. A laborious, acquisitive race, conserving the glorious water supply, would render this land a paradise. But the Toda scheme is simpler far. He has cattle who afford him all he wants; why should he work? Why should he plough? And from the lazy man's point of view, perhaps he is right.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAND.

Todas a pastoral Race—Definition of a Nomad—Todas migrate, but are not nomadic—The Mand or Village—Construction of Houses—Interior Arrangement of Houses—The surrounding Wall—The Cattle-pen—The Dairy or Pálthchi—Typical Plan of a Mand—Selection of Village Sites—Names of Villages.

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[181] 231 221

THE TODAS are a purely pastoral race; occupying themselves almost entirely in the bucolic pursuit of herding buffalos, of which they are in possession of a very fine species. They keep no other description of animals, save cats—Kotti.

As they do not attempt cultivation of the soil, they have rather hastily been styled nomads. Taking that term to imply a tribe which, *without fixed place of residence*, wanders in quest of food—whether that be game or pasture for its cattle—the word is a misnomer as applied to the Todas.

Indeed, from the many primitive races found in various parts of the world, which with striking deficiency of development in the organs of Acquisitiveness, Constructiveness, Order, and Number, are also distinguished by the peculiarity, common to them all, of not tilling the soil, we may select links of a complete gradation in idle mode of life; from the lowest, or ever-wandering predatory class which lives by begging and theft: through several varieties of the nomadic shepherd and hunter: up to the *settled* pastoral races, amongst which we class the Todas; who, with a very strong bias in favour of a permanent home, *yet migrate* once a year, compelled

to do so, simply in order by change of pasture, to obtain a sufficiency of food for the cattle, on whose milk they almost entirely subsist. 221

I make free to assert that no tribe of people, having the organ of Concentrativeness so largely and so uniformly developed as it is with the Todas, will ever be found to be habitual wanderers. Whether it be, that in the early days of the human race, circumstances having forced a family of man to become nomadic, the form of its skull gradually changed in the course of many generations, so as to adapt the man's disposition to his necessities; or if, on the contrary, the wandering habit be largely the result of defective size of that faculty; certain it is, that practice and corresponding cranial form are now in harmony, and that a small development of Concentrativeness will be found ever accompanied by a centrifugal tendency; attachment to a settled home being strong in proportion to the organ's volume, strong even to the extent of producing nostalgia when thwarted, if associated with remembrances of home and landscape. 231 000

Toda families reside in permanent villages—Mand or Madd—having each a certain tract of grazing ground surrounding it. Each minor division of the family has a house —Ârsh—in the Mand, and a share of the village land. 621 361 221 132

Nearly every Mand, however, has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire body of the inhabitants migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of situations which become exposed to the west-monsoon rain and wind.

These storms drive at times with such intense severity over the wilds, that although at the time, the actual thermal state may be far from low, yet the evaporation induced by the extreme violence of the rain is known to lower the temperature of the body so as frequently to cause death to man and beast. Wild animals cower during these storms under 000

CHAP. VI. the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

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It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

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751

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

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From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

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I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

342

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

592

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

342

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

All houses are thatched with grass and

bamboo, fastened with split rattan, and are either constructed in curved outline like the tilt of a waggon, or brought to an angle at the top, with a wooden ridge-pole, similar to the form of construction met with in more civilised life. The first method of roofing—which is peculiar, not being found amongst any of the surrounding tribes—is that universally employed amongst the well-to-do. The latter, which is probably cheaper, and certainly more simple to make, but endures less the violence of storms, is ordinarily adopted by poor people, and for houses of a temporary nature requiring to be erected in a hurry.

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335 342 556

The two end walls, which are invariably gabled, are made of very stout planking: and where the house consists of more than one room, the partition wall is of the exact same construction as the outer walls. The side walls, in the tilt-waggon houses, are formed by carrying the roof down to the ground, in which the ends of the curved bamboo rafters are all imbedded. At the line of junction with the earth, flat stones are used in order to throw the water off from the domicile. All the interstices and holes in the planking are carefully filled in with clay, mixed with cow-dung.

342 [335] [353] [333]

The doorway, presenting the appearance of a ship's port-hole, and about two cubits high by one and a half cubits broad, is to be found in the middle of the gable wall, when there is only one room to the house: if there are two or three rooms, the second and third doors will be found in the sides, so arranged that all the doors may be to leeward; usually the south or south-east. These doorways, which are closed at night with a flat stone or solid slab of wood, kept in place by a stick thrust vertically into the floor at either side of the opening, form the only passage for the household, and for light, smoke, and air.

[414]

The roof projects two cubits beyond the gable walls; thus forming a pleasant open verandah facing the morning sun, and sheltered from the wind. Here the primitive family sit,

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air themselves, and perform various offices of a domestic and social (entomological) nature.

342 The people have been at much pains to exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings: and were it not for cracks, caused by the contraction of the material of which they are constructed, their rooms might have been rendered quite uninhabitable. As primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, have far more to fear from cold than from heat, these 'beehives' are, on the whole, well adapted for comfort and for the preservation of infant life.

I think that when these houses were originally built, they were designed with one room only. I judge so, partly from the Toda name for a house and for a room being identical, and in part from the symmetrical arrangement of the door and verandah; also, from noticing that the second and third doors at the side, appear like an after-thought, out of keeping with the original design, and holding awkward positions in a house whose roof is continuous to the ground. I deduce from these appearances that their numbers have increased since they first established themselves where we now find them.

It may be interesting to my readers to be able to form an idea of the mode in which the very small area of a savage's house is utilised for cooking, eating, and sleeping purposes.

342 Be it remembered that the room is 8 ft. long, 8 ft. broad,
356 and 8 ft. high; and that, as Chapter X. shows us, as many as
372 eight people board and lodge in this diminutive space. The
352 plan (No. 11) which, without any deviation, is that of every
252 Toda dwelling, shows the mode in which room is economised. Against the walls, at a convenient height over both store and fire-place, slips of split cane are fastened vertically, so as to form slings; into which firewood is neatly inserted, and in which it rapidly dries. The women are careful to keep a supply of dry wood in this manner: hence they are able to cook without making much smoke, using as they do, with a skill that seems to be the common property of all the natives of India, only one or two little sticks at a time.

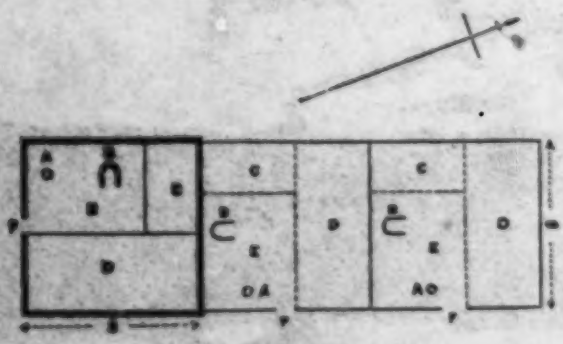
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation[1] is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces, by a low enclosure wall—Tûar[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Tûal. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Dravidian dialects *r* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[1] [See p. 62 -- Analyst]

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originated in any defensive project, whether as protection from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals. Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Ên[illegible] Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

[Letters did not reproduce here in the Original text--Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

most attractive to the wandering archæologist who did not know of the primitive habits of this pastoral race.

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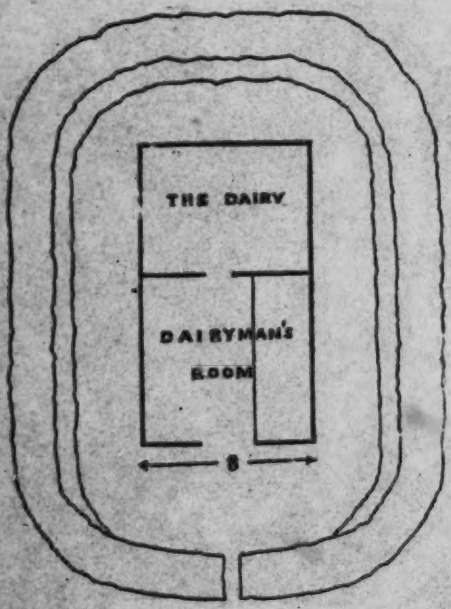
In addition to the dwelling houses just described, every Mand, without exception, contains a house devoted solely to the purposes of a dairy—pâlthchi—consisting of two rooms;

No. 12.



THE DAIRY—PÂLTHCHI.

the outer—porram-âl-g-ârsh—for the residence of the dairyman—pâlkarpâl[1]—and the inner room—ulg-ârsh—for the storage

[1] Pâlkarpâl. This is one of the most remarkable examples of the identity of Toda and Tamil.

This is pâl—kary—p—âl; where (1) is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; (2) is the root of the verb = *to milk*; (3) is the suffix forming the verbal noun, *milking*; (4) = *person*. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 13

Opp. p. 66

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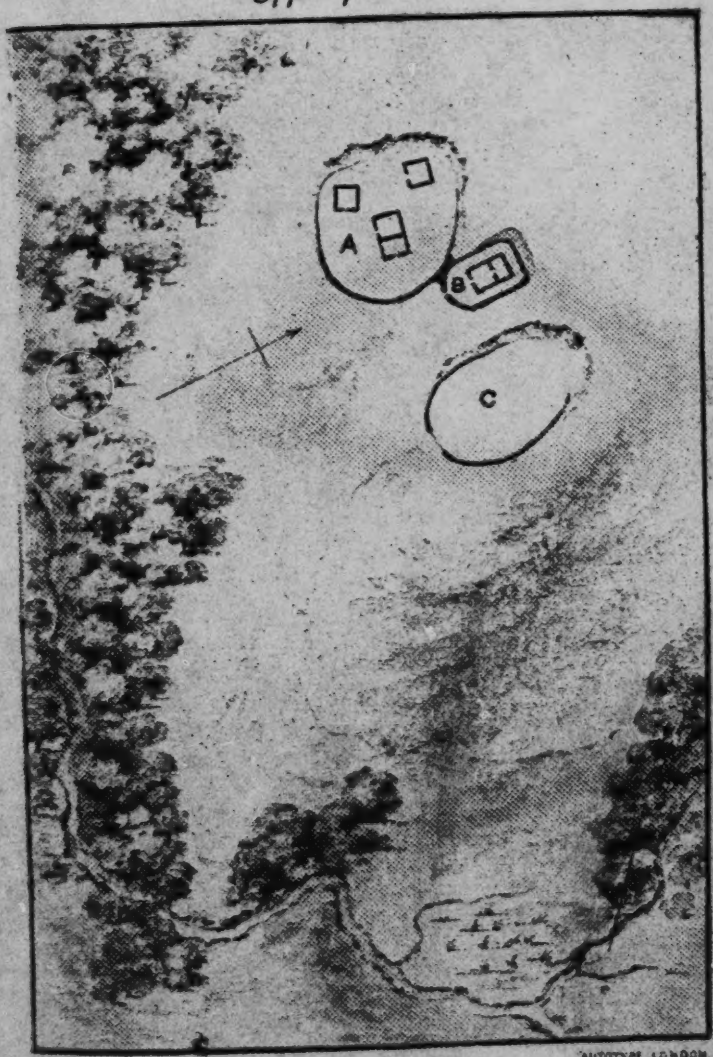

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

A TYPICAL MAND

A=RESIDENCES. B=DAIRY. C=CATTLE PEN.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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of milk—pâl—and for its conversion into clarified-butter.[5] This building varies in size according to that of the village herd; from the dimensions of an ordinary house of two rooms, to one perhaps half as large again. It is situated somewhat apart from the Mand, and—presumably for the sake of coolness—is generally found on a site which has been partially dug out from the side of the hill, on the slope of which the Mand is situated. The dairy is always enclosed within its separate wall, which is built very close up to it, and the outside of the wall often earthed in. The outer door is much of the size of those in ordinary dwellings, but that in the partition wall, forming the only means of access to the dairy room within, is of minute dimensions; probably one cubit high and about half a cubit broad.

The accompanying typical plan of a Mand will explain the description which has just been given. The village itself is invariably situated in the open, exposed to the sun almost from daybreak to sunset, but sheltered by the hill side from the full force of the wind.

The Todas have been credited with some taste in the selection of sites for Mands; owing to the beauty and often romantic nature of their situations; invariably on some open grassy slope, where wood and spring or rivulet combine. But I more than doubt if any innate sense of the beautiful influences them in the choice; for neither do their heads, nor do their other acts, give probability of the possession by them of any taste. I am disposed to attribute the success of these happy selections to the fact that, acting with a very strong practical sense of the advantage of localities, they have, whilst seeking shelter for themselves and cattle from the monsoon storms, with a dry bit of soil in proximity to water and fuel—the whole centrical with regard to pasture—obtained, by means of the natural advantages of a lovely land-

[5] Known in India as ghi; in Toda termed nei.

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361 scape, an harmonious whole, very striking to visitors of cultivated tastes. CHAP. VI.

103 A knowledge of Drâvidian dialects would probably show the names of their villages, of which the following are a few samples, to be mainly descriptive of localities.

Diljavênu.	Bângâdu.[7]
Kakhodi.	Karshk.[8]
Beresthro.	Mênmadd.[9]
Koana-koar.[6]	Keshkir.[10]
Ebgodu.	Kirzho.

Melkarshk.[11]

[6] Koan = *male calf*; karr = *female calf.*

[7] Bân = *sky.*

Gâdu, or godu, or gudu, affixes to names of villages; from kudu = *come together*; the same as Mand, which is Tamil for *collection.* [POPE.]

[8] Karshk = *stone.*

[9] Mên = *wood, forest*; Madd = Mand. See above.

[10] Ir, or iri, or ari, affixes to names of villages; from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist.* Ûr, *a village* in Tamil, is from the same root. [POPE.]

[11] Mel = *upper*; karshk = *stone.*

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAMILY.

Parturition—Midwives—Confinements—Infanticidal Mother taken red-handed—Name this Child—Men's Names—Nicknames—Women's Names—How married people call to one another—List of Relationships.

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[165]

THE act of bringing forth children seems very generally to be considered an easy one. In the course of my enquiries into the causes of death amongst adult women, I was told of two who had died in labour. If I were to judge solely by the opinions of the male sex, I should have no hesitation whatever in recording that the process of child-birth was a mere trifle: yet even after seeking more correct information from the women themselves, I could arrive at no other conclusion than that parturition, though a delicate matter, was an act which almost invariably passed off without great difficulty.

Men are never present during these family events, but apparently have to await the result outside. Three or four women—the house-full in fact—remain in attendance; one of whom is said to sit behind the patient supporting her frame: the others performing various offices tending to alleviate pain, and for the reception of the infant.

May not the ill-understood expression, 'She shall bear upon my knees,' Gen. xxx. 3, have reference to the position in which we find the person, who with a knee on each side of the expectant mother, squats behind to support her body?

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

'We call a midwife merely old woman—kelachi'[1]—said my informant—an elderly gentleman with a large family—'why give a name for midwife when every woman can act?' This, though from the male point of view, is nevertheless a statement whose truth is borne out by facts.

'The umbilical cord—pokku—is severed by laying it on a piece of wood, and cutting with a knife.'

'What! tie it with string first!' raising his eyes roguishly to the roof, as if looking for a piece of string projecting from the thatch. 'I have plenty of children, but have never heard of such a thing! ha! ha! ha! Tie it with string! ha! ha! ha!' Here the old man turned the laugh against us, protesting that such a thing was never done. Whether the cord is tied, but that he had for so many years remained in ignorance of the fact: or if it is really never bound, in savage life, I had no further opportunity of enquiring: but leave the narration as it was given to me by a great authority.

On the morning after the child has been born, the mother is removed to a shed—purzârsh[2]—which has been erected for her in some sequestered spot of the village wood, in anticipation of the approaching event. There she remains till the next new moon—muttu[3]—whether that phase occur in the course of 3 or of 30 days. These people cannot explain the reason for this removal: but possibly they may suppose the monthly aspect or reappearance of the moon to have some periodic effect on women. I did not succeed in eluci-

[1] Kelachi = *old woman*; Kelâl = *old man*. Tamil: kirra = *old*. Kirra van = *old man*; Kirra tti—*old woman*—tti pronounced chi—Âl = *man*. Keladi, in ancient Kanarese = *a female friend*. [POPE.]

[2] Purzârsh. In Tamil we have purra = *outer*. Sansk. âlayam = *dwelling*. Any termination may be converted in a Toda mouth to a guttural sound made up of l, r, and sh. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz is of opinion that purzh = *mud*; and that purzârsh means a *mud hut* or *temporary house*.

[3] Muttu, new moon = *jewel, pearl*, in Sansk. and Drâvid [POPE.]

Tiggalu, full moon, the moon. Ti is a part of dina = *day*. Glau = *the moon*, Sansk. In Tamil, tingal. [POPE.]

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343 846 183 dating any expression of such belief from them: but the profound ignorance in which they are steeped is amply sufficient to account for all want of knowledge of reasons. The custom is probably an extremely ancient one. Some notion, of the nature I have described, may have founded the practice, though all trace of its origin or cause, may have been forgotten long ages ago.

846 For a month after her return home, she appears to have the house to herself: her husband remaining indebted to friends for shelter meanwhile.

I had the pleasure of being introduced to a woman just after her return from the purzârsh. In the course of my inquisitorial visits, which will be more fully described in Chapter X., I had ascertained in a certain village, that there was a young female infant which had not been shown to me: and this might be an infanticide! Almost hoping such might be the case, and that I had discovered a mother red-handed, I enquired after its health. 'Oh,' said the women, airily, and with the true maternal interest in young babies, 'they are both in the house round the corner.' Thither accordingly I went, and found the young mother awaiting a visit, hoping to receive for her small one—kin-minthki[4]—one of the little silver-bits she heard were circulating so freely amongst the children of the Mand, from whose society she was still debarred.

Studying the Frontispiece and the pictures of Toda women in this book, anyone of artistic taste can fancy the little picture; which in its way was pretty and interesting. Scene; an old-looking and water-stained log hut, belonging to a primæval tribe of the glacial period: summer time: brilliant sun: green herbage: forest background. The imagination is now sufficiently developed to appreciate the tableau! A

[4] Kin-minthki = *female infant.* Kin = çin = *little*: a Drâvidian root. Minthki is probably a corruption of manujâ or manushî = *woman*—Sansk. [POPE.]

Popen = *male infant.* This is a mere term of endearment. Drâvidian pomma is a *puppet*; with which it may be compared. [POPE.]

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young mother—infanticidal, polyandrous—is sitting on the earthen floor, just within the doorway, enveloped in a mantle of unbleached cotton. On her left arm, snuggling next her bare body, inside the garment, lies something like a comic doll, with long black hair, cream-coloured skin and pink points. The palm of the woman's right hand, uppermost, is directed towards the child. Her body, foreshortened by reason of the lowness of the door. The nut brown gipsy face, all eyes and teeth, just a bit delicate, is upturned towards the visitor: and speaking volumes by look and by attitude of hand, appeals for a present for the one-month-old. The inside of the room—such as remains visible—pitch-dark. There she was, smiling away, little knowing of my groundless suspicions.

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846

A boy is named—peru or pesru or hesru = a name—and his ears are bored some time within about three months of his birth.

553 852

The child appears to be kept out of sight until the naming day; when the father, unaccompanied by the mother, takes it, hidden in the folds of his mantle, up to one of the sacred buildings of his Clan: and standing in front of the door, but outside of the surrounding wall, salutes the sanctuary with hand to forehead. Then kneeling on the ground, he for the first time opens out the infant's head to vision, and pressing its little forehead down till it touches the soil, names the child, reciting the following prayer; 'dânenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama;' the meaning of which is: 'Be beneficent: may it be well with the children, the people, the cattle, the calves, and everyone.'[5]

553 782

I see now before me, a woman who had accompanied her husband till *within sight* of the building, standing on an eminence, witnessing from a distance, with hand shading

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[5] Strictly speaking, the prayer means, 'May it be well with the *male* children, the *men*, the *cows*, the *female* calves'—in fact, all that is useful—'and everyone;' in which latter category are probably included the women and girls.

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553 intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

558 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred
562 places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given
846 about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—
551 porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure
463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda,
551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

those ordinary sources. Nor, as I notice, are they ever called 'of such a village,' 'of the brae,' 'of the hill;' presumably because every Mand has its duplicate, with a different appellation and varying nature of locality.

An informant acknowledged with much laughter and shamefacedness, that his own nickname was Gurugudugan or Gurugurgan—so far as could be understood through his modesty. It appears that when driving an *old* buffalo—let this be remembered when we describe funeral obsequies—purchased from a Badaga village for funeral purposes, it died on the road. And this word, whatever its meaning may be, seems to have been given him in ridicule for having purchased an animal that at once died.

His father, he said, was termed Bülta, from Bült, a bird; being noted for swiftness of foot in his occupation of driving cattle.

Here are a few nicknames:

Kalkutti. Mûrukâlu.
Kûndagalla. Kûndemati.
Bira.

Some *sobriquets* have, as might be expected, indecent meanings.

'Are you called by your name or by your nickname?' I asked of a young man. 'Generally by my porra hesru; but when they want anything of me they are more civil, and use my proper name.'

I do not know if women have any such *sobriquets*. Indeed some delicacy is shown in mentioning women's names at all. And I experienced difficulty in obtaining the following; each man being willing to tell those of every man's wife and daughter but his own. I observe in a book on the Todas by a late author, that the designations he has given are literally 'wife or daughter of so and so'—being a man—but not the actual name of a woman:

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Quêldirth.	Jinvani.
Tushquilth.	Nastufi.
Muneth.	Ânchaguti.
Penpuv.	Chizarêm.
Dirthavilli.	Pentirêm.

553 A woman retains her maiden name on marriage; being known, for instance, as Nastufi, the wife of Beliâni.

551 It is etiquette in speaking of another man's wife to term her
576 either kottê or pannê;[7] the first, if her husband is of the
601 Pyki clan, the second if of the Pekkan, Tôdi, Kenna, or Kuttan clans.

A man calling to his wife, or a wife to her husband, would not say 'come here Nastufi or Beliâni,' but 'kukh itva, come here woman,' or 'âl itva, come here man.'

But the more proper term by which a man speaks of his wife is yen kâtvoti.[8]

According to these rules, people talking of the woman Nastufi, would describe her as Beliani pannê, or kottê. *He* would mention her as kâtvoti. He would *call out* to her as kukh.

List of Relationships.

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Man, person, husband . .	Âl.
Man—young	Varsh.[9]

[7] Kottê. Pannê. Such terms are difficult. They are frequently of a depreciatory character.

Kôṭṭa = *a fort* or *large dwelling*. Kôṭṭi = *a person of a fort, a superior inhabitant*. Paṇi = *jewel*. Paṇi = *work*. [POPE.]

[8] Yen Kâtvoti. Yen or en = *my*, constantly prefixed in Drâvidian to words indicative of relationship.

Kaṭṭu = *bind, join*. V is an insertion of tense, used in forming verbal nouns with a future or indefinite temporal signification.

Ati is a feminine termination.

The word means, '*she who is bound to me*.' [POPE.]

[9] This is, I think, Sansk. : purusha. But there is vîras, *a hero*.

In old high Tamil we have virral, and the termination al becomes in Toda sh as a general rule. [POPE.]

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Boy, son	Mokh.
Woman, girl, daughter, wife	Kukh.[10]
Father	App'n, êyan, ên, or ênin.
Mother	Avv.
Wife	Kâtvoti.
Youth, bachelor	Mokh varsh.
Child—son	Kin mokh.
Child—daughter	Tüj mokh.[11]
Infant—son	Popen.[12]
Infant—daughter	Kin minthki.[13]
Twins	Mor mokh.
Fatherless, Motherless, Orphan	Tobbâri.[14]
Widower	Baruda.[15]
Widow, barren woman	Mudegitti,[16] barudi.
Great-grandfather	Pêvian.
Great-grandmother	Pêviavv.
Grandfather	Pîyan.
Grandmother	Pîavv.
Brother—elder	Ennon.
Brother—younger	Ennorvet, enta.

[10] The etymology is doubtful. One is reminded of Greek, gunaik.
In Tamil kokku = *copulatio.* [POPE.]
Kuk = *a receptacle*, also *pudendum muliebre.*

[11] Tüj mokh. Here mokh = *child.* High Tamil, maga.
Tüj is a difficulty. In Kanarese, tush = *inferior.* I imagine this is the idea. [POPE.]

[12] [13] The derivations of these words have already been given in this Chapter.

[14] Tobbâri. Tagappan = tam + appan = *their father*, or simply *father*; Tamil. This is pronounced commonly tôppan.
Âri = '*one deprived of.*' Drâvidian root aru. [POPE.]

[15] Baruda. In old Kanarese, barru = *decay, die, fail in strength.*
In Tamil this root is varru.
Sansk.: vridda = *old.*
Tamil: maladi = *barren women.* [POPE.]

[16] Mudegitti, moṭṭai = *baldness*; muṇḍai = *bald a widow—whose head is shaved.* [POPE.]

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Sister—elder	Enakkan.
Sister—younger	En norvet kukh, enta.
Father's brother—elder	Ennin perud.
Father's brother—younger	Ênnin kirud.
Father's sister—elder and younger	Mâmi.
Mother's brother—elder and younger	Mâman.
Mother's sister—elder	Perud avv.
Mother's sister—younger	Kirud avv.
Son's wife	Mortwirth.
Daughter's husband	Enman mokh.
Husband's mother Wife's mother	Mâmi.
Husband's father Wife's father	Mâman.
Husband's brother—elder	Yen âl ennon.
Husband's brother—younger	Yen âl norvet.
Wife's sister—elder	Yen kâtvoti akkan.
Wife's sister—younger	Yen kâtvoti norvet kukh.
Wife's brother	Pâyâl or Bëiâl.
Grandson—son's son	Yen mokh ver et mokh.
Granddaughter—son's daughter	Yen mokh ver et kukh.
Old man	Kelâl.
Old woman	Kelachi.
Family, relation	Anatama, pâltiâl, pâyâl,[17] kutasaram.[18]
Ancestor	Mûpu, doddavan.
Clan	Kôleh—in Badaga language.

[17] Pâltiâl, pâyâl. In old high Tamil we have pâttil = *house*.

Âl is the constant abbreviation for avargal = *they*. Thus the word pâttiâl = *those belonging to the house*.

The Sanskrit root pâ = *protect, cherish*.

The two words are probably different forms of the same. [POPE.]

[18] Kutasaram. Tamil, kûda = *together*; çaram = *a going*.

In Sanskrit kuṭumba is *family*. [POPE.]

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The word Anatama,[10] which means elder and younger brother, is the generic title given to all very near relations.

Regarding the appellation for cousins, the people say they have no names for them—'The son of my little-father, ênnin kirud, is the same as my brother.' Yen perudên kirudên mokh yen aṇan taman ershchi.

[10] Anatama. In Kanarese, aṇṇa|tamm|andaru.
elder younger they (who are)
So in Telugu, anna|damu|lu. Here we have soft n, d for t and plurali-sing particle lu.

In Tamil, aṇṇan = *elder brother*; tambi = *younger brother*.

The Drâvidian root aṇa = *upper*, and may be compared with Greek ἀνά. Tam = *one's own*; so in terms of relationship = *my own*, *my*, a familiar kindly expression. [POPE.]

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

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524 526 578 411 204 THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 457 439 427 The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

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the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$, and shows that the Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of the Nilagiri Mountains.

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Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities: the Badaga acquires land on cheap terms of rental.

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to: acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of

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[1] Badagas, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.

[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.

[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

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the low country, into a district so cold, wild, and inaccessible as this must, by contrast, have appeared to them, we have strong presumptive evidence of the two tribes having, previous to their migration, long lived side by side, mutually dependent one on the other; the Todas, for the supply of grain they had not the energy to raise for themselves: the shrewd Badagas, for the nei which they obtained so easily from this most unmercantile people.

Similarly, another native tribe—the Kota—not so advanced as the Badaga, but more laborious, and thus skilled, than the Toda, followed the fortunes of this simple people on retirement to the Nilagiris; possibly influenced, amongst other motives, by knowledge of the fact that the live male buffalos, the carcasses of the females, and the skins and horns of both, were to be had almost gratis, so long as they maintained adherence to their old friends. Thus we see—no matter how primitive the stage of society, how microscopic the tribe—the universal mundane process at work; of the strong preying on the weak, and the clever on the stupid: races, like individuals, supporting themselves by utilising and depressing their simpler brethren.

> Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them;
> Little fleas have lesser fleas; and so on *ad infinitum*.

To what other cause but grievous national improvidence can we attribute their having acquiesced in promptings to part with an amount of meat sustenance, that would, if utilised, nearly double their food supply? And to permit skins and horns of vast herds—whose sale would have brought a very welcome addition to their revenue—to be removed as return payment for a little trumpery Kota music, and primitive ironmongery?

What the buffalo is to the Toda, so is the Toda to these slightly superior tribes; the milch-cow.

There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

that they have never at any time eaten the flesh of the *female* buffalo; for they set an immense value and importance on the milk-giver. And there are very strong grounds also for crediting their statement; that they *never made a practice of eating the males*, even though they may have died from accidental causes. In fact they are not, and never were, flesh eaters. Not that they dislike the flavour of meat; for a meal of venison is one of those events so rare and pleasurable as to form a datum in a man's life from which to time all incidents.

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Yet there is a yearly exceptional occasion on which all the adult males in the village join in the ceremony of killing and eating a very young male calf—seemingly under a month old. They take the animal into the dark recesses of the village wood; where the Vorshâl[4] kills it by blows of a club made of their holy tree,[5] reciting the ejaculatory prayer beginning dânenma, which has been given in full length in the last chapter. Although fire may readily be procured from the Mand, a *sacred* fire is created by the rubbing of sticks: and the flesh, which is then roasted on the embers of certain trees, is eaten only by the men—the presence of women not being permitted.

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No information can be had as to the origin or object of this curious and apparently sacrificial ceremony. 'It seems,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'scarcely too much to assert once for all, that meaningless customs must be survivals, that they had a practical or at least ceremonial intention when and where they first arose, but are now fallen into absurdity from having been carried on into a new state of society, where their original sense has been discarded.'[6]

[4] Vorshâl. This is a sacred character, of whom we shall read more in Chapter XVII.

Vé, vé, are Drâvidian roots indicative of *heat*.
Varhie is Sanskrit for *sacrificial fire*.
Virragu is Tamil for *firewood*.
Vrishani is Sanskrit for Agni, *god of fire*.
Vrishâkapi is the same. [POPE.]

[5] For further information regarding the tâde tree, see Chapter XIV.

[6] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 83.

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The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots. They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula—a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit—pôm—and herbs of sorts.

Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is still a luxury.

Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

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but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swâmi! Swâmi![7] then places it on the ground as a present to bhumi tai[8] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors. 264 788

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonised the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[9]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffaloes, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere striplings armed with light wands; knowing that the amimals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe. 136 233 857 411

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of 411 224

[7] Swâmi = *lord.*

[8] Bhumi tai = *earth mother.* It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[9] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog.* May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (one)?*

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224 the processes for driving game known throughout India. No idea of defence appears to have been entertained, or of obstruction, brighter than that of making the doors of their houses so small, that to enter them they must crouch, and crawl through the openings on all fours. No mode of catching game, more skilful than is implied in the beating the wild-dogs off the prey they have hunted down and are worrying, is known to them.

231 Had the Todas felt any disposition to add to the varieties of their food, or to increase the amount of their animal stock, or to indulge in meat diet, the surrounding country at once afforded them precedents and examples of people who had domesticated cows, sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry. Some exception might have been taken by them to the introduction of cows and sheep on pasture land which the august buffalo alone, should be permitted to enjoy : yet, as they narrate, they have brought home young bison, hoping to tame them, though failing in their attempt to do so. But fowls, pigs, and goats would have kept entirely to the woods adjoining the villages.

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CHAPTER IX.

SAVAGE ANTITYPE.

Cause of idleness of primitive Races—Their attributes—Toda qualities, and form of Cranium—The most primitive form of Skull—How to judge of Cannibal heads—Tylor, on the Development of the Human Race—Dolichocephali the natural Inhabitants of warm Zones: Brachiocephali the result of harsher circumstances—Endogamy and Dolichocephaly—Why pure Brachiocephali are not met with—Caste inimical to advance—Brachiocephaly the counterpoise to Dolichocephaly—Correlation between Brachiocephaly and Broad Shoulders.

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It will no doubt appear phenomenal to many of my readers, much in the same way as surprise has been excited in myself; that notwithstanding the example of certain tribes living contiguous to the Todas, and cognate to them in blood as in the stage of their barbarism, who earn a living by various modes of occupation, pursuit, and industry, the Toda should persist in maintaining an isolation of idleness so complete, that not one of the many means which these other tribes have adopted for improving their circumstances, and none of the impulses to action by which they have been moved, should in the least have commended themselves to this remarkable people living in their very midst.

The North-American Indian is well known to be receding before the advance of the white-man; from an inability to adapt his wild habits to the too-rapidly changing times, so absolute as to give the appearance of his having deliberately and proudly elected to accept extinction, rather than compromise with civilisation by altering the pristine customs of his race. And we greatly—and with much apparent justice—

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attribute this failure in self-adaptation, in general terms, to the immensity and abrupt nature of the change he is called on to make, if he would pass from his free and thriftless hunting and warring life, to the quiet of a frugal cultivator of the soil or trader.

But this aversion to all forms of *profitable* labour, and incapacity for commercial pursuit, is not more conspicuous in the untamed Red-Indian than in the self-restrained domestic Toda, surrounded as he is by industrious tribes not far elevated from his own primitive status; from whom—had he felt desire to change—he could at once have adopted simple expedients, as sufficient for his own purpose as they have been for theirs. I will endeavour to account for this persistency in idleness, of primitive and unprogressive races.

In the first place, and as regards the Todas, I assume as if a fact established, what indeed has every appearance of truth; that their present mode of life precisely suits the constitution of their minds—any important change appearing to them to be for the worse—that however much they must certainly, at some early periods of their career, have suffered from the failure of supplies, owing to the increase of their own numbers, and to their having depended on one source of food—which must have failed—yet as we find them, their natures and surrounding circumstances are practically in a condition of equilibrium. That is to say, they have perfected a dairy system enabling them to live entirely at ease and without labour: and which, owing to there being a ready market for surplus produce, now places them in a considerable degree of homely comfort—a happy state, which is likely to last so long as the land affords room for the people to expand.

Although in the estimation of many, this perfect contentment with a very little may be considered a proof of good sense, and be held a great virtue, yet it must be acknowledged that the phase is not one the best races of the world would

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acquiesce in. If they will not trade, and to work are ashamed, yet why none of the ordinary short cuts to wealth and honour, by means well known in all ages, and to most nations? No exciting and glorious war, with plunder! the feathers of the chief, the titles of the hero! No women to be attached, or prisoners to be enslaved or tortured! No food but a milk diet and grain, whilst the woods are full of game, and flocks and herds to be had for the taking! What is the meaning of all this? Have we come on the tracks of an aboriginal reign of conscience? And was man originally created virtuous as well as very simple?

It appears to my mind, that in this *absence of vigorous qualities: in the disregard of gain and of thrift:*[1] *as well as in their ultra domesticity, we have the attributes of a primeval race,* which at an era, when other families of man were undergoing the vivifying effects of such processes of natural selection as tend to eliminate the weak-minded and the weakly, and produce brachycephalic-headed and broad-shouldered men, had remained almost unchanged, through avoiding conflict with nature and man, in the seclusion of the sequestered jungles of warm climates; migrating—where it had to emigrate from its cradle land—either in vast numbers, for mutual protection, or in company with and patronised by more advanced and warlike tribes, glad perhaps to utilise its herds of cattle as their commissariat.

People of such torpid and inefficient natures would maintain—as the Todas have done till lately—the aboriginal habit of man; in living on wild fruit and roots, and the milk of cattle it had tamed: whilst other races, made more spirited,

[1] The causal organs excepted, no faculties are more uniformly defective in primitive races than Acquisitiveness, Constructiveness, Number and Order. When collectively small, they form the invariable sign of a recent 'primitive' origin; implying the unthriftiness, innocence of the value of property, contentedness with the simplest dwellings, and dislike to orderly rule, which are also the cause of their backward state. Tune is equally small: and such people have but little sense of music.

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clever, and persevering through ages of strife with fellow-man, and conflict with difficulties presented by nature, had either risen in civilisation by means of a preliminary course of cultivation of the soil, and become great nations, or, on the contrary, had—like the North-American Indians under other and less favourable circumstances—developed qualities which, whilst retaining the primitive dislike to profitable labour, and the innocence of commercial skill displayed by the Todas, superadded other traits so ferocious as to render their immediate civilisation almost as hopeless as the taming of wild animals. The Toda is merely a simple, thriftless, and idle man, who will never, so long as his blood remains unmixed with that of superior tribes, or, by selection, is improved almost beyond recognition, work one iota more than circumstances compel him to do: but without taint of the ferocity of savagery.

I proceed now to compare the known qualities of the Toda with the form of his cranium: for if my supposition be correct; that in his general inefficiency, and callousness to wealth, combined with intense gregariousness and domesticity of character, we have prominent physiologic evidence of extreme primitiveness in condition of race, then it will prove most interesting and valuable, if, in addition to the objects of our immediate study, I may be successful in demonstrating even one practical means, by which, in judging of ancient skulls, we may be competent to decide between two chief candidates; of late years styled the brachycephalic and dolichocephalic—terms which, owing to want of definition, are unsatisfactory to the phrenologist, but which I use as being well understood by ethnologists—which is the oldest, most primitive form.

I feel the conviction that aboriginal man must, like the Todas, have been eminently gregarious, fond of children, and practical; for the simple reason, that without such combination of valuable qualities, he must, in the days of his ignorance and inexperience, have been killed off in detail,

and his infant progeny have perished by neglect. That the Toda skull is remarkably well developed in all the domestic organs, and in the necessary perceptive—practical—faculties, a glance at the photographs in this book will show to everyone. CHAP. IX. 000

Next. In the dark prehistoric age, whose duration appears unlimited, but through which all families of man have passed, *that race which possessed the greatest capacity for overcoming obstacles*—taken in the very widest sense—must, *cæteris paribus*, inevitably have remained the survivor in struggles with the weaker, and therefore, by laws of progression, more primitive race. Now *these active qualities are invariably accompanied by large size in the groups of organs, which, situated at the sides of the cranium, form, when well developed, the brachycephalic head.*

The Toda tribe is entirely, and without individual exception, narrow-long-headed—dolichocephalic—every person in it, of both sexes, being deficient in every organ at the sides of the skull; and, as I have before stated, having the perceptive organs over the eyebrow (group I^2), and the Domestic group at the back of the head, large. If we add to these indications, the deficiency in moral and in superior mental organisation which appears to be an universal attribute of almost entirely undeveloped peoples, we can, I think, make up our minds without hesitation, as to what form of skull is the most primitive of those of which we have yet discovered remains. 141 000

In races which, though still dolichocephalic, are seemingly *growing*—advancing towards brachycephaly—we find the *sides of the skull in stages of development*, varying in directions and degrees of growth, with each different race. This phenomenon is capable of explanation:—We might anticipate that so long as the marriage practice of a tribe is what Mr. M'Lennan has termed[3] endogamous, the form in skull of that tribe—as the Todas—from every individual being affected by

[3] M'Lennan, 'Primitive Marriage.'

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the self-same causes, would be identical, or nearly so. It would either grow with considerable uniformity, or remain unaltered throughout the tribe. But when marriage custom changed to exogamy, in alliances with neighbouring races, or through the capture of female prisoners in war, then we might expect to see the tribal skull exhibiting great variety in shape.

We find the dolichocephalic Toda, careless of a meat diet, and without an intoxicating beverage. Setting moral considerations apart—and savages are not much troubled with morals—the practical *necessity* for flesh and stimulants arises from the craving of the organs of destructiveness and alimentativeness; properties of the brachycephalic head. The same organs acting under deep emotions, and perhaps under exceptional geographical restrictions, would produce cannibalism.

From what has just been written, it may be gathered that from the shape of a skull we may judge of the possibility of the race to which it belongs, having been cannibals. We shall see, in the course of future chapters, that we may also estimate, by the same process, the probabilities of its having been infanticidal, polyandrous, or much imbued with polygamy.

Mr. Tylor, in sustaining the thesis of the progression of civilisation, as contrasted with its rival, the degeneration theory, expresses his views in words which give great support to the ideas I have ventured to advance, on the improvement in form of the human skull: 'The savage state,' he writes, 'in some measure represents an early condition of mankind, out of which the higher culture has gradually been developed or evolved by processes still in regular operation as of old, the result showing that, on the whole, progress has far prevailed over relapse. On this proposition, the main tendency of human society during its long term of existence has been to pass from a savage to a civilised state. Now all must admit a great part of this assertion to be not only truth, but truism. Referred to direct history, a great section of it proves to belong, not to the

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domain of speculation, but to that of positive knowledge. It is mere matter of chronicle that modern civilisation is a development of mediæval civilisation, which again is a development from civilisation of the order represented in Greece, Assyria, or Egypt. Thus the higher culture being clearly traced back to what may be called the middle culture, the question which remains is, whether this middle culture may be traced back to the lower culture; that is, to savagery? To affirm this is merely to assert that the same kind of development in culture which has gone on inside our range of knowledge, has also gone outside it, its course of proceeding being unaffected by our having, or not having, reporters present. If anyone holds that human thought and action were worked out in primæval times according to laws essentially other than those of the modern world, it is for him to prove, by valid evidence, this anomalous state of things, otherwise the doctrine of permanent principle will hold good, as in astronomy or geology.'[3]

If the arguments which I have adduced in these last few pages, be reasonable, probability has been shown that the earliest races of man—of whom it is believed the Todas form a somewhat advanced sample—were the mild dolichocephalic natives of a terrestrial zone where nature is most gentle and favourable to human growth. We may suppose that in the course of ages, population increased, until having occupied all regions where man could live without the exercise of much labour or skill, it then began to encounter the difficulties destined ultimately to form its character; of which the chief would be experienced by those branches of the human family which spread into the most severe and inhospitable tracts. These wanderers would grow, by means of the process of natural selection, and in the course of long ages, brachycephalic, savage, and strong-bodied.

Rather than continue their national growth in intractable

[3] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 28.

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climes, these races, now hardy and warlike, would turn back their hordes in anticipation of the easy conquest of the rich lands occupied by the more effeminate and now wealthy populations from which they had originally sprung. All eventful history of which we have written record, teems with experiences of the oft-repeated inroads of northern barbarians on their luxurious or weak southern neighbours. I have, therefore, substantial grounds for entertaining the conviction that conquests of the more mild, dolichocephalic races, by the brachycephali, must have been in constant operation, in greater or less scale, and in varying quarters and directions of the globe, from the earliest point of prehistoric age at which population began to crowd, and races to find a difficulty in providing food for the ever-increasing number of mouths.

It is suggested that thus we may, amongst other causes, account for the fragmentary remains of some races, and the living existence of others, which advance of anthropological discovery proves to have been, at one time, near neighbours, and possibly of the same stock, though now dispersed and separated at the extreme limits of the inhabitable world. In those instances where these scattered races had intermarried amongst themselves alone—*practising endogamy* in social alliance—and where the progress of their passage, migration, or flight from the tropics had been so rapid and free from conflict, that natural selection had not had time or opportunity to make modifications, ere the tribes died out in the country of their refuge; there we should expect their exhumed skulls would show them to have been *entirely dolichocephalic*. But where the tribes had, in the *observance of exogamy*—whether resulting from choice or through incorporation with their conquerors—intermixed with brachycephalic peoples; or if they had, in their turn also, been long exposed to the action of natural selection; there we should meet *either modified-dolichocephalic crania, or find the narrow and the broad skulls intermingled.*

It is a matter of actual experience, that endogamous and exogamous tribes may coexist as neighbours in the same limited territory.

Although dolichocephalic races are not uncommon: if we *do not find a purely brachycephalic tribe*—one in which every individual member is broad-headed—we may remember, primarily; that this form of skull—according to this theory—was in the first instance shaped by natural selection; in which action every person would not be equally affected, nor both sexes exposed to all the same influences. Secondly; such a race being by its nature warlike, and strong in its animal propensities, would be little disposed to accede to restrictions limiting its members to marriage within their own tribe; hence, in their domestic alliances with people of other families of man, the probability of connectionships being formed with dolichocephali, and the consequent introduction of narrow-headed individuals into their midst, would be increased. Thirdly; there would appear to run throughout composite nature, animate and inanimate, a tendency to deterioration; to be resolved into original simple elements; for instance, of the most enduring metals to corrosion, and the hardest granite to disintegration. Similarly a process is at work; term it atavism, degeneration, or what you will, by force of which man—amongst other animals—tends to lapse, or revert to a more dolichocephalic strain. Though nature provides antidotes to this process, in different forms of selection, instances of degenerate form must always exist.

This deteriorating action is particularly observable in the breeding of domestic amimals. The difficulty in maintaining breadth in dogs' heads is well known. And the very same tendency may readily be observed in the human family. Doubtless there must be some limit to which the healthy subject can thus degenerate. And probably we shall not be very far in the wrong if we consider the Toda cranium to afford us a sample of what man—as a race—uninfluenced by selection,

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and living an open-air life, tends to revert to. I have seen many individuals of the Âryan family far more dolichocephalic than any Toda: but never an entire race or tribe.

The caste system of India; which I believe to be merely the religious bias, or impulse, which a designing priesthood gave to a dolichocephalic and naturally endogamous people, is eminently opposed to brachycephalic improvement, through interfering with natural selection. Even in peaceful pursuits; as in war, and contentions with climate, we are always struggling against the difficulties presented by competition; over which the most energetic—the brachycephalic—has most chance of success; of outliving the other.

Brachycephaly produced by selection, forms the natural counterpoise to dolichocephaly obtained through degeneration or inherited from primitive ancestors.

In the assertion of the belief I expressed; in the correlation existing between brachycephaly, and broad shoulders; it is not wished to imply, in the face of ample and frequent evidence to the contrary, that the rule has not many exceptions. Indeed narrow-headed men have often strong frames. But dolichocephalic *races* may well be noted as having light figures compared with their converse. I incline, however, as the result of my personal experience, to attribute variations from the principle I have laid down; to the marriage amongst exogamous races, of the two different descriptions of head to two different styles of body; by which the individual offspring we may notice as a departure from the rule, probably derived his cranium from one parent and his bodily frame from the other.

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CHAPTER X.

CENSUS.

Mode of taking Census—Census Table—Todas hide nothing but Number of Cattle—Review of the Table—Crowding—Number of Todas—Vital Statistics—Does the Tribe increase, or is it dying out?

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'AMONG the various objects of Political Economy, one of the most important and interesting,' wrote Dugald Stewart, 'has been always understood to be the augmentation of the numbers of the people.'[1]

I am about to lay before my readers the *bonâ fide* results of a detailed census (Table No. 3), taken by me in the year 1870, of a considerable portion of the Toda tribe. It will be found to well repay close scrutiny; for more precise information as regards actual domestic custom and the social condition of very primitive races can be deduced from what at first sight will appear to be a mere collection of dry facts and figures, than from a far larger amount of written description of events.

A second sheet, termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' recorded at the time of taking the census, will be found in Table No. 4.

Both of these tables were compiled with as much scrupulous care and accuracy as could probably have well been bestowed on them. The process of collecting information was as follows;—Arriving at each village, every soul, male and female, old and young, would be summoned before us. The

[1] Dugald Stewart, 'Lectures on Political Economy.'

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TABLE No. III. *Census.*

Mands		Houses					Inhabitants													
							Male					Female						Particulars regarding Inhabitants	Remarks M = Mands I = Inhabitants
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Grand Total		
Diljâvenu	Karikall	3	3	2	1	6	—	3	3[1]	4	10	1[2]	2	—	6[2]	9	19	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairyman. 3. Two of 12 years of age.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakhodi	Kakhodi	2	2	1	1	4	—	3[1]	—	2	5	—	2[2]	—	—	2	7	1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married: hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north. I. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Beresthro	Karrsthro	2	1	1	—	2	—	4[1]	—	3	7	—	4[2]	—	1	5	12	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.
Kouna-kour	Kouna-korrâl	3	2	1	—	3	—	4	3[1]	3	10	—	4[2]	1[2]	1[2]	6	16	1. Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.
Ebgodu	Ebgudu	4	3	1	1	5	1[1]	4[2]	4[2]	3	12	1[2]	4[2]	—	6[2]	11	23	1. About 25 years. Admitted to this Mand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 16 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 75 years of age. 5. One in	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant

Ilaghda	Ilaghda	4	2	1	—	3	1[c]	4	1[c]	6	14	2[c]	4	—	4[c]	11	24	childhood. 6. One of 14 years, one of 12 years. One infant with a disease of the skin.—The four married men, and four single adults, are six brothers and two nephews.	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 22, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	with disease of the skin. A woman in childbed.	M. Much exposed, but well drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Kondi	Kondal	5	3	0	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	2	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.		M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Mhamdi	Mardal	3	3	2	1	5	1[c]	6[c]	1[c]	3	12	2[c]	6	—	4	12	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.		M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kokkir	Kokkal	3	2	1	—	3	—	6[c]	1[c]	3	12	—	6[c]	—	3	9	21	2. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 13. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.		M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Poor. A girl squints. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Kinko	Kundero	0	1	1	—	2	—	2	1[c]	2	5	1[c]	2	—	1[c]	4	9	1. A dairyman, 15 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.		M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south and east. I. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.
Mahavh	Manchakill	4	3	1	—	4	1[c]	1	1[c]	1	6	—	3[c]	—	1[c]	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Dairyman aged 13. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.		M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and vigorous. Comfortable.
		35	25	13	4	42	5	49	22	36	112	7	47	1	29	84	196			

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women would invariably be placed in front; as it would be from them we should obtain information of the nature we required for census purposes; experience telling us that on points of mere family lore, they, without fail, are more reliable and intelligent than the men. It is they especially who know of the births, deaths, and marriages, and who can compare the dates of those interesting family events, by the heights, or comparative ages of individuals in the group standing before them.

At first we found the people in front of us, an apprehensive little assembly. The women, squatting on the ground, would close up together, looking shyly at us from the corners of the eye. The men, seated about on the surrounding-wall, were surly and suspicious. Breathless boys, who, hearing of the gentlemen's arrival at their Mand, had run in from buffalo-tending, stood open-mouthed, leaning on their sticks. The girls would stroll about, nursing the babies, now and then crouching in to the houses, to look after the fire which their mothers had been invited to leave. After a general explanation of our object in paying their retired home this very unexpected visit—most carefully avoiding all allusion to the subject of infanticide—and following on a judicious distribution of small coin, made amongst the infants, in order to open the mothers' hearts, we would commence our examination.

One woman at a time. She points out her husbands, her boys, her girls: accounts for the absent; one tending cattle, one the dairyman, two gone to collect kutu: and describes her relationship to the other males and females in the Mand.

What chance had such a simple people of eluding us, when enquiry took the form of a series of most unimportant questions? Not the most suspicious would object to tell if their parents were alive or dead: and what relation the members of the group were to one another. When was your daughter married, my good woman, and how many

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boys and how many girls have you? So sorry to hear you lost two daughters and a son. How old were they? And so on, and so on we went, examining one woman after another, and village after village. Had they shown, at any time, a desire to deceive—which, as regards human population, they never did—we could have readily detected the attempt, and outwitted them. A striking characteristic of the Todas is their inability to avoid giving an answer; but as the reply will, however, not always be true, leading questions should be avoided as much as possible. If you wish to ascertain a fact; undermine it, stalk it down, follow up enquiries with others that test it. Their only recipe to avoid answering a disagreeable query, is to tell a lie; a lie as palpable as that of a child.

My belief is, that, with the exception of the number of their cattle, they have nothing to hide. Now as there is no way of stalking down such a subject, and they will not, or cannot, tell you truly how many head there are in the village herd: and the Mands are situated wide apart over the hills: and the cattle are not driven home till evening; I was unable to count the buffaloes myself, or to form any test of the numbers which they told me. I have therefore left that subject an open question. The food supply is one that I have not been able to determine, even approximately.

To some minds this may appear to be an imperfect census; both because the inhabitants of all villages were not taken on the same day, and because every soul was not actually present. Practically speaking, it is as accurate as could be obtained, and nearly as perfect as could be desired; for the people are very primitive and the Mands are very small—containing from two to five houses or rooms—the inhabitants have few pursuits to lead them away from home, and on cloudy cold days they rarely go abroad. Above all, ignorance of the fact that they were being numbered, robbed them of object in deceit.

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Before proceeding further, I will review this Census Table, especially selecting those facts which may be useful to us hereafter.

α. We find that Toda males of *all ages*, bear the proportion to females of all ages, of 112 : 84, or of 100 : 75. In a census of the North-west Provinces of India, taken during the year 1866, the proportions between the sexes were found to be as 100 : 86·6. And in the Punjab as 100 : 81·8.[1] In Oudh, the census of 1868-69 taken in ten districts suspected of infanticide, gave 100 : 75·6 of all ages.[2]

β. The male *adults* are to the female adults, as 76 : 55, or as 100 : 72·4.

γ. The male *children* under fourteen years of age, bear to the female children of the same period—ages estimated from their personal appearance—the ratio of 36 : 29, or of 100 : 80·6.

Although, as we find, there is a somewhat larger proportion of females to males among children than amongst adults, I am disposed to attribute the discrepancy either to the score of the limited number of instances which the census contains: or to my having recorded as children, some who should have been accounted adult women.

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δ. There is 1 unmarried girl—a cripple from birth—out of 55 adult females, or 1·8 in 100.

ε. There are 22 young men who are said to be unmarried. If we deduct from these 22 adults, the 10 recorded as dairymen; who, during the term of office, are compelled, through religious usage, to live *en garçon*: we have yet 12 men of marriageable age who are stated in the Table to be leading a single life. From actual knowledge of the people, I form the opinion that these 12 are Benedicts, *de facto*.

[1] Selections from the Records of the Government of India. Foreign Department. Dated 1867.

[2] Statistics deduced from a census of Oudh in 1868-69, relating to female infanticide among Rajput families.

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ζ. We find there to be 49 undoubtedly married men, and 47 married women.

If this ratio[1] was strictly true, I should be in a position to announce that the practice of polyandry had become extinct. But if to these 49 men, we add the 12 who are married *de facto*, we get 61 husbands for the 47 wives, or the proportion of 100 : 77. Such, in my belief, is the existing state of polyandry in the tribe—formerly, the discrepancy was perhaps as much as 100 : 40.

η. The total of the Table[1] gives a return of 196 people; from whom, if we deduct the 10 dairymen who live apart, we find that 186 people, of both sexes and all ages, live in 35 rooms, the dimensions of which we know to be 8ft. by 8ft. each; or 5·3 persons, on an average, in each of such rooms. Such is the average domiciliary condition of the tribe. But in village Mênmadd, 23 are shown to be living in 3 rooms, or 8 in some rooms.

If such be the custom of the people when in a state of health, we can scarcely form a conception of their miserable plight when epidemics arise: but we can at once comprehend how fatal any form of contagious disease is too sure to become, if it obtains a footing in the homesteads of any primitive race. Let this essential condition of savage life make a deep impression on our minds, if we would realise any one of the numerous forms of suffering, hardship, or disaster, to which our forefathers must all, from time to time, have been exposed. Rapidly as intelligence spreads amongst civilised nations in these modern days, through the quick interchange of ideas; we may feel very confident, that in the retirement of mountains, swamps, and jungles, at an era when all mankind was young and inexperienced; isolated tribes each gaining their separate knowledge through means of the repeated hard knocks to which their own ignorance of the working of natural laws had rendered them liable, must have undergone the severest trials.

A perusal of the column in Table No. 3, which affords

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

 A perusal of the column in Table No. 3[1] which affords

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particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

162 342 511 592

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

161 162 127

6. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

162 621

[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life. 161 162 621

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct; it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study. 161

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate. 162

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye. 732

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health. 165 147

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the 757 164

1 [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See pp. 98 and 99, category 16 -- Analyst]

CHAP. X. 164 man afflicted with that dreadful malady, was not amongst the 196 people of the census, the case cannot be used in these calculations.

146 As regards the general appearance of the people; a large
147 proportion of both sexes and of all ages are doubtless in excellent health. Up to the age of fourteen, the children are certainly, and almost universally, hale and hearty. The young women look well, too: but the young men are often bottle-nosed, with a general appearance of deficient circulation, insufficient food, and of athletic exercise. Nature seems to make competent arrangements, by means of which the female sex is able to bear children during the extra period that young men require for the purpose of completing their growth. It is probably a consequence or a portion of this design, that renders girls as a general rule more easy to rear than boys. Be that as it may, these rather weedy youths fill out in course of time, and complete their features with mature age—the large nose is rarely, or perhaps never, apparent in the young; and seems not to attain its climax till near the age of thirty—the women in advanced years are often draggled in appearance, from poverty and child-bearing. The full-grown men look strong and well.

Now for our examination into the augmentation of the numbers of the people.

165 If we allow, that out of the 3 people recorded in paragraph (x) to be in a state of health unfavourable to prolonged existence, 2 die in the course of the year. And suppose that another 2 die in the same period from other causes—a high rate for those who, living a pastoral and quiet life in a healthy climate, are exposed to few vicissitudes—we have then 4 deaths amongst 196 people, in the course of twelve months; or 2 per cent. per annum, as the extreme death-rate for *all ages*.

000 In the years between 1838 and 1861, the average ratio of mortality in Great Britain—a country in which high civilisa-

tion and competition, expose its people to vicissitudes from which the Toda is entirely exempt—was 1 in 45, or 2·23 per cent. per annum.[6] CHAP. X. 000

λ. We shall find in a succeeding chapter on Infanticide, Table No. 7,[1] that of 26 M + 20 F, or 46 children, who—judging from the ages of the mothers—were of different ages, varying from 1 to 20 years, 5 died. In other words, 10·87 per cent. of children born, die of *youthful* maladies. 165

μ. If, from the same Table, we calculate the number of children, whose mothers being less than 27 years must themselves be under 10 years of age, we see that of 23 born, 3 died; or that 13 per cent. died of *infantile* disorders.

An average taken of the mortality of several countries in Europe, gives 38·3 per cent. of children who died in the year 1825, 'from birth to the age of 10.'[7] 000

Not to fatigue my readers with further preliminaries, I will now submit the brief calculation which is to show whether the Todas are dying out or increasing in numbers; and at what rate of progress. Mathematical accuracy cannot, with justice, be expected; for, even with the most perfect census possible, there are obvious reasons why exactness is unattainable. I will premise, in the words of Dugald Stewart, that 'the rate at which the multiplication of different races would go, seems to depend on the following particulars; (1) the age at which the parent becomes prolific; (2) the time that elapses in pregnancy; (3) the frequency of breeding: (4) the numbers of each brood; (5) the period during which the parent continues prolific.'[8]

Suppose then we begin our reckoning with 177 married Todas of both sexes. Paragraph (ζ) of this chapter informs us that of this 177, there will be 100 men and 77 women. 163 165

Tables Nos. 6 and 7[2] show that the average of women—

[6] Adam Smith, 'The Wealth of Nations.'
[7] Malthus, 'Essay on the Principle of Population.'
[8] Dugald Stewart, 'Lectures on Political Economy.'

1 [See A 120, Category 116 --Analyst]
2 [See pp. 119 and 120, Category 116 --Analyst]

CHAP. X.

including a proportion of the sterile—bear children for 20 years, at the rate of 6 children for each woman.

163 We know from paragraph (λ), that of 100 children born,
165 10·87 die before they attain to the age of 20.

The natural death-rate of *all ages* is allowed in paragraph (κ) to stand at 2 per cent. per annum; which rate is here taken for the proportion of *adults* only, who die—a very high figure. Hence 18·29 per cent. will give the number of deaths during the ten years which forms the *mean* period of child-bearing.

Calculation.

77 Number of women who commence to bear children.

77−18·29 = 58·71 Average number of women who bear children for 20 years.

Then

58·71 × 6 = 352·26 Number of children born to those women at the expiration of 20 years.

Deduct

52·26 + 10·87 = 32·41 The number of children who die before attaining 20 years.

319·85 The number of children who survive at the expiration of 20 years.

During these 20 years, the original 177 people have decreased by 2 per cent. per annum; or 33·21 per cent. = 58·78.

Thus

177 − 58·78 = 118·22

438·07

161 We see therefore that in the course of 20 years, the 177 Todas have theoretically expanded to 438. Thus doubling in 16·2 years. 'In the back settlements of America, where

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the inhabitants applied themselves solely to agriculture, and luxury was not known, the people were found to double themselves in 15 years.'[9] And it has been shown by Adam Smith, that 'when the means of subsistence are supplied in sufficient abundance, the principle of increase is powerful enough to cause population to advance in geometrical proportion, or in the ratio of the numbers 1. 2. 4. 8. 16.'[10]

It follows therefore, taking the present number of the Toda tribe at 713, and the term of doubling at 16·2 years, that

in the year	1886	they will	have become	1426
"	1902	"	"	2852
"	1918	"	"	5604

and so on; of which numbers, nearly one-third will be men in the prime of life.

[9] Malthus, 'Essay on the Principle of Population.'
[10] Adam Smith, 'The Wealth of Nations.'

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CHAPTER XI.

FAMILY STATISTICS.

The day approaches when the Nilagiris will not afford support for the Todas—Occupations which the Todas might take to—A little education would give them a good start in life—Toda Males bear to Females the ratio of 100 : 75—*The cause of this disparity between the Sexes—A male-producing variety of man, formed by Infanticide—Useful Family Statistics.*

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SUPPOSING that the Toda cattle should multiply at the same rate of progress as their masters are shown to be doing, still the time must sooner or later arrive, when the available grazing land on these mountains will be insufficient to feed them all. I may repeat, that the food, on the due supply of which the Toda depends, is derived from two sources only; viz., that which is obtained as a cess from the Badagas in lieu of rent for the Toda land they cultivate: and that which is acquired by the consumption and sale of the products of their own buffalos. The first is a fixed quantity; the second will become a fixed quantity also, so soon as the cattle have attained their largest practicable number.

If then the Todas persist in adhering without deviation, to their present habits and customs, it is clear that the time must be approaching when the tribe will drift into a condition of great distress. 'Food,' wrote Adam Smith, 'is indispensable for the support of human life; and it may be said that this condition of our existence has a natural tendency to make every man perish of hunger! In point of fact, however, very few perish of want; and the tendency in question is, in the great majority of cases, far more than counterbalanced by

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the opposing principles to which it gives rise—by the industry and foresight which it enforces on the attention of every man."[1]

Two sources of food, entirely apart from those to which I have alluded, are available; the adoption of either of which would not only rescue the Todas from immediate danger, but might stamp an era whence their rise in the world would date, viz., the physical labour of the men: and the sale of male cattle, of horns and hides, of which they are at the present time cheated by the Kotas. Both cooly-labour and cattle-breeding, should be occupations suitable to an able-bodied pastoral people.

With a race that labours, everything is possible. Civilisation owes to labour her first impulses. It gives to nature the opportunity of selection, which the Todas have avoided; that process, by means of which, the fittest survive, and the inefficient gravitate first, into the lowest ranks of a population: then die out through the want and maladies which are the results of their own ignorance and want of vigour.

A modicum of worldly education; a little writing and ciphering, would give them a start in life: some local geography and knowledge of the world, inculcated by the enforced travelling of some of the more intelligent of their number, would enlarge their ideas. For the rest they must act for themselves. Thus when the time arrives—as come it enevitably must do—that, in spite of labour and cattle-breeding, the small Nilagiri plateau can no longer contain their ever-increasing numbers; the little colonies they would throw off, would not retire into the depths of the surrounding country, as ignorant and barbarous as these their ancestors; to be preyed upon by offshoots from their present wily neighbours: but would have a good chance of becoming independent and improving peoples.

In paragraph (α) of the last chapter, I showed that the

[1] Adam Smith, 'The Wealth of Nations.'

 In paragraph (a) of the last Chapter, I showed that the

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162 Toda males of all ages bear to the females, the proportion of 100 : 75; and the correctness of this statement is somewhat confirmed by the ratio in adults and in children, given in paragraphs (β) and (γ) bearing a similar discrepancy. This excess

947 of males is a very striking fact, and its truth may be accepted without doubt or mental reserve. I think we cannot quite account for the universal paucity of females without acknowledging, either that infanticide is, or has recently been practised to a very sensible extent: or that more boys are *born* than girls.

000 To what cause may we attribute this wide departure in nature, from those of her well-established laws; by the operations of which, equality between the sexes, is, within certain limits of divergence, known to be preserved, in all countries of whose population we have accurate knowledge? If we are disposed to describe the cause, in some general expression, as 'race peculiarity,' we still cannot be satisfied with less than the discovery of the physiologic reason for such eccentricity. We note the food and clothing, the mode of life, the climate; and fail to see sufficient reason for ascribing what we seek to any such origin. In fact, as regards the Todas, we can with certainty pronounce, that in only two respects can their surroundings be considered to differ widely in an important manner, from that of vast masses of mankind to whom great variation between the sexes has never been traced; viz., in their marriage system, and in the practice of infanticide.

162, 582 We have learnt that relationship is, with the Todas, intimate far beyond that witnessed in any country approaching civilisation. Intimate to such a degree, that the whole tribe, where not parents and children, brothers and sisters, are all first-cousins, descended from lines of first-cousins prolonged for centuries. Let me show emphatically and distinctly that such is in truth the case. The tribe consists of about 713 persons, divided between 5 clans; of which

two are almost extinct. The remaining three clans, being nearly of equal number, must contain about 200 members of all ages each. But one of them—the Peiki clan—marries solely within itself. Hence, this small body of 200 people have intermarried from time immemorial. And the intercourse must have become very promiscuous. I do not attribute disparity between the sexes to this close intercourse; but it is interesting to review the primitive practice, as a custom connected with the paucity of numbers arising from infanticide, and with the polyandrous habit which is found in junction with it. 162 582

In future chapters we shall see that the practice of infanticide as observed by the Todas, was the habitual destruction of all daughters in every family, except one or sometimes two. And we know that the average size of Toda families is 6 children born to each woman. 847

Now let us for the purpose of illustration take three families as representing an average of the entire tribe; say that one mother gives birth to 6 daughters and no sons: a second mother has 6 sons only, whilst the third mother has 3 sons and 3 daughters. The first mother—following the tribal custom—destroys 4 daughters and preserves 2. The second retains her 6 sons. The third kills 2 daughters and keeps 1, as also her 3 sons. We have then, from the three families, 9 sons and 3 daughters with which to continue the breed. But whilst the males belong to families in which the tendency to produce sons is great, the females are of those of a converse inclination. Thus the bias strengthens with each generation, until, as we find, families grow to have habitually more sons than daughters. This habitude *outlasting the depraved practice which caused it*, indurates more or less, into a fixed characteristic of the people: and *a male-producing variety of man is formed.*

In presenting Table No. 4, containing what I have termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' to the indulgence of my readers, 124 162

TABLE No. IV. *Statistics of Toda Families.*

No. on the List	Name of Mands	Wives			Husbands					Children						Remarks
		Clan	Apparent present age	Probable number of years since married	Clan	Apparent ages of those alive	Probable ages of those dead, and number of years since dead		Degrees of relationship to one another	Apparent ages of those alive		Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead.				Notes.—No. 5 column has been determined either by reference to age of eldest child or where the period was manifestly short, from the woman's own statement. The remaining columns are the result of *viva voce* examination of parents, or of personal inspection.
										Males	Females	Males		Females		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1	Diljawun	Tódi	27	13	Tódi	28			Brothers	4, 9	12, 20	—	—	—	—	Child-marriage.
2		,,	25	12	,, ,,	26 25	—	—		11	8, 14	1	3	—	—	There is a fourth brother to these three husbands, aged 18; the village dairyman. Child-marriage.
3		,,	40	16	,,	D	67	6	Brothers	28, 18, 11	12, 10	—	—	—	—	This woman was put away by her first husband, in order that he might marry his brother's widow. She was not living with her deceased husband's brothers, but with her own sons.
4	Different Mands	,,	65	46	,,	70	—	—	Brothers.	38, 35	28, 24	6, 3	30, 29	6, 8	14, 10	
5		,,	60	43		65	—	—		40, 35, 30	24, 20					
6		,,	D	—	,,	D	66	12		4 No.	—	—	—	8, 6	10, 10	
7		,,	D	—	,,	D	43	8		—	—	—	—	—	—	Mother died in first travail. Sex of child—which died—not known.

8	Katholl	Peihl	D	—	Peihl	D	57	20	Brothers	20	22	12	3	20	4	Twins. This woman died five years ago. On her death the two widowers married a woman (9) *known* to have been barren all her life; and therefore set aside. Having already a family, they married for the sake of having some one to cook.
9		"	20	3	"	28			Brothers	—	—	—	—	—	—	Barren.
10	Bawshro	"	38	25	"	D	40	8	Brothers	22	24	6	7	—	—	
11		"	20	4	"	25	—	—		—	8	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
12		"	18	0	"	22	—	—	Brothers	—	—	—	—	—	—	Pregnant.
13		"	18	1	"	19	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
14	Lonto Kotr	"	18	0	"	18	—	—		—	—	—	—	1	1	Pregnant. The husband has a brother aged 18; the village dairyman.
15		"	40	26	"	32	—	—		—	[illegible]	18 2	18 6	—	—	One female child is a cripple from birth. The husband has no brother.
16		"	22	3	"	30	—	—		8	—	—	—	—	—	The husband has a brother, aged 24; the village dairyman.
17	Elgodo	"	75	62	"	D	75	4		[illegible]	20	30	6	32 34 18	18 22 23	This widow says she never had more than one husband.

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No. on the List	Name of Mands	Wives			Husbands					Children						Remarks
		Clan	Apparent present ages	Probable number of years since married	Clan	Apparent ages of those alive	Probable ages of those dead, and number of years since dead		Degree of relationship to one another	Apparent ages of those alive		Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead				Notes.—No. 5 column has been determined either by reference to age of oldest child, or where the period was manifestly short, from the woman's own statement. The remaining columns are the result of vivâ voce examination of parents, or of personal inspection.
										Males	Females	Males		Females		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
18	Ebgodu	Peiki	35	17	Peiki	40	—	—	Brothers	16 10	14 12	—	—	4	12	
19		,,	30	11	,,	35	—	—		—	10 3 1½	—	—	—	—	These two husbands have a younger brother, aged 38; the village dairyman.
20		,,	19	2	,,	16	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. Child-marriage. Wife older than husband.
21	Bangadu	,,	30	34	,,	D	?	3		28 26	30	3	15	18	15	This man had three younger brothers, married and living in different mands.
22		,,	45	21	,,	D	?	2		16 14 13	20 18	1	7	9 2	8 9	This man had four brothers, who died; one as a child, three married separately.
23		,,	42	23	,,	50	—	—		22 14	12 3	1 1	7 5	—	—	This man has two brothers, widowers, living in the same mand.
24		,,	20	7	,,	28	—	—		1½	3	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. Child-marriage.
25		,,	18	1	,,	25	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
26		,,	28	10	,,	25	—	—		8½	—	—	—	—	—	This man has a brother, aged 23, married in another mand.

27	Kankik	Kuttan	35	41	Kenna "	D 65	60	10	Brothers	30	40 32	20 8 6	13 20 8	—	—	
28		Tôdi	60	35	" "	D 63	65	1	Brothers	30 25 20	28	20 14	14 12	8 6 4	12 12 12	These men have a third brother. The three brothers had two wives in common.
29		Kenna	24	8	Peiki	28	—	—		—	6	—	—	—	—	Pregnant.
30		"	20	1	Kuttan	25	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
31		"	18	1	Peiki	24	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. This man has three married brothers, living in different mands.
32		Kuttan	30	8	Kenna "	35 30	—	—	Brothers	—	—	—	—	—	—	The woman is looked on by the people as barren. These husbands have a brother aged 20; the village dairyman.
33		"	19	3	"	30	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
34		"	19	2	"	30	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
35		Kenna	28	3	Kuttan	40	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
36	Mîmanâl	Peiki	45	31	Peiki	50	—	—	Brothers	30 14 4	18 16 2	6	4	2	10	
37		"	45	29	"	45	—	—		28 26 22	27 24 18	6 9	8 4	1	2	These husbands have a fifth brother, aged 20; the village dairyman.
38		"	25	13	"	28	—	—		12	2	—	—	—	—	Child-marriage.
39		"	14	4	"	23	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. Child-marriage.

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No. on the List	Name of Mandi	Wives			Husbands					Children						Remarks
		Clan	Apparent present age	Probable number of years since married	Clan	Apparent ages of those alive	Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead		Degree of relationship to one another	Apparent ages of those alive		Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead				Notes.—No. 5 column has been determined either by reference to age of oldest child, or where the period was manifestly short, from the woman's own statement. The remaining columns are the result of vivâ voce examination of parents or of personal inspection.
										Males	Females	Males		Females		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
40	Mitmaldi	Pulki	25	11	Pulki	30	—	—	Brothers	4	1	—	—	6	4	Child-marriage.
41		"	24	9	"	24	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	
42		"	30	31	"	D	7	—		28, 26, 25, 22	18, 4	—	—	—	—	
43		"	35	31	"	D	7	—		30, 28, 24	16	23, 4	5, 3	16, 14	10, 9	

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The daughter died in her five years, five of children, which died, not born. The husband has a brother married in another mind. Child-marriage.	This husband had three younger brothers who died in childhood.	This husband has a brother married in another mind.	Child-marriage.	Child-marriage.	This man had a brother, who died young.	Not pregnant. Looked on by the people as barren.	Pregnant. Child-marriage.	Not pregnant.	This husband had three brothers, who died young.	Not pregnant. This husband has a brother married in another mind.	Child-marriage. This husband has a brother married in another mind.
[illegible]	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
[illegible]	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
[illegible]	[illegible]	1	1	1	[illegible]	1	1	1	[illegible]	1	1
[illegible]	[illegible]	1	1	1	[illegible]	1	1	1	[illegible]	1	1
[illegible]	1	[illegible]	1	1	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	1
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	1	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	1	-
1	1	1	1	1	[illegible]	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	[illegible]	1	1	1	1	1	1
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kaimal	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Pali	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tali	Kaimal	[illegible]	Kaimal	[illegible]	Tali	Kaimal	[illegible]	Tali	[illegible]	Pali	Kaimal
[illegible]					[illegible]				[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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TABLE No. V.

Information deduced from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' Table No. IV.

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No. on the List	Present ages of Husband	Present ages of Wives	Present ages of Children	Present ages of Others	Present ages of Husband's Mothers	Present ages of Wives' Mothers	Present ages of Husband's Fathers	Present ages of Wives' Fathers	Children born	Children living	Children living	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	0	4	Child-marriage.
2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	3	1	4	Child-marriage.
3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	0	5	
4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	4	8	
5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	0	5	
6	D	[illegible]							4	2	6	
7	D	[illegible]	[illegible]						0	0	0	
8	D	[illegible]	[illegible]						5	4	9	
9	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	Barren.
10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	1	7	
11	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			1	0	1	
12	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	0	1	
13	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	
14	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	1	1	
15	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	0	4	
16	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			1	0	1	
17	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	4	10	
18	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	1	5	
19	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			3	0	3	
20	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	Child-marriage.
21	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	3	0	3	
22	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	3	3	6	
23	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			4	2	6	
24	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	0	0	Child-marriage.
25	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	
26	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	
27	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	3	3	6	

No. on the List	Present ages of Husband	Present ages of Wives	Present ages of Children	Present ages of Others	Present ages of Husband's Mothers	Present ages of Wives' Mothers	Present ages of Husband's Fathers	Present ages of Wives' Fathers	Children born	Children living	Children living	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
28	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	3	7	
29	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			1	0	1	
30	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	
31	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	Barren.
32	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	
33	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	
34	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			1	0	1	
35	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	0	6	
36	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	3	9	
37	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	Child-marriage.
38	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	Child-marriage.
39	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	1	1	
40	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	Child-marriage.
41	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	0	6	
42	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	4	9	
43	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	3	8	Child-marriage.
44	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	4	
45	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			5	0	5	
46	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	Child-marriage.
47	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	Child-marriage.
48	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	1	5	
49	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	Barren.
50	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	3	0	3	Child-marriage.
51	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			0	0	0	
52	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	6	12	
53	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	7	0	7	
54	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	0	1	Child-marriage.

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TABLE No. VI.

To ascertain the "ages at which Toda women commence and leave off Child-bearing."

Compiled from Tables No. IV. *or* V.

Commenced Child-bearing					Left off Child-bearing				
No. on the List	Present age of Wife	Age of her eldest Child	Calculated age when she commenced Child-bearing	Remarks	No. on the List	Present age of Wife	Age of her youngest Child	Calculated age when she left off Child-bearing	Remarks
1	27	12	15	In the compilation of this abstract, the younger women have, as a rule, been taken, as conducive to accurate results.	3	40	10	30	In this abstract, only those women have been entered, who from their own age or from that of the youngest child, appear to have left off child-bearing.
2	25	11	14		4	65	12	53	
3	40	25	15		5	60	20	40	
10	38	24	14		15	40	8	32	
11	24	2	22		17	75	35	40	
12	18	0	18	P	21	50	18	32	
14	18	2	16		22	45	8	37	
15	40	25	15		27	55	14	41	
16	22	2	20		28	60	20	40	
19	30	10	20		36	45	2	43	
22	45	20	25		37	45	9	36	
23	42	22	20		42	50	14	36	
24	20	3	17		43	55	7	48	
26	28	8	20		44	40	5	35	
29	24	6	18		45	45	12	33	
35	28	3	25		49	55	15	40	
36	45	30	15		53	65	24	41	
37	45	28	17		54	42	25	17	
38	25	12	13						
40	25	10	15						
44	40	28	12						
45	45	29	16						
46	30	12	18						
51	26	10	16						
54	42	25	17						
55	20	1	19						
26			$\frac{452}{26}$ = 17·4	Average age at which the women commence child-bearing.	18			$\frac{674}{18}$ = 37·4	Average age at which the women leave off child-bearing.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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TABLE No. VII.

To ascertain the 'size of Toda Families:' the 'period during which the women bear children;' and the 'number of years intervening between the birth of children.'

Compiled from Tables No. IV. *or* V.

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No. on the List	Calculated age when commenced Child-bearing	Calculated age when left off Child-bearing	Total number of years in Child-bearing	Number of Children born	Remarks
Wives who have left off Child-bearing					
3	15	30	15	5	The total 'number of children born' divided by the 'total No. of wives on the list' gives the average 'size of Toda families'; or $\frac{114}{20} = 5{\cdot}7$. But if the barren women be excluded from the calculation, then $\frac{114}{17} = 6{\cdot}7$ is the average. The total 'number of years in child-bearing' divided by the 'No. of wives on the list,' gives the average 'period during which the women bear children'; or $\frac{333}{17} = 19{\cdot}6$.
5	18	40	22	5	
15	15	32	17	6	
17	15	40	25	10	
21	17	32	15	5	
22	25	37	12	8	
27	15	41	26	6	
28	26	38	12	9	
36	15	43	28	8	
37	17	36	19	9	
42	20	36	16	6	
43	25	48	23	9	
44	12	35	23	8	
45	16	33	17	4	
49	20	40	20	5	
53	23	41	18	10	
54	17	42	25	1	
17			333	114	
9			0	0	
32			0	0	
50			0	0	
20			333	114	

No. on the List	Calculated age when commenced Child-bearing	Apparent present age	Total number of years in Child-bearing	Number of Children born	Remarks
Wives continuing in Child-bearing					The total 'number of years in child-bearing' divided by the total 'number of children born' gives the average 'number of years intervening between the birth of each child'; or $\frac{500}{167} = 3$.
			333	114	
1	15	27	12	4	
2	14	25	11	4	
10	14	38	25	7	
11	22	24	2	1	
12	18	18	1	1	
14	16	18	2	1	
16	20	22	2	1	
18	19	35	16	5	
19	20	30	10	3	
23	20	42	22	6	
24	17	20	3	2	
26	20	28	8	2	
29	18	24	6	1	
35	25	28	3	1	
38	13	25	12	2	
40	15	25	10	3	
46	18	30	12	5	
51	16	26	10	3	
55	19	20	1	1	
			500	167	

NOTE.—The wives in child-marriages, and those who, having lately married, have not yet given birth to children, have been excluded from this Table.

it is advisable to mention, that although as much patient care was taken to collect the evidence it contains, with the same accuracy as that bestowed on the Census, yet there are reasons why it could not be attained. For the latter purpose the people were nearly all present; whereas in the process of collecting statistics, dependence had, in the main, to be placed on the statement of uneducated people describing births and deaths, many of which took place long years before. Supposing even they remembered in all cases the number of each sex that died, they would still have to represent their own notions of the ages at which they did so, and the period that had elapsed since those events happened. All, therefore, that can with confidence be asserted, is, that the best was done in the face of these inevitable difficulties to eliminate error. CHAP. XI. 124 162

For instance—and one will suffice—if it was required to ascertain the particulars of a child who had died. The mother was present; the husband also sat close by. Some relation, also present, had a wife, or husband, or child, as the case might be, who had been a playfellow of the departed. Or the child was said by its mother to have been either so much older or so much younger than one standing before us.

For the sake of those who wish to utilise the statistics, Table No. 5 has been compiled from Table No. 4 which will render it easy to extract the most valuable points of information. 126 163

In order to obtain reliable data on which to base deductions as to Toda nature and Toda progress, it seems a matter sufficiently important, to record with all the exactness that available information admits of, certain averages relative to the size of families, and the ages at which their women commence and also leave off child-bearing. The details of these points of information, collated from Tables No. 4 or 5, will, therefore, be found tabulated in Nos. 6 and 7 Tables. A point has been made, not to omit any of the instances of Table 4 or 5, that might prove of value; only the women in child-marriages, or those who having lately married, have not yet given birth to progeny, have been left out.

[Table No 4 appears on pp 112-113 Category 116 or 162 --Analyst]

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We see from these tables that,

I. The *earliest* age at which women commence child-bearing is about . .	14 years.
II. The *average* age at which women commence child-bearing is	17·4 years.
III. The average age at which women leave off child-bearing is	37·4 years.
IV. Women bear children during a period of	19·6 years.
V. The average interval between the birth of children is	3 years.
VI. Including barren women, the average size of families is	5·7 children.
VII. Exclusive of barren women, the average size of families is	6·7 children.

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGION.

Prayers to Sun and Moon—The Mysterious confused with Godhead—No clear conception of a Supreme Being—The use of a God—Toda Belief—Amnôr—Where situated—Sin, Punishment, little Gods, Spirits, Witchcraft—Toda Religious Belief, whence derived.

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If by the word religion, we mean to imply devotion, piety, duty, as applied to the worship of God, Creator and Ruler; then the Todas are most certainly an irreligious people, judging of them, as we can alone judge, by their actions; whether we compare them by our own standard or through the rites and performances of simple races more in keeping with themselves. 771

They salaam to the rising and setting sun—birsh—and the moon—tiggalu [1]—at night, reciting the one formula of prayer which they use on all devout occasions; danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama, the meaning of which has already been translated in note 5 of Chapter VII. To see a man amongst his family, stand out on a moonlight night with hand to forehead, asking most gravely this blessing on his house, from one of the givers of light, is an impressive spectacle, though the address may have been made only to the moon. 768

We see from this formula what they acknowledge to be the fact; that they look on these luminaries as Gods, Lords—Dêr, Swâmi—not that they are, in the least degree, clear on the subject of their power, or the mode or limits of their 771 776

[1] See note No. 3 of Chapter VII.

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action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see, confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to any personal God, of whose attributes or power they entertain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[2] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

I am not prepared to say that these people have actually no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[3] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

[2] See Chapter VIII.

[3] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

me, that the Pekkans are poor and have few herds, therefore *they have no occasion for a God* to protect them. I see the man now before me shaking his grave head, 'Aha, they don't want a God.' CHAP. XII. 771 776

'First divest your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson. The Toda anticipated that sage advice long years ago. What is the *use* of a God if not to protect life and property? And no property, no God! I dwell on this phase of the primitive mind, for it will liberate us much from the necessity for searching for evidences of religious worship in the customs, whose description I am entering upon.

The sum of real Toda belief is, that they were born, they and their cattle, somehow—rose out of the earth. When they die they go to amnôr,[4] which is a world exactly like this; whither their buffalos join them, to supply milk as in this state—*voilà tout.* They look on this migration from the nomad point of view: but do not appear to be quite clear whether they and their cattle go to amnôr in the body or the spirit. Some practical difficulties appear to present themselves, to whichever belief they bend. The abstruseness of the question is acknowledged. They are satisfied that they *do* get there, and don't care to speculate and reopen a matter which has so long and so satisfactorily been settled! 771 775

A good opportunity presenting itself, in a visit with which I was favoured by an important religious character, I asked him where amnôr was situate. He did not appear surprised at the question, or in a moment's doubt as to the locality. Looking about him in the sky as if to ascertain the cardinal points of the compass; as all Orientals do; who living without clocks or barometers, read the signs in the heavens for guidance 772 775 821

[4] Amnôr, amnâr, ômunâr = *the next world.*
Nâr or nâḍu = *district, country.* This is Tamil.
Ôma is a difficulty. Yaman is the '*God of death.*'
It seems to be = avaṇ, which in Tamil = *there*, and is sometimes used for *the other world.* In Tamil, ammai = *the next state* or *stage in transmigration.* [POPE.]

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and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[5] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[5] See note 2 of Chapter V.

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the Hindu Badagas, with whom they have for several generations been on intimate terms: whose mode of worship they have had opportunities of noticing: and with whom they have often conversed on elementary religious topics. Thus, as I have noted, they have seized on a few words, and the names of a score of small Gods connected with maladies and diseases, of whom they know nothing but their names; but without having adopted a religion.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE BELL-GODS.

A religion based on the care of the Cow—Milk a Divine fluid—The Cattle-bell, a God—The Bell-cow—Her ancestral line—The Bell-god—Installation of the Bell-cow—The Tiritri—The sacred Herd—Bulls of the Herd—Sanctification of Bulls—Agnate law amongst the Todas; Female succession for their Cattle—Antiquity of Bell-gods.

CHAP. XIII.

181 231 234

NOTHING amongst the peculiarities of this very peculiar people is more striking than the absorbing importance they attach to all duties connected with the management of the buffalo and her chief product. The animal is the focus of all village life; the nucleus or centre upon which their entire religio-social system is based. One cannot imagine the Toda apart from a consideration of his buffalo; and when we reflect how entirely dependent the man is upon the animal—how, with only a light and pleasant expenditure of patience and perseverance, he finds the coarse grass of his hills turned into good nutriment; the care of the buffalo, so far from appearing anything extraordinary, only fits into its natural place as a necessary sequence. We are reminded, too, that the milk-giver and the bull have been, and still are, objects of especial care and of worship amongst other races that own Western Asia as their cradle-land. It also carries us back to the time when man depended upon his flocks and herds for existence. We actually see him in process of forming a religion, based upon the care of the cow.

000 'Few,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'who will give their minds to master the general principles of savage religion, will ever again

000 think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'[1]

322 Our friends appear to *dream* buffalo. Sitting, apparently
532 'thinking of nothing at all,' a man will pick up a bit of cane or forked twig from the ground, and like the typical Yankee is supposed to whittle a stick while he speculates, so the Toda will employ himself for an hour at a time, splitting his bit of cane or rounding the little branches of his twig into the likeness of buffalo horns, as he muses. Children may be seen coming in from cattle-driving, with strings of these small horns. And these treasures are found lying about their houses and haunts. Two of them are shown in Photograph No. 15.

182 In the history of most, if not of all nations, savage and
771 civilised alike, we may trace the alliance, more or less intimate,
234 of religion, in its various rites and performances, with food; in its nature, source, or care, or in the occasions or symbols of its use. This correlation is certainly a marked feature in Toda customs. Though the Todas have no actual religion or system of faith leading to the performance of duties to a God, yet they hold to certain practices and certain habits in daily life, which are to them in the place of a religion; being performed with all the strictness and certainty that should be bestowed on sacred observances.

234 These performances or habits are intimately allied with
778 the care and distribution of the *divine fluid*—milk. The buffalo is to a certain degree held sacred, as being the

[1] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 21.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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CHILDREN TENDING CATTLE.

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234 778 [198]

chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

177 234 262 431

But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

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There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[a] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

[a] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, mani dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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cows of the sacred herds only, which are attached to the holy Mands, termed tirièri.[3] The size of the droves varies, from accidental circumstances, between the numbers 10 and 60: and somewhat in proportion to the dimensions of the herds, from one to three bell-gods belong to a tirièri.

The bell-cows, for whom, by the way, the Todas have no specific name, are not selected on account of their good milking qualities, their size or beauty, but are the descendants in direct female line from certain originals whose early history has been lost. I have the following information on the subject from the highest authority; viz., a priest of the tirièri, styled pâlâl, retired from the active business of his calling. He told me that no matter how old and worthless the bell-cow might become, the bell belonged to her till she died: when, without fail, it was transferred to her daughter. Moreover, that if the mother should have left no such female issue, a bell-cow would be procured from one of the other tirièris: or the holy Mand would itself be broken up, and the entire herd amalgamated with that of some tirièri still possessing a bell-cow.

The bell-god is never worn by the bell-buffalo, but is always kept in the priest's house; no one but a man of that office being permitted to touch or even to see it.

The same holy man who gave me the above information, also described the installation of a new bell-cow. Twice a day, morning and evening, for three successive days, the priest waves the bell with his right hand, round and round the head of the bovine heiress, talking to it the while, much as follows:

> What a fine cow your predecessor was!
> How well she supported us with her milk!
> Won't you supply us in like manner?
> You are a God amongst us!

[3] Tirièri = *holy place*. Tira or tiri is the recognised Drâvidian corruption of the Sanskrit shrî = *holy, sacred*.

Ari or iri, from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist*. Ur = *a village*, is from the same root. [POPE.]

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Don't let the tiriêri go to ruin!
Let one become a thousand!
Let all be well!
Let us have plenty of calves!
Let us have plenty of milk!

During three days and nights the bell is kept fastened round the cow's neck. On the morning of the third day it is removed from her neck, and lodged in the priest's house. It is never worn again during that cow's lifetime.

The entire tiriêri herd is far more sacred than any of the ordinary village droves of buffalos, and the bell-cows are infinitely more sacred than any other cows of the sacred drove. So far as I could ascertain: whilst the bell-cow is the direct lineal descendant, from mother to daughter, from some remote but sacred ancestor, the remainder of the tiriêri herd are the offspring of some original drove, whose members are probably related to the bell-cows.

A certain number of bulls are retained in the sacred herd; those male calves which are not wanted being given away to the Kotas. The finer animals are retained. When a young bull has arrived at mature age, and has proved his vigour, he undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed; by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the tiriêri, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. He is not a very sacred character. In fact it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove, after due sanctification.

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It appears to me as somewhat remarkable that a people so fond of simple regulation and undeviating rule, should permit the principle of female succession amongst their cattle, whilst maintaining agnate law amongst themselves. I cannot admit the contrast between the two systems to be merely the result of accident. Knowing the direct simplicity and good sense of

the savage mind, I see the probability that once on a time, the scheme of inheritance and of kinship, both among themselves and for their buffalos, was identical; viz., through the female line. And the more remotely ancient the mode of Toda life, and the nearer it approached to man's primæval condition, the greater the probability that the habits of animal and man approached one another in general similitude.

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174 234 611

Before proposing for consideration the conclusion which I draw from the facts of early identity and present difference in such customs, I will give an extract from a well-known work on primitive marriage. Mr. M'Lennan in striving to show 'that the most ancient system in which the idea of blood-relationship was embodied, was a system of kinship through females only,' writes: 'considering that the history of all the races of men, so far as we know it, is the history of a progress from the savage state; considering the social condition of rude tribes still upon the earth—remembering that the races which can be traced in history had all a previous history, which remains unwritten—it cannot seem a very strange proposition that there has been a stage in the development of human races when there was no such appropriation of women to particular men—when, in short, marriage as it exists among civilized nations was not practised. We believe that we shall show, to a sufficient degree of probability, that there have been times when marriage in this sense was yet undreamt of. Wherever this has been the case, the paternity of children must have been uncertain; the conditions essential to a system of kinship through males being formed, would therefore be wanting; no such system would be formed; there would be—there could be—kinship through females only.'[4]

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In Chapter XXVII. reasons for my belief are given, that with polyandry came the change from promiscuous unions and kinship through the female line, to inheritance through males

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[4] M'Lennan, 'Primitive Marriage.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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174 234 611

only—the system which now obtains amongst these people—in which argument I am glad to find Mr. M'Lennan almost entirely with me.

Now therefore, I would advance the suggestion, that the system of kinship in cattle, through their *cows*, is perhaps contemporaneous with the age when the Todas also, prior to the introduction of polyandry, held to the practice of kinship through the female line. In which belief are grounds for confidence in the very high antiquity of the Toda bell-gods.

The worship of the *bull*, may possibly be a further development of cattle worship.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIV.

TIRIÊRI PRIESTS.

The PÂLÂL—The KÂVILÂL—The PÂLÂL is a God—The Peiki Clan termed 'Sons of God'—Duties of the PÂLÂL—No mysteries—Sacred nature of Priests—The PÂLÂL becomes man again—Purification for holy orders—The Tûde tree; its botanical name and distribution—The use of the Tûde, an ancient practice—The PÂLÂL enters on his duties.

EACH tiriêri, with its drove of cattle, is in the charge of an ascetic milkman or priest, styled pâlâl,[1] and an equally ascetic, though not equally holy, herdsman or kâvilâl.[2] And according as the herd may be small or large, there are found from one to two of the former, and from one to three of the latter, attached to the tiriêris.

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The pâlâl, whose personal acquaintance I had made in the course of taking information on the interesting subject of the bell-god, was a man of about thirty-five years of age, who had spent some fifteen of them in holy orders, vacating his post in favour of a brother. The effect of that lengthy period of ascetic and solitary life on his personal appearance, was somewhat striking. It was perhaps *de rigueur* for one who had so long been in sacred office to wear his hair dishevelled, and to neglect the cleanliness of his person: but the more than usually motionless eyebrow, the gloomy solemnity of his look and his

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[1] PÂLÂL, pâl, is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; âl = *person*.

[2] KÂVILÂL, kâval = *guard*; âl = *person*.

The former is a Turkish word. Yet kâ is the Drâvidian root for *protect, guard*. In Tamil we have a kind of reduplication of it; thus, pâtu kâ. The Sanskrit corresponding root is pâ. [POPE.]

CHAP. IV. fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

793 But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence,
124 he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

463 Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode
554 of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be
793 selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

212 No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl
788 being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor
793 will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

000 The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive
234 the existence of any very mystic rites among them. What-
788 ever is done in these tirièris, is known to every intelligent

Z: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

No. 16
opp. p. 136

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ADAM AND EVE
ÂL-ÂD-ÂD'M-MAN. AVV-MOTHER.
OF THE PEIKI CLAN – DÊR MOKH OR SONS OF GOD.
GENESIS VI. 2.

284 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The
778 pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

554 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

No. 15
opp. p. 138

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AUGUSTUS, LONDON.

THE TUDE OR SACRED BUSH.

WEAPONS, BOW & ARROW, USED AT WEDDINGS & FUNERALS.

IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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554 793

through life, amongst his fellow-men, a large amount of respect, as having once been a God.

The following description of the process, which *all* men undergo in the course of being sanctified to the performance of *any* holy duty, will prove interesting.

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For the space of a week—etṇâl; literally speaking, eight days, and corresponding to *in acht tagen* in German—the novitiate must remain day and night alone in the woods of the tiriêri, without a particle of clothing and with only a fire to protect him from the severity of the climate. He beats with a stone, the bark off a branch of the tûde[3] tree, which he collects. Then three times each day, morning, noon, and evening, he performs the following ceremony. Squeezing some of the juice of the bark, into a leaf-cup containing water from the stream or spring, he raises the cupfull with the right hand to his forehead, in token of respect: then lowering it to his mouth and drinking off the contents, passes the empty leaf round over his head and left shoulder, then depositing it behind his right side. This formula is repeated three times, using a fresh leaf each time. Next, he takes the remainder of the bark, and rubs his naked body all over with it, washing himself immediately in the fresh water. On the eighth day he is competent to assume charge of his office.

The week's ordeal has been extremely severe, both in point of exposure and of solitude, and one well calculated to make a suitable impression on a man who is about to undertake a solemn duty. The kâvilâl has supplied him with food from the tiriêri all this time, and there is reason for believing that the pâlâl and kâvilâl see that the novitiate does not slur the proper performance of the rites.

The Todas have no distinctive word to express purification, but describe the effect by saying sari[4] uddi, 'he is right,' by the process.

[3] Tûde, tûre, tûre, tûrr|u—*a thicket of small shrubs.* Tamil. [POPE.]
[4] Sari. In Drâvidian çari—*right.* [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

137 Though the proper meaning of the word tûde, is simply a
778 bush; yet taken in connection with its use for sanctifying pur-
824 poses, it may be held to imply that it is *the* bush above all others. It is a very common little tree on these hills, fragile, and by all accounts, possessing no remarkable properties in flower, seed, or sap. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel Beddome, Conservator of Forests, for its botanic names, viz., *Meliosma simplicifolia*, alias *Millingtonia*.

Dr. Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, has obliged me with the following valuable information as to the diffusion of the tree; a point on which I have been desirous to obtain the most reliable account, hoping that the localities might form geographical links by which the Todas might be traced to other tribes within or beyond the boundaries of Hindustan. 'The distribution of the plant,' Dr. Hooker is so good as to write, 'is Western and Eastern Himalaya, from Simla eastward. Khassia, Silhet, and Mishmi hills in Assam. From the Concan to Courtallam in the western Peninsula. It certainly does not inhabit Persia, the Caucasus, or South Russia, and probably not even Beluchistan.'

174 It was important to establish, if the race of which the Todas
783 form a tribe, brought with them from Western Asia the use
824 of the tûde, the *Millingtonia*. It would now seem probable
778 that they brought with them, merely, the already established practice of self-purification with a sacred plant, and not finding in the country of their adoption that which they had been accustomed to use when in their own land, they elected the tûde in its place. If the views expressed in the last chapter, as to the antiquity of the rules of cattle inheritance—making the bell-cow a descendant by the female line from some remote ancestor—be considered of value, then some degree of support is also afforded to show the collateral practice of purification by the use of a sacred plant, to be also very ancient.

000 It would be interesting to know if other broken tribes of the pre-Âryan—Drâvidian—race, now living in various tracts

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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of India, utilise this plant, whose picture is given in photograph No. 15.

The tûde is not used for any other rite or for any other purpose than the purification of candidates for holy orders.

When the aspirant has thus prepared himself for the performance of the most sacred duties a Toda has any conception of, he proceeds to the tiriêri close by, where the pâlâl whom he is about to relieve, awaits his arrival. I was told by my Toda friend, that he enters on his new avocations without further ceremony. Simply, the sacred relics and the bell-cows are pointed out to him, and his duties explained.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XV.

PRIESTLY DUTIES.

Pâlâl's daily routine—Salutes the sacred Herd—Milks the Cattle—Libations to the Bell-gods—Names of Toda Gods—Does the conception of invisible Gods arise from deficient organ of Form?—Todas revere Light, not Fire—Who is the Kâvilâl?—Pâlâl demonstrates that he is never touched—Milk held in religious regard—Pâlâl collects Kûtu for his Mand.

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THE daily routine of the pâlâl's mysterious office was described to me nearly in the following words. 'On rising in the morning, I wash face, hands, and teeth, with the left hand.' In daily human life he had invariably used the right hand for this purpose; such being the custom with all Orientals certainly, who, eating with their fingers, find it necessary to reserve the right hand for that especial object. But remember the pâlâl is now a God, and to the pure all things are pure—fact!

'Then entering the inner room—ulg ârsh—of the house,' which is reserved for dairy purposes, the outer room—porram âlg ârsh—being the pâlâl's sleeping apartment, 'I make a leaf-lamp, into which I put clarified butter and 5 wicks, thus,' spreading out his fingers. I could not ascertain if the number 5 is essential, but it appeared to me to be so. 'The lamp is put into a niche in the wall, opposite the bells, which hang on the separate prongs of a stick thrust into the thatch of the roof. And I light in silence, nor salute either light—belak—or relics—mani.'

'Having taken up my wand and honnu or milk-pail, which

Z: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 142

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THE PÂLÂL SALUTES THE SACRED CATTLE.

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is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

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'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the names of the following Gods :—

Ânmungâno	Godingâtho
Beligoshu	Dekulâria

Kazudâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

[1] Nin arzbini = *I adore thee.* See Chapter XVII., on the êtud Mand, for the application of these words.

776 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and
713 not Gods of my tiriêri only. I have never seen them. They are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk.
793 After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tiriêri. He
442 said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in
713 none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tiriêri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in
372 saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tiriêri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

778 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by
793 anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his
234 priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tûde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

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Curious to form an opinion as to whether in the unheeded seclusion of their sanctuary, these recluses preserved themselves as untainted by contact with man as I had been told, I ventured to express to the pâlâl a doubt as to the possibility of his giving his servant daily food, and of selling the produce of his dairy, without touching anyone. He at once said he would show me.

He asked for three somethings—anythings: looked up to the trees for suitable leaves. What does the gentleman drink from? I gave him three tumblers, with the bright and sparkling appearance of which he appeared gratified: something worthy of the subject. Much pleased: now he could show: couldn't he just show? Sitting himself with one glass in hand, on a low wall, to represent the tûar of the tirièri, on which he pictured himself squatting as he had so often done during the last fifteen years, he placed the second glass on the ground immediately below him, near which a Toda companion, impersonating the kâvilâl, stood waiting. Another Toda was sent to a distance to act the part of a purchaser with a third glass, which having set on the ground, he retired a few paces. Now feigning, the pâlâl poured his nei from the first to the second tumbler, which the kâvilâl then carried off, pouring its contents into the third tumbler. As the kâvilâl stepped back with the money which he picked up off the ground, the purchaser came forward and took away the glass full of nei. 'See,' he said, 'am I not paid for my nei without being touched?'

This impromptu pantomime was acted with so much justice and gravity, and all three men, though not pâlâls, understood their several parts so thoroughly, I could no longer doubt that the persons of these holy men were inviolable. I obtained also a glimpse—the truth of which further observation has tended to confirm—how the rites and ceremonies of an unlettered race may be transmitted almost unchanged from generation to generation. Publicity, combined with the

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tirièri Mand described—Names of Tirièri—We visit the Tirièri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

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343 A tirièri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and
234 kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi,
342 in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tirièris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth	Kudar
Mâr	Markush

Puzhash.

361 And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in
621 Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and even triplicates, so these tirièri Mands have also their corre-
221 sponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII. on the Bell-gods.

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No. 18
The Tiriêri. The 'Holy Place' or Toda sanctum.
"Here live the Gods of our Fathers"

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234 Having ascertained that the tirièri, with its sacred herd and
77 its maṇi dêr, was indeed the mainspring of the entire religious
124 faith and social system of the Todas, it became a matter of great moment to ascertain by personal inspection the secrets of its penetralia. Our *ex*-pâlâl had indeed with great apparent sincerity divulged the whole of the hidden mysteries, even to the extent of naming the Gods of his forefathers; names held in great veneration: when spoken, only pronounced in an under-tone: and which no European, and probably no native beyond the tribe, had ever previously been allowed to hear. Here would be the test of his veracity both on this subject and in other cognate matters on which we had consulted him.

We must see the inside of a tirièri: we must view the relics, the Gods. Such was the programme: and money would of course perform the work of the magic words 'open sesame.' Calling therefore at our friend's Mand, we readily induced him to accompany us to view his old tirièri. 'But you must not go close to the dairy' he said. Oh no!

We strolled along the pretty slopes of the verdant hills together, and he guided us over the squashy bogs, and through the ever-silent woods: and again out on the green wild, and through further nestling woods, with the cheery spring sun overhead; all in the direction of his tirièri.

No one to overhear us out on this prairie! Now is the time! 'Bültaben'—such was his mundane name—'we want to go into the dairy of the tirièri. You are an old pâlâl. Here is money.' 'Just to peep in at the door from a distance?' he asked. 'No, but to look at the relics in the inner room.' He stopped short, tucked his stick under one arm, and pressing the tips of all his fingers to his eyes, exclaimed, 'May both my eyes drop from their sockets, but I cannot do such a thing.' After a pause, 'The Gods would vacate the tirièri Mand if anyone unsanctified entered it, and its pâlâl would be ruined.'

This was awkward. Another suggestion: Let us see the relics. Let the pâlâl bring them outside that we may view

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them. We won't go near.' Ah! that is feasible! The bargain is struck forthwith.

234 On we went again, much refreshed by our success, cross-
778 questioning our guide on points of religion till he was fuddled.
124

'On he fares and to the border comes.'

Rising to the ridge of a prolonged knoll, he stopped and pointed below: 'There!'

Down we go into the sacred hollow. The solemn Toda, still more grave, some enthusiasm kindling his dark eye as he looks across at the place where for half a lifetime he had been a God. Over some little burns, past a group of sacred calves, looking in their dirt and stolid impudence, anything but reverential towards the ex-pâlâl—they were of this year's growth, and did not recognise him—up again out of the hollow: when, as we near the rounded crest of a long hillock, we find ourselves opposite two neat, but undersized houses, with a dilapidated buffalo pen. 'The tirièri Mand! Don't go near!' So, like shying horses we circle round the spot, till we reach the ridge.

We are at the sanctuary, and in the middle of the holy domain. The pâlâls and kâvilâls are out. We will sit down and note the place till they return.

800 A pure green cameo of wide extent! the edge formed by an amphitheatre of hill, crowning

'with her enclosure green
As with a rural mound, the champain head.'

The arena filled with ceaseless undulations of grazing land; winding through which, a noble stream, and a score of sparkling rivulets cascading down the distant hills. A long tongue of grass land projects from one side of the hilly margin into the weald. At the root of the tongue, a wood; on the margin of which the sanctuary, near which we sit, 'taking notes.'

Wood, water, herbage, in combination with a seclusion so complete, as to include a deep sense of perpetuity. Surprising rest and peaceful beauty!

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Except the single notes of birds, rich-sounding in the vibrations of the deep wood: the distant nervous warble of the lark overhead, and the hum of the busy bee in its hurry, not a single sound is to be heard over the whole wide expanse. The tiriêri cattle are browsing far away in the surrounding hollows: or like specks, may be seen dotting the sides of the distant hills.

The vertical sun is omnipresent. The holy men, I have said, were away.

Out on the extreme west is the single Makurti Peak,[2] 'where the sun goes down.' Beyond is amnôr.

How near simple appositeness approaches to taste, where the country is lovely and the subject purely bucolic! Do I confuse the sense, with taste for scenery, or have I hitherto done the Toda intellect an injustice? Such are my reflections as I note this perfectly selected site. When I now remember that the funeral-Mands—of which we shall shortly read—which I have seen, are certainly free from marked beauty, I must at least acknowledge their appreciation in the advantage and suitability of locality to be a perfect talent. Had the Toda really a love for the beautiful apart from utility, would he not have some words in his language, or a flower about his house to express the taste?

Looking at the superb glow with which the sun lights up equatorial landscapes, one ceases to wonder at, but indeed admires the instinct which leads those born and bred under its influence, to worship *light*.

Pâlâls have not returned. No occupation then but to bully our Toda. This is done till he tries to escape questions by feigning sleepiness. Keep him in motion! 'Who erected those two stones?' 'The pâlâls, who tired of their solitude, raised them to while away time.' Never! The man is sleepy! Todas bring two large rocks about four feet long each, up a steep hill, without an object! Never! Practical, lazy, Toda!

[2] See note 2 of Chapter V.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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778 Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

124 'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us.
773 Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are ap-
778 proaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline,
234 and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!' shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls remain behind, and you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[8] had come up to about [481] ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the maṇi from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

778 Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

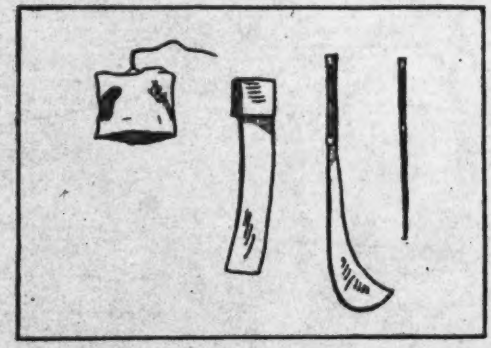
[8] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

2. Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

An axe, a sort of hatchet-knife, and a small knife. These latter certainly did not appear old; they were kept tolerably bright, and did not look worn, either by use or from the effects of polishing. The two last had wooden handles. 'These be your Gods'! CHAP. XVI. 778

In reply to the enquiry, if the bells had clappers, the answer was instantaneous, energetic and simultaneous; that they had not clappers: if they had, they would have been cattle-bells—konku—but these were Gods—Dêr. The question must have been asked before. 124 778 793

No. 19.



RELIC GODS—MAṆI DÊR.

'Gods of our Fathers.'

. . . . . Of thee
Therefore entreat I, Father, to declare
If I may gain such favour, as to gaze
Upon thine image by no covering veil'd.
DANTE, *Paradise.*

It should be remarked that the Toda name for a bell, is konku—deep-sounding—whilst that of the common cow-bell of the district, now worn by village cattle on certain occasions, is called getti—a small tinkling thing. Hence I deduce from the sounds and sizes, that these holy bells are really national relics.

'Now,' they said, 'the Gods must not be kept out any

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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longer;' which being interpreted, meant that the kâvilâls would be coming. So, having taken a sketch of them, we threw some money to the pâlâls.

'Don't tell the kâvilâls when you pass them, that you have paid us money.' I promised; at which they chuckled. 'And don't tell any one you have seen the relics.' Phew!!

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ÊTUD MAND.

Customs of the Village Dairy or Pâlthchi—Duties of the Pâlkarpâl—Important difference in the duties of the Pâlâl and Pâlkarpâl—The Tarvâl—The inside of a Dairy—The Dairy of an Êtud Mand is a Shrine—The Badagas term it Mui Mand: why?—Toda form of oath.

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THE customs and ceremonies of the tirièri or Toda cathedral—seat of a divine milkman, established as the medium of conveying the Gods' gift to man—are repeated, though in less awfully sacred form, in every Mand of the tribe; in the village dairy or pâlthchi. 234 463 793

The configuration of the dairy has already been described in Chapter VI.

Similarly as one or more nearly-naked recluses belonging to the Peiki clan, are established as pâlâls for the care of the tirièri, assisted by their kâvilâls; so a lesser luminary, generally from the same clan, is the unclothed, ascetic, but more mildly sacred pâlkarpâl,[1] who, also living *en garçon*, but without any pretensions to God-head, presides over the dairy of each village, helped under certain circumstances by a somewhat similar character in the vorshâl.[2] Both of these men also, have been purified in that wonderful juice which qualifies to the holy offices of milking buffalos and the charge of relics.

I state that the pâlkarpâl is generally, though not always, of the Peiki clan; for as I observe, the Peikis permit the 234 793 618

[1] Pâlkarpâl. See note 4 of Chapter VI.
[2] See note 4 of Chapter VIII.

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234 793 618 unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 621 It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are [782] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 793 788 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, ér ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up.* [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

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Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[8] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiriêri; the holy of holies, already described.

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In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

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[8] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master* or *superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

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lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

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It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, êtud Mands should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mands, and why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an êtud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu* or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet

* Kurpu. Drâvidian. Tamil has kuri = *indicate, point out.* Kuripp

or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell—konku. That many of these êtud Mands contain kurpus, I have ascertained by direct enquiry. That they all do so, or are supposed by the people to do so, is my belief. Hence we see the êtud Mands are *shrines;* the shrines of a race which burns its dead.

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Now the Badaga name for such a village is mui Mand.[7] And as the very intimate knowledge which this cognate tribe possesses of Toda practice, would probably cause the word mui to be descriptive; it would materially assist us in our enquiries if we knew exactly what it does mean.

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It has been ascertained that the Todas often settle disputes amongst themselves at these places—the tirièri being too sacred to be approached for such purposes—challenging one another to make good their word, by repeating it at the êtud Mand. By joining all these notes together, I can frame an explanation that appears to me quite reasonable, and in consonance with my knowledge of the people's habits and mode of thought. They evidently consider the dairies containing kurpus, or relics of their ancestors, in the light of shrines; and in consequence, the precincts and presence to be holy ground; so holy that men would be restrained from lightly uttering a falsehood at such spots.[8] Hence it is, that these 'great' Mands are used for

—verbal noun = *a sign, indication, memorial.* The Kanarese uses guri. [POPE.]

Maṇi. Sanskrit maṇi = *jewel, bell.* Used in all the Drâvidian languages. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz draws a distinction between kurpu and maṇi; the latter is specific and implies a *metal ring* or *bell.* Thus although a maṇi is with this people always a kurpu, every kurpu is not a maṇi. It may be an *axe* or *staff.*

To me it seems that the word maṇi is a refinement introduced through contact with the Hindus; giving a more distinctly religious, sacred or holy meaning to the sentiment implied in the kurpu.

[7] Mui. In old Kanarese Muyyi is *retaliation.*

Mû in Tamil is *old, venerable.* [POPE.]

[8] Mr. Metz tells me that an oath is taken, by removing the mantle, and stepping over it, in the presence of the êtud Mand.

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778 the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families. This belief is greatly strengthened
627 by the knowledge that throughout the East the practice is common, to hold similar meetings at shrines of holy men; Pirs, Jogis, Fakirs, &c.

234 That an êtud Mand should have larger herds of cattle
782 than ordinary, may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy.

000 It is important that we arrive at some decision on the object and use of a dairy which occupies a position so manifestly conspicuous amongst their social institutions: to enable us to clear our minds as to all the components of the Toda faith. So long as we do not know what an êtud Mand is, we should always feel that some material portion of their religious system remained unexplained.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FUTURE STATE.

Todas have no just sense of a Ruling Almighty Power—Belief in Eternity—The Natural Causes of the belief in a Future State—Future Punishment.

THE Todas appear not to have formed even an approximately just conception of an All-mighty, All-wise, All-good Being. Though perhaps of these attributes of a Ruling Power, they appreciate the evidences of might, with most absolute certainty, for the probable reason that they cannot avoid observing the existence somewhere of a Power which influences their destinies; that has sent them buffalos to supply food, gives them children, and that kills and cures. They see also the mysterious sun and moon in daily movement over the earth, shedding their benign rays over all, as they traverse the sky. These evidences of useful and mighty *living* Power about and above them, are manifest, equally to their mental as to their ocular vision.

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So far as they may be said to have a religion at all, it seems to be a growth from some confused contemplation of all these and other visible conditions. There is very little of the abstract or the unseen involved in their beliefs.

Nature has never presented to the Todas, her awful side, in visions of ice, frost, or savage storms. They are the dolichocephalic children of sunny regions,[1] to whom nature is more

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[1] See Chapter IX., on the dispositions, and the natural home of the dolichocephali.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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often beneficent than the contrary. Hence their beliefs are pleasant rather than otherwise, and death is free from horrors.

Even when a man's breath has left his body, and the corpse yet remains with them—forming the most eventful episode in their experience—yet no power of generalising or abstract reasoning seems to come to their aid, to assist them in this their day of agony, to frame any sort of link between the expired spirit, and the Spirit which rules the darkness, in whose bosom it has been lost to sight. Their practical experience forms the fuel, which their strong sense of *perpetuity*, fanned by the visible evidences of power in all nature, kindles into flame; dictating that the curious something which has just left that body—lying so senseless without it—must have gone somewhere. And where could it have gone, but to another place just like this? Other *Todas are there*: and they could not live without milk; *therefore* buffalos are there too!

000 'A high degree of education must be attained,' writes Mr. Baring-Gould, 'before the notion of annihilation can be apprehended.' Again: 'Let anyone try to imagine himself extinguished—his powers of thought, his feelings, his volitions, his perceptions broken short off—and he will see how extremely difficult is the task, and how incomplete his success.'[2]

I incline greatly to the belief that the firm faith in a future state, owes its *origin* more to the domestic feelings, strengthened by the strong conservative sense provided by the organ of Concentrativeness, than to Hope, which is ordinarily considered to be its stronghold. The first combination is that which eminently distinguishes the most primitive races, whilst Hope is a religious organ whose development betokens an advance from the primæval state. A very pretty illustration of my theory is contained in the following quotation from 'Guy Mannering,' taken from Mr. Baring-Gould's work: 'Whiles I think my puir bairn's dead,'

[2] Baring-Gould. 'The Origin of Religious Belief.'

said Madge Wildfire, 'ye ken[3] very weel it's buried—but that signifies naething. I have had it on my knee a hundred times and a hundred times till that, since it was buried; and how could that be were it dead, ye ken? it's merely impossible.' CHAP. XVIII. 400

It is somewhat remarkable that the Todas should not only feel so confident in their immortality, but be without apprehension as to the future state; in the possibility that individually they may not attain to it. No such doubts arise to perplex their simple minds. Death is not a leap in the dark, but the contrary. The mode of thought—if thinking, it may be termed—by which they seem to set at rest this difficulty of more advanced and religious races, is too curious to be lost. 761 775

Their belief appears to be based on two considerations; one, what they know: the other, a sort of self-consciousness. 181 775

As regards the first, they *know* that they and their cattle were raised from the earth by the Great Unseen. This with them is a faith assured, as if the true story had been handed down from incontrovertible sources. They find themselves living, existing, breathing: they note the breath-life to leave the clay which returns to earth. But where does this breath-life go? The reply is contained in their *knowledge*. 'Tis a little sophistical perhaps, but an illogical jump is nothing with such people. They know that Todas and cattle live in amnôr; hence they are certain, with an absolute certainty, that this departed breath has gone there to join their forefathers. In this there is nothing more wonderful than that they rose from the soil! The subject is not worth thinking about! it has long been known! Thinking is difficult to the primitive mind. Best not to think! [773]

If with all our accumulated stores of information, we find the subject of a future state but little further advanced than it was ages ago, we can sympathise with a very simple people who have so few facts to work upon, and with whom the

[3] I would invite a comparison between this word ken, and the Toda words for I see, I dream, I smell, *et cetera*, in Chapter XXIX.

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process of thought is little more than the instinctive stringing and restringing of those very few and very stale facts together. With a deeply domestic, excessively conservative and practical race, void of talent for generalisation, employed in working out its own problem; what could its theory of a future state be, than an exact copy of circumstances it had witnessed in this?

The self-consciousness to which I have ascribed one of the reasons for their viewing the future entirely without apprehension, appears to me to be an *intuitive but unobtrusive appreciation of the simplicity and harmlessness of their own natures:* unsensitive doubtless as to abstract right and wrong, but whose tendencies to the commission of crime are the very smallest; small indeed, in proportion to the inefficiency of their character, rather than in any ratio to moral qualities.

It is acknowledged that they commit without much remorse, as a matter almost of habit and nearly with impunity, acts which, with races that have long been exposed to the influence of a public opinion, are scouted as degraded though secret vices, but which the unrefined Toda sense does not censure as anything very heinous; rather as peccadillos punishable in a quiet way amongst themselves.

If all Toda society is unanimous in holding such acts as of small importance, where from such a race are we to meet a Toda of the unusual moral stature to consider himself alone criminal? Todas in addition to much real harmlessness of life are never troubled by moral scruples or remorseful feelings; such as would give their consciences trouble, leading to the hope of a purer future life, or one in which those who had escaped merited punishment for crimes committed in this world, would yet suffer hereafter.

If they have words for sin and hell, they have to all appearance, merely been adopted from the Hindus; the former perhaps in its milder sense, of a trespass, to supply a want, the latter to apply to other people. But Todas all go to amnôr.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BOATH.

External appearance of the Boath—Night visit—Inside of the Boath—Where are the Relics?—The Boath an exceptional curiosity—Speculations regarding it; a Bethel? connected with the Bothan?

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ON a previous visit to the village close to which this temple—one out of only three or four in the whole tribe—is situated,[1] I had been able to reconnoitre it at my leisure whilst talking to the naked vorshâl seated on the surrounding-wall.

He told us with Toda solemnity and such an air, that there were very sacred relics in it, handed down from past generations. Here a turn in the wrist of his upraised arm implied the pre-historic antiquity I was hunting for! How did he guess my secret? But he was lamentably hazy when I strove to turn his observations to practical account. Nor could I get from him a clear description, even of his daily occupations. To sit naked on the wall and look like a scarecrow was the feat he seemed to accomplish best.

'I want to go in,' I said, advancing towards the temple.

'No,' he replied, backing towards the door of the sacred edifice, and shaking the palms of both hands and outspread fingers in alarmed delirium.

'What will happen if I go in?'

'The Gods will tear you to pieces.'

He would not agree to the proposal, though backed by a little offering, so after taking a sketch I retired.

[1] At the top of the Sigôr Ghat.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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opp. p. 164

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AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

CONICAL TEMPLE.

BOATH.

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346 The appearance of the building is as follows; a conical thatched roof on a circular wall of very stout planking. The wall about four cubits high. The whole edifice some fourteen or fifteen cubits tall and six cubits in diameter. At a distance of approximately six cubits, the temple is surrounded by a massive wall of uncut stone, put together without cement, two cubits broad and three in height.

346 I have represented in the sketch the wall as partially

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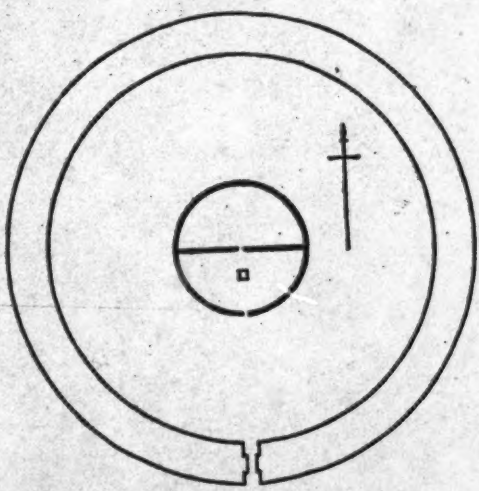

CONICAL TEMPLE—BOATH.

thrown down, with a view to displaying the entire building, but in reality the circuit of the wall is complete.

346 The apex of the cone is crowned with a large stone, placed there apparently with the object—however inadequate the conception—of steadying the roof, or perhaps excluding rain from that weak point.

006 Some days subsequent to this visit, selecting a dark night for the purpose, and accompanied by a friend—who, I had better at once state, was not the reverend companion who has

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

been my steady associate in all innocent if somewhat inquisitorial visits—I walked over the hills to this village on burglarious intent. What should I do, I thought as I went along, if I really met a valuable relic, say some 2,000 years old, with an inscription on it? Who is it is said to have said that every man has his price? I had mine. Were I only to find a signet ring, I was ripe to commit theft in addition to the minor crime of breaking into a savage man's temple.

In this frame of mind we arrived at the spot. How nobly the little billy-cock house stood out in relief against the murky sky! The buffalos in the pen close by, were breathing hard and snorting as they caught our smell. Fastidious in them, considering that we were certainly clean, as compared with their slumbering masters and mistresses. Indeed it must have been the unusual scent that disturbed them.

All the world asleep and hushed but we two and a few fastidious cattle. Though all is quiet and our isolation absolute, we hold a preliminary survey of the premises—the vorshâl might be within—nor till we had satisfied ourselves that the only noise was of our own making, did we proceed to business.

Unpicking the stones with which, for want of lock and key, the doorway was closed, I sat prepared to enter. 'Where is the door?' asked my friend, inexperienced in Toda architecture. So he remained watching. 'Are you going into that?' I next heard from behind the tails of my coat. He must have received the response as if from a diving-bell.

The door of the temple, which by the way, faces almost due south, appears, judging by the eye, to approach in its dimensions, a cubit in height by half a cubit in breadth. Even taken angle-wise this aperture was found to constitute a close fit for full-grown men.

In we crawled, and when fairly inside, re-locked the door by blocking it up behind us: and struck a light. I do not suppose we either of us exactly knew what we had expected to

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find; but a slight groan of disappointment, followed by rapid movements, as of rats in an empty bucket, told the melancholy tale—nothing.

The pitch darkness of the inside, and blackness of the roof and walls, absorbing nearly all the light of our candles, it was with difficulty we satisfied ourselves of the value and form of our possession.

346 The temple is divided by a thick wooden partition wall—
778 which extends from the earthen floor in which it is buried, to the full height of the roof—into two compartments of equal size. There is a small doorway in this wall of the same dimensions as the first. Midway between the two doorways, at the level of the floor, is a vat or basin of about a half cubit square, made of stone.

We look through the interstices between the clumsy slabs of the dividing-wall, into the next room. That at any rate is not empty. It is the *sanctum sanctorum*, where the relics are kept.

Once more! In through the little door of the dividing wall. Quite easy now! First squat square opposite to it, like a frog. Next supple the whole body. Then go in cornerwise with *ilan*! Don't attempt to rise till you are five feet off on the other side. This feat can be practised through a window-frame at ground level.

Just looking round at the little door, more in sorrow than in anger, we proceed to business. Earthenware pots, honnus, and a whirl with which to churn butter by revolving between the palms of the hands. No bell, no hatchet, neither ring nor relic of any kind, no niche for lights, no altar, no stone, no phallus or lingum. No snakes! Everyone has been telling us lies, and the world is full of sawdust!

Back through the two doors quickly, like prairie dogs. Out into the open air. The transition was as if we had been born again.

Now to philosophise. This is a very simple religious faith! How many negatives go to prove a positive! One thing is

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clear, every priest must be long in the back and very fond of milk! But why were the doors so unusually small, and why locked, and why these fusty lies about relics?

Some time subsequent to the events just described, an excellent opportunity occurred of making further enquiry regarding relics—the belief in which had now become much shaken—and particularly as regards those which this building had been said to contain, and whose non-discovery haunted me still.

'The people of the village say there are relics—mani—in that temple—dêrmane,[2] or gudi'[3]—I remarked as casually as I could to our old friend, the *ex*-pâlâl, 'do they bury them in the ground?'

Âha,' with a Toda grunt and shake of the head.

'Then where are they?'

Now this Toda had told us many things, and all he had said had proved to be true. Moreover neither he nor any one else had the slightest conception that a visit had been paid to the inside of the dêrmane, or that we entertained any particular interest in it. He must merely have thought to himself from the question, this is another of Paul Pry's 'I only wanted to know.'

He glanced up sideways at me, and

> By his countenance
> Enjoin'd me silence.

With his hand to the side of his mouth, he said in a low voice 'Under the stone on the top of the roof.'

Sold!!

I look on this dêrmane as an exceptional curiosity, possessing for our purposes an interest peculiarly its own. In the first place, it is unique in contour, though *constructed as to plan*

[2] Dêrmane = *Gods-house—residence of the Gods.*

[3] Gudi—*a temple*; a word probably borrowed from the Badagas. In Sanskrit, kudi is a *house* and a *curve*. In Telugu, it is used for a *circle* and a *temple*. In Kanarese it is a *temple*, and is written gudi. [POPE.]

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346 *under the same general ideas*, and apparently for similar purposes as the dairy of a tirièri or the pâlthchi of any
778 Mand. Then it holds a vat—which no other building does—whose use is not understood by the vorshâl in charge, and whose very existence is, I feel nearly certain, unknown to the people. If the vat was constructed for sacrificial purposes, then its use has been discontinued and forgotten, though the priest in charge is a vorshâl or sacrifice man.[4]

It is situated on an exposed site bearing the outlines of stone walls, built on a largeness of scale, and in a form, nowhere else found amongst these people—with a Kromlech and numerous Kairns dotted close about.

The specific name by which it is known—boath[5]—is peculiar, and applicable solely to that style of structure.

181 Now it should be borne in mind, if we would form an
346 opinion on the origin of this edifice, that the Todas are unimaginative creatures of one idea; having one way of doing everything: intolerant of change or deviation from custom, unless for some manifestly practical advantage. How then do we find such a race in occupation of an eccentric building which does not fit in with any of its other institutions? Not a tirièri—for it is of lower grade in Toda estimation; its servant a vorshâl, not a God. Not an ordinary pâlthchi, for one of the largest size exists apart, within a few paces of it.

172 As there is nobody who can give an explanation of the phenomenon, I will submit a theory of my own for consideration. May the boath not be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to, the Todas, which, taking refuge like them on these hills, died out in their presence—

[4] See Note 4 of Chapter VIII.

[5] Boath. An enclosed Jain temple is basti.

It may be deemed fanciful to refer to booth or bothy. The Welsh is bwth, the Gaelic is both. This word is of very extensive use. The Tamil vîḍ and Kanarese bîḍ = *house*, may be compared.

The Todas and Drâvidians generally, have much in common with the Celtic tribes. [POPE.]

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the Todas thus becoming inheritors of a curious and sacred building, possessing some relics, and possibly a herd of cattle attached?

The point of interest in this theory consists greatly in the possibility of the original owners of this boath being the builders of the circles, Kairns or Kromlechs,[6] or the erecters of the upright stones—Genesis xxviii. 18, 19—which are all found in great abundance on these hills.

Is this form of temple or surrounding wall found elsewhere—in other parts of the world—in connection with these erections and with massive ruins? Let us read an extract from the 'Explorations in the Peninsula of Sinai,' written by the Rev. F. W. Holland, and which will be found in 'The Recovery of Jerusalem.' 'During my wanderings in 1867,' he says, 'I found that there were other ruins of a much older date: houses similar in form to the Bothan, or beehive houses in Scotland, built of rough and massive stones, about five feet high, and forty to fifty feet in circumference, with no windows, and one small door about twenty inches high. . . . These houses are generally found in groups, and near them are often seen the ruins of tombs—circles of massive stones—similar to those which in England and Scotland are called Druids' circles.'[7]

[6] See Chapter I.
[7] Wilson Warren, 'The Recovery of Jerusalem.'

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CHAPTER XX.

THE GREEN FUNERAL.

The two Funerals described—Last office to a dying Toda—The corpse journeys to the Kêdu Mand—The Kêdu Mand described—Obsequies—'Dust to dust'—Slaughter of Cattle—The ashes of the dead—Kotas remove the Carcasses of Cattle.

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THE ceremonies observed on the death of a Toda may be divided into two groups; the first of which, appertaining to the funeral proper, and termed the green funeral or hase[1] kêdu,[2] is performed within a day or two after death. The second, styled the dry funeral or bara[3] kêdu, which will be described in full in the next Chapter, and is more of a commemorative nature, was formerly celebrated in the course of two or three months after the first. It was, as I understand, delayed mainly by local circumstances affecting the general interests of the community. Of late years, however, certain restrictions which the Government of Madras placed on the slaughter of cattle at the ceremonies, have caused the people to postpone these final obsequies until the death of several Todas should enable them, by combining sundry funerals, to make one great show. Hence the bara kêdu is often not effected until the lapse of a twelvemonth after death.

[1] Hase or pach or pache. Root in Drâvidian is paç = *tender, soft, raw, green.* Perhaps allied to Sansk. vaçanta = *spring.* Gaelic fas = *spring.* [POPE.]

[2] Kêdu. Tamil. Kanarese = *destruction, death.*
Telugu. Chedu = *perish.*
Compare Sanskrit kshi (ṇu) = *perish.* [POPE.]

[3] Bara. Tamil var. Kanarese and Telugu bar = *dry, parched, sterile, famine.* Compare Eng. bare. [POPE.]

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In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad. 124

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life. 763 292

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way. 763

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man. 593 764 842

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into 764

CAP. IV. the pockets of which, food, such as roast grain, sugar, *et cetera*, and small pieces of wood are put. He is now ready for his 764 journey to amnôr: he has food for the road.

It is a fact of interest and worth noting in connection with this narrative, that the Badagas—who have been already described as believed to be cognate to the Todas—preserve the custom common to the Greeks, of placing an *obolus* in the mouth of the dying man. So important do the Badagas consider the due performance of this last rite to the living, that they will keep a supply of this metal disc about the person in order that one may always be at hand for use on occasion. But to continue:—

The body is brought out from the little house and laid with care on the rough bier, formed with branches from the village grove.

The nearest kêdu Mand is out on a spur of that hill we see on the horizon, full six miles off. So there is no time to be lost. Good bye, dear old crone—his grandmother, and the young aunt with the new-born babe, and that sad little assembly of children, all brothers, sisters, uncles, nieces, of the dead man; some too old, others too young, all too weak, to trudge to the horizon over hill and dale.

[768] Now his house is shut up: the little door is closed. Twigs and leaves lying scattered on the ground: a neglected grindstone leaning against the wall: a piece of forgotten matting: the cat rubbing its ill-fed body on the door panel: the pertinacious flies about the house—all conspire to tell the tale of the savage's deserted dwelling, and the drama just enacted.

The corpse is rested for a few moments on the low surrounding wall, whilst its tall bearers step into the village pathway. The little family group which is to remain, crouches weeping close by. The others are busy with their adjustments preparatory to the long walk. The whole picture is before us; primitive, simple, or savage, yet these people have a thorough human appreciation of the moment.

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Raise the stretcher into the path: carry in your hands through the soft bit, pitted with buffalo hoof marks: past the slushy pound: across the little trickling burn with its fern-brake and flower-studded margin, made by Nature so unconstrained and graceful, as though she hoped, even against all hope, with untiring persistency, that the day might come when some might turn to admire her, and from contemplating the power that made those silent but appealing beauties, glean a moral lesson.

Up with the burden on your shoulders. The primitive cortège has left the Mand; the man's ancestral home, its greenwood and the rippling stream, behind. It has passed the ragged cattle pen, and the group of calves nibbling herbage in the moist lea. The well-worn village path has opened out and divided into numerous narrow cattle tracks, up some of which our small party of mourners winds from the secluded village site, to the open high ground ahead.

Strange and rarely primitive is this be-mantled, bareheaded company of men and women, boys and girls. The corpse 'wobbles' on the unequal shoulders of its four bearers, striding along so direct: pursued closely by the train of quick-stepping women, suckling infants under their mantles as they go: and by a prolonged concourse of lightly laden men, carrying fuel for the pyre or little bundles and vessels containing food: flanked by sanguine youths, who, unburdened and without a care, straggle alongside, regardless of all paths. The pace has grown too fast for sobs.

The fresh wind, through the brilliant sunshine, now blows over the wold, without moving the crisp primeval grass which crackles as they pass, but tossing about the women's curls with wanton freedom, and leading to a general rearrangement of togas.

Airily along the gentle slope of the spur extending its unbroken length gradually down to the boggy tarn ahead. We pass the half-wild herd belonging to a neighbouring Mand,

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grazing under supervision of the lank boys who now approach to view the procession. A timid cow, scenting something unwonted, looks up alarmed, wheels round suddenly and bolts: wheels again, stops, and stares from a distance. A dozen others imitate her conduct exactly. Then the whole herd advances step by step, in circling line. A word or two from the boys, and all resume grazing except one inquisitive daughter of her mother, who singly follows the procession with nose uplifted, smelling, till she finds herself isolated from her comrades—then stops and gazes. Onwards proceeds the cortège.

Across the bog by the well-known track. Up again to the high land. Along the winding crests of the smooth continuous hills. Past another Mand nestling in a sleepy hollow; its cattle-pen looking in the bird's-eye view more important than the little human habitations.

Obviously we near the kêdu Mand, for, converging towards one focus, twos and threes of invited friends are seen tracing their different courses from out secluded valleys; now seemingly close at hand as they crest the rising ground, now lost to view—till suddenly we come on them all, quietly waiting to salute the corpse as it arrives on the ground.

Here, too, a compact little body of cows, *still belonging to the deceased*, which, snorting and scrubbing against one another, hot and fly-worried, with every tail in motion, come pushing along from the dead man's village, whence they have been driven through pasture and through bog land, to perform their part in the approaching obsequies.

The kêdu Mand consists of a stone cattle-pen, and a hut of the ordinary village dairy type, which when erected for a man's rites is styled kêd nâr pâlthchi or funeral district dairy, but when for a woman is termed kêd nâr ârsh, or funeral district house.[4] Also the customary rivulet of water, the little wood

[4] Mr. Metz is my authority. The nicety of the distinction is not understood.

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—somewhat shabby I notice, as if, when fuel ran short, a supply was often cut from it—and an open spot termed the âthârê.[5]

Arrived at the Mand after their hot and depressing trudge, the party deposit their various burdens; the food supply in the hut, and the bier on the ground, either inside or outside the little house, according to the state of the weather. Amidst the exchange of salutations going on all around between the different new arrivals, some engage themselves in building the pyre on the âthârê; and some of the women prepare meals inside the hut, for the large concourse of visitors, many of whom have been hurriedly summoned from long distances over the hills, and will be hungry. Others of the relatives most nearly interested, remain a lamenting group around the body.

When the funeral pile has been constructed and the last of the expected guests has arrived, a little bell—getti, not konku[6]—is hung round the necks of each of the cattle, accompanied by the words 'avan od atvo, go with him.' They are then driven in a group near to the corpse. A little hole is dug through the turf conveniently close by; from which the mourners, male and female, approaching one by one, take thrice, a handful of soil and throw it towards the buffalos: then three times more on to the prostrate body, saying 'purzh ulgama, purzh ulgama, purzh ulgama,'[7] meaning 'Let him go into the soil.' Each baby of the family had the fingers of its small hand unfurled and guided to perform this

[5] Âthârê. Âthârb. Âthârm. Perhaps from the Sanskrit ad'hâra, which is used as = *fundamental.*

The meaning would be, *the place where the final rites are performed.* [POPE.]

[6] In Chapter XVI. it was explained that getti is the ordinary existing cattle-bell of the district. I never saw a konku except as a tirièri relic.

[7] Purzh ulgama. In Tamil puruthi is *dust, soil, fine earth.* This Ṟ is a strong lingual, and sounds like rlz.

Uḷ is a Drâvidian root for *in, within.* In Kanarese, oḷagê = *within.* The termination A forms the optative. [POPE.]

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last rite; smiling the while, in infant wonder and approval at this new game.

The meaning of the words as, voluntarily and entirely without suggestion, explained by a Toda, is 'as we were born of the earth, we return to it.' The recumbent corpse is now raised a little in the arms of his relatives, as if to give it an air of authority. Then the cows, each with two men clinging round her horns and neck, having been dragged in succession up to their master, his dead arm is raised, and the hand made to touch the horns.

A *sacred fire* is now made by *igniting sticks by friction.*[8] The pyre is lighted. Now the corpse still in the arms of these punctilious relatives is raised over the pyre, swung lengthwise three times from side to side, then deposited—in its mantle and ornaments—on the wood, with its *face downwards*; the people crying, 'We shall kill buffalos for you.' 'You are going to amnôr.' 'May you have milk to drink.' 'May it be well with you.' 'May all thy sins go,' and so on. A lock of hair is cut off at this time.

I was careful to ascertain that the placing the body with its face downwards had not been an accidental circumstance. The people could give no reason for the act beyond their usual answer, 'It is our custom.' Nor had satirical objections to the practice of turning their friends' bodies upside down at the moment of starting for amnôr, the effect of drawing from them any excuse for, or vindication of, the apparently senseless act.

One or two cow buffalos are now despatched. The 'happy release' is performed by a single blow made on the poll of the creature's crouched head with the butt end of an axe, whilst it is held by a couple of strong men interlacing their arms over its neck and horns. As each animal falls, men, women, and children group themselves round its head, and fondle, caress,

[8] Probably by the Vorshâl. See Chapter VIII.

and kiss its face: then sitting in groups of pairs—both sexes indiscriminately—with the tops of their foreheads joined, give way to wailing and lamentation. A most singular and interesting spectacle, rendered more piquant and real, by the aspect of a small boy who, not finding his pair, was running about from one crying group to another, blubbering till his face was distorted and swollen, looking amongst the mantles for a spare head to rest his own against. CHAP. XX. 764

Thus they remain till the body has been consumed: when the lock of hair that had been cut off, together with portions of the half-burnt skull—nirrzh[9]—are collected in a piece of cloth, to be deposited in a corner of his house,[10] henceforth kept shut up, till the bara kêdu. [765]

The silver and gold of the burnt jewellery are sought for from the ashes, but little valueless odds and ends—as knives, iron rings and other ornaments, the rings off the ends of wooden pestles—together with the ashes of the dead, are buried in the ground. The hole which contains these remains is then filled up with earth, on which water is poured. Over all a stone. The earthen vessel which held the water is broken.

Having saluted the spot where the ashes have been buried, by touching it with their foreheads, they leave the place, avoiding it henceforward, but merely on account of the painful associations connected with it. A person once dead is never *named*, though he may be made the subject of conversation. 769 551

It is a mistake to suppose these people have a feast—a jollification—after this funeral. Indeed they are as little disposed for anything of the sort as we should be in the same position. But a number of friends from a distance have to be fed, and as all are not real *mourners*, and have many of them brought excellent appetites, they eat. 765

[9] Nirrzh. Nîrru. = *sacred ashes, ashes.* This is at the root of it. [POPE.]

[10] Some such custom would be the origin of the Manes and Penates.

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AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

MOURNING.

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764 The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in other respects they are identical.

The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the [177] ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of this meat.

765 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign 302 of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut their hair off.

764 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of 824 certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know. On showing samples of them, which had been collected for me by a young man, to a pâlâl, he swept them aside with his hand, implying that, compared with the tûde, which he treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE DRY FUNERAL.

The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.

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If the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of the bara kêdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance. 764 765

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable numbers at the kêdu Mand, and display their ornaments on these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1] 765 177 533

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' 000

[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.' [192]

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ceremonial, and long before these guests have begun to arrive, the family of the deceased have a little private ordinance of their own; in burning all his personal property, such as his stick or staff, the honnu or milk vessel, and clothes: also a *flute* or flageolet, and a model of *a bow with bamboo 'strings,' and arrows.*[2] I could not ascertain any reason whatever for this musical instrument and these spurious weapons being burnt. Be it particularly borne in mind that the Todas have no sense of music and do not possess a flute in the whole tribe: that they never hunt, and have no weapons of the chase. These toys are made by the Kotas entirely for the occasion. Thus it was, I experienced some difficulty in buying the bow, which will be found in photograph No. 15. The first question asked of the man who purchased it for me from the Kota, was 'Who is dead?'

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The opening public ceremony of the day, is a kind of dance performed by from twenty to fifty men. The dance I witnessed was monotonous enough. It consisted of the body of men, keeping step whilst striding round and round like the spokes of a wheel; each spoke having three men arm in arm: and all exclaiming, rather than shouting, 'A! U! A! U!'[3] in time with their steps. I could trace nothing symbolic in the exhibition except that strange number three, which I notice in all religious matters, to be constantly appearing. It may be that the dance and shout are both merely a Toda mode of giving vent and expression to a festive state of mind.

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Whilst this dance is being carried on by the men, the women prepare food in the hut described in the last Chapter, which has been repaired or renewed for this occasion. Here all the guests assemble, the two sexes sitting apart. The women of the family serve out the supplies from the diminutive door to

[2] Captain Forsyth, in his 'Highlands of Central India,' writes of the Bygas, 'their bows are made entirely of the bamboo, "string" and all.'

[3] The Toda word for *I shout*, is 'A! U! bisharthken,' or *I call out A! U!*

[i.e., the bara Kêdu, or second funeral --Analyst]

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the men, who hand them round to all impartially. The repast over, dancing is resumed by some, whilst the younger or more active proceed to collect the cow-buffaloes that will be wanted for the morrow, and to shut them up in the pound. Meanwhile, as might be anticipated, the daughters of Eve air their finery and keep their bright eyes and teeth in practice.

The proceedings of the second day[1] are very striking. [442] Scene;—The circular pen, of about thirty feet diameter, with surrounding wall, of unusual strength and neatness, about five feet high and three and a half or four feet broad, on which a dense crowd of people—Todas, Kotas, Badagas, and others—are seated, each man with staff and toga. Sun hot. Smell strong. Buzz of many voices. Squeak of many instruments. A group of buffaloes within the pound, of which, one for each dead man, wears a bell—getti, not konku—scared and desperate from the excitement of the festivity, and the alarming presence of the noisy multitude on the wall, hedging them in on every side. They make frequent timorous dashes at the wall: are as often repulsed with shouts and stick gesticulations. They crowd again, tails together, horns outwards—a habit of defence they have acquired on their hill sides to keep off wild animals: then charge the wall again, and are again repulsed. These little feints and attitudes of defence, keep up the animation of the ring till the moment has come; when the remains of the dead, the insignificant manes—the bit of skull and lock of hair, some handfuls of ashes, a knuckle-bone or two—which have been preserved in a corner of the dwelling since the day of cremation, and now enclosed in the neat plaits of a new mantle, are laid at the gateway of the cattle pen: the ashes of the several dead whose obsequies are this day being observed, lying in the different folds of one single toga. The relatives collect around. No priest—pâlâl or kâvilâl—is present. A little hole is dug in the turf at the very opening of the pound; to which, as before described, each interested kinsman and woman, each adult and child, approaching

[1] [of the bare Kêdu, or Second funeral--Analyst]

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in succession, takes from it three handfuls of earth, and throws toward the group of buffaloes, who now facing the barred opening with heads down and eyes distended, stand, in the sudden and unwonted silence of this rite, apprehensive of the worst. Three more handfuls are thrown on to the mantle.

A small body of young and active men now clamber over the wall, dropping nimbly into the fold full of these scared animals. With much dexterity they seize them, singling out one at a time; two men approaching from behind either side of the head, grapple the creature's horns, and interlace their arms over its neck, so as to bring their whole weight and strength to bear, until they have the animal under control: in which work they are assisted by a third man who keeps a purchase on the extended tail, whilst others, with what appeared to me insufficient motive, belaboured its back with their sticks.

I am induced to the belief that the motive was insufficient, because these cattle would no doubt have permitted themselves to be caught far more readily without any beating. Hence I conclude that the object in maltreating the animal which is habitually used with consideration, and that knows and obeys their voice so well, must have some hidden meaning. But what that meaning may be I cannot suggest, for the people are singularly free from superstition.

It has been stated that, in former times, when less subject to the police, the animals were on these occasions, clubbed, 'not to death, but to inability to move, by a broken spine; and then left to die in agony.'[4] But, in my opinion, this account needs confirmation. Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a buffalo killed by the club which is depicted on photograph No. 15, and which they often carry at these festivals; but the deed was accidental. The fact still remains that on the occasion of funerals the Todas treat their cattle with unusual violence.

[4] Letter from the Collector of Coimbatore to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue Department, dated 1856.

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When all the animals have thus been seized, and stand grouped in the pen, in separate knots, each consisting of a snorting buffalo, hard held, head and tail, by a few perspiring and breathless men, the bars of the gateway are withdrawn. One struggle more on the part of the cattle, as they pass through the gateway, to get free. Then the plunging, scuffling masses are brought down to the âthârê, where, one by one, as narrated in the last chapter, these milch cows are killed. As each is felled, and comes down on its knees, the mantle containing the ashes of the dead is laid on the ground, so that the nose of the prostrate creature may rest on the cloth, giving out its life in contact with her master's remains.

The mourners, at this time fondle the animal's face, as in the first funeral, giving way to tears with every appearance of deep and poignant grief. In their wailing, 'the expressions of sorrow,' writes Mr. Metz, 'to which they give utterance, are generally in the form of questions to (the spirit of?) the deceased; such as "Are you suffering from fever?" "Are your buffaloes thriving?" "Why did you leave us so soon?"[5] "Have you gone to amnôr?"'

Mr. Metz found that in the midst of this crying they would hold out their hands to him for a present; from which circumstance he concludes that the lamentations are uttered, not from grief, but simply pursuant to established custom. I conceive that formerly, when the obsequies took place very shortly after the green funeral, these cries were probably genuine, but that the postponement of the ceremonies of the dry funeral for the period of about a year, has no doubt injured the reality of the scene.

I have said that one buffalo for each person whose funeral is being celebrated, wears a bell—getti. This bell is not holy, but purchased in the bazaar. I could not find a reason for the practice, receiving the usual answers to my enquiry: 'It is shastr,' or 'It is our custom,' or 'Dêr or Swâmi made it so.'

[5] Often said, 'You have been but three days with us.'

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It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.) 234 765 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the er-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.' 764

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless. 183 764 765 775 178

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara-kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of 765 775

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] The bara Kêdu, or second funeral --Analyst]

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765 the other three clans—and blood having been taken from the
775 artery of one of the fore legs, at the point of junction with the body, it is sprinkled on the piece of skull preserved from cremation. Nothing is said at the time, and the Todas have no name for the ceremony beyond describing it as, bâkh nirrzhk idu, or 'put the blood to the ashes.' The mantle and its contents are now completely burnt.[8]

In none of the ceremonies described, have I seen any active acknowledgment of the existence of a God.

The main object of the festivities appears to be to gratify a pious desire to further the material welfare of their friend in amnôr, and to bow him out of this world with ceremony and honour. The whole is a grave, practical affair, in which their natural fondness for a prolonged sensation, their domestic and also their wasteful dispositions are all thoroughly gratified. He has gone to amnôr. Send one or two cows at once, at time of death—with more, with plenty, to follow. They are as realistic in this matter as the ancient Britons, who used to give *post-obits* payable in the next world. When asked what became of infants who died, they said, 'Those who have gone before, take care of them.' Their little programme is cut and dry, and the people, harmless race, are quite comfortable in their belief.

If the hut erected for these obsequies was made for a woman, it is now burnt. If for a man, it is not touched.[9]

The Kotas remove the carcases.

[8] Mr. Metz very kindly gave me the information contained in this paragraph. I believe it likely that the personal property; flute, bow and arrows, are also burnt at this time, and not prior to the festivities. The circumstances narrated are correct, though perhaps their sequence is not so. It is not easy to obtain absolutely reliable information from these untutored people: and I did not witness either of the two ceremonies myself.

[9] Mr. Metz authorises this statement.

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CHAPTER XXII.

RELIGIOUS CULTURE.

Toda Religion, a development from a Material Nucleus—The Milk-giver an object of Deep Reverence—Milkmen are Priests, then Gods—Todas have a bias in favour of Light as the Manifestation of Divinity—Not Idolatrous—Do not make offerings to a God—Believe in Transmigration—Callous on Demonolatry—Influenced in religious matters by other Races—Todas of Turanian stage of culture.

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WHAT we have seen in Toda rites and ceremonies, is little else than the arrangements which a pastoral and communistic people have made for the provision and care of an article of food, doubtless at one time essential, not merely for due sustenance, but to their very existence in the land. These customs having through the course of ages so mellowed as to have acquired all the effect and influence of sanctity, we find ourselves now in the interesting position of actual witnesses to the growth of the earliest germs of religious belief and observance, as they develop in the mind of primitive man from the material nucleus whence they originated.

We note that stage, when the cow, the milk-giver and support on which the people have depended almost from all time, has grown from an object of the greatest solicitude, to become one of deep reverence, and—so far as they have yet learnt to express themselves—of worship. The flesh is not eaten. Its milk is almost sacred. The chattels of early herds—the cow-bell in particular—have matured into Gods, and dairies bear the conception of temples.

We find that common milkmen have, by virtue of the

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sacred nature of such office, advanced in popular estimation until they are viewed in the aspect of priests. The high priest, from being a servant of certain Gods, has become confused with Godhead itself. A family styling itself 'sons of the Gods,' has developed—though without arrogation to caste pretensions—into a Levitical clan, inheritors of the highest priestly office; its males being prepared and chastened thereto in sacred groves, by the use of a plant set apart for the purpose, and by abstinence from sensual pleasures; the females of the entire tribe, being not only excluded from participation in such duties, but debarred approach to all holy precincts.

These points appear to me to embrace the whole of what may be held to be Toda—performed—religion unadulterated.

They acknowledge the existence of Gods, *perhaps* even of a Supreme God—Ûsuru[1] Swâmi—but their ideas on the subject are quite undeveloped. I think I trace in them a partiality to the regard of *light*—apart from fire—as *par excellence*, the manifestation of divinity. Their beliefs, whatever they may be, are so little attended with formal signs of adoration, that we cannot, with any degree of confidence, assert this or that to be their creed. Still I believe I have grounds for the opinion that these people have a strong bias in favour of *light*;[2] the natural bent of their mind being such, that if any other race would work out for them the idea, connecting Ûsuru Swâmi with some such attribute of divinity as light, they could soon be brought to exalt Bêl into 'a king above all gods:' the more readily if deference to the cow was inculcated with such a teaching.

I submit the suggestion as one having a possible value in determining the ethnic affinities of the Toda race: and as

[1] See note 3 of Chapter XII.

[2] Note the Toda words in Chapter XXIX., showing how frequently the word 'bel' occurs, even in my small vocabulary; see *dawn*, *light*, *silver*, *bird*, *white*. Also, the names of men, and of Gods, given in previous Chapters.

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pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

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I incline to the belief that in any matters of religion beyond what I have described, they have been influenced through the proximity of cognate races, who themselves, again, have at different periods, been variously Hinduized or inoculated with the strange customs of other tribes in India, cognate or otherwise. Thus, through the Âryas, the Toda sense of adoration has been educated; more Gods have been introduced than he knows what to do with: and his natural love of relics has been intensified and improved. From being at first memorials of cattle herds, the relics have grown to be venerated souvenirs of ancestors. On the other hand, the mildness and contentedness of the tribe, have—so I think—led them to drop or to avoid much of the demonolatrous habit of other members of that Drâvidian race to which they belong. Certainly any superior ideas; any notions of the soul, or of sin, and all forms of invocation in prayer, small as even collectively they may appear to be, bear the appearance of their having come to them through the instrumentality of the Âryas; partly, no doubt, from Brahmanical sources: in part perhaps, in course of some very early contiguity, antecedent to the migration of either race, from a common cradle land, into India. Even the waste of good meat is to my mind suggestive of similar influences.

I will conclude this chapter in the words of Mr. Baring-Gould, which, applied to the Turanian state of progress, are equally descriptive of Toda culture. 'Impressed with a vague and child-like sense of the mysterious, it has not advanced into the idealising stage. God to the nomads of Northern Asia, is awful, undefined. They feel His presence about them, above them, and, with dazzled and bewildered mind, seek to know nothing more.'[3]

[3] Baring-Gould, 'The Origin and Development of Religious Belief.'

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CHAPTER XXIII.

INFANTICIDE.

Infanticide probably, at some time, practised by every Race—Primeval man's early difficulties—His Invention for restricting the Expansion of his Race—Infanticide perhaps marks a Stage in human Progress—The ancient Britons infanticidal—Infanticide of primitive Races a work of Love—Infanticide may be extinct, whilst Statistics imply its Continuance—A dynamical problem solved by the Todas—Infanticide the crime of weak Races, of Dolichocephali.

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THE more closely we enquire into the origin or causes of infanticide—writing of the practice, not in the light of a vulgar crime, to be ranked with murder, but as a national remedy for tiding over family difficulties—the more certainly will it be proved that it bears an antiquity as great, and a freshness in its latest instances as modern, as every other malpractice which owes inducements in its commission to the suggestions of weak dispositions, or to good though mistaken motives.

We read of the custom prevailing, under one pretext or another, among savage or primitive people, in the earliest narratives that have been chronicled in writing. We hear of it also in classic times as the common habit of nations then setting examples of civilisation. It is not only the modern practice of this representative of a prehistoric race, but it is the present custom of other tribes and nationalities—both those, possibly cognate to the Todas, and some which, occupying tracts in distant parts of the world, must have been distinct from them through long ages of time.

Probably, no nation can justly escape the charge of being

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descended of infanticidal ancestors, if only the vast antiquity and the vast helplessness of the human race be duly considered.

Primeval man, in the earliest stage of a silvan life, would have depended for his very existence on such natural products of the land as he could readily obtain by means of his hands, aided by simple auxiliaries, as sticks and stones. Berries, roots and sprouts, insects and small vermin would have formed the first diet of omnivorous man. In due course, and under the demand on his intelligence for the support of an ever-increasing brood, he would have added variety and value to his food by hunting and fishing. But many generations would have lived and died, and long ages may have elapsed, ere the climax of husbandry had been attained, and man learnt to domesticate an animal and subsist on its milk.

Meanwhile the rude, untaught ancestor, relying upon natural sources, was the sport of vicissitudes of climate. Bad seasons destroyed the fruit on the trees, and dried up the herbage and springs. Birds and beasts competed with him for the food that remained. Families of man, herds of animals, flocks of birds, all acting under pressure of the identical necessity, would, up to a certain point, now act alike. The first impulse would be, to spread, to migrate. These separated families formed fresh nuclei, whence, at an accelerated rate of progress, tribes would expand on all sides. Nature would repeat herself. Migrations of whole tribes would succeed; and again the spectre of ever-increasing families, and no food.

Even though man migrated ever so slowly, the condition of change implies exposure, failure of supplies, and wars with tribes whose estates were encroached upon. Hampered by the weak, the aged, and deformed—supported through his humanity—and by the sex which, in the midst of all these difficulties, still devoted much time to bringing new members into a world already too full, our forefathers were fairly brought to bay.

In animal nature there are processes at work, tending to

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preserve some relation between the number of mouths to be filled and the amount of food available; and if only sufficient time be allowed for them to work, an equipoise is certainly established, in a way which we are accustomed to term 'naturally.' Not so with primitive man. Not being sufficiently prudent to abstain from marriage, he is constantly face to face with starvation.

One of the early proofs of untutored man's superiority over the animal, was supplied in the scheme he now devised to prevent a recurrence of famine. Migrations had failed; had probably even aggravated the difficulties he was ordinarily exposed to. The pace was growing too fast; human mouths were multiplying more rapidly than the human intellect could discover means of providing them with food. He noted that it was in this expanding habit of his people, and in the number of unproductive members, lay the danger to his race of dying from starvation: and he entertained no such hope that Nature could by any means be made to render more provision than what with ceaseless gleaning he had hitherto taken from her.

It must have been then; with hope gone, and annihilation staring him in the face, that he applied his incipient talent to the invention of *an artifice for restricting the expansive capacities of his race.* He little knew the dangerous nature of the stake he played for life, 'rushing in where angels fear to tread.' But in those cases where families did not suffer extermination by the drastic process which had in good faith been designed to save them, there time was gained, for man's child-like brain in its torpid evolution, to devise additional methods of gaining a living.

Thus, as I believe, infanticide of the nature described—true native of climes most favourable to human growth: true offspring of undeveloped races—is an institution which, like others we now heartily condemn, has in its time served a useful and practical end. A protest against the unaided and

helpless condition in which they found themselves in the world; infanticide was probably the wisest because the only possible course for our barbarous forefathers to pursue. It perhaps even marks a necessary stage of human progress.

It is a custom of primitive races to consider on matters of grave tribal importance, in meetings of Elders—styled by the Todas kûtacâram. Such an august assembly would probably have decided whether, under certain such circumstances as we have been reviewing, the national course should take the direction of destroying the sick, the aged, or infants.

Herodotus describes, in an amusing manner, of some barbarous race, how a *young man*, sentenced to death because he was *sickly*, protested, and in vain, that he was in good health.

Ancient history tells us that in some at least of the States of Ancient Greece, the destruction of *both sexes*, born *weak* or *deformed*, was either commanded or allowed.

Amongst some living savages it is the practice to despatch the *aged* as they become feeble—all for the general good.

The systematic *infanticide* of *girls* is the remaining and most common alternative. I shall be able to show, in course of the chapters on the subject of polyandry, that some tribes of the ancient Britons practised female infanticide.

In proportion as nations advance in civilisation, property and wealth acquiring enhanced importance in public estimation, other and more complex considerations take the place of, or are superadded to, the list of original simple motives for limiting the size of families. But with them we have not in this little volume, any immediate concern, beyond suggesting the possibility that advanced races which largely practise female infanticide, may be, and probably are direct descendants of infanticidal ancestors—the typic cranial form remaining, though doubtless, somewhat developed—the aboriginal practice not having completely died out, but only changed in the direction and force of its current. In perfectly primitive races, their whole habit being simple, and the connection between

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their motives and their action proximate and uninvolved, we have the ready means afforded us of tracing, by a comparatively short and easy road, up to first causes, and thus of acquiring an insight into human impulse, which may prove serviceable even in judging of more complicated races, and must ever be interesting to obtain.

Fortunately for the preservation of the human race, which must otherwise have become extinct, primitive tribes are greatly attached to their children. We may safely assume, therefore, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that where wholesale destruction of progeny by the parents themselves, is looked on as an obligation which has devolved on them in order to save their race from destruction—where in fact, it is largely a work of love—there the act would be performed without needless violence. In those tribes where children are killed in a heartless manner; whether by prolonged neglect or in some actively cruel method, we shall probably not be far wrong in ascribing such action to selfish, ignoble motives.

The following is the interesting evidence of an aged Toda, who speaks of what has been enacted under his own eyes. I give the narration very nearly in his own words;—

847 'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan[1] visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children; but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it.

'I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle—putkuli—but formerly there was only one for the whole family, and he who had to go out took the mantle; the rest remaining naked at home: naked all but the loin-cloth—kûvn.

[1] Mentioned in Chapter VIII., Note 3. The English officer who first mounted the Nilagiri plateau, and visited the homes of the Todas. Events
805 of Toda importance all date from the visit of Sulaivan Dore, as we quote the Christian era.

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'We did not kill them to please any God, but because it was our custom.

'The mother never nursed the child—no, never! and the parents did not kill it. How could we do so! Do you think we could kill it ourselves!

'Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the opening of the buffalo pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals![2] We never did such things! and it is all nonsense, that we drowned it in buffalo's milk!'[3]

'Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—*that would be a sin*—papum; but when we had one girl,[4] or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed.

'This is the way it was done. An old woman—kelachi[5]—used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth, with cloth thus'—here pantomimic action. 'It would shortly droop its head and go to sleep. We then *buried* it in the ground.[6] The kelachi got a present of four annas[7] for the deed.

'I don't know if the infants thus killed, go to amnôr. Who can tell such a thing!'

[2] I find the following passage in a letter from the Collector of Coimbatore, dated 25th June, 1856, to the address of the Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, very kindly placed at my disposal by the Revenue Department, Madras; 'The mode of destroying the infant, if a female, is by exposing it the next morning at the door of the cattle kraal; when first opened, the whole herd, half wild, rush over and annihilate the wretched infant—the Todas never lifting their own hand against it.'

[3] This response had reference to a report then current, of this second mode of destroying children.

[4] The truth of this statement is confirmed by a letter from Mr. J. Sullivan, Collector of Coimbatore, dated 5th July, 1820, to the Secretary to the Governor of Fort St. George.

[5] Also means 'a female friend.' See Chapter VII., Note 1.

[6] It will be remembered that Todas *burn* their dead. By burying these infants, can it be, that the people thought they had got rid of them *for ever and ever*? Hence my question, to which the next paragraph forms a reply.

[7] Four annas is equal to sixpence of English money.

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847 I am well convinced that the old man spoke the strict truth in describing the practice of infanticide as a thing of the past; basing my belief, on the general appearance of things, rather than on statistics. (1.) If the custom still prevailed, the circumstance could not have remained hidden from the people of neighbouring tribes, with whom a very close degree of intimacy is maintained: and its commission forming a topic of conversation in their bazaars and meetings, the news would in due course certainly have reached our ears. (2.) The people sitting before us, in course of close examination as to the number and condition of their families, would undoubtedly have evinced by manner or voice, if at any time, we were approaching a dreaded and secret subject. (3.) Two, three, and even four living daughters were met with in families: and I may add, the girls looked in very good condition and as well cared for, as the rest of the household.

177 In the year 1822—or 48 years prior to the date of my
847 census—the Government of Madras put a pressure on the Todas, in order to impel them to forsake their murderous
168 practice.* But no statistics exist, and none can now be formed, that will afford us means of judging the actual state of the habit, anterior to that date.

847 In a previous chapter of this book—in that treating on the Census—the average age at which Toda women commence to bear children, is noted as 17 years. Those women therefore, who are 48+17=65 years old, must be the earliest who show the effect of the Government's repressive action. Hence it is, that we must look to the information regarding births and deaths which has been afforded by the mothers, rating from

* Owing to a deficiency in the records of the Madras Government, we do not know how infanticide was actually stopped; but the orders given in its letter of 21st July, 1820, were to frustrate the practice 'by all means of encouragement and persuasion.' In carrying these orders into effect, I believe that the persuasion employed was of an impressive character.

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TABLE No. VIII.

Compiled from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' Table No. IV., *in order to ascertain the progress made towards checking Infanticide. Arranged according to the 'present ages of Wives.'*

Present Ages of Wives	No. on the List	Detail						Abstract									Remarks
		Progeny															
		Alive		Dead		Born		Alive		Dead		Born		Proportion of females to 100 males			
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	A.	D.	B.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
65	4	2	2	2	2	4	4										No families have been omitted, in extracting from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' except those whose returns appear to be doubtful, or are valueless to the subject under review.
65	53	2	2	5	1	7	3										
60	5	3	2	0	0	3	2	14	7	9	8	23	15	50	88·9	65·2	
60	6	4	0	0	2	4	2										
60	28	3	1	2	3	5	4										
55	27	1	2	3	0	4	2										
55	43	4	1	2	2	6	3										
55	49	3	1	1	0	4	1	17	9	9	5	26	14	52·9	55·6	53·8	
50	8	3	2	2	2	5	4										
50	21	2	1	1	1	3	2										
50	42	4	2	0	0	4	2										
45	22	3	2	1	2	4	4										
45	36	3	3	1	1	4	4										
45	37	3	3	2	1	5	4										
45	45	1	1	2	0	3	1										
42	23	2	2	2	0	4	2	18	20	12	5	30	25	111·1	41·7	83·3	
42	54	0	1	0	0	0	1										
40	3	3	2	0	0	3	2										
40	15	0	4	2	0	2	4										
40	44	3	2	2	1	5	3										
38	10	5	1	1	0	6	1										
35	18	2	2	0	1	2	3										
30	19	0	3	0	0	0	3										
30	46	4	1	0	0	4	1										
28	35	1	0	0	0	1	0										
28	26	2	0	0	0	2	0										
27	1	2	2	0	0	2	2										
26	51	2	1	0	0	2	1										
25	2	1	2	1	0	2	2	24	17	2	3	26	20	70·8	150	77	
25	38	1	1	0	0	1	1										
25	40	1	1	0	1	1	2										
24	11	0	1	0	0	0	1										
24	29	0	1	0	0	0	1										
22	16	1	0	0	0	1	0										
20	24	1	1	0	0	1	1										
20	55	1	0	0	0	1	0										
18	14	0	0	0	1	0	1										
		73	53	32	21	105	74							72·6	65·6	70·5	

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65 years down to the youngest married women, if we would trace the abatement of infanticide.

847 It is much to be regretted that the statistics of Table No. 8 162 do not afford a record so complete as could be desired; even 847 to the degree I had fondly calculated on their doing, in the 163 course of our careful enquiries in the field. The instances, though certainly few in number, should distinctly have pointed to the change that was being effected in the course of forty-eight years; by enabling us to trace some sort of declining scale in the contrast of the sexes. The disproportion between males and females is indeed great in the Table, but it neither increases nor lessens in any form of sequence.

I have allowed the Table a place in these pages, despite its acknowledged deficiencies, and notwithstanding that the statistics, taken by themselves, give every appearance of the venerable practice being in full vigour, whilst I am fully convinced by the circumstantial evidences which I have given, that such is not the truth. I have done so, because it thus obtains a value, in showing that *the practice of infanticide may be extinct, whilst statistics indicate its actual prevalence:* that, in fact, the strange numerical difference in the sexes, which the census shows to amount to 25 per cent., implies with certainty, only that infanticide has *lately* been practised. If the custom were in its fullest possible force, consistent with the preservation of the race, the sexual divergence would be as great as 100 to 33·3; a proportion which allows one girl on an average, to every family—with less than which allowance, the race could not survive.

My readers will have noticed in Chapter XI. the suggestion, that a curious result of long continued infanticide, has been to create a male-producing variety of the human race.

165 It will be observed that in the Table,[1] the proportion of females who have died, to 100 males, is 65·6: whilst of those alive, it is 72·6. This discrepancy bears evidence to the inaccuracy of the statistics. Judging from the circumstances

[1] [See p. 197, Category 163 -- Analyst]

attending the census, and the personal care bestowed on it, to obtain genuine results, I have every reason to think that the record of those *alive*, is as nearly correct as possible: but I have not the same confidence as regards those who had died. I attribute much of this inaccuracy to the imperfect memory of the people, in describing events long past—a person once dead, being rarely talked about—but very largely also to their habit of ignoring the gentler sex.

That such a habit should really exist, was suggested to my mind, on observing how much girls were left out of count when they described the numbers in families, and of how great importance the birth of a son was esteemed. If a Toda is asked how many children—kinmokh—he has, his reply will almost invariably be, so many sons—mokh:[9] and if further information is desired as to his daughters, one has to specify tûjmokh. On one occasion a father replied to the usual enquiry, 'I have five sons.' 'Where are they?' 'There—1, 2, 3, 4, 5.' I could only see four. Two or three times the numbers were gone over, each time the man gravely counting five, I finding only four. So, pointing to each in succession, I enumerated 1—2—3—4. Where is the fifth? 'There,' he said, pointing to his *wife*, who quietly nodded approval. It seems that the good woman had not yet given birth to the child which both parents had agreed to consider a *son*!

Viewing human action, ever as the resultant of many forces—passions, necessities, emotions, habits—pulling in divers directions, with various degrees of strength; we find that the Todas very early in the world's history, practically solved the difficult physical problem of finding the condition of equilibrium of those especial forces which affected them; how, in fact, to *stand still* in a world, the law of whose nature is that of perpetual change—a remarkable example of the

[9] Mr. Metz asserts positively that the word mokh is used by the Todas for *son*, and not for *child*. In other Drâvidian dialects it may have expanded in its application so as to mean children, both male and female.

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compensatory skill of savages, which they owe greatly to their large organ of Weight.

000 In the description of the Toda character, founded on phrenologic basis, which I afforded in previous chapters, I have endeavoured to express, how weak they are in those groups of mental qualities which enable men to surmount difficulties in life by the force of their natural energies; how that their whole nature is built for the maintenance of the existing state of things: how free from cruelty, and how fond of children: how practical their character, though limited in range of vision: and how deficient in tenacity.

I have also tried to enable my readers to realise the early state of things; when the increase of numbers due to the luxurious nature of an equatorial climate had outstepped the supply of food: and the growth of human intellect—giving the ability to augment the supply—had failed to keep pace with the growing density of the population.

847 Now, resolve all these forces—the natural tendencies of primitive man, and the circumstances by which surrounded—
168 in such direction as exactly to neutralise one another; and you work out the problem which the Todas had to solve. Only three courses were open to them: (1.) The progressive exercise of combined labour and skill. (2.) Abstinence from marriage. (3.) Destruction of children.

They tried the first, and failed. In regard to the second, Nature, who is ever careful of her own interests, was doubtless altogether too strong for them. We see they adopted the third course, but in such manner as to give their gentle natures—gentle above all to children—the least suffering, by killing the infants without pain, and before the parents had opportunity to love them.

The great similarity in the dispositions of the two sexes assures me that mothers co-operated with fathers willingly in the deed.

000 If the Todas had possessed a large organ of *Acquisitiveness*,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the desire to have, to possess, to retain, would never have tolerated continued loss of property: but by husbanding resources, and by inspiring the remaining organism to repeated exertion, would have contrived somehow or in some way to *preserve their children.* Large Philoprogenitiveness combined with Acquisitiveness, both frustrated, would have caused them madly to *covet* children. The burden of their daily cry would have been

Give me children, or else I die.

With such organisation it would have been impossible to live without young, and the equilibrium which they formed, would have included the *preservation* of their progeny. The equipoise would probably have been produced, primarily by the hoarding of food, in the manner of ants. The race would have been great in the preservation of meat, and the formation of beaver-like dams for the storage of water.

But if their heads had also been gifted with large organs of Constructiveness, Secretiveness, Destructiveness, and Combativeness; had they, in fact, been *brachycephalic*, their innate ingenuity and vigour, would, by enabling them to overcome difficulties, have obviated even the necessity to consider the matter of infanticide. *The tribe would not have been infanticidal.*

We see then, that the wholesale *infanticide, of primitive races* is not the brutal evidence of an aggressive savage vigour, but the contrary. It is the retrograde step which ignorant *tribes of weak and amiable dispositions took to escape the natural consequences of their own helplessness.* They may be recognised at a glance, by the long narrow dolichocephalic head, formed as if a vertical slice had been cut off from either side.

In process of time, as the cranium of early man expands, from the narrow to the broad type, his disposition changes; he may become cannibal, but he ceases to kill infants

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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from the motives, and in the gentle manner described in this chapter.

000 The Toda's conservative sense—quite bestial in its universality—must have been much gratified at the success of his practical scheme; little suspecting, and caring still less, that when, by this infanticide, he had stopped the expanding power of his race, he had also, in removing one of the greatest incentives to labour that Nature has presented to us, intercepted national progress and development.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXIV.

POLYANDRY.

Polyandry defined—Instances in various parts of the world of Polyandry—Among the Celtic Britons—Laws of Inheritance—Re-marriage of Widows—Disgrace of being Childless—Desire for Children.

CHAP. XXIV.

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THE polyandrous state is that form of polygamy which, as practised by the Todas, may both correctly and concisely be described as being the *lawful marriage of one woman with several men, either brothers or near relations.*

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We must not allow our conception of savage matrimony—no matter what its form—to be cramped by comparing it too rigidly by our experiences of the 'holy state' in civilised life. Remember that barbarians, in the very nature and degree of their social condition, live in most primitive form. Their houses are crowded to excess: their clothes are scant: their ceremonies, free of all symbol, inference, or poetry, are bald, simple and direct. Toda marriage, strange as its nature may appear to be, nevertheless merits honour equally with those other and better understood forms of matrimony, commonly contracted by primitive or even semi-barbarous races.

From the days of our childhood we have been educated to the spectacle of the Turk and his score of wives—perhaps, rather respecting the awful man, for his prowess in ruling such a household of women and children. We know, also, that his form of polygamy is the ancient habit of many existing nations, as it was of races which have long since passed away: and that the practice has, within the memory of the present generation, been revived in a modern Christian community.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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The Toda woman is restricted by the force of circumstances, to consort with from four to five husbands. Her marriage is also quite respectable; and in point of antiquity, it probably 'whips creation.' She weds for life, 'for better, for worse;' and the married couple give actual security for good behaviour.

That this practice is neither a modern creation nor peculiar to the Todas alone, history and works of modern travel afford ample evidence. It will amply suffice for our purpose to quote a few instances.

The Bible, in making frequent mention of customs of the barbarians—in the midst of whom we find the Jews, on their first rising to notice, embedded—strictly analogous to those which obtain amongst the Todas, in respect to matrimony; leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that polyandry was, in those early days, an old and well-established institution in the world. And that such is really the truth, will become more and more evident, as from time to time, in the course of these pages, I have recourse to Scripture in drawing attention to ancient usage. Indeed the strong feeling I entertain, that in the Todas, we have actually a living specimen of some of these races, renders the reference to the historical evidence of the Bible, the more fascinating, as it is important.

Polyandry was a recognised institution[1] amongst the famous Aryas—the race to which we English, in common with most civilised nations, have lately found ourselves to be allied by ties of language, and perhaps of consanguinity.

It is still practised by portions of that race, now settled in the Western Himalayas.

It has been noted as a custom of the ancient Medes and Getes.

Cæsar's description of the mode of matrimonial alliance,

[1] Talboys-Wheeler, 'History of India.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

which our own British forefathers in Celtic days—before the nation had become English through suffusion of Teutonic blood—used to form, has been read by every school-boy. 'It was common,' writes Cæsar, 'for a number of brothers or other near relations to use their wives promiscuously.'[2] It is not perhaps, quite pleasant to be told that such was the custom of our own ancestors, and efforts have in consequence been made to throw doubt on the correctness of the statement; but that it was indeed the habit of the Celtic portion of the inhabitants, I see no cause for doubting. If, as I believe to be the case, the custom of the ancient Britons, and of the Todas, is in this respect, identical, any light which these pages may bring to bear upon the curious and ancient practice, cannot fail to be accepted with greatly enhanced interest.

Polyandry prevails also amongst tribes now occupying divergent tracts of the Indian Peninsula, but which, speaking various dialects of the same Drâvidian language, which is the mother-tongue of our Todas, were manifestly at one time, close neighbours—viz. in the mountains of Ceylon, and along the Southern Ghats.

It exists at this day amongst the Kalmuks, and has only just died out with the last of the Tasmanians.

It is known to be the practice of 'some families of the Iroquois.'[3]

We shall be better placed, to understand all the conditions of this venerable institution, on perusing the following few simple customs—partaking of the full force of laws—in regard to the management and inheritance of property; such as land, cattle, food and chattels, which obtain amongst the Todas;—

I. It has already been told that the tribe is divided into clans—kôleh.[4]

[2] J. Cæsar, 'De Bello Gallico.'
[3] Lubbock, 'The Origin of Civilization and Primitive Condition of Man.'
[4] Kôleh is a Drâvidian—Kanarese—word, which, though used by the

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 621 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 423 234 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

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Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

children as his—though each woman is mother only to her own—and each male child is an heir to the property of all of the fathers. CHAP. XXIV. 428

X. In order to avoid the complications that would arise, in the matter of food and the guardianship of property, from the re-marriage of widows, if they entered other families, taking their children with them; either a brother or other near relation of her deceased husband, takes her to wife. She 'remains in the family.' Such is Toda expression. 851 595 587

The following was early Semitic custom (*see* Deuteronomy xxv. 5): 'If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger; her husband's brother'—or 'next kinsman,' says a marginal note—'shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother[a] unto her.' This practice, is either pure polyandry, or it pertains to that extreme communistic state of society, to which, as I shall shortly demonstrate, polyandry belongs. 000

I met on one occasion, the instance of a man who had just separated from a very good-looking young wife of about fourteen years of age, in order that he might marry his elder brother's widow. It was looked on as a matter of course that the widow should 'remain in the family:' and the retention of two wives, in a community where the women are considerably in the minority, is out of the question. The girl had immediately espoused another; for until children have been born, the Todas do not mind the marriage of a widow out of the family. 587 595

These and other instances of the grave, practical, and undeviating nature of this curious people, made a great impression on me at the time.

Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more 000

[a] To raise up seed unto the brother.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

N°. 24

Opp. p. 207

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AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

PENTIREM

A MAIDEN OF 14 YEARS.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

 Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more

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than any other, and may be termed his ruling passion, is that of *necessity for* children.

842 589 The first instance which came to light of the serious—everything with the Toda is taken *au sérieux*—nature of this topic, was when the women of a certain village had collected round us, in obedience to summons; one was noticed sitting conspicuously apart, giving the impression that she was in some way tabued. 'What is the matter with her? Is she sick?' 'No.' 'Mourning?' 'No, not that.' 'She is a barudi'* they said quietly, and in the pitying tone in which one would apply the word 'crazy.' A handsome woman of forty, with the eyes and nose of a hawk. She had committed no fault; had added several boys and girls to the population. She was not ill, nor deformed, or sulky. She was merely a barudi, a widow. Now, it is a reproach to be a widow, unless quite old: or to be childless; the word barudi, in the Toda language, bearing the triple meaning of old woman, widow, and barren woman. This person, we have seen, was neither old nor sterile, yet as a widow who should be, but was not, producing children, she was put to shame. [196]

To be a baruda, or widower, is equally a term of reproach for men.

Another illustration. We met with two brothers—men past sixty years of age, whose joint wife had died. In order to avoid the disgrace of being styled baruda, as well, doubtless, as to obtain the services of some one who could cook their meals, they had forthwith married again. But being elderly gentlemen, joint fathers of nine children, including twins, and not caring for further additions to their family, they had selected to be their joint wife, a woman of fifty, who, having been *discarded as sterile*, was then living a single and neglected life.

I have ascertained positively, that so great is the disgrace

* The derivation of this word has already been given in Chapter VII. Note 15.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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attached to the epithets baruda and barudi, as applied to young married people, the husband would connive at any steps his wife might take to obtain children. The way in which my informant described what would be done in these circumstances, leaves no doubt in my mind of the truth of what I have written.

The Bible affords many instances of the display amongst primitive tribes of this craving for progeny, and of the reproach attaching to sterility. In Genesis xvi., 2—5, we find Sarai prefers that her husband Abram should have children by her maid, rather than there should be none in the house. We meet with a similar occurrence, narrated too with a clearness that leaves no doubt as to the intention, in Genesis xxx., 1—4, in the case of Rachel, the wife of Jacob. Again in 1 Samuel i. The book of Genesis, xxxviii., 26, gives another instance, and another motive.

Of this desire for progeny I have seen many examples amongst the Todas, so strongly marked, but to all appearances apart from the sense of personal ambition, and separate from any demands of religion[10] or requirements for support in old age, as to give the impression that it was the primitive faculty of Philoprogenitiveness, acting so insensibly, naturally, as to have the character more of a plain instinct, than of an intelligent human feeling.

There is something very affecting in the spectacle which these people present; so like animals in their primitive notions; closing in round upon one another, huddling together, and breeding with such a zeal as if they feared to lose their hold on the world. Yet, even, murdering many, that many might survive the dreaded danger.

[10] This peculiarity has already been noticed in Chapter XX.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXV.

POLYANDRY—MARRIAGE.

Betrothal—Peculiar nature of Dowry—Ask Papa—'Wilt thou have this man?'—The Wedding Ring—Plurality of Husbands—Confusion of Progeny—Toda expressions for Marriage—The Bow and Arrow in Weddings.

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584

THE betrothal of the sexes in marriage is arranged in this fashion. The father or other male guardian of the lad—or the young man himself if of age and in a position to negociate his own affairs—seeks an interview with the male protector of the girl whom he desires to wed. If his project be encouraged, nothing remains in the form of preliminaries but to discuss the amount of endowment—kēikuli[1]—to be given. This is never paid in cash. Money is a very scarce article in the jungles; money may be, will be spent: and land not being transferable property, as we saw in the last Chapter, whilst kine affords the means of immediate support for a family, and is inheritable, the conference must of necessity be almost entirely restricted to determining the number of cattle—buffaloes—of which the kēikuli shall consist; which, although it varies to a certain extent, lies commonly between one and four in number.

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We imagine the young man to say, 'I will give you two buffaloes as kēikuli for your daughter.' Here we note that owing to female infanticide, girls are in great demand; hence

[1] Kēikuli or kekkuli. Kai = *hand*. Koli = *what is received*. Dravidian root, kol = *receive*.

Another possible derivation is kukh = *woman*. Vilai = *price*. Kaikuli = *wages*. [POPE.]

the dowry is received, not given, by the damsel's parents. 'Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.' Genesis xxxiv., 12. The girl's father may reply, 'We are all relations. I don't want your property. You have proved your sincerity. I will give you in exchange one, two, three, or four buffalos.' This return present, may be more or it may be less than that offered by the wooer. Such, as I am assured by my friend, Mr. Metz, is actual Toda method of managing these affairs.

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583

I am not prepared to supply a reason for this custom. It may be a survival of some more ancient practice, or it may be a method suggested by self respect. The girl has been asked in marriage. She is not to be had for nothing. The young man is in earnest, and it is going to be a wedding and no mistake.

We notice that the transaction is not the payment so much as the exchange of dowers. Seemingly it is a worthless arrangement, binding on neither party. But worked in a simple way by simple minds, it appears to be held as a test of honesty of intention. And—as we shall shortly have opportunity of observing—becomes a security for good behaviour, by affording the means for punishing breaches of matrimonial compact.

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When the bargain has been struck, the damsel's father intimates his formal consent to the marriage by placing his foot on his son-in-law's head, after the mode described in Chapter IV., saying, 'I give'—tashken. Affairs may now be held to have reached that stage on the road to matrimonial happiness, somewhat corresponding to the point in the negociation of French marriages, when the only remaining step to be taken, consists in consulting the young lady's sentiments on the proposed union.

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The dowry is now due from the bridegroom, and he may not recede from his part of his compact; that is to say, if the

CHAP. XXV.

girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

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In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. An entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.[2] Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—kûtacaram.

585 301 431

The husband now gives his wife a necklace,[3] of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

585

The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

[2] Literally Âl = '*husband*' or '*man*.' Kâtvoti = '*wife*' or '*she who is bound to me*.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

[3] Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

as may be most convenient to them. In either case, the marriage both in name and in fact, is identical. CHAP. XXV.

It is the custom for the husband to give a feast to his nearest relatives on such a joyous occasion.

It will be seen that up to this stage, the woman is married with her own consent to one man—he who pays the dowry, or gives security to society for his own good behaviour. But now, if the husband has brothers or very near relatives, all living together, they may each, if both she and he consent, participate in the right to be considered her husband also, on making up a share of the dowry that has been paid. In fact it was formerly their almost universal custom—in the days when women were more scarce than they are now—for *a family of near relations to live together in one mand, having wife, children and cattle all in common.*

Now if we consider that one or more brothers may each become the husbands of separate wives by virtue of having each paid a dower, and that younger brothers as they grow to age of maturity, and other brothers as they become widowed, may each, either take separate wives or purchase shares in those already in the family, we can at once understand that any degree of complication in perfectly lawful wedded life, may be met with, from the sample of the single man living with a single wife, to that of the group of relatives married to a group of wives. We begin to see also why tribes following polyandrous habits, endeavour to prevent further complications by making widows 'remain in the family.'

All the children of these very promiscuous unions are held to be brothers and sisters. And as, as is manifest, a generation or two of such marriages must produce inextricable confusion in relationships, so we find that the Todas, who like nothing so much as reducing things to simple formulæ, rather ignore the whole subject, terming them anatama.[4] They will

[4] See Note 19 of Chapter VII.

CHAP. XXV. describe the connection between such brothers as follows: 'Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their mothers being sisters, they are brothers.' An uncle is styled 'my little father'; most significant.

595 602

595 182 The marriage system I have described is elastic. It is capable of being modified in its internal working without change in the actual principle. Thus, when women are scarce, several men have to be content with one wife between them. But as women become more numerous, a greater proportion of men are able to procure a wife a-piece. This condition of permanent routine is supremely satisfying to the Toda mind.

192 The general expression for marriage is represented by the word kûdiken — I join.[5] Thus, 'Beliani is married to Nastufi' would be translated Beliani Nastufig kûdthchi, or they are joined to one another. But in addressing a man with the casual question of, 'Are you married?' the ordinary way of putting it, would be to say, 'Is there a son?'—Mokh vathchya? He would reply, Ha, mokh vathchi, 'Yes, there is a son:' or if married, but childless, he would detail, Ân kukh kûdthbini, mokh illade—'I joined a woman, a son is not.'

Similarly, the enquiry made of a woman would be, Belthta gavthchya?—'Is the neck-ring tied?'[6]

[115] 843 Mr. Metz has been so good as to describe for me a singular custom connected with weddings, which he learnt subsequently to my having left the Nilagiris: of which no sort of explanation can be supplied by the Todas.

When the wife has gone seven months with her first child, she retires with her husband alone, to the depths of the village wood, where at the foot of some tree she places a

[5] I am not certain that in the word 'join,' we have got the most primitive meaning of kûdiken. The Hindustani word kûdna, and its Sanskrit root kurdd = *play*, might be compared.

[6] For the modes in which husbands and wives address one another, see Chapter VII.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 25

Opp. p. 214

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AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

NASTUFI

"THE LITTLE SAVAGE"

A MARRIED GIRL OF 15 YEARS.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 26
opp. p. 215

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AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

BELIANI

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

843

lamp. Kneeling before the light, she receives from her husband a bow and arrow, made by him,[7] which she salutes by lowering her forehead to them. Taking up the weapons, she asks, 'What is the name of your bow?'—each clan apparently having a different name for its bow. He tells her the name, Kurkutvashk or Virzhvashk, or any other. Question and answer are repeated three times. The wife then deposits the bow and arrow at the foot of the tree. The pair remain at the spot without shelter but that of the tree overhead, all night, eating a meal that evening, and another in the morning, before return to the village.

This looks very much like the perpetuation of a custom inherited from some past condition of life, when Todas carried weapons. But its object, and the reason for postponing the ceremony for some months after marriage, is not easy to comprehend. Perhaps, in a communistic era, possibly antecedent to polyandry—see Chapter XXVII.—it may have implied an acknowledgment of paternity, and of the obligation on the part of the father, to provide food for the coming family.

[7] It will be remembered that the weapons used at funerals are made by the Kotas.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda
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CHAPTER XXVI.

POLYANDRY—MORALITY.

Fickleness not necessarily an attribute of Barbarous Man — Use of the Dower—Dowry sometimes not paid—What then?—Women's Influence —Divorces are rare—Company behaviour very fair—No bachelors—Ultra Communistic—Not much known of Private Practices — No Foreign Blood apparent.

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THESE people have been described by travellers, as grossly inconstant in their married life; men and women leaving and even exchanging wives or husbands in fickleness, much as the whim seizes them.

Indeed it appears a common opinion that fickleness is, in a remarkable degree, the attribute of barbarous man. He is either expected to display the inconstancy of an amorous people, full of fire and wild savage license: or perhaps the softer, childlike instability of a race of Arcadian simplicity, and romantic habit: but fickleness in some form or other, as the notable peculiarity of his primitive institutions. On the contrary; whatever may be his moral condition, behold a singularly calm, collected and unimaginative body, acting invariably with a dry practical object.

Let us examine then, the condition of one of *the first steps towards organisation, which society owes to the introduction of polyandry:* and if in this early stage we still find much that appears immoral, let us discriminate between the lapse from a higher standard, and that which is merely a very slow rate of upward progress. Secluded and isolated from fellow man, there seems no reason why the Toda should not

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remain unchanged in habits, almost through all time: but in the presence of a superior civilisation, action may be observed to commence; habits improve, though perhaps only up to a certain low stage, almost insensibly, and much as a flower expands, chemically influenced in the light of the sun.

The combined institutions of the dower and inheritance, afford as strong guarantees for the stable nature of the marriage tie as any race of inferior moral culture could well give. Indeed, no social customs redound more to their credit for practical sagacity than these. The young man makes his offer of marriage, which being accepted, the bargain, so far as he is concerned, is closed, and his dowry is *held to be due.* The girl, after sufficient deliberation, accepts this man: when the father is liable for her portion, to the man who has now become her husband.

Women, as we have seen, not being able to inherit property, the husband and father of the family is alone responsible for the food supply.

If then at any time the wife should be discarded, the whole of her family would be interested in the question of 'who is to feed her,' and thus naturally as it were, become guardians of the law. Or if, on the other hand, the wife should leave her husband's protection, he would claim from her father, restitution of the dowry he had paid. Had it been their custom that women could inherit property, men might wash their hands of the duty of supporting wife and family, and women would have encouragement to separate from their husbands, taking their children with them. Of course, such simple traps for restraining the sexes, could never hold, except in conditions of much honesty and good faith. A child left to starve, or a woman to beg or earn a separate livelihood, are sights absolutely unknown in such a united community.

Instances have occurred, but are acknowledged to be rare; of the bridegroom not having found the means of fulfilling his part of the compact; not having paid the dowry, even by

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586 183 the time a child had been born of his marriage. Had this been a hard-working people, such a difficulty could have been surmounted by his acting as Jacob did for Rachel, whose proposition, accepted by Laban, was 'I will serve thee for seven years' for her.—Genesis xxix., 18. But no circumstance has yet induced the dolichocephalic Toda to labour.

In such a case as has been described, the marriage is simply cancelled, both parties being competent to marry again. But mark the decision as regards the child; whether son or daughter it remains the property of the father. The mother nurses and cares for it during infancy: but when it can take care of itself; when in fact it requires food from the family stock, it goes to its father's home. Here we recognise the influence of the property law. Some one must feed and clothe the child: but women have no property; hence the father must take charge of it. Such would be the judgment of the kûtacaram.

586 626 684 As regards the national feeling on such an affair[1] it would be looked on as a mishap, an unfortunate occurrence, and the defaulter would lose in public estimation. He might be fined a buffalo or two: but there the matter would end, in sedate quiet. The child born of the union would not suffer in any way; it is the son of so and so: there is the father, whose heir he is, and that, his mother.

562 If the Toda mode of inheriting property should give the impression that women are not of much account in the family, such a view would be quite incorrect. Woman's influence in the mand, through her husbands and children, is real. By the great tolerance and moderation of the men, aided by a very sufficient mental power and mastery of her subject, she maintains a good position in the house. It is not so much that the two sexes are equally balanced, for even if of like mental power, the muscular ability to enforce a requirement must always remain with the man, as that the women have settled into a position which gives ample scope

[1] i.e., failure of the bridegroom to pay the dowry, resulting in termination of the marriage.—Analyst.

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for the practice of feminine duties, and of acquiring useful experience in the management of affairs. If the husbands should die, the widow would be fully competent to act as trustee of any cattle they may have left, and as guardian of her children, whether she married again, or maintained her single state. 562 429

In the event of a woman not bearing any children to her husband, he may marry again: but in such case he must support the first wife: and, as a matter of course, he has to pay another dower for the second. 586

In possession, therefore, of these evidences of wedded life, and bearing in recollection the staid nature of this singular people, I feel convinced that separation between pairs is not lightly tolerated. Easy-tempered, thoroughly communistic, and not very nice in their discrimination of the duties of husbands and wives to one another, many of the causes which lead to separations amongst civilised people, must be absent from them, and motives for divorce would not be frequent.

What an insight does the simple practice of the dower, not give into the direct nature of their minds! Both parties *promise*, and the promise is their bond! It is not that it is a conscientious people, but so guileless and free from talent for plot, and all so much alike, that seemingly they possess almost intuitive knowledge of one another's intentions. We notice the same peculiarity amongst the inferior animals, and for want of a better word, term it instinct. I have often thought that much of this instantaneous understanding we observe in animals, as well as the rapidity with which, amongst nearly pure races of man, information is disseminated, and the unity of impulse with which they work in combining for a common end, is due greatly to close similarity in cranial contour.[1] Are sly animals ever found associated in herds or troops? 583 000

[1] This peculiarity was a remarkable feature in the Indian Mutiny of the year 1857; the rebellion of a semi-barbarous race, of striking uniformity of cranial development.

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183 577 I confess to a feeling of great astonishment that barbarians should conduct their household arrangements with the staidness and good sense of members of the Teutonic family of nations. Yet, though free from taint of fickleness, Toda social morality can scarcely be defended. We find him bound down to keep the peace, and behave himself as a Toda should, and not throw his wife and children on the parish. But for the rest we find him still a gross savage.

In the outward behaviour of the sexes, I have been amused to notice how much the custom and etiquette observed in civilised life is derived from *their* model. I have never seen any among our list of the proprieties in the slightest degree overstepped by them in ordinary daily intercourse, except 562 perhaps in their habit of calling a spade a spade. Modest-looking women are by no means rare. They remain habitually at home, keeping together as demure as cats. They have their own places of private resort, on which members of the opposite sex would not presume to intrude. They manage their cumbersome garments to perfection. But it must not be supposed that they are moral, or have scruples. It is the human animal in its wild state.

589 183 582 No unmarried class exists, to disturb society with its loves and broils. More's the pity! for that same society much needs to be startled into energy out of its hum-drum life! The warm breath of poetry and romance never passes through these people. It must long ago have been quenched with the introduction of infanticide and polyandry. Defects lie entirely the other way; it is a 'very much married' people. Every man and every woman, every lad and every girl is somebody's husband or wife; tied at the earliest possible age, and bound by grinding social law, in the bonds of unpoetic matrimony, extending almost over the entire term of adult life. Sacred characters, such as the pâlâl and pâlkarpâl, are merely husbands off duty. With the exception of a cripple girl, and of those women who, past the child-bearing age,

were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9. CHAP. XXVI. 589 183 582

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation. 582 595 181

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety. 181

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe. 144

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TABLE No. IX.

Child Marriages. Compiled from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' Table No. IV.

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No. on the List	Calculated Ages when			Present Ages of		
	Wives Married	Oldest Husbands married	Wives commenced child-bearing	Wives	Oldest Husbands	
1	14	15	15			
2	13	16	14			
20	17	14	—	19	16	Not with child
24	13	21	17			
38	12	15	13			
39	10	19	—	14	23	Not with child
41	12	12	—	14	14	Ditto
44	11	31	12			
47	10	11	—	11	12	Not with child
48	9	12	—	12	15	Ditto
51	14	14	16			
55	10	16	19			

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CHAPTER XXVII.

POLYANDRY—ITS CAUSE.

Causes ascribed by various Authors—Savage social Custom traced—Origin of the Family—Absolute and Limited Communism—Infanticide—Unpremeditated origin of Polyandry—Phrenological description of Polyandrists—Obstacles to Change of custom—Nature may be Warped so as to place obstacles to Rapid Change in the Character of Races.

MANY are the reasons to which this peculiar form in the union of the sexes has been ascribed.

Mr. Talboys-Wheeler inclines to the opinion that the custom might, amongst some races of the Âryas, have originally been induced 'at some primeval epoch,' in the course of migrations 'from their cradle in Central Asia, to seek new homes to the eastward of the Indus, and under such circumstances they would naturally bring with them as few women as possible.'[1]

Some authors entertain the impression that whatever may have actually developed the practice, as an established institution it commends itself to the suffrages of women through the influence which an enhanced value confers on them. One writer even going so far as to suggest that women are induced to perpetuate their custom of infanticide for the purpose of maintaining this influence. Others again, amongst whom are Dr. Inman,[2] and Mr. Talboys-Wheeler, attribute its perpetuation to the necessity for 'keeping the population low' by 'preventing any undue increase in the numbers of a family.'

[1] Talboys-Wheeler, 'History of India.'
[2] Inman, 'Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names.'

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Sir John Lubbock is 'disposed to regard it as an exceptional phenomenon, arising from the paucity of females.'[3] In which opinion he is supported by Mr. Bonwick, who sees that 'in a condition of society where women are in the minority, as with the rapidly dying tribes of Australia, a system very like Indian polyandry is begotten.'[4]

None of these authors appearing quite to have traced the practice to its absolute origin: but rather to have assigned it to what is, at best, probably one of its proximate causes only, the few following pages are devoted to the endeavour to throw some further light on this somewhat obscure and very ancient custom.

It is not assuming too much, from our acquaintance with the working of nature's laws, that the numerical proportions of the sexes should be one of approximate equality. The census taken of all civilised countries, most carefully and oft repeated, assures us that nearly the same number of females are born in them as males: that nearly an equal portion die, though from different causes—women's feminine trials tending to compensate the risks to which men are exposed—and that the balance remains on the whole, nearly the same, in spite of many disturbing effects. Thus we grow convinced, that if the correlation between the sexes should grow to what we perforce view as abnormal, certain unusual—probably unnatural—influences must have been working to disturb the symmetry of their relations.

We are also agreed that the passion between the sexes, has in all ages, and under every diversity of circumstance, appeared to be nearly identical in the human race.

How then, in the presence of this natural equality and uniform sensibility of the sexes, with the positive information recorded in the last chapter, that every Toda woman

[3] Lubbock, 'The Origin of Civilisation and Primitive Condition of Man.'

[4] Bonwick, 'Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians.'

marries, do we come to find that this race had so arranged the proportion, that only one wife was available for several husbands?

Let us endeavour briefly to trace the growth of savage customs, from their primeval state up to the period during which polyandry, first was introduced, then became the concretion we now find it.[6] I believe the practice of communism, in its most unrestricted and therefore grossest form, to have been the basis of man's social system, when in the natural or absolutely undeveloped stage of his savage existence. I ground this conviction greatly on the experiences which have been gained of the very promiscuous customs of the Todas, as well as of primitive races all over the world: and largely, as a fair logical deduction, that I draw from a consideration of the Toda cranium; in which it is almost impossible to be otherwise than struck with the overwhelming preponderance of the entire domestic group of organs, over the moral, secretive, and acquisitive constitution; thus forming a combination of forces, which, in races living densely secluded lives, and at a period when the sexes were reared in equal numbers, must have produced an irrepressible desire to maintain everything—without reserve or restriction, coyness, or prudery—*absolutely in common* among the associated group, call it clan, kinsfolk, or tribe; terms which amongst these densely gregarious people, are nearly synonymous.

At some advanced period in human progress; when clans had increased in size, and circumstances had encouraged the creation of varieties in tribal custom: when the growth of local interests, and an active sense of mutual dependence, fostered and promoted by the warm preference which the

[6] I beg here to acknowledge the pleasure and advantage I have derived from the study of Mr. M'Lennan's work 'Primitive Marriage'; many of the ideas in which, on the primitive condition of man, believing them to be strikingly accurate, I have incorporated in various parts of this work, and especially in this chapter.

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sexes feel instinctively towards one another: coupled with the absorbing need of offspring, that I have already noticed —see Chapter XXIV.—as characterising the Todas, had united in centripetal action; then barbarian life would become a certain degree less promiscuous; by its primitive society converging into numerous congeries of near relations. The *family* would then be the *social unit*; maintaining still the ancient practice, of holding all property in common amongst its members.

By the continued action of such causes, the little family groups of kinsfolk would tend to still further condensation and exclusiveness. They would become smaller in their component numbers, by being more free of aliens: until at last, *the family came to be represented mainly by a knot of brothers, half-brothers, and cousins,*[6] *married to closely-related kinswomen* in nearly equal numbers; the men being the common fathers of all the progeny: each woman, however, the mother of her own children only. That these women were not only intimately connected to one another, but were often either sisters or half-sisters to their husbands, need occasion no surprise. I have most unfortunately not obtained the evidence which would warrant my asserting absolutely that such close inter-marriage was actually the custom amongst the Todas: yet when once we thoroughly realise the mode of daily life of a rude people, we can no longer doubt that such was and still is the practice of barbarous races.[7]

[6] 'My little-father's son is the same as my brother.' Toda saying. See Chapter VII.

[7] Supposing three brothers A B C married three women *a b c* in the indiscriminate fashion of the times—anterior to infanticide—and that six boys, or girls, were borne by each woman, of which two are fathered to each husband.

If the children of the unions be represented as multiples of A B C with *a b c*,

the sons of *a* may be written 2 *a* A, 2 *a* B, 2 *a* C
" *b* " 2 *b* A, 2 *b* B, 2 *b* C
" *c* " 2 *c* A, 2 *c* B, 2 *c* C

Then each of the pairs of sons would be brothers to one another, and *a* A,

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We know by a perusal of Genesis xx. that Abram married his half-sister, and may presume that such was a common practice in his day.

Mr. Talboys-Wheeler remarks that the earlier Buddhist legends preserved in the Mahawansi, present a curious instance of promiscuous marriage amongst the primitive Âryas. Four brothers retire into the jungle with their five sisters, where they dwell in huts made of branches of trees, subsisting on the produce of the chase; each brother marrying one of his sisters not born of the same mother.[8]

Probably every race of man, at some period of its rise from the animal condition of *absolute communism* in which it originally revelled, has attained this stage, of *limited communism*. Gross as such condition of society may appear to be, it must still be acknowledged as an advance on the course to orderly wedlock. No form of sexual alliance is inconsistent with the theory that from this platform all the various systems of matrimony with which we are acquainted, have sprung and radiated: whilst, on the other hand, we have in the living customs of barbarous races in all quarters, evidence in its favour.

One of the early results of this limited form of communism, would be shown in the growth of a sense of parentage; arising from the recognition and acknowledgment of their children by their joint fathers: and in the desire which they would feel to protect and provide for this family, expanding into a certain rude conception of the responsibility of their position.

The known habits and sentiments now prevailing among the Todas have encouraged me in forming my impression of the characteristic conditions of primitive society. It seems necessary too that some such concretion of the social system

b A, *c* A, &c., would be half-brothers by the same father: *a* A, *a* B, *a* C, &c. would be half-brothers by the same mother: *a* A, *b* B, *c* C, &c., would be cousins german.

[8] Talboys-Wheeler, 'History of India,' vol. I. p. 117, foot note.

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shall have been already formed, before we can fully account for systematic infanticide—as contrasted with a habit of indiscriminate and disorderly destruction of the weak of both sexes—or before we can completely understand why polyandry should emanate therefrom. *These practices seem to imply the pre-existence of a family scheme* of some sort.

Circumstances, such as I endeavoured in Chapter XXIII. to depict, drove a communistic people, to infanticide. Parents projected the scheme of destruction which eventuated in an undue proportion being maintained between the sexes. The early and *undesigned* consequence of the act being, that without actual change in social practice, the limited communism changed into what is styled polyandry, by a simple and natural process; for whereas it had been the custom for groups of brothers, half-brothers, and cousins, to unite themselves to nearly equal numbers of kinswomen, they now were restricted to the reduced allowance of one or two wives between them.

The balance of feeling, which must long have vibrated between the desire, the furore, on one side of the scale, to destroy every one of the unprofitable female sex, and on the other to retain women for female duties, would at last have created an equilibrium resting at that point where the smallest number of girls, necessary for the continuation of the species, was permitted to live. That the limit was one wife for a family of nearly-related men, shows probably, that even in those dark sad times, property had its interests to be attended to.

Many a tribe may, from too rash destruction of females, have promoted its own rapid extinction, by enfeebling its elastic power, or the capacity for overcoming such temporary reduction of its numbers, as might be induced by wars, famine, or disease. But eventually, supply and demand in the surviving tribes, balanced.

It is curious to observe, and worthy of note, that the tender feelings of parents should induce them, despite the force of

tradition, to retain, in some instances, more than one daughter in a family; thus forming a small reserve of women, with which the vacancies which would arise in other families, from a deficiency in female births, or from girls not having been raised to years of maturity, find a counterpoise.

The exceptional practice of polyandry, which had, in an unpremeditated manner, thus grown, merely from the infanticide which had disturbed the natural proportion of the sexes, might be expected to retain something of the promiscuous ways, which for ages had been so much in consonance with gregarious and primitive tastes. Now that the custom of infanticide has been relinquished, and the discrepancy between the sexes, which was its immediate fruit, has become less remarkable—though very far from having vanished—I observe communism still remaining *de facto*, the loved habit of the people, whilst monogamy grows to be the national form of marriage. It may be that the Todas in this process of change, are merely *reverting* to an ancient usage—that prior to infanticide—instigated by the natural predilections of unaltered dispositions. Perhaps their habits are becoming modified by the influence of surrounding monogamic races.

I very much doubt if the custom of polyandry, taken in the ordinary acceptation of that word, viz., the union of brothers only, to one wife, can anywhere be found as the sole national form of marriage; thus assuming the airs of a respectable, even if eccentric custom; for, bearing in mind the extreme gregariousness of their dispositions, and intimacy of their lives: considering, also, the absolute necessity for every soul to marry, it is evident that the actual nature of the tie must very greatly depend on the living ratio of the sexes; which, of course, could not be maintained at one undeviating level. When the proportions balance, the savage prefers a promiscuous style: but as they widen, and the males preponderate, the practice of monogamy is seen, coexistent with that of a polyandry in which the husbands are *so-called* brothers.

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Whether polyandry was the anticipated effect of a preconcerted design, in which infanticide was the logical preliminary step, or whether this peculiar relation of the sexes was its unforeseen consequence; it still could not have continued in force amongst a people, unless it were in unison with many of their inherent feelings. The same, or parallel personal qualities or propensities, must have led to the perpetuation of both these eccentric customs, or one of them must have fallen into disrepute. And the discontinuance of infanticide must have eventuated in the abandonment of polyandry, in consequence of the intimate nature of the alliance existing between them.

181 Now if the Todas had been an exact contrast of what we know them to be; had they been a people possessing a strong sense of personal property, and of dislike to publicity: had they been warlike and quarrelsome: had they, in fact, possessed large Acquisitiveness, Secretiveness, Destructiveness, and Combativeness—had they been brachycephalic, in fact—and withal been amorous, we could readily have imagined their taking to a *polygamous* style: but it would be contrary to our actual experience of men, to suppose that with such energetic personalities, families could have continued in harmony where one woman was the common wife of many men.

I maintain therefore, that whilst a general deficiency in power of the propensities—and conspicuously so of the acquisitive organ—dictated the indolent measure of infanticide, in the very face of the counter action of large Philoprogenitiveness, as the best means of escaping annihilation, I am equally forced to the conviction, that the tameness of the same group of deficient organs, combined with the moderate expression of an amativeness not above the average, enabled polyandry to maintain its position when once established.

I have no means of ascertaining that the organs, upon whose sizes and combinations have depended the allied and

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inseparable practices of infanticide and polyandry, actually existed in the human crania, in the era within which these ancient institutions were introduced as panacea for the woes of suffering man. But I affirm that they do constitute the association that would in this day invent, as well as maintain, those two practices, if precisely the same necessities arose.

If this theory of the physiologic origin of these venerable institutions be correct, we have an evidence of the great immutability of those races which, keeping their genealogical purity of blood, remain also in the same unchanging circumstances of solitude and climate.

In due time; after the lapse of generations, the polyandry which had then concreted into definite form, could not easily have been disturbed, even if the desire to reform had been felt with force sufficient to secure unanimity.

Let us imagine ourselves exactly in their position; the institution of infanticide completely established. Fourteen years —or the marriageable age of girls—must have elapsed before any member could reap benefit from the joint movement. But fourteen years is a very long period, and its end so distant, that few of those whose voices had weight in council, would live to see the change effected. On the other hand, the existing state of polyandry, so far from being oppressive, has strong points of recommendation to such minds. The men probably recognise the fact that it limits the number of mouths to be filled. Nor is it unpleasant to the females; their duties are light—for women of barbarous races, extremely light—they are treated with consideration, and have marked influence in the home circle. Again, parents know that their surviving daughters are in great request: they marry off readily, and at small cost. The thorn in their rose, is the necessity for destroying their infants. This is, no doubt, a lasting pain to them.

Hence we find that before the movement can even be commenced, there is a *vis inertiæ* to be overcome, which would of

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itself render it an extremely difficult matter for the people to effect a change in their habits, in respect to their marriage system. Moreover, as I have shown in Chapter XI., the unfortunate practice of infanticide leads ultimately to the constitutional physiologic change, in which a surplus in actual *births* is maintained in boys over girls, amongst tribes with whom it has become naturalised. Hence, as we see, *the excess of males over females, bred of infanticide, tends to preserve the system of polyandry, when infanticide itself has ceased to be a national practice.*

I may now affirm the dogma, that where the destruction of female infants is practised to excess, we must find, either that polyandry, or the practice of procuring wives from other races, tribes, or castes, is the custom. And where polyandry is met with, we may be confident that we either find female infanticide, or that it has lately and largely been practised.

It is on the conviction of the truth of this assertion, that I based the statement made in Chapter XXIII., that our British forefathers, who are known to have been polyandrous, were also infanticidal.

It has often been laid to the discredit of wild races; the apparently insuperable difficulties that oppose themselves to efforts made for their elevation from the obscene rut in which they were found, and in which they had lived for untold ages. I think the experience we have gained of the unsuspected existence of what would ordinarily be termed a 'natural' obstacle to change in Toda marriage custom, should lead us to suspect the possibility of nature being often warped by the long continuance of other bad practices, so as to place equally effective and invisible obstacles to sudden or even rapid progress in the mental or moral culture of races.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

SHADES OF EVENING.

The people assemble—The cattle come home—Day's food—Prayer to the Setting Sun—The family retires to rest—Maternal aspect of Nature in Mild Climates.

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THE long day draws to a close. The party who had gone out in the morning to collect kûdu, have returned from the distant Badaga villages, apparently not very successful; for they grumble, and look suspicious and uneasy, as they throw their bundles on the ground. The women at home have long completed the performance of their women's work; the infants have been suckled over and over again, and passed from arm to arm of the girls of the family: the house floor and bed have been plastered, and the village frontage swept down water is in the vessels, and wood is in the slings. There is nothing now to do but curl their hair for the night, whilst gossiping with the visitors.

Gradually, and as the evening approaches, the people grow restless and absent-minded: stand up to look, and with hand to eyebrow, scan the broad pasture lands lying under the setting sun. Something of importance seems to be looked for. Rumour spreads, that the buffalos are coming in. The dense mass may now be seen approaching, slowly and leisurely—as well-fed animals should—and led by the more pressing milch cows, who filing through the intervening swamp, and with ears pricked forward, rise the hill where the familiar homestead lies nestled. Here the herd stops: a few, for reasons of their own,

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saunter into the fold: the rest chew the cud in an indolent group outside.

512 The people sit about watching. And whilst some lads stand round the herd, to quiet the nervous with their voices, and to stop flirtations with their sticks, lest any disturbed cow should withhold a portion of her milk; the naked pâlkarpâl with honnus in hand, and pushing forward the mope-eyed sucking-calves, eases each mother in turn, of her oppressive load. Over all, the ripe glow of the declining sun; hallowing the innocent domestic scene which his rich beams have just ceased from glorifying.

Faces cheer up as the man returns to his dairy: and talking is resumed. We understand now their late anxiety and their present ease; the evening's *supply of food has been assured to them.*

Shortly, the mistress of the house may be observed through the little door of her cabin, squatted on the hearth inside; deftly feeding the fire in the vorshkâll, stick by stick, as she cooks the evening meal: head thrown back, eyes half-closed, with a hand outspread, warding the heat from her face. Outside, the family sit about or occupy themselves in shutting up the calves.

512 788 We note a man leaning against the village wall, mutter 'ekarvashk'—sunset. He rests his wand against the stones, and taking both arms out of his mantle, maintaining it in place with the elbows, leisurely puts feet to the ground. Bending slightly, and with joined hands to forehead, he says in a low tone, 'Ėyan, appn! danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, ėr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama!' Then readjusting his cloth, steps back again to his seat. He quietly watches the luminous God as it subsides in oriental glory behind the hill: then resuming the *sotto voce* conversation, enquires after the health of the new born calf, and if the mother has begun giving milk. An innocent grave smile plays on his face when told that both are doing well. 'A good cow!' he remarks, slowly nodding.

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Long looked for dinner appears to be ready; for the heated woman now emerges into the open air, and the men and boys enter the hut, leaving the females to prolong the talk. When each member of the community has in turn, eaten, and the offerings to bhumi tai have been swept out of doors, the whole family in the village join grouped about in primitive dinginess, and quiet unconspicuous attitude; some under the veranda eaves, others on the tûar, or under its quiet shelter: and there rehearse the day's events. The naked pâlkarpâl also, having completed his separate cooking, squats apart upon the wall, whence he can hear the news and add his distant note to the conversation.

And thus the shades of evening close in upon them. The air grows chill, and the careful mother of the smallest, rises to take the infant she has kept under her dress, into the well baked house. She stops a moment: looks round to the sky where the Blushing moon, ascending vertically through the trees in hot pursuit of the now vanished sun, illumines her womanly face. 'Swâmi, Swâmi!' she mutters, with hands to forehead, supporting the while, her young one in the bend of her arm, 'Mokh ultama, ellam ultama:' and stoops in at the little doorway. Two or three sleepy-headed children soon stagger in after her. Note the pretty daughter in her teens, plump and white teethed, with hair tightly curled, and eyes that brilliantly catch the sparkle of the moon. She has been taught to say her prayers: but unmarried and without a care, the sense of responsibility is not strong upon her; she has no child to shiver for. She gives a rather hurried salute, bringing her head down to her hands, rather than take the young arms out of their envelope in the chill: a quick 'Êyan, appn!' and in she ducks, shutting the door after her. A prolonged rustle may be heard as the brood settle themselves in the dark, to rest on the warm hearth; with a mantle on the floor and another covering all their nakedness. The healthy baby, with eyes wide open, trying in vain to penetrate the gloom, disturbs the mother on the raised bed, who is now

CHAP. XXVIII. heard hushing and patting, hushing and patting, hushing and patting. A few nursery skirmishes, and all is still, within.

512 'Îrzhtâshk' says a man outside in the dark, yawning, 'it
512 is night—bed time.' 'Îrzhtâshk' is repeated by these men
788 of few words, rising. They separate for their different huts. Two to join our family party, stopping before the door, quietly make their short address to the moon, asking *it*[1] to be gracious, and that all may be well with the cattle and with the village. Again the door shuts. A little more settling: the snatch of a song: the low mutter of talk: the cry of the disturbed baby, and all again is hushed.

000 Îrzhtâshk, I iterate, and impressed with the lonely and exceptional beauty of the position, mount the hill; to see and to think. Not a sound is to be heard over the vast expanse, save the curious tick ticking of nature at work in the short grass. Overhead, the dear moon, now brilliant, pursuing her serene course in the transparent ether,

> 'this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestic
> roof fretted with golden fire,'

illumines hill and dale, close prospect and far distant view, miles away down in the plains below: now showing the rounded outlines of tracts of forest, and the spurs of receding hills: now throwing a brilliant dart through the poor man's woods close by; bringing out each stick of the gnarled trees with the free hand of an accomplished artist, and sheening gracefully into the women's secluded bathing place: then resting firmly and fully, but softly, on the roof of his humble dwelling in the open patch of hill side—the home, the sanctum—and counting his cattle in their pen; tinting each horn and moving shiny back of the living group, the better to see them. She traverses all his free domain; the undulating pastures and the lonely tarn: examines the single tree out on the wild,

[1] Some savage races reverence the moon as a god, ever in pursuit of the sun goddess; but the Todas are very ignorant, and do not know to what sexes these luminaries belong.

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under whose shelter the lads had sat last day. Such an interest she takes in all their haunts; like the moving spirit of a mother visiting her children in their sleep. A pitying look as if, though concerned but powerless to help, yet knowing their hidden future.

It is by night, and in such a climate, that nature assumes her most perfect expression as mother—bhumi tai—it is then that we note man, so like a child asleep in her bosom, throwing his cares upon her: he and his cattle and all that is most necessary, and all that is most dear; seemingly entrusting all to her in his hours of rest. All made for man's convenience and comfort! she appears to say. I have hushed him thus to sleep for ages! Daily I have lowered my pall of night over him, and have made my 'lesser light' so beautiful, he mistakes the work for its Creator! Here nature scarce acknowledges these primitives to be her failures. In the care she continues to take, she says they are my children, and of such all the world was once! They still need my care. They are human, and the germs of what is great!

Nature thus softens our feelings, and appeals to our lenient sense. You once were such as these! How forcibly do the words of Dante come up to disturb our unjust thoughts:

> A man
> Is born . . . and none is there
> . . . who doth read nor write;
> And all his inclinations and his acts,
> As far as human reason sees, are good;
> And he offendeth not in word or deed:
> But unbaptized he dies, and void of faith.
> Where is the justice that condemns him? Where
> His blame if he believeth not?—What then,
> And who art thou, that on the stool would'st sit
> To judge at distance of a thousand miles
> With the short-sighted vision of a span?[9]

ELLAM ULTAMA.

[9] Dante, 'Paradiso,' Canto xix., translated by Cary.

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A BRIEF OUTLINE

OF THE

GRAMMAR

OF THE

TUDA LANGUAGE

BY THE

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[*From a collection of Tuda words and sentences presented by the Rev. Friedrich Metz, of the Basel Missionary Society.*]

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NOTICE.

193 These outlines are the result of a good deal of personal intercourse with
114 the Tuḍas, during a residence of twelve years on the Nîlagiris. With the kind assistance of the late lamented J. W. Breeks, Esq., the First Commissioner of the Nîlagiris, the subject of the Tuḍa language was investigated a few years ago in connection with a small Archæological Society in Ootacamund. At the request of Colonel Marshall, I have put the results into this shape, to be printed in his work on the Tuḍas. I think that the facts of the language are here gathered together. It is becoming daily more difficult to ascertain what is originally Tuḍa and what is borrowed by that people from the later immigrants.

In one or two matters, I have ventured to differ from the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, whose Drâviḍian Grammar has invested such researches with a new interest. I advance my opinions with unfeigned diffidence. While agreeing in the main with that profound scholar, I yet think that the remarkable analogies between the Keltic and the Drâviḍian languages merit a more thorough investigation.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

OUTLINES

OF THE

TUḌA GRAMMAR.

I. THE ALPHABET.

§ 1. THE TUḌA LANGUAGE has no compositions, written or unwritten, not a ballad nor a scrap of anything to indicate intellectual activity. The Tuḍas, like their buffalos, are fine animals; but they are the least cultivated of the Drâviḍian races. CHAP. XXIX. 212

No trace remains of the employment by them of any written character: it is probable, therefore, that they separated from the other Drâviḍians before the 'ur-sprache' of those tribes was reduced to writing.

§ 2. This language, of which but a very scanty fragment remains in use, has more sounds than any other Drâviḍian dialect, and some of these are peculiar to it, seeming to have been modified by the position and habits of the tribe. 194

The Tuḍas chiefly converse in the open air, calling to each other from one breezy hill-top to another. Their speech sounds like Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind. 191

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§ 3. The vowels are:

Short.	Long.
1. **a**, as in 'America.' Ex. **atham**, *he.*	6. **â**, as **aw**, in 'bawl.' Ex. **âl**, *a man.*
2. **i**, as in 'pin.' Ex. **nim**, *your.*	7. **î**, as in 'pique.' Ex. **nî**, *thou.*
3. **u**, as in 'Cǫǫk.' Ex. **ulg**, *within.*	8. **û**, as in 'Schǫǫl.' Ex. **mûdu**, *three.*
4. **e**, as in 'hem.' Ex. **yenak**, *to me.*	9. **ê**, as **a** in 'pale.' Ex. **êt**, *why?*
5. **o**, as in 'opinion.' Ex. **kor**, *cold.*	10. **ô**, as in 'opium.' Ex. **ôm**, *we.*

Some of these are occasionally modified; thus,

ö sounds as in German, or as **eu** in French, in 'fleur.'

Ex. **tökh**, *female.*

ü, as in German, or as **u** in French, in 'pur.'

Ex. **ütah**, *five.*

u, at the end of a word, has a very fine sound, approaching to an **i**. The Drâviḍian 'half **u**.'

a, in the last syllable of a word, sounds like a very short **a**

ô and **â** are almost always interchangeable: thus, the Kanarese *kâl* is in Tuḍa **kôl**.

§ 4. The Consonants are:

1. **k**, as in 'kalendar.'	Ex. **âḍkan**, *I play.*
2. **g**, as in 'gun.'	Ex. **avalg**, *to her.*
3. **k'h**, as in 'blockhead.'	Ex. **mokh**, *a son.*
4. **g'h**, as in 'loghouse.'	Ex. any final **g** may be aspirated
5. **j**, as in 'jam.'	Ex. **majjal**, *yellow.*
6. **ch**, as in 'chin.'	Ex. **chen**, *red.*
7. **ṭ**, as in 'ten.'	Ex. **ṭerigi**, *again.*
8. **th**, as in 'this.'	Ex. **atham**, *he.*
9. **th**, as in 'thin.'	Ex. **nilthkan**, *I stand.*
10. **d**, as in 'dog.'	Ex. **nâd**, *wet.*
11. **ṭ**, lingual.	Ex. **muṭṭikan**, *I feel.*
12. **ḍ**, lingual.	Ex. **kûḍa**, *together.*
13. **p**, as in 'pen.'	Ex. **pui**, *strike.*

14. f, as in 'fun.'	Ex. pûf, *an insect.*
15. b, as in 'bull.'	Ex. boath, *a conical temple.*
16. v, as in 'very.'	Ex. vêr, *another.*
17. b'h.	Ex. bhût, *a demon.*
18. m, as in 'man.'	Ex. âm, *Tuesday.*
19. n, as in 'no.'	Ex. tani, *Saturday.*
20. l, hard, lingual.	Ex. beḷḷi, *Friday.*
21. r, hard, lingual.	Ex. âṛ, *six.*
22. s.	Ex. âsvom, *Sunday.*
23. sh.	Ex. ittah, *five.*
24. zh.	Ex. êlzh, *seven.*

§ 5. It is difficult to decide whether all these sounds belong to the Tuḍa itself. The aspirates especially, except kh and eh, are, it may be suspected, foreign to it.

§ 6. Some of them seem to have arisen from the lingual ṛ, which is found in all the South-Indian languages, and which existed in the oldest forms of the Drâviḍian. In Madras it is sounded y, and in Tinnevelly l. In Telugu it is softened into r, or changed into t or d. It is a kind of triple r, sounded very far back in the throat, thus seeming to be a mixture of r, l, and z.

It resembles the Welsh ll. (Comp. § 43.)

Thus Kan. *ḷlu*	and Tam.	ḷṛu, *seven*,	make in	Tuḍa	elzh.
" *kḷ*	"	kḷṛ, *under*	"	"	kirzh.
" *burude*	"	puṛuti, *mud*	"	"	purzh.

§ 7. It may be stated as a rule that the Tuḍa sh and zh, (which are strong linguals) generally represent a final l or ḷ of the Kanarese:

Old Kan. and Tam.	*pal* (*lu*)		in Tuḍa	parsh.
" "	*âḷi*, *âri*, circle		"	ârsh.
" "	*bil* (*lu*), *vil*, a bow		"	virsh.
" "	*puli*, tiger		"	pürsh.

§ 8. Sometimes sh is the equivalent for the other linguals; thus,

Old Kan. and Tam. *haraḍi*, a bear, is karsh.

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§ 9. The letter **f** is pronounced by the Tuḍas full and clear, while any other Drâviḍian race would pronounce 'first' as *pirsht*, the sound of sharp **f** being unknown to them; as are some other sharp sounds, such as *th* in *thin*, and *s* in *sin*.

I think the Tuḍa **f** sound has arisen, as in English, from the corruption of a guttural or lingual.

Enough has become with us *enuf*.

So the Tuḍa **pûf**, 'an insect,' is probably Old Kan. *purlu*.

It must, however, be stated that the words in which **f** is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace. Thus,

mûruf is 'nose' (? Kan. *mûtte*, 'projecting').
mâf is a 'Baḍagan' (? (Kan.) *mâva*, 'father-in-law,' (used as a term of respect).
or a 'deer' (? *mân*).

§ 10. The lingual ḍ of the Kan. is in Tuḍa sometimes represented by **r**; thus,

nar-k-en, 'I walk.' (Kan. root *naḍ*).
nôr, 'district.' (Kan. nâḍ).

§ 11. **Th** (as in *thin*) and **sh** (lingual) are often euphonically (?) inserted in Tuḍa words. This is quite a Tuḍa peculiarity.

The former sound is not at all Drâviḍian (though it is Keltic); and the latter is only found in the other D. dialects in Sanskrit derivatives.

Sh is, however, quite the favourite Tuḍa sound.

Thus, **nilthken**, *I stand.* (§ 26.)
K. **Nil** + temp. part. **k** + inflectionable part. **en**.

Here **th** is a mere euphonic insertion.

Ershken, *I am.*
R. **er** + K. + **en**.

Here, too, **sh** is probably a mere euphonic insertion.

§ 12. In Tuḍa **v** or **w** is optionally pronounced before **o** initial; thus, **vodd** = *one*; but in the compound we find **oddi-adi** = *alone* (lit. one-step); and **on** or **or** is the Drâviḍian root. So in English 'one' is pronounced 'won.' CHAP. XXIX. 194

The possession of this sound of **w** is one of the many noteworthy analogies between the Keltic languages and the Drâviḍian.

So **y** may, as in the other Drâv. dialects, be prefixed to any word beginning with **e**. Thus, **enak** or **yenak** = *to me*.

This, too, is found in English, and is probably due to Keltic influences: *ewe* is pronounced *yew*.

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§ 13. Tuḍa nouns have no inflections for number or gender. 193

§ 14. The Nominative, Accusative, Vocative, and Genitive cases are alike, being the unaltered root.

§ 15. The inflectional particles in use are, (1) for the dative, **g** or **k**; (2) for the instrumental ablative and the ablative of remotion, **end** (or **edd**); and (3) for the local ablative **orzh**.

These correspond very exactly to the Old Kanarese, *ge*, *inda*, and *of* (comp. § 43).

§ 16. The following is a **Paradigm** of a Tuḍa noun:

	âl, *a man*
N. Acc. Voc. Gen.	**âl**, *a man*
Dat.	**âlg**, *to* or *for a man*
Abl. (instrum. and remotion)	**âlend** (**âlodd**), *by* or *from a man*
(place) . . .	**âlorzh**, *in a man*.

§ 17. Since the nominative, accusative, and genitive cases are alike, it is chiefly by position that the syntax of a Tuḍa sentence is regulated. A noun immediately before a transitive verb is the object; while a noun before another noun is in the genitive case, or qualifies it like an adjective.

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In the latter case **ad**, the root of the epicene pronoun of the 3rd person, appears to be sometimes inserted, making what looks like a genitive case.

This resembles the Kan. usage. In that language, certain nouns add **d** to the root to form the inflectional base, which is used for any case. The Tamil adds *thu* (*th* flat) to the root to form a genitive.

§ 18. The Tuḍa pronouns are irregular, but correspond very closely to those of the other Drâviḍian dialects.

§ 19. THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

(1) The pronoun of the 1st person.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	**ân**, *I*	**ôm, âm**, *we*
Acc.	**yen**, *me*	**yem, âm**, *us*
Gen.	**yen ; yen-adu**, *my, mine*	**yem ; yem-adu**, *our, ours*
Dat.	**yen-ak**, *to* or *for me*	**yem-ak**, *to* or *for us*
Abl.	**yen-end** / **-edd** *from me.*	**yem-end, âm-end, âm-edd** *from us*

Note.—The original form of the Drâviḍian pronoun of the 1st person is uncertain.

(1.) In the oldest dialect of Tamil and in Tulu it is *yán*, in Old Kanarese ân, in Old Telugu ênu, in Malayalim njân.

(2.) The inflections of this pronoun in nearly all the cognate languages have *en* ; and in the oldest forms *y* is prefixed at pleasure to all cases beginning with *e*.

(3.) The pronoun when appended to the Drâviḍian verb in *an*, *en*, ini, eni, én.

(4.) In later Tamil Kanarese and Telugu we find forms nân, nâm, and nénu, in the Nom. Singular ; and nâm, mému in the Nom. Plural. This *n* or *ṅ* I do not regard as primitive, since it is wanting in all the old forms. The Drâviḍian languages prefix *n* to several words which they have received from other languages. Thus the Sanskrit *yuga* is in Tamil *nugam* ; and *nangûram* is the form in which the word *anchor* has settled down in the Drâviḍian dialects. I can see how *n* might have crept in ; I cannot imagine its disappearance from every ancient dialect.

(5.) This is not the place for a full discussion of the subject ; but I would compare *ân* with the very ancient form S. *aham*.

Nor can I think it clear that ôm is not related to the Sanskrit **vayam**, or to the Greek ἡμεῖς or ἄμμες, and Védic *asmê*.

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§ 20. (2) The pronoun of the 2nd person.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom. Voc.	nî	nim-a
Acc. Gen.	nin	nim
Dat.	nin-ak	nim-ak nim, nim-adu
Abl.	nin-end or nin-edd, *by* or *from thee* nin-orzh, *in thee*	nim-end, nim-edd nim-oṛzh

This closely resembles the ancient Kanarese and Tamil.

I do not know whether it is of use to point out the Drâviḍian root *nil*, 'stand,' with its past part. in Kan. *ninu*, as the possible origin of this pronoun.

Here n is, I think, undoubtedly radical.

§ 21. The pronoun of the 3rd person in Tuḍa (which is really a demonstrative pronoun, or adjective) has the peculiarity, that like the Latin *se*, it has no inflection for gender or number.

Thus atham=*he, she, it, they.*

[Generally *m* is an indistinct nasal, the anuswâra of the Sanskrit.]

It is declined like âl (§ 16).

N. A. G.	atham
Dat.	athan-g
Abl.	ath-end, atham-edd, athamend atham-orzh, ath-orzh

The resemblance to S. adas is remarkable.

Kan. âtanu=he; adu=it.

It will be remarked that the verbal forms of the 3rd person make no distinction of number or gender. (Comp. § 26.)

This is a remote demonstrative (ille, &c.); itham is used for the proximate (hic, &c.).

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Besides this oldest form the Tuḍa uses the pronouns

avan (ille); **ivan** (hic)
aval (illa); **ival** (hæc)
with their plurals
avar; **ivar**, which are declined like **âl**, with the addition of a kind of genitive in *du*: avandu, &c.

Here **avan**, &c., are the remote demonstratives, and **ivan**, &c., the proximate demonstratives.

These appear to be forms recently introduced, or, it may be, reintroduced into Tuḍa from Kanarese or Tamil.

Avandu=avan+du, and is prefixed to a noun adjectivally, and so forms a kind of genitive case: *avandu kukh*=his wife. (§ 17.)

The use of **a** and **i** as demonstrative prefixes is thoroughly Drâviḍian.

The root of this pronoun is evidently **d**.

§ 22. TUḌA ADVERBS.

(1) Words answering to English adverbs exist in Tuḍa. Some of them are also used as nouns, some are parts of the verb.

(2) The following list includes nearly all that are in use.

1. *yes*	**hâ**	These seem to be really interjections.
2. *no*	**âha**	
3. *here, there, where*	**ite, ate, ete**	Here the *i, a, e*, as demonstrative and interrogative particles appear.
4. *why*	**ôte**	T. and K.
5. *how*	**yetete**	Reduplicate of ete. (3.)
6. *who, what?*	**athario**	Atham=*it*, âr=*who?* ô an interrogative particle.
7. *above*	**mêl, mok**	*Mêl* is Drâviḍian. Mok from Sansk.=*before*.
8. *below*	**kli, erk**	Kan. keḷa, irrida. Tam. klr, irrakka.
9. *before* (place)	**mud**	Drâviḍ. *mun*, mundu.
before (time)	**much**	Kan. *munche*.

10. *behind*	pinne	A. Kan. *pinde.*
11. *outside*	porram	A. Kan. pora. purram in T.
12. *inside*	ulg	Ul, *within*, in the dative case.
13. *much*	upâm	A. K. *ubbarige.* In Kan. Tam. and Tel. *up* or *ub* is a root signifying increase. Comp. Sansk. upari.
14. *more* [comp. (23)=*yet much*]	innupâm	
15. *near*	kekhuri	This seems to be a corruption of Kan. *kaige* ol=*in hand* or *at hand.*
16. *far*	bathki	*Badike*=near, in K.
17. *also, together*	kûḍa	Infin. of Kûḍu, *come together.*
18. *alone*	oddi-aḍi	Odd=one. aḍi=*step, a time.*
19. *frequently*	upâm-aḍi	Comp. (13)=more-step.
20. *soon, suddenly*	birnd	Kan. biri-biri (§ 34.)
21. *again*	terigi	Kan. *tirige.*
22. *enough*	ettana	In Tamil=*this much.* Kan. ittani=the whole.
23. *yet*	in	Kan. *innu*, more, yet.
24. *when*	etwan	Compare (3).
25. *then*	atwan	
26. *now*	itwan	
27. *for ever*	etwan-etwan	Lit.=when- when.
28. *another*	in odd=yet one.	

§ 23. TUḌA ADJECTIVES.

(1) There are a few words which appear to be adjectives by nature; but the majority are merely nouns placed before other nouns to qualify or limit their meaning.

(2) The following list contains some of the adjectives now in common use.

1. *good*	ulthe	*ol, olli, ollida*, in Kan. *thi*=*thu* or *du* or *di*,
2. *pretty*	nal	*nal* in O. Kan., and Tam., and in the other Drâv. dialects.
3. *old*	kel	*Kiṛa* in Tam., *kerr* in O. Kan.

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4. *big*	êt-ud	*ett*=elevation, in Tamil. In Kan. *ēḷda*=having risen	*ud* in *ettud* and in *kirud* is evidently *atham* =it.
5. *little*	kin, kir-ud	Tam. *çin, çirridu*. Kan. *kin, kir*	
6. *hot*	bîrsh	Kan. *bisi, bishi, bisilu*	
7. *cold*	kor	Drâviḍian root is *kuḷ*	
8. *wet*	nâd	This is Kan. *nâd, nân, nând*	
9. *dry*	voṇag	K. *oṇa, oṇagu*. In Tam. *uṇa*	This *g* or *gu* a strengthening part. in K. and T.
10. *male*	têk-an	*an* is the Drâv. masc. term.	Here seems to be an internal modification of a root to distinguish gender.
11. *female*	tökh	These words cannot be traced to any Drâviḍian root. *dêham*= body. *tô-gai* is a poet. word for woman	
12. *white*	bel-thi, belp	Kan. *beḷ*	
13. *red*	chen, bâkh-gudi, kandati, kepu	Kan. *chen*, kudi, *kanda*, *kempu*	
14. *yellow*	majjal	Tam. *manjal*	
15. *black, blue, green*	kar-thti	Kan. *kari*	
16. *other*	vêr	Kan. *bêre*. Tam. *vêrru*.	
17. *great*	perud		

(3) These roots, probably among the oldest in the language, are, with hardly an exception, common to all the Drâviḍian languages; but the peculiarities of the Kanarese are found in the Tuḍa.

§ 24. Forms answering to the comparative and superlative degrees are obtained by putting a noun in the 'ablative of

remotion' before the adjective; and by prefixing the adverb *upâm* = much.

Thus: **athumed-kirud**, *smaller than it*
âḷed-êtud, *greater than a man*
upâm-êtud, upâmkirud, *greatest, smallest*

§ 25. THE TUḌA VERBS.

(1) The Tuḍa verb has I. an affirmative form consisting of an indicative mood and an imperative mood; II. a negative form, with the same two moods.

(2) It has two tenses: I. An indefinite tense, which is present or future; II. A past tense.

(3) There are fragments of other forms which can only be conjecturally restored.

§ 26. The verb '*to-be*' is thus inflected.

Root **er**.

I. Affirmative Form.

Indicative Mood.

(I) Indefinite Present.

Singular.	Plural.
1. (**ân**) **er-sh-k-en**, *I am*	(**ôm**) **er-sh-k-imi**
2. (**nî**) **er-sh-ch-i**	(**nima**) **er-sh-ch-i**
3. (**avan**) **er-sh-ch-i**	(**avar**) **er-sh-ch-i**

(II) Indefinite Past.

Singular.	Plural.
1 (**ân**) **edd-er-sh-p-ini**, *I was*	(**ôm**) **edd-er-sh-p-imi**
2 (**nî**) } **edd-er-sh-ch-i**	(**nima**) } **edd-er-sh-ch-i**
3 (**avan**). }	(**avar**) }

This is evidently a compound form obtained by prefixing **edd** to the present tense: **edd** being for **erd**. (§ 30.)

The 1st pers. sing. takes what seems to be an alternative form in **p-ini**: **ershpini**=**ershken**.

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Sh is the Tuḍa substitute for **k**: **shk**=**kk**
Ch is a softened form of **k**: so in Saxon, spæc=*speech*
sceal=*shall*.

Imperative Mood.

ìru, *be thou*
ir-mâ, *let it be*.

Of this **mâ** I can give no explanation.

II. NEGATIVE FORM.

(I) Indefinite Present: *I, &c., am not.*

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. **ir-emi**	**ir-emi**
2. **ir-e**	**ir-e**
3. **ir-adi**	**ir-adi**

(II) Indefinite Past: *I, &c., was not.*

1. **er-th-emi**	**er-th-emi**
2. **er-th-e**	**er-th-e**
3. **er-th-adi**	**er-th-adi**

§ 27. The Verb **âḍ**, *dance*, is thus inflected.

I. AFFIRMATIVE FORM.

Indicative Mood.

(I) Indefinite Present: *I, &c., dance.*

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. **âḍ-k-en**	**âḍ-k-emi**
2. **âḍ-ch-i**	**âḍ-ch-i**
3. **âḍ-ch-i**	**âḍ-ch-i**

(II) Indefinite Past: *I, &c., danced.*

1. **âḍ-th-b-ini**	**âḍ-th-b-imi**
2. } **âḍ-th-ch-i**	**âḍ-th-ch-i**
3. }	

Imperative Mood.

pui, *strike!*
pui mâ, *let him strike!*

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II. Negative Form.

Indicative Mood.

(I) Indefinite Present: *I, &c., dance not.*

Singular.	Plural.
1. ȧḍ-emi	ȧḍ-emi
2. ȧḍ-e	ȧḍ-e
3. ȧḍ-adi	ȧḍ-adi

(II) Indefinite Past: *I, &c., danced not.*

1. ȧṭa ger-th-emi	ȧṭa ger-th-emi
2. ȧṭa ger-th-e	ȧṭa ger-th-e
3. ȧṭa ger-th-adi	ȧṭa ger-th-adi

Imperative Mood.

pui ad iru } *strike not!*
pui ȧṭu }

N.B. Of these, one is Kan. and the other Tamil.

§ 28. It will be seen from these paradigms that the Tuḍa, like the other Drâviḍian dialects, has *temporal particles*, which are inserted between the root and the personal terminations. In the present tense affirmative the temporal particle is K, which is softened into CH (as in *Church*), before I.

In the 1st persons S. and P. a *p* or *b* (it is pronounced both ways) is occasionally found. This may have some connexion with the temporal particle found in the present, in Old Kanarese, which is DAP.

This is almost the only part of the Tuḍa language that seems to indicate great antiquity. It is, however, Old Kanarese.

In ordinary Kanarese there is scarcely a trace of the *k*, which being softened into *h*, or *v*, has finally disappeared.

In Tamil it remains in the temporal particle of the present *Kirru* or *Girru*; in a strengthening particle *gu* added to many roots; and in some old poetical forms, such as *ṣey-gu* = I will do; *ṣey-gum*, we will do.

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In Malayalim it is still found in the present of many verbs in the form of *kunnu*.

In the old form Kanarese *bê-ku*, 'must,' it is preserved; as also in *çâ-ku*, 'it is enough.'

In Old Kanarese *kum* and *gum* may be appended to any root to form an aorist. This admits no variation for number or person. Thus *avar mâḍugum* = they do.

In the past the *temporal particle* is TH (as in *thin*). This is *d* in Kanarese.

The negative mode is obtained by joining the root to the personal termination without the intervention of any temporal particle. This is common to all the Drâviḍian languages.

§ 29. The personal terminations are for the

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
I. Pers.	*en, eni, ini*	*imi, emi*
II. Pers.	*i, e*	
III. Pers.	*i, adi*	

These are shortened forms of the pronouns. See §§ 19–21.

§ 30. There are also in Tuḍa traces of other verbal forms which are peculiar to the Drâviḍian family of languages.

The relative participle, or adjective form of the verb, is one of these.

In the day when I joined, is in Tuḍa:

ân kûḍid nâḷorah
[*I joined day-in*].

Here *kûḍid* is in Kanarese *kûḍida*, and is called a 'relative participle,' qualifying *day*, and being equivalent to *when (I) joined*, thus including in itself the relative adverb.

So, **ân âḍid nâḷ**, *the day I danced.*
Thus **odd** is = Kan. *idda*, 'which was.' (§ 26.)

§ 31. Tuḍa also forms a verbal noun, a kind of infinitive, from verbs ending in a flat consonant by changing the flat into its corresponding sharp, as in all the other Drâviḍian languages.

Thus âḍ, *dance* or *play*, makes

âṭa, *dancing* [Tam. aḍu, aṭṭam; Kan. áḍu, áṭa, and in Tel. the same].

The past tense of the negative form is thus:

âṭa ger-ṭh-eni
dancing did-(not)-I. (§ 27.)

And here (1) Is not *ger-th* singularly like the Sanskrit *krita*, done? Surely this is the KAR of the Indo-Germanic 'grundsprache.'
(2) May this not throw light on the Tamil temporal particle *kirru*? and probably on the K. (§ 28.)
(3) Does it not seem that the negative particle in such forms is really dropped? The emphatic 'dancing-did-I' remains, and the formula of negation has perished. (Comp. Earle's Philology of the English Tongue, p. 427.)

§ 32. In examining the forms of the verb still surviving among the Tuḍas, it becomes evident that many verbal inflections have been dropped. We have, it seems, but the débris of an elaborate inflectional system. There was probably a future tense with *temporal particle* v, p, or b, as in Kanarese and Tamil. This has disappeared, as in Saxon, and the present (like the English indefinite present) is now used as a future with an adverb. The forms **âḍ-th-b-ini** and **er-ah-p-imi** are probably remnants of it. (§ 27.)

§ 33. An infinitive mood in **a** perhaps existed; for the adverb **kûḍa** is the infinitive of **kûḍ**, unless indeed this is a word of recent importation. (§ 22.)

§ 34. The adverb *birnd*, 'suddenly,' seems to be from a root which is found in Old Kanarese, *biri*, 'burst,' and in

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Tamil *viṛu*, 'fall,' from which, in the latter dialect, the past adv. participle, *viṛundu*, is formed. There is, therefore, a trace of a *past adv.* part. (§ 22.)

§ 35. There is no passive inflection in Tuḍa.

§ 36. The interrogative forms are obtained by adding **â**, which, as in Tamil and in Old Kanarese, is the chief interrogative particle.

Thus *has Beḷiâni joined?* is, **Beḷiâni kûḍthiyâ?**

E and **ô** are also interrogative letters in Tuḍa.

§ 37. It is not easy to decide whether the Tuḍa retains any trace of a subjunctive mood.

The following sentence seems to contain something equivalent to it.

Atham Nastufig kûḍâ vaḷi, kukh in odd âḷk ûdthchi
He to Nastufi not joining (marrying) when, (the) woman yet one man has married.
If he do not marry Nastufi, she will marry another man.

Here **kûḍâ** is apparently a negative participle qualifying the noun **vaḷi**=time (Kan. *vêḷe*).

The forms **pôk-âdi** and **pôk-ârzh** are found with the meaning *of go.* Here **âdi** and **ârzh** are joined to the root. They seem to be the Kan. **arê** or Tam. **âl.** But they are probably borrowed from Tamil.

The verbal root is the imperative of 2nd pers. sing.; thus, **âḍ**, *play thou.* Another form adds **mâ** to the root; thus, **pui-mâ**, *strike thou.*

§ 38. The Tuḍa has neither prepositions nor conjunctions. This want of 'link words' is an index of the entire absence of the habit of reasoning.

§ 39. By way of illustration, I added a few sentences.

SENTENCES.

(The words are in the subjoined lists.)

(1) When I married Beḷiâni I was a widow.
ân Beḷiânig kûḍid nâḷerzh ân barudi.
I to-Beḷiâni joined in-day I widow.

(2) Is Nastufi married?
Nastufig beḷthta gavthyâ?
to-Nastufi silver tied?
beḷthta=*silver badge.* (In Kan. **beḷḷe**=*silver*+ (?) **âli**= *marriage token.*)
gavthyâ=*gavth*+**à** or **yà**.
This seems to be an adv. part.=*having tied* (§ 34), followed by the interrog. (§ 36).

(3) Is Beliâni married?
Beḷiâni kukhag kûḍṭhyâ?
Beḷiâni to-a woman joined?
kukhag. Here *a* is inserted to connect **kukh** with its case ending *g*.

(4) Your wife walks not with my wife.
Nin kaṭṭ-vodi-kukh yen kaṭṭ-vodi—kukh naḍevadi.
nade vadi (§ 27). Kan. nade=*walk.*
v is a Euphonic insertion.

(5) My uncle's sons are my brothers.

Yen perudên	**kirudên mokh yen**	**aṇan**	**taman**	
My great-father	*little-father son my*	*elder-brother*	*younger-brother*	
	erhschi.			
	are.			

yen (§ 19) **perud, kirud** (§ 23).
aṇan (K. aṇa=*elder brother.* The R. seem to mean *above.*)
taman (K. tamma=*younger brother*).
ên (K. ayya=*father, priest*).
ershchi (§ 26).

The final **n**, as the termination of masculine nouns, here seems to be fairly in the language; but I suspect it is only an obscure nasal, not differing from the epicene ending **m** in **stham**.

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(6) That one's father and this one's father are brothers-in-law (relatives).

atham ên itham ên bêâḷ
That father this father related-man
atham, itham (§ 21)
bêâl (bê the root of the Kan. Impersonal verb *bêku*+âḷ (§ 16)).

It will be seen that the Tuḍas now use no conjunctions, a sign of their degeneracy. 'Link words' of all kinds are wanting. In fact, Tuḍa has scarcely any 'symbolic' words, except pronouns, and the smallest possible supply of these.

(7) Beḷiâni is married, but has no son.

Beḷiâni kukh kûḍthchi, mokh illaḍe edd
illade (Kan. *illada*=what is not)
edd=*having been* (§ 30)

The finite verb **orshchi** is understood.

§ 40. LISTS OF WORDS.

I. Verbal Roots.

1. *am, sit*	er	Dr. *ir, urr, uḷ* (Sansk. इ).
2. *see*	kân-th	K. *kâṇ.*
	nôḍ-th	K. *nôd.*
3. *hear*	kêḷ-th	K. *kêḷ.*
4. *feel, touch*	muṭṭi	K. *muṭṭ.*
5. *taste*	bâi kân-th	=see (with the) mouth.
6. *smell*	mittu[illegible]th	=see (with the) nose.
7. *dream*	kanas kâṇ-th	=I see a vision. K. *kanas.*
8. *laugh*	kar-th	K. *chiri-chu.*
9. *weep*	âḍ	K. *aḷu.* T. *aṛu.* (S. *aṛru.*)
10. *sing*	ka-th âḍ	=I play a story. K. *kaṭhe.* S. *kathâ.*
11. *shout*	A ! U ! bishar-th	=I cry A ! U ! K. *bicchâd.*
12. *talk*	arvorkh	K. *alavâke*=loquacity.
13. *dance, play*	âḍ	K. *âḍ.*
14. *stand*	nil-th	K. *nil.*
15. *walk*	naṛ	K. *naḍ.*
16. *run*	voḍi	K. *ôḍ.*
17. *lie down*	vori	probably a variation of 25.

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18. *give*	**tash**	K. *tar-u.*
19. *clean*	**ârzp**	K. *ālḍu*=to dip; *alasu*, to rinse.
20. *bow, salute*	**kombuddi**	K. *kumbu*+iḍu.
21. *ask*	**bind er-th**	K. *bēḍ.* Tam. *vēṇḍ.*
22. *strike*	**pui**	K. *poḍe.* Old Kan. *poy-u.*
23. *kill*	**kôḍigidviti**	K. *kōḍ*=destruction. O.K. *geidu*, made. Is vi a causal inflection?
24. *die*	**kôdiverti**	(? Sansk. VRIT. Dr. padu.)
25. *sleep*	**vorikh**	K. *orag-u.*
26. *do, make*	**gei**	Ọ. K. *gē, gei.*
27. *take*	**va-th, ba-th**	K. *hatt* or *patt.*
28. *join*	**kûḍ-th**	K. *kūḍ.*
29. *tie on*	**gav-th**	K. *kaṭṭ* (but ? *kavi*=put on).
30. *negative verb*	**il**	K. *il.*
31. *it thunders*	**yêr-th-ti**	K. *yere.*
32. *go*	**pôk**	K.

§ 41. II. NOUNS.

1. *a span*	**gên**	(Kan. *gēṇu.* Tam. *sāṇ.*)
2. *a foot*	**eddgên, aḍi**	(K. *aḍi*).
3. *a cubit*	**mlâ, mlâgei**	(K. *moḷa*).
4. *a pace*	**kandaf**	(?)
5. *a name*	**pêru, hesru**	(Kan.)
6. *a nickname*	**porra-hesru**	(=outside name) (Kan.)
7. *a collection*	**kûṭu**	(Kan.)
8. *medicine*	**maddu**	(K. *maddu.* Tam. *maruntu*).
9. *dowry*	**kōikuli**	
10. *friend*	**yenkâḷ**	(Lit.=a man to me, §§ 16, 19).
11. *old man*	**keḷâḷ**	(A. K. *heṛiva*, § 6).
12. *old woman*	**keḷachi**	(K. *heṛ.* Fem. term. *ti* or *chi* is Dr.).
13. *family*	**kûṭasâram**	(Sansk.)

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14. *relation*	aṇatama	(K. *ana*=elder brother; *tama*=younger brother).
	pâltiâl	(K. *pâl*).
	pâyâl	(K. *bâ*+*âl*).
15. *ancestor*	mûpu	(K. *mûppu*=old).
16. *clan*	(No Tuḍa word)	
17. *man, person, husband*	âl	
18. *a young man*	varsh	(S. *bâla*).
19. *son, boy*	mokh	(K. *magu*); popen. (?) tîj mokh=daughter (§ 23).
20. *woman, girl, daughter, wife*	kukh	(? Comp. S. *gukya*. Tam. *kokku*, *kongu*. Perhaps a depreciatory word connected with the root *kuṅ*).
21. *father*	appn, êyan, ân	(Kan.)
22. *mother*	avv	(Kan. *avva*).
23. *wife*	kâṭvoti	(Kan. *kattubaḍi* = one bound).
24. *bachelor*	mokh-varah	
25. *child*	kin-mokh (m.), tîj-mokh (f.) (§ 23)	
26. *child* (infant)	popen (m.) (?)	
	kin-minthki (f.)	(*Kin.* § 23, *minthki* is of uncertain origin; ? *manushi*: probably a pet word).
27. *twins*	mor-mokh	(perhaps *mor* = *marr* = other).
28. *orphan*	tobbâri	(K. *tobbili*).
29. *widower*	baruḍa	(A. K. *baraḍa*=empty).
30. *widow*	muḍegitti, barudi	(K. *muṇḍe*).
31. *great-grandfather*	pêvian	pî or pêvi +21, 22 {*pî*, *pêvi*, forms of *piri*, 'great.'
32. *great-grandmother*	pêviavv	
33. *grandfather*	pîyan	
34. *grandmother*	pîyavv	
35. *brother* (younger)	emnorvet	(em=my, or=one, vet=*patta*, which in A. K.=brought forth).
36. *brother* (elder)	ennan	(*en*+*an*. Kan.).
37. *brother* or *sister* (younger)	enta	(Lit.=that one).

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38. *sister* (elder)	en akka	(Kan.).
39. *mother-in-law, father's sister*	mâmi	(Kan.).
40. *father-in-law, mother's brother*	mâman	(Kan.).
41. *son's wife*	mortwirth	(? Tam. *maru-magal*).
42. *daughter's husband*	enman mokh	
43. *father's brother* (elder)	ennan perud	
44. *father's brother* (younger)	ennan kirud	
45. *mother's sister* (elder)	perud avv	
46. *mother's sister* (younger)	kirud avv	
47. *husband's brother* (elder)	yen âl ennan	
48. *husband's brother* (younger)	yen âl norvet	
49. *wife's sister* (elder)	yen kâtvoti akkan	
50. *wife's sister* (younger)	yen kâtvoti norvet kukh	
51. *wife's brother*	pâyâl	
52. *spear*	îṭ	(Kan.).
53. *bow*	virsh	(§ 7).
54. *arrow*	âbu	(Kan., Tam., Tel., Mal. *ambu*. Here the Tuḍa has dropped *m*, and lengthened the vowel, as compensation.)
55. *knife*	tûri	(K. *dûru*, go through).
56. *club*	kuṇḍu	(K. *guṇḍu*).
57. *net*	balle	(K. *bâle*).
58. *axe*	mosht	(? A. Tam. *mayi*).
59. *hatchet*	kûrvâl	(K. *kûr*=sharp; *bâl-u*=knife. This is the exact Tamil; a Poligar word?).

N. B.—No Tuḍa word for *cow*, *plough*, *sword*, or *shield*.

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60. *buffalo* (male)	êsht	(*êrru*=ascend, is the Drâv. for the male of any animal).
61. *buffalo* (female)	er	(Kan. *emme*. Tam. *erumai*. Mal. *erima*. Tel. *enumu*).
62. *calf* (male)	koan	(Kan. *kand-u*=a calf).
63. *calf* (female)	karr	(K. *karu*=a calf.)
64. *deer*	mâf	(Dr. *mân*).
65. *dog*	nai	(Kan.)
66. *dog* (wild)	chen-nai	(Red-dog § 23).
67. *cat*	kotti	(Kan. *kotti*).
68. *tiger*	pürah	(§ 7).
69. *bear*	karah	(§ 8).
70. *snake*	pàb	(Kan. *pâv-u*. Tam. *pâmb-u*. Tel. *pâm-u*).
71. *mouse*	irah	(Kan. *ili*=a rat).
72. *bird*	bilti	(Kan. *beḷ* seems to be the root of it).
73. *crow*	kàk	(Kan.).
74. *sparrow*	gubbi bilti	(See 72: Kan. *gubbi*=sparrow).
75. *fish*	mîn	(Kan.).
76. *insect*	pûf	(§ 9).
77. *butterfly*	kappan	(?).
78. *louse*	pên	(Kan.).
79. *bird's nest*	bilt-gûdu	(Kan.).
80. *bird's egg*	much	(Tam. *muṭṭai*. Kan. *guḍḍu*).
81. *village*	mand, madd	(K. *mande*=herd).
82. *house, room*	ârah	(*âri* = ring, circular enclosure, or *arrai*=room, in Drâv.).
83. *cattle-pen*	tuel	(Dr. *toṛu* = fold. A. K. *turu*=cow).
84. *dairy*	pâlthehi	(*pâl*+?).
85. *village-wall*	tuar	(Tam. *ṭuvar*; *ṭ* and *t* are interchangeable).
86. *fire-place*	vorah, vorah-kâll	(K. *ole*. § 6).
87. *milk-pail*	honnu	(? Tam. *pânṉi*).
88. *cattle-bell*	kenku or keng, getto	
89. *milk*	pâl	(A. K. *pâl*).

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90. *ghee* (clarified butter)	nei	(A. K. *neyi*).
91. Affixes to names of villages	gadu, gudu, iri, ari	Drâ. *kuḍi*=tenancy, habitation. iri, ari, from root *er*.

92. *head*	madd	(K. *maṇḍe*).
93. *skull*	madd-uvar	
94. *face*	konmun	
95. *eye*	kannu	(K.).
96. *nose*	mituf	(*mitte*, a projection+?).
97. *mouth*	bâi	(K.).
98. *ear*	kevi	(K. *kivi*).
99. *tooth*	parsh	(K. *pal-lu*, § 6).
100. *hand*	kei	(K.).
101. *foot*	kâl	(K.).
102. *finger*	beḷh	(K. *beraḷ-u*).
103. *toe*	kàl belh	(=foot-finger).
104. *navel*	pokku	(A. Kan. *pokkuḷ-u*).
105. *blood*	bâkh	(?) The word means *red*; comp. *râg*.
106. *membrum virile*	boḍḍ	(Kan.).
107. *pudendum muliebre*	âkukh, kuk	(= a receptacle; comp. 20).

108. *God, Lord, High Lord*	dêr, swâmi, âsuru swâmi	(K. *dêvar-u swâmi* (S.)).
109. *demon*	bhût	S.
110. *ghost*	bhût	S.
111. *idol*	(No Tuḍa word)	
112. *heaven*	amnôr	(? *a*=that; § 21; *nâd*=region).
113. *right*	sari	(Kan.)
114. *sin*	pâpam	(S.).
115. *life*	daivl	(? S. and Dr. *jîva*: also the organs of generation in a polite way).
116. *breath*	dîv	
117. *relic*	kurpu, maṇi	(A.K. *kurupu*=sign, *maṇi*=bell. Every maṇi is a kurpu, but every kurpu is not a maṇi).

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118.	*Toda sanctum*	tirièri	(K. *tiru* = sacred, *are* = place. Comp. Saxon *dry*=a magician, druid).
119.	*temple* (conical)	boath, boa	(? The words *booth* and *bothy* present a curious resemblance).
120.	*sacred shrub*	tûre, tûde, zhûre	(S. *tulasi*, the 'Ocymum sanctum').
121.	*bell-god*	maṇi-dêr, konku-dêr, get-dêr	(Comp. 88, 108, 117).
122.	*head priest*	pâlâl	(=milkman).
123.	*sacrificing priest*	vorshâl	(=man of the fireplace).
124.	*sacred dairyman*	pâlkârpâl	
125.	*sacred herdsman*	kâvilâl	
126.	*religious custom*	shâstr	(S.).
127.	*a kairn*	vinn	(A. K. *vind-u*=a heap).
128.	*a kromlech*	(No Tuḍa name)	Termed 'stonedairies' or 'little houses.'
129.	*funeral*	kêḍu	(Kan.=destruction).
130.	*place of final obsequies*	âthârm, âthâre, âthârb	(? S. *âdhâram*).
131.	*ashes* (human)	nîrrah	(Drâ. *nîrru*).
132.	*ashes*	bûdi	(Kan. *bûdi*, from S. *vib-'hûti*).
133.	*day of 24 hours*	nâḷ	(Drâ.).
134.	*to-day*	êddu	(Kan. *ind-u*).
135.	*yesterday*	ennêr	(Kan. *ninne*. Tam. *nêttu*).
136.	*to-morrow*	makâl	(? + S. *kâla*=time).
137.	*a week*	eṭṭnâḷ	(=eight days).
138.	*a month*	mupath nâḷ	(=thirty days).
139.	*a month*	deltu	(? A. K. *tingaḷu*=moon).
140.	*a year*	vâr	(K. corruption of *varusha*).
141.	*dawn*	belkâshk	(=when the morning star is seen. Comp. 146, 153).
142.	*dawn*	êrigitâshk	(=rising time. Comp. 146. K. *êru*=rise).
143.	*sunrise*	bîrshabât, bîrshkâshk	(Comp. 148).
144.	*noon; daytime*	pachal	(S. Kan. *paṭal-u*).

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145. *sunset*	ŝharvâshk	(Comp. 146. ? *ĝu*=go).
146. *night, bedtime*	îr, îrsh, îrshtâshk	(Drâv. *irulu* = darkness. *âshk* in all these words is of uncertain origin. It is probably a corruption of *kâlam* = time, and seems to be *kâshk*).
147. *midnight*	nadujâma	(Kan.=middle watch).
148. *sun*	bîrsh	(K. *bisul-u*).
149. *moon*	tiggalu	(Comp. 139).
150. *new moon*	muṭṭu	(? *muttu*=pearl ; *muṭṭu*= [touch).
151. *star*	mîn	Dr.=the twinkler).
152. *sky*	bân	(Kan.).
153. *light*	beḷak, beḷk	(Kan. *beḷa-k-u*).
154. *darkness*	irsh	(Comp. 146).
155. *lightning*	mijju	(Kan. *minug-u*).
156. *rainbow*	kvarvarvirsh	(Comp. 53, 159).
157. *rain*	mlâ	(K. *maḷe*).
158. *wind*	kâtu	(Tam. *kâttu*. K. *gâḷi*).
159. *storm with rain*	kvar	(K. *kâru*=the wet season).
160. *shadow*	naḷ, nersh	(K. *neḷal-u*, *neralu*).
161. *smoke*	pokh	(A. K. *poge*).
162. *thunder*	yerthti	(=it thunders).
163. *fire*	nebbu, diṭṭh	
164. *mantle*	putkuḷi	(A. K. *poddo-kambaḷi*=a blanket in wear).
165. *cloth to pass under the legs.* The hingoti	kîva	(S. *kaupina*).
166. *bracelet*	pall, ebball	(K. *baḷe*).
167. *armlet*	tâḷwaji	(K. *taḷwanki*).
168. *necklace*	kavish	(Drâv. use of S. *karnacka*).
169. *neck-ring*	belthta	(Comp. 170).
170. *finger-ring*	belth	(Comp. 102, prob. from *beḷe*=a fillet. The Kan. roots *beḷ*, *beḷ*).
171. *ear-ring* (silver)	kev-belth	(=ear-ring).
172. *ear-ring* (gold)	dein, deṭṭi	K. *chinna*=gold).
173. *tattoo marks*	gurtu	(K. *kurub-u* ; *gurtu*)

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174.	*hill*	diṭu	(K. *tiṭṭa*).
175.	*valley*	kḷi	(K. *kḷi*).
176.	*river*	par	(A. K. *pari-yu*, flow).
177.	*forest*	koar, mên	(K. *kâḍ-u*; *mara*).
178.	*tree, wood*	mên	(K. *mara*).
179.	*bush*	tapi, tûre	(Comp. 120).
180.	*grass*	pullu	(A. Kan.)
181.	*flower*	pu	(A. Kan.)
182.	*fruit*	pôm	(A.K. *paṇṇ-u*. Tam. *paṛam*. S. P'HAḶAM).
183.	*juice*	kar, nîr	(K. S. *sâra*. 184).
184.	*water*	nîr	(K. *nîru*).
185.	*mud*	purah	(K. *burude*, § 6).
186.	*soil*	mannu	
187.	*gold*	dsin	(K. *chinna*).
188.	*silver*	beḷthti	(K. *beḷḷi*).
189.	*iron*	kabban	(Kan.).
190.	*brass*	tembu	(K. *chembu*).
191.	*lead*	disal	(S. Drâv. *sîsa*).
192.	*stone*	karah	(K. *kall-u*).
193.	*north*	The Tuḍas have no word for 'north' and 'south,' but say only 'here' and 'there'; ite and ate.	
194.	*south*		
195.	*east*	kîrah, mûralu	(Kan. *mûda*, *kḷi*).
196.	*west*	blui	=place of the sun's setting.
		mok	=above. (Tending to show that the Tuḍas originally lived on the eastern or lower side of the ghâts).
197.	*wet season*	kuar	(K. *kâr*).
198.	*dry season*	baram	(Kan. *bara*, dry).

Here vom=*vâram*. (S.)

199.	*Sunday*	âsvom	*âs* (?)
200.	*Monday*	tuvom	*tu* (?)
201.	*Tuesday*	âm	(?)
202.	*Wednesday*	budavom	*buda*=Mercury (S.)

203. *Thursday*	thm	(?)	
204. *Friday*	bellivom	*belle*=silver, a name of Venus.	
205. *Saturday*	thanivom	*than'*=*sani*. (S.)	

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A few of the words in this list defy all attempts to trace their origin. And this is not surprising. If in English such words as *boy*, *girl*, *dog*, and *pig*, though modern, cannot be traced, a tribe like the Tuḍas may well have invented a few terms.

§ 42. TUḌA NUMERALS. 802

I. vodd	(K. *ond-u*)
II. edd	(K. *eraḍu*)
III. mûdu	(K. *mûr-u*)
IV. nânku	(K. *nâlk-u*. T. *nâng-u*)
V. ittah	(K. *eid-u*)
VI. âr	(K. *âru*)
VII. êlsh	(K. *êl-u*. T. *êṛ-u*)
VIII. ett	(K. *eṇṭ-u*. T. *eṭṭ-u*)
IX. onpath	(K. *on-batt-u*)
X. pattu	(A. K. *pattu*)
XII. ponodd	(A. K. *panerad-u*)
XVI. pârah	(A. K. *padinâr-u*)
XX. ôvoth	(K. *ippattu*)
XXX. mûpath	(K. *mûvattu*)
XL. nâlpath	(K. *nâlvattu*)
L. epath	(K. *eivattu*)
C. nûr	(K. *nûru*).

§ 43. A few subjects for discussion may be indicated here. 193

(1) In examining these lists I think it will become evident that the 'lingual' or 'cerebral' letters in the Drâviḍian languages are all corruptions of one letter, a kind of l. This seems to be the one Vêdic cerebral.

Kan. *maḷal-u* is Tam. *maṇal*; so
Kan. *maḷai* is Tam. *maṛai*.
Kan. *nâḍ* is Tuḍa *naṛ*.

Comp. §§ 6–8.

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The Drâviḍian languages had originally one cerebral, as had the Sanskrit and the Welsh.

193 (2) The Tuḍa *temporal particles* (§ 28) are

k for the *present* (ah, ah, h)
th (sharp) for the *past* (d)
b for the *future* (p, v) (only obscurely indicated).

It is perhaps in vain to form conjectures as to the origin of these, but k seems allied to ge or ke=do;

th may be connected with the root tâ, dâ, d'hâ=*give, place, establish.*
b is possibly allied to S. *Bhu* and its cognates.

(3) The Tuḍa nominal inflectional particles, or case endings, are (§§ 15–17) at the most four:

g (k); edd (end); ad; erah.

Of these g I connect with ge=do;

edd (end=erd) is past of er=be;
ad (ath) is adj. pronoun;
erah (er) is the root of a verb, signifying *absolute existence.*

§ 44. On the whole I[1] venture to think that

194 (1) The Tuḍa is a language which was once highly inflectional; but, having lost most of its inflections, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South-Indian tribes; and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

197 (2) The language seems to have been originally Old
194 Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tuḍas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country; and have dwelt on the Nîlagiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by

1 [The Reverend G.U. Pope, author of this chapter -- Analyst]

the Poligars. Intercourse with the Baḍagars has probably modernized a few of the forms and introduced some words. Of Telugu influences I see no trace. It is true that the Tuḍa for *tree* is **mâa**, and in Telugu *mânu*, while in Tam. and Kan. it is *mara*; but the soft *r* is always avoided by the Tuḍas, who turn *vdram* into *vôm*.

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Nor can I trace any resemblance in Tuḍa to Malayalim, in any of the points where that dialect differs from its sisters.

NOTE. Some words have been added to the above list, since the 'outlines' left Dr. Pope's hands. If, in consequence, a few errors have crept into the Chapter, I alone must be held to be responsible for them.—W. E. M.

ADDENDA.

(Translation of Deuteronomy, chap. xxv. 5.)

000

vodd ennan athum enorvet-mokh vodd-
An elder-brother (and) *his other-born* (younger brother) *in one*

ârruleh uddûdi, vodd, âl mokh illâde,
Toda house if they are, one Toda-man a son is not, (childless)

kôdag-pôkadi kôdag-pôkan kâtvodi-kukh en-odd-
if he goes to death (dies) *the dead-one's bound-woman* (wife) *to another*

âlg kaṭṭaṭi, â kukh-âl, enorvet-mokh
man must not join, that woman's man's (husband) *younger-brother*

illavenîâdi, pâyâl â kukh kekhuri vorgma,
or if not, the brother-in-law (near relation) *that woman near shall sleep,*

athum kudma, kâtvodi-âlg enorvet âdi.
her shall join, as a wife's man's younger-brother shall he do.

[p. 270 is blank]

APPENDIX

CHAPTER IV.

000 *The exclamation, Tya! or Tcha!* I perused in a small pamphlet by the Rev. Mr. Downes, of the Church Missionary Society, on the customs of the Siah-posh Kafirs; which appeared in a number of the 'Pioneer' for the month of May 1873, the following passage; 'in meeting, they salute each other by saying *The tuscha*, are you come?' —(?) are you well.

CHAPTER VII.

Perutl, the name of a Toda. At page 349 of the Anthropological Journal for the month of January 1873, it is stated on the authority of Colonel Pearse, that the chief deity of the Malayalis—a Drâvidian Tribe of the Shevaroy Hills—is *Purtaull*. The places of worship for this God, are styled, in the article quoted, hill-top temples; and are constructed of wood.

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3. Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Map preceding p. 1 (A)

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3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Map preceding p. 1 (B)

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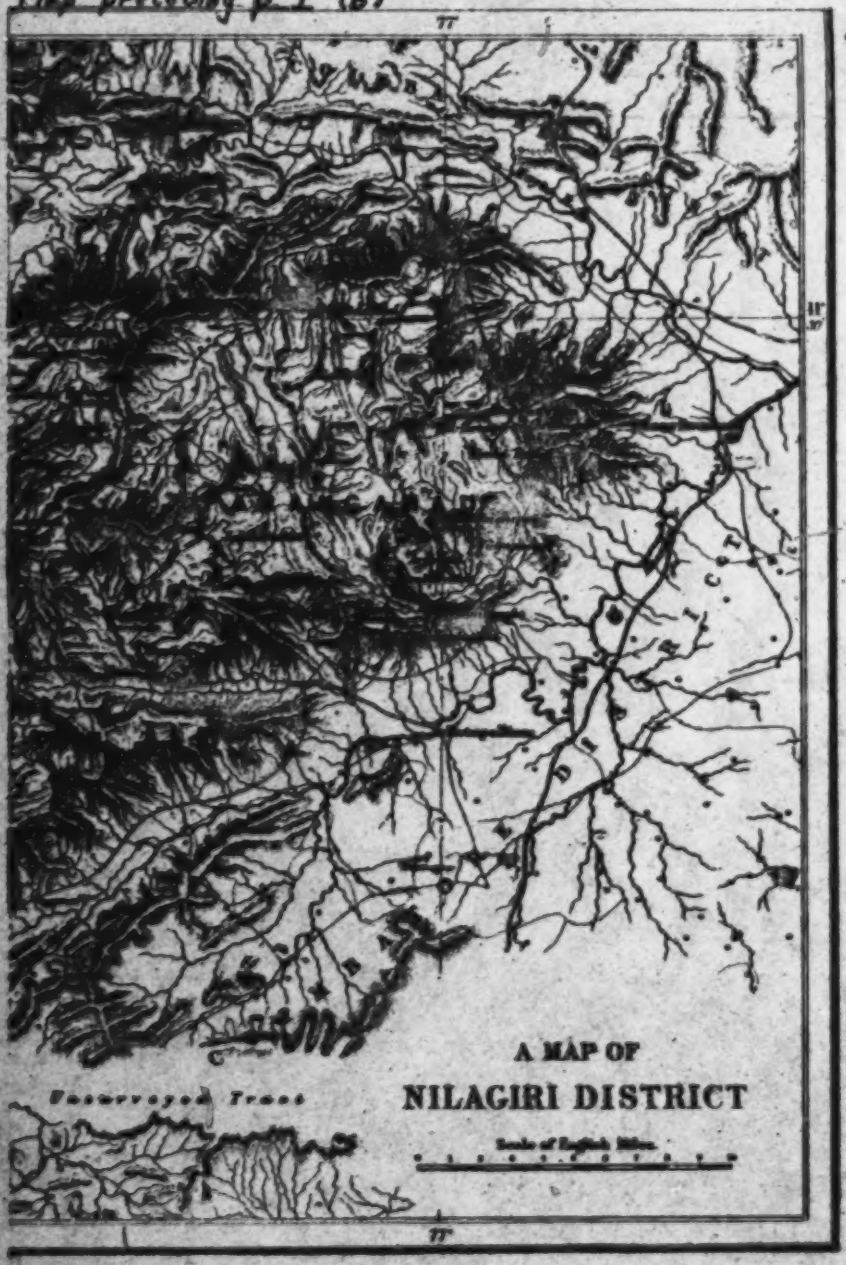

3: Breeks G-S (no date) 1873 Todas

p. 1

THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF THE NĪLAGIRIS.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE NĪLAGIRIS—ALTITUDE AND GENERAL CHARACTER—SCENERY.—CLIMATE.—RAINFALL.—RECOGNISED GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.—FIVE NATIVE TRIBES.—THE BADAGAS NOT ONE OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES.

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The Nīlagiris* are a lofty range of mountains in Southern India situated between 11° 10′ and 11° 32′ North latitude and 76° 50′ and 77° 31′ East longitude.

They may be said to form an abutment on the great belt of mountains, which, under the name of the Western Ghāts, runs down the western side of the Peninsula, from the River Tapti to Cape Comorin. They are bounded on the north, partly by the territory of the native kingdom of Mysore, partly by Wainād, the upland division of the Madras

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* Nīlagiris means blue mountains, from nīla, blue, and giri, a mountain or hill; the common, but corrupt, spelling is Neilgherries. Accounts of these mountains and their inhabitants will be found in the following works:—

1826. *Letter to the Calcutta Herbarium, by Rev. James Hough.*
1837. *General and Medical Topography of the Neilgherries, by Dr. Young.*
1832. *The Todas, by Captain Harkness.*
1834. *Notes through Malabar and among the Neilgherries, by Captain Mignan.*
" *Falls of Cauvery and Neilgherries, by Lieutenant Jervis.*
" *Neilgherries, by Dr. Bathie.*
1835. *Geological Sketch of the Neilgherries, by Dr. P. M. Brown.*
1838. *Topographical Report of the Neilgherries, by Dr. De Burgh Birch.*
1844. *Antiquities of Neilgherries, by Captain Congreve. Vol. XIV., Madras Journal of Literature and Science.*
1847. *Memoir of the Neilgherries, by Captain J. Ouchterlony. Vol. XV., Part II., Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1848.
1851. *Goa and the Blue Mountains, by Lieutenant Burton.*
" *Neilgherry Letters, by Captain Sir Francis Ford.*
1864. *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, by Rev. F. Metz.*
1868. *An Account of the Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherries, by J. Shortt, Esq., M.D.; also Hill Ranges of Southern India, Part I.*
1870. *The Aboriginal Tribes of the Neilgherry Hills, by Lieut.-Colonel W. Ross King. Journal of Anthropology, No. 1, July 1870.*

Besides the above, notices may be found in different Literary and Scientific Journals.

Colonel W. Marshall has just published a book called *A Phrenologist among the Todas.*—ED.

/31 district of Malabar; on the east by the district of Coimbatore; on the south partly by
/32 Coimbatore, and partly by Malabar; and on the west by Malabar.

The Nîlagiri plateau is from thirty to forty miles in length, and from ten to twenty-four in breadth. It contains several lofty peaks, the highest of which, Doddabett, is 8,642* feet above the sea.

The altitude of Coonoor is 5,886 feet; that of Ootacamund† 7,416 feet.

/33 The mountains rise very abruptly to two-thirds of their total height, presenting from the plains below almost the aspect of a wall, unbroken by any lower ridges. Their base is covered with a belt of dense jungle, rising to a height of from 2500 to 3500 feet. This is succeeded by an open grassy space, one or two miles wide, nearly destitute of trees. Above this the vegetation is entirely different from that of the jungle below, and the forests assume more the appearance of those found in temperate climates. Along the edge the plateau is, in parts, especially on the western side, very precipitous, broken by wooded ravines, and exceedingly picturesque. The interior of the plateau consists chiefly of grassy undulating hills, divided by narrow valleys, which invariably contain a stream or a swamp. In the hollows of the hillsides nestle small beautiful woods, locally known as *sholas*.‡

It is seldom that so much variety of beauty is found in so small a compass. From the bleak heights of the Kûndahs, with their storm-beaten moss-hung woods and rank coarse grass, to the springy turf and many-coloured *sholas* of Ootacamund, and the tropical vegetation of the western slopes, every five or ten miles brings the traveller to a new climate, and new scenery. Even on the summit of the plateau the rainfall varies with each different aspect, and ranging from about 30 inches to 150 or more, produces a corresponding range of vegetation. It is, however, the views over the edges of the table land that are most singular and striking, from the extreme abruptness of the descent. Let a visitor take a short ride in almost any direction from almost any part of the plateau, and, passing along shady English-looking lanes, sheltered by thickets of blackberry and wild rose; across bare breezy downs, sometimes dotted with twisted, crimson-flowering rhododendron trees, and intersected by swampy valleys, where buffaloes wade and wallow; through dense woods carpeted with rare beautiful ferns and gorgeous in spring tints, beside which the colouring of an English autumn is faint and dull; by native villages, with their patches of cultivation and their magnificent single trees; he will find himself on some ridge or promontory, looking straight down from 4000 to 6000 feet, on a scene that changes like the figures in a kaleidoscope. In the morning a sea of clouds lies at his feet, and gradually rises round him. In the afternoon this has cleared away, and reveals, perhaps, a vast crimson plain, veined by dark lines

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* According to a recent observation made by Colonel Saxton of the Trigonometrical Survey Department.

† Ootacamund, properly Utakamund, is the principal European settlement on the Nîlagiris; the others are Coonoor and Kotagherry. There is also a military sanatorium at Wellington. Of late years, Europeans have established themselves in various parts of the district, and opened out plantations of tea, coffee, and cinchona.

The names of the settlements above referred to are spelt according to the mode which long usage has assigned to them. The same course has been pursued in the case of other well-known names, such as Mysore, Coimbatore, &c. According to the system of spelling adopted in the vocabulary, Appendix A., Utakamund, Kûnar, and Nîlagiri, would be substituted for Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagherry.

‡ From the Kanarese *shôla*, a wood or forest.

183 of wood, dotted with isolated hummocks like giant ant-hills, and terminating in faint blue lines of mountains the furthest of which seems to hang half-way up the sky; perhaps on a tumbled mass of hills and valleys, a perfect dissolving view, for the eye has hardly traced the outline of some rocky ridge, glowing red in the sunlight, before a blue cloud-shadow blots it out, and a fresh series of crests and ravines starts into sight beyond. Broken peaks, hung with woods, frame the picture, and on all lies tropical sunlight, intensified by the keen thin mountain air.

132 The climate is temperate and equable. At Ootacamund, according to a series of observations, extending over seven years, the mean maximum temperature ranges from 60·06° in December to 68·76° in May. The hottest months of the year are April and May, the coldest, December and January. The hottest hours of the day in summer and winter do not vary more than nine degrees, and the extreme variation of temperature throughout the year is only 21·25°.

The climate of Coonoor and Kotagherry is warmer; no observations have been recorded for the Kūndahs. The average rainfall at Ootacamund is about 45 inches, but it is much greater on the Kūndahs, and generally on the western side of the plateau, which feels the full force of the S.W. monsoon.

Early in June this monsoon breaks with great violence on the western face of the mountains, but diminishes in violence as it extends eastward. At Ootacamund it is much milder than on the Kūndahs, and at Coonoor and Kotagherry it is but slightly felt. It lasts until about the middle of September. The north-east monsoon, which commences in the middle or end of October, bursts heavily on the north-east corner of the plateau, and the first fall usually extends over the whole of it. At Ootacamund, from December to May, the weather is dry and very bright; the winter nights bring sharp frosts in the swampy valleys, but on higher ground these are little felt, and English garden and greenhouse flowers may be had in profusion all the year round. The average number of days on which rain falls at Ootacamund in the course of the year is said to be 100, of cloudy days without rain 28, and of clear fine days 237.

101 The Nilagiris are divided into four *nâds* or divisions, named respectively—

Todanâd.
Mekanâd.
Peranganâd.
Kūndanâd.

They are inhabited by five native tribes, viz.:—

Badagas.
Todas.
Kotas.
Kurumbas.
Irulas.

Of these, the Badagas, although far the most numerous, not being an aboriginal or jungle race, do not come within the scope of the following pages, which will be devoted to an account of the four primitive tribes, and of the rude stone monuments, of uncertain origin, which are found in various parts of the plateau.

The Badagas are Hindus, chiefly of the Saiva sect, and are supposed to have migrated to the Nilagiris from Mysore, about 300 years ago, after the breaking-up of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. According to the last Census they numbered 19,476. They are an agricultural race, and cultivate various cereals of rather a poor sort. They hold their lands under Government at very easy rates, and of late years many of them have acquired considerable wealth, and own large herds of cattle. They pay a sort of tribute, in grain, to the Todas. Their language is a corrupt form of Kanarese. 101 177

CHAPTER II.

THE TODAS.

CENSUS.—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.—MODE OF LIFE.—RELIGION.—RITES AND CEREMONIES.—FUNERAL.—LANGUAGE.—HISTORY AND TRADITIONS.

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161 The Todas numbered 639 by the Census of the 15th November 1871. Considering the pains taken to ensure accuracy, we may accept this enumeration as approximately correct. C.

162 List* of Todá Population in the Nilagiri District according to the Final Census of 15th November 1871.

Village.	No. of Persons.			Mands occupied.	Mands unoccupied.
	Male.	Female.	Total.		
Todanád - -	319	212	531	30	38
Puranganád - -	55	49	104	5	3
Mékanád - -	2	2	4	1	—
Kocudahs - -	—	—	—	—	2
Total - -	376	263	639	36	43

161 * The foregoing list was taken from the original returns of the population of the Mands. When the returns were revised and tabulated, it was found that thirty-eight Todas, counted in the Ootacamund population, had been omitted, and that there were other slight inaccuracies. The revised list is as follows :—

Todanád - - -	507
Puranganád - - -	105
Mékanád - - -	33
Ootacamund Town - -	38
Total - -	683

—*Editor.*

163 The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Mekanâd in 1835 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are div[illegible]d into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz. :—

66 1. Dêvalyâl.

564 2. Tarserahâl.

184 The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarserahâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

142 "Ethnology.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
" possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
" with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
" self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
" at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
" Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
" darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
" the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
" the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
144 " strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
" features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
142 " *forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2¼ inches from the root of the nose
" to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
" moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
" colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
" in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
" measuring from root to tip 2⅜ inches, and height from base of alæ to ridge 1⅛ inches,
" breadth of alæ from side to side 1¼ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
" full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

---

* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1835.

Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 20th August 1835, says:—

"This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
" total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
" Captain Harkness counted 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
" girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Broca' Table, No. 28.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Broca' Tables.

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
" white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
142 " fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 12·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe.*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
302 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
" readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
609 " been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
302 distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
157 peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to
609 consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing
sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-humour.

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. " A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
[325] " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
519 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
" on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
" of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
415 " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

357 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Manl*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Manl*.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
421 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt; indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
651 an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nīlagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese *for basket, nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

847 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Meta's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

517 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Ilâta*, which is
526 played as follows :—

A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Ilâta* is a variety of *tipcat*.

Another game is called *Nârthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some mands a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Kâridlapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B.[1]

291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows :—

" The garment* in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, " cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

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* Toda : *Pâthili.*

[1] [Category 116, Pp. 117-128.— Analyse]

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bûguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 533
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a [illegible]
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, Tenure of land.
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirdi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pâtkoti*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

177 an undefined extent of land. Further, the Badagas and Kota cultivators had
421 always given them annually a portion of their field produce under the name of *gūdu*, but, "*whether out of superstitious motives, or to induce the Todas not to "molest them, or in acknowledgment of their proprietary right in the land,*"* was
423 uncertain.

651 This seems to be the case for the Todas.

On the other hand there is nothing in the Toda occupation which affects the universally acknowledged right of the Government to levy full assessment on all uncultivated land, when actually brought under tillage, a right which the Government had exercised without objection in the case of all lands cultivated by the Badagas and paying *gūdu* to the Todas.

The first step in the settlement of the matter was to declare in 1843 that the Todas had an absolute right in their mands or village sites and in the spots appropriated to religious rites, and also a claim to compensation† for abridgment of their grazing privileges, but that purchasers from Todas could only buy the right of occupying the land for pasture. On this principle compensation was paid by Government for the area now forming the Ootacamund settlement. Subsequently, on further inquiry, in connexion with the survey of the Hills by Captain Ouchterlony, it was found that the Badagas generally were not disposed to admit the right of the Todas to demand *gūdu* from them at any specified rate, although they acknowledged the practice of giving *gūdu*, and their readiness still to give it "according to their own wants or fancy." It was found too that the Badagas had for some time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the *gūdu*, and that no claim had subsequently been urged by the Todas on the buyer. On inquiry into the extent of table land over which *gūdu* was claimable, it appeared that on the whole plateau of the Hills there were not more than about a hundred mands occupied and unoccupied, and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in practice, only extended to the area surrounding each mand. Under these circumstances it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a mand or of spots appropriated to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoccupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural purposes. Every lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *gūdu* would be charged to the grantee, and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *gūdu* was payable thereon. Subsequently, in 1863, sales by public auction were substituted for leases. Under orders from Government the revenue authorities have abstained from leasing, or putting up to public auction, land which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda

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* *Despatch from the Court of Directors to Madras*, dated 21 June 1843, No. 13.

† Compensation equivalent to the *Gūdu* was to be given, and added to the assessment when the land was taken and tilled; and in case the land so taken was a portion of that for which the Todas paid the pasture tax, in proportionate share of the tax was to be remitted.

In *Minutes of Consultation*, dated 7 May 1852, the *Gūdu* equivalent was fixed at 1 anna per Kani (cawny). A Cawny = 1·22 acres.

177 manda, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gūdu* been claimed* for lands
421 disposed of by Government.

Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gūdu* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pattās*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gūdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their manda and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gūdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned manda for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— *Relig Rites Cere*

234 I. *Pālāls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a mixture of secetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mandas called *Tirieris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the manda, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pālaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pālaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tirieris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pālāls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenād, and one near Kodanād. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from manda to manda. The *Pālāls* must be Peikis; the *Tirieris*, however, belong to certain Tarscrhāl mandas, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pālāls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilāl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pālāl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tirieri*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pālāl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,748, 20 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's* Letter of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gūdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pûthuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tuni*, made specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanêri.

234 "The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the "exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in "some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without "a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is "at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fûr or Tûr, the "botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed "off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted "to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâla*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pâlâla*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peîkis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokrali*. There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tûrnât mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpuli*. There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl*.

V. *Pâlikârpâla* may be of any clan, but Peiki and Pekkan mands must have Peîki and Pekkan Pâlikârpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

346 II. *Pâlthehi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but larger. Of *Pâlthehis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every 793 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas 621 *Etadmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthehis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikârpâl*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl*.

234 There are four *Boas*:—

(1.) Called *Mânboa*; at Muttanâd *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the 778 left of the Segûr road.

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* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.

778 (3.) Called *Tūrzhva*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.

(4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mutterzhva*.

346 Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding

103 God and Bell, where there is one.

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Peiki Muimands (*Etadmands*).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mírzhan. Ertâtu. Kírzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekhan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf 2. Karzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu. Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbôa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

* Measurements :—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	8′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eaves to ground	3′ 5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Músdshyáld	Kérshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tírzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nârsh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârzhtith	Kátĕtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângŭar. Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérkŏârzh	Musdshyáldf.	
6. Kúramárzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor Têkva Pêshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kúĕrsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Párzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bĕtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Todas religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthehi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

* Bad. Tarnât. *Pl.* VIII.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 771

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pōjāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pōjāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Vavshdi* comes with three holy branches of the *Tōr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tōr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *naruda*, *mutha*, or *hem* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 996 621 873

The institution is *Mānāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting. 944

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Parshdvā*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pelkan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*ôes*), the *Parshdvā* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālthōdi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and 533 551

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mānāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pâlthchi*
551 and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's
584 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead. An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claim-
583 ing his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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601 * Names used to express relationships in Toda.

English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1. Father	*En, Eyan.*	
2. Mother	*Aff.*	
3. Son	*Mâkh.*	
4. Daughter	*Kukh.*	
5. Father's elder brother	*Perudîn*	Great father.
6. " younger "	*Kirudîn*	Little do.
7. " elder sister	*Mâmi.*	
8. " younger "		
9. Mother's elder brother	*Mâman.*	
10. " younger "		
11. " elder sister	*Perudaff*	Great mother.
12. " younger "	*Kirudaff*	Little do.
13. Father's brother's son	*An*	Brother.
14. " " daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
15. " sister's son	*Machen.*	
16. " " daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.
17. Mother's sister's son	*An*	Brother.
18. " " daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
19. " brother's son	*Machen.*	
20. " " daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Âth* and *Tajmakh*, which simply mean man and woman.

In *Anthropological Journal for January and July* 1871, page 28, *ya* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

551

Male Names.	Female Names.
1. Kôvi, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tiriari* is so called.	1. Kâthaveli, (lit.) silver coin.
2. Pernâl, literally a great man.	2. Darsthinir, (lit.) a jewel scale.
3. Nârikôt, (lit.) child of jackal.	3. Tahinâh, (lit.) gold one.
4. Poukôt, (lit.) child of gold.	4. Bersth, no meaning that I can find out.
5. Tahinkôt, (lit.) do.	5. Depbill, (lit.) silver ring.
6. Padrithzh, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.	6. Pondahilkammi, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. Kôdâlvên, (lit.) the man of the funeral.	7. Kattehira, (lit.) Catcherry, Sircar office.
8. Âlvên, (lit.) a man.	8. Pilimurugu, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. Beltavên, (lit.) like silver.	9. Piltzalpa, (lit.) white ring.
10. Kirnâli, (lit.) little one.	10. Tâkôm, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

843 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[573] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The [322] husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhvākham.*
„ Muttinād „ *Pirzhirzhk.*
„ Kodanād „ *Kurrkduvirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgārāff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmūl* and *Shāstra.* One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow† we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

796 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, 551 in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordsai Kēds*), which takes place 765 soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvendli Kēds*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

[301]

* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Menu, iii. 33.

[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 9:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Each clan has its own appropriate* days of the week for the green funeral, "according to the *Shastras*."

The body is not removed from the place of death till it is carried to the burning place,† which the Todas call *Methgúdi* (*lit. Marriage temple*).

All green funerals are alike. I will describe one I saw near Kartêri, at the old burning ground of the neighbouring mands, an open space near a stream. The body was brought on a stretcher preceded by Kota musicians. It is not necessarily carried by the relatives, or even by men of the same clan. A rough hut (called *Nólpali* for a man, and *Nirzhárch* for a woman,) was built of boughs and grass, in which the body was placed. The women of the mand sat by it, and moaned in their peculiar manner, one of them meanwhile embroidering a strip of cloth for a purse. Four walking-sticks and several skeins of cotton-thread, each with a bunch of cowries at the end, were laid upon the body, which was wrapped in a new *pútkuli*,‡ the feet being tied together by the great toes with a piece of blue thread.

A rude circle§ about a yard in diameter was then made of single stones, leaving an entrance gap at one side. Outside this circle the body was laid, with the head opposite the entrance, and the nearest male relatives in turn, drawing their *pútkulis* over their heads,‖ took a wand (*Pett*), round which was tied a small rag, obtained from the *Pálál*, dug up the earth at the entrance of the circle, and muttering "*Purzhutukamá*," "May I throw earth?" threw three handfuls into the centre of the circle, and three on the body. After this the body was carried back to the hut and placed on the ground outside, and the women sat round it as before. A large silver necklace (*Kéeilth*, *Plate* XI., *Fig. b*), belonging to the widow, was laid on the breast of the corpse.

The funeral pile¶ was made of large logs on a space cleared for the purpose near the hut. The dead man's herd was driven up, and some fifteen or twenty Todas went to it, one of them carrying wreaths of leaves to throw at the doomed buffaloes. Two of the animals were seized by four or five men hanging to their necks, separated from the herd, and dragged to the hut, followed by the Kota musicians. A bell was then

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* *For men.*

Peiki -	- Thursday, Saturday, Sunday.
Todi -	- Sunday, Tuesday.
Kuttan -	- Saturday, Sunday.
Kenna -	- Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday.
Pekkan -	- Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.

For women.

All clans -	- Thursday and Saturday.

† Each clan has several *Methgúdis*, separate ones for men and for women. In this case, however, as the deceased was a poor man who had died while on a visit to relatives at a distance, his body was not carried back to the usual burning ground of his Mand.

‡ When death is imminent the patient is dressed in a new *Pútkuli* and other cloths.

§ The circle is called *Toal* (*Kraal*), and is made in imitation of a buffalo kraal. If there is a kraal near the *Methgúdi*, the body is taken there, and the stone circle is not made. It is never made for a woman.

‖ Compare 2 *Sam.* xv. 30; *Esther* vi. 12; and *Jer.* xiv. 3, 4.

¶ The wood of the *Eugenia Arnottiana* is always used at the green funeral, that of the *Olea robusta* at the dry.

764 tied round the first buffalo's neck, and the corpse was lifted and made to touch three times the side of the animal, which was killed by one blow from the back of an axe, and its body dragged up, so that its head lay close to that of the dead man, the hand of the latter being made to clasp the buffalo's horn (*Plate* XIX.) The bell was then
765 transferred to the other buffalo, and the same process repeated. All the relatives seated themselves by the three bodies to mourn in couples, a man and woman putting their heads together and sobbing and moaning. After a little while each couple would separate, the woman saluting the man by raising his foot to her forehead (except in the case of the old women, when the process was reversed), and fresh pairs would be formed. As with other Eastern people, their sorrow is woeful to behold, the tears literally streaming down their faces and over their cloths. Their grief, however, is marvellously transient.

After this the widow sat alone mourning at the head of the deceased, and put three handfuls of grain into the pocket of his cloth. Then the body was placed on the bier, and laid on the ground beside the pile, which was lighted by the relatives, who, again covering their heads, made fire with two sticks.*

764 One side of the bier was cut into three and laid on the pile. *Sāmē* grain (*Panicum miliare*) and jaggery, the two great Toda luxuries, were then put into the pocket of the dead man's *pūtkuli*, with two cheroots, some tobacco wrapped in red cloth, and the purse, embroidered by one of the mourners, containing five or six rupees in silver and a little gold coin.† A ring was put on the finger, and earrings in the ears. A bit of the skull with hair and one of the finger nails‡ were cut off by the relatives; these, I was told, would be kept till the dry funeral in a little hut built near the mand for that purpose, and a buffalo bell hung over them for the relatives to ring night and morning. The bell is not hung over the remains of a woman. After this, ghee was thrown on the pile; the body was swung three times over the flame and laid on the pile *face downwards*, a sort of imitation bier or hurdle, which had previously been placed under the body, being laid above it.

When the fire has burnt out, any coin or metal that may have been actually given to the flames, is recovered; usually they merely pass such articles through the flame by way of an offering.

No care is taken of the ashes, they "are left to the winds," as a Toda told me.

765 The dry funeral takes place within a twelvemonth or so after death, according to the pleasure of the relatives. Each clan has its own *kēdmanes*§ or funeral houses,
[346] different ones for men and women. They are sometimes near a mund, sometimes not, but always have a kraal at hand. They are like the ordinary Toda huts, but are sometimes decorated at the time of the funeral with silver coins. These are mostly rupees,

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372 * A dry stick of the *Calodraphus Wightiana*, about as thick as a man's thumb, is laid on the ground and held firm by the feet, a second stick is held upright between the two hands, the point resting on the horizontal stick: by twirling the upright with great rapidity between the palms of the hands fire is produced at the point of contact.

† Called by Todas *Birān pānām*. I think it is the same as the *Birianhana* given to a dying Badaga. This is a *Vir-rayn* or Coorg-funeral.

‡ These appear to be specially sacred relics among the Buddhists also. Stupas covering a lock of hair, crown of skull, or finger-nail of Buddhist saints seem to have been common in the palmy days of Buddhism.

§ *Kēd* is the name given to the skull, hair, and finger-nail saved from the green funeral, which are tied between two pieces of bark.

but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nīlagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bēti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kéd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kédmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! ér kar ultamâ*," ("May the buffaloes and calvés be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kéd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kéd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *maniyakāran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchāyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

[of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analyst]

765 friends of the deceased in turn, covering their heads with their cloths, scratch up the earth with a stick (*Petl*), to which is tied a rag given by the *Pálál*, and throw three handfuls of earth into the kraal, and three on the *pátkuli*, as in the green funeral; each before throwing mutters "*Purzhutukumā*" ("May I throw earth") to a man of the Peiki class standing by the entrance, who replies "*Purzhut*" ("Throw earth.") At the funeral of a Peiki, one of the Tarserzhâl performs this office.

When each of the relatives has thrown his handfuls, the *pujāri* approaches with some garlands of creepers, which he throws at the buffaloes. At this signal, a crowd of young men leap into the kraal, the gate is opened, and, with a rush, men and buffaloes pour out in a cloud of dust, four or five men clinging to each animal's neck, while others urge it on with their clubs. The excitement and confusion are great, and the danger not small; as the buffaloes, blinded and terrified, tear wildly round the kraal and against its walls before they can be dragged out to the place of slaughter. This differs in different cases. At a Peiki funeral, where nine buffaloes were slaughtered, one was killed near a couple of posts about a hundred yards from the kraal, and the rest near the *kédmane*, their bodies being laid in two rows with the heads together. At a Todi funeral near Tārnāt Mand, commemorative of a single death, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered was killed near the *kédmane*, the other at the mand *Pālthchi*. Death is inflicted by one blow between the horns from the back of an axe. The *pátkuli* and *béd* are then laid beside the carcases, and men and women sit down by them and mourn in couples, changing places from time to time as at the green funeral.

The next ceremony at a Todi funeral is most striking, and vividly recalls Mosaic sacrifices.

The Peiki *Varzhâl* carries a small urn-shaped vessel of leaves, stitched together, and filled with pieces of bark of the *Meliosma pungens*, to the mand herd, and sits a little way off, while the young men run in and seize a female buffalo and a calf. The latter is decorated with an iron bell, and held by two or three men, while the buffalo is dragged to a stone, to which the *pátkuli* and *béd*, the deceased's stick, and a miniature bow and three arrows are brought. The *béd* is untied, and the hair, &c. laid on a mimic stretcher (*Berrkour*) about 1½ foot long, roughly made of green sticks. The buffalo is half stunned by a blow between the horns from a big stone, and a clansman of the deceased, with an axe, makes a gash under its right foreleg. Into this wound the *Varzhâl* dips a few of the pieces of bark from the leaf vessel, and gives some of them to the kinsman, who smears the blood on the *béd*, with some words which are differently reported by different Todas. The clearest sentence given is "*Karma odi ponā*," "May "the sin run away." Another man repeated an unintelligible sentence, which, however, contained the words *Karma*, sin, and *Amunâd*, heaven, so that the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice underlies the ceremony.

(They make rather a secret of this part of the proceedings, fearing, not unreasonably, that it may be objected to on the score of humanity, and I had to promise not to report the matter, or induce Government interference, before they would let me see what was done.) A Peiki man then puts on the *pátkuli*, in which the *béd* had been wrapped, and a silver necklace, and taking the bow and arrows, the latter laid across the bow, as though in readiness for shooting, dips the points of the arrows into the blood on the *béd*, saying "*Birzhutukumā*," "Shall I give the bow." After this

765 they walk to another stone near the Kédmane in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki with the bow in the middle, and the *Varzhál* in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting

Amnnádga Sérumá
Karma dharma tilimá.

which may be rendered, "May he enter heaven, may it be well with his good deeds "and his sins."

The Peikis and Pekkans do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kédmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Āzāram*.

765 The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases
177 of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes.
609 It is curious that the Todas, to whose relatives the dead animals are consecrated, make no objection to this disgusting operation, though carried on at the very door of the *Kédmane*. I asked a Toda once about it, and he replied, "*When the buffaloes are* "*alive they are ours; when dead they belong to the Kotas.*"

765 The *Kéd* is burnt about four o'clock on the following morning (they say the burning must be completed before dawn) at the *Āzāram*,* a single circle of large stones fixed in the ground not far from the Kédmane. They first light a fire outside the *Āzāram*, and then spread the *pátkuli* with the *kéd* in the middle of the circle, and pile burning sticks on it until, with the help of ghee, they make a great blaze. They put on the inside fire the following articles:—

A *Kōf Kutti*, a sort of large knife or sickle wrapped round with cloth.
An axe.
Twenty-one bamboo measures ornamented with cowries, two anna bits, and coloured threads, and containing barley, kīre, and sāme grain.
Four or five cakes of jaggery.
A winnowing basket.
A basket for holding rice.
Three or four Toda walking sticks.
A straight pole (*Tarzh*) 20 feet long, ornamented with tassels and rosettes of cowries, and sometimes with a small silver umbrella. (*Plate* XI., *fig. b.*)
A palm-leaf umbrella.
A miniature bow and three arrows.† (*Plate* XI., *fig. a.*)
A purse.

* I could not ascertain with any certainty whether these stone circles, which are always to be found near the funeral mand, had been constructed in recent years or were of considerable antiquity. Their appearance, however, did not suggest any great age. From the Todas whom I questioned on the subject, it was very difficult to elicit any definite information; but the impression which their answers conveyed, was, that now and then they construct new circles, when they consider that the old ones have been used long enough.

177 † I am told that these are burned at the green funeral when the Kotas have time to make them, but they
761 must not be made beforehand, or the man for whom they were intended would die; and as the Kotas will only work, and the Todas only burn on certain days, it must frequently happen that the two do not coincide.

765 The pouch of the *pútkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kŭtĕr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pell*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant 533 music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical 539 farewell to the dead:

* *Āmnáddga serumū,*

Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tiliwā.**

765 Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

[562] At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

764 Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in 765 note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the 174 significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

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* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Tārnāt Mand the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzāram* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the cairns.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 290. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhût, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhûts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes
765 of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
174 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Azāroms*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage
224 ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh,
776 and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bētikhān,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
411 are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pūtkuli*, *tharp*, *kōnu*, *&c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tōr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

174 411 mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

224 The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilization: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by samber* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

174 It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

764 765 The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkvur* probably represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

784 The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

000 It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Samber, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilization and primitive condition of Man*, page 331 :—
"The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet "would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!

Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 461 :—
"Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful, "and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly "improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page* 37. He says that among the *Hos* and *Moondahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections as if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of cairns at the end of this volume.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

775 The Todas, as we have said, believe in a Heaven and Hell, the latter represented by a river or swamp full of leeches. The road to *Âmunâd* (Heaven) lies across this stream, and those who have already reached their Paradise, make for new-comers a bridge formed of a single thread, which will bear a good man, but breaks under the weight of a sinner, and precipitates him into *Pâférigén** (Hell) (from *pâf*, leech; *éri*, place; *gén*, water), where he remains until he has expiated his offences. I asked particularly what became of the slaughtered buffaloes meanwhile, but my informant had evidently taken this economical question into consideration, and replied that they crossed higher up, and were utilized by the dead man's family until his penance was over.

[776] *Âmunâd* is presided over by Ēn, a deified Toda, on whose authority the Todas believe it to be "a good place." Their description of it however does not seem attractive. They say that here men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that in *Âmunâd* the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism† between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of *Âmunâd* probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. *Cf. Institutes, X.* 84. "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame: for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

The bridge of thread recalls the Mahomedan Al Sirât, and the Badagas have a similar tradition, which receives a curious illustration from the actual practice of the Khâsias, when carrying home the remains of any of their number who may have died at a distance. "The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade through water, and if they trust themselves to it, would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and, if the breadth is great, this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow, merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the 'string bridge'"‡

Our own old superstition about the inability of witches to cross running water seems a reproduction of the same idea.

The Todas have no written language. Captain Harkness§ speaking of their dialect says, "It appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries. With the Sanscrit it has not the least affinity in roots, construction, or sound, and if I may venture to say so, as little with any Asiatic language of the present day."

Major Ross King gives a similar account in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.

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* Dr. Pope (*Outlines*, &c.) says "pâf, an insect, is probably old Kanarese-purlu. It must, however, be stated that the words in which *f* is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace."

† Compare *Genesis* i. 28, and iv. 12; also *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, page 248, story of Pritha and Prithivi.

‡ *On the Stone Monuments of the Khâsi Hill Tribes*, by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen. *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, October 1871, Vol. I., No. II.

§ *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 25.

197 Little was known of the Toda language in Captain Harkness' time. Since then it has been studied and analysed, and both in grammatical structure and inflexional forms, it is found to resemble closely the other Dravidian* languages of Southern India.

Tamil and Canarese derivatives form the bulk of the language. Out of a hundred words commonly made use of by a Toda, Mr. Metz finds at least eighty to be identically the same with, or derived from, words used by his Dravidian neighbours: other philologists might find more.†

000 Mr. Metz has kindly furnished me with a vocabulary (Appendix A.) 1 giving the correct rendering in Toda, Kota, Kurumba, Irula, and Badaga, of all the words contained in Dr. Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan languages of India and High Asia.*

To this vocabulary Mr. Metz and I have prefixed a table of letters with the corresponding sound of each in some European language. We have followed, as far as possible, Dr. Pope's *South Indian Alphabet*, to which however a few additions have been found necessary, in order not to sacrifice the sound or the derivation of words;‡ for instance, Todas for the most part pronounce the long *a* like *a* in *all*. To have rendered the *a* by *ŏ* or *au* would have obscured the derivation in many cases: ex. gr., Tamil pāl milk = Toda pâl (paul).

Dr. Pope's object was the simple transliteration of South Indian written characters, not the representation of the sounds contained in all the dialects written and unwritten. For philological and ethnological objects, which presumably the Government have in view in ordering inquiries such as I am conducting, simplicity is less important than the accurate rendering of every sound by a distinct character, so as to facilitate comparison and analysis by philologists personally unacquainted with the dialects. Moreover at present none of the systems of transliteration proposed by Sir W. Jones, Drs. Wilson, Caldwell, Pope, and others, have commanded universal acceptance; and the result is that even the various written characters are not always uniformly rendered, while the unwritten dialects depend for their orthography on the taste and fancy of the speller. The consequences of this are well illustrated in Dr. Hunter's work. He has necessarily compiled his Dictionary from various vocabularies, spelt upon no uniform system, and has wisely refrained, as he says, "from corrections in languages of which he was ignorant."

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* With regard to the theory propounded by Mr. Gover in *The Folk-songs of Southern India*, of the Aryan origin of Dravidian languages, an extract from a letter of Dr. Gundert's, with which Mr. Metz has favoured me, may be interesting:—

"Thus much I think I myself know, that no one acquainted with both families of speech will ever make "Dravidians into Aryans. How much the former have borrowed from the latter is well known. That the "latter in turn have borrowed words from the Dravidian, I have, I think, proved in greater detail than is to "be found in Caldwell."

† Dr. Caldwell (*Comp. Gram.* p. 16) says, "Of all the Dravidian idioms the Tamil is that to which the "Toda language is most nearly allied."

Mr. Metz thinks that it is more nearly connected with old Kanarese, but that it is as distinct a dialect as Tulu.

Dr. Pope ("*Outlines of Toda Grammar*, § 44") says, "The language seems to have been originally old "Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect."

Mr. Burnell has noted the large proportion of Sanscrit words in the Toda vocabulary.

‡ Since the above was written, Dr. Pope's "Outlines of the Toda grammar," written for Colonel Marshall's book, has been printed. The vocabulary, however, contains different words; the spelling also is rather different, as is inevitable, when no recognised system exists.—*Ed.*

1 [Not reproduced --analysis]

For the Toda language he has consulted two vocabularies under the respective names of Toduva and Toda,* which he thinks may possibly refer to different dialects; not unnaturally, since the former systematically follows the phonetic, and the latter what may be called the derivative system of spelling. Thus he gives, for *Four*—

Toduva = *Nosk.*
Toda = *Nánk.*

In this case the compiler of the former simply regarded the sound of the word, whereas the author of the latter was mindful of the derivation from the same root as the Tamil *Nālu*, Canarese *Nālku*.

The same difference occurs in the next page, where Six is rendered—

Toduva = *Or.*
Toda = *A'r.*

Again Dr. Hunter has apparently been compelled to depend for some dialects on writers who were very sparing of diacritical marks, and did not always distinguish even between long and short vowels. Thus *Three* is written—

Badaga = *Muru* instead of *Mūru.*
Kurumba = *Mudu* „ *Mūdu.*

And Thirty in both languages is *Muvattu* instead of *Mūvattu.* Four, *Nālku*, is given correctly, but Forty is written *Nalvattu*, instead of *Nālvattu*, and One hundred is *Nuru* instead of *Nūru.*

Every page almost of the Comparative Dictionary would supply similar instances.

Dr. Hunter himself is aware of, and regrets, the imperfection of his materials. He says (p. 18), "The attempt to represent tones was, after mature consideration, given up. "Of the consonants little need be said, except that I have not ventured to improve "the apparent accuracy of the book by a manufactured uniformity. The temptation "to do so has presented itself on every page. The letters d, ḍ, r, for example, and "particularly ḍ and ṛ, are very often used indiscriminately, some of the compilers of "the lists writing ḍ generally as *r*, others putting *d* instead of ḍ. * I thought it better, "even where it might be clear which was the correct form, to print the words as they "stood in my MS. lists, than, for the sake of appearances to venture on corrections "from analogy." After giving one or two instances in which such corrections would have led to error, Dr. Hunter says, "This confusion I chiefly regret, because it has "rendered it unsafe to complete what I had hoped would form the most important "feature of the book, to wit, a table of non-Aryan phonetic changes. * * * "Until a table of phonetic changes is constructed, and its laws ascertained, researches "into non-Aryan speech will remain destitute of the exactitude of Indo Germanic "philology."

As the Government have interested themselves in the history of the lower Indian races, it seems to me desirable that they should do, what no one else in India can, viz., stamp with authority some one well-considered Indian alphabet for scientific purposes, on

* *Vide* page 17 of Dr. Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of the non-Aryan languages, &c.* Referring to Toduva, and Toda, he speaks of them as "representing the same language, or varieties so close as to seem "scarcely deserving of separate places."

the principle of the "Universal Alphabet" proposed by Dr. Lepsius.* The actual adoption of Lepsius's system seems to me undesirable, because the great number of sounds it comprises, and the consequent complexity of discritical signs used, are not requisite for Indian vocabularies, and would be unnecessarily bewildering to amateur compilers.

I would suggest that the Government of Madras, for instance, should endeavour to obtain the services of such men as Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Pope, and Mr. Metz, to draw up a table of signs which should represent all the sounds to be found in the different dialects of the Presidency. This list might be then forwarded to the other Provinces, in order that philologists there might add letters expressive of any sounds in Northern languages which are not found in the Dravidian dialects. When a general alphabet had been agreed upon, it should be sent to every district as the basis for vocabularies of the ruder and less known dialects. If the vocabularies thus formed, were again submitted to competent philologists for correction of the orthographical errors, into which ignorance of derivation might lead compilers, they would afford a reliable basis for the comparative philology of India.

The vocabulary in the Appendix is simply an attempt to render correctly, with due regard to derivations, the sounds of certain words in the Hill dialects; it has no pretensions to anything more.†

The Todas have hardly a tradition or legend of any sort from which information as to their former condition can be obtained. They believe that their ancestors always inhabited these hills, that is (for their ideas on the subject seem chiefly negative) they have no knowledge or belief of their having migrated from elsewhere. Mr. Metz thinks the Todas came from the neighbourhood of Kāligāl (Collegāl), because he has often been asked for news of the relatives, who, they believe, still reside there. I cannot find, however, that any Todas are now known in that neighbourhood. Mr. Minchin informs me that there are three colonies of Todas in Wainād, one at Dēvāla, and two on the eastern slopes of the Neliyālam Peak range. Those at Dēvāla, he says, reside in houses of bamboo, built with gable ends, like the huts of the Paniers, and occasionally work as house-builders for the bazaar people, but live chiefly by the sale of ghee and milk. They are Peikis, and say that they left the Nīlagiris sixty years ago to find a better sale for their produce. This account of themselves is confirmed by the fact, that within my own knowledge the dry funeral of two of them has been celebrated at the funeral mund of the Peikis near Ootacamund.

Little more information is to be derived from foreign sources. The Badagas are said to have come to the hills in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, *i.e.*, about three centuries ago; but their songs and stories depict the Todas much as we see them now. I think, however, we may infer that the latter were more numerous, from the fact of their having been able to exact the *gūdu* in the first instance, whereas now, with all the help afforded by long custom, they have at times difficulty in collecting it. Moreover, there are still traces to be found of old mands

* Such an alphabet is not open to the objections which historians and geographers urge with much reason against every method of transcribing names of places and other well-known oriental words which will render them unintelligible to the ordinary reader, because it is simply wanted for philological purposes.

† I believe that since the above was written the Government of India have authoritatively prescribed a system of transliteration, how obtained I do not know.—*Editor.*

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174 long ago deserted, some of which by the girth of the trees which have since grown up in them, have evidently been abandoned for centuries.

177 It would appear that the Todas have always maintained some intercourse with the western coast, as the cowrie necklaces of the women imply. The earliest notice of 489 them I know of, is to be found in the Journal of the Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de 175 Meneses; Coimbra, 1606, the following extract from which has been kindly furnished me by Dr. Gundert:—

175 "From Malabar the Vicars' regular report, from their hitherto neglected and paganised churches, came in to Goa (in 1599). At this time two Cattanars had been to Todamala in the country of the Zamorin, 50 leagues distant from the furthest churches. There (in Todamala) there are still Christians, who speak a language different from the Malabar language. They call their god 'Bidi'* (=fado, fatum). They have a Trinity of persons, viz., an old man, a youth, and a small bird. They say Thomas taught them, but because the king of Mylapûr killed all Christians, they took refuge on these mountains, that there their Cattanars have died, their books have been lost, and all idea of God has disappeared, but still they have a picture very much injured of that Trinity. The objects of that picture they try to keep in mind. They knew that in Cochin there were people of their own caste, on which account they called the two Cattanars brothers, and summoned men and women together to hear them, when the Cattanars explained from the picture the Trinity to the people. The Jesuit Roy was very glad of this report, and spoke of it as not a singular instance. In other places also (near the hills) remains of former Christian congregations were discovered. He (Roy) became Bishop of Angimale in 1601, and Archbishop of Cranganore in 1605."

This report seems to have led to further investigations, as we find by the following abstract of a manuscript in the British Museum kindly furnished me by the Reverend Mr. Whitehouse:—

At the synod of Udiamparûr in the state of Cochin,† held under Archbishop Meneses in 1599, information having been received that there were certain villages of Christians in a country called Todamala, who anciently belonged to the Syrian church of Malabar, but then had nothing of Christianity except the bare name, it was ordered that priests and preachers should be sent thither immediately to redeem them to the Catholic faith, baptize them, &c. Francisco Roy, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Syrian Christians, in 1602 sent a priest and deacon of the Christians of St. Thomas with a good guide to find out the place and collect information. They reached the Todamala; but, as the account brought back by them, was not so sure and complete as was desirable, Bishop Roy requested the Vice-Principal of the Jesuits to depute a priest of his own order to make further inquiries. The Rev. Jacome Ferreiri was selected for this mission. He started from Calicut, the place of his residence, and was permitted to return safely, after undergoing great exposure and fatigue, with a good deal of information about the hill tribes, their manners and customs, but with no tidings of any Christian colony, which had either become extinct or removed elsewhere, if it had ever been there at all.

* Dr. Gundert says, "Bidi or Vidhi is a well-known name of Brahma."

† Todamala is included in a list of Christian churches given in Assemani Bibl. Orient., but this only refers to the date of this same synod.

175 At Calicut he wrote a formal report, dated April 1st, 1603, from which the following particulars are gleaned :—

He proceeded viâ Manarecate 18 leagues inland from Tanûr. A native convert, a nephew of the Samuri Rajah, accompanied him, and some others. Their route led them over steep and rugged mountains, infested with elephants and tigers. At Manarecate they were told that the Todamala was 6 Canarese or 12 Malabar leagues distant, and that it would take them two days and a half to reach their destination. Here they provided themselves with extra clothing as a protection against the cold of the mountains, and also provision for their journey. The Nairs who accompanied them wisely left their weapons behind them, lest the hill people should take alarm. The evening of the second day from Manarecate* found them at the foot of a steep hill up which their route lay. On the third day they reach a Badaga village called Melcuntao (? Mêlûr or Mêlkûndah), containing between one and two hundred inhabitants. The priest and deacon previously sent are said to have arrived thus far. Here they met also with the chief of the Todas, who agreed to call his people together so that they might have an opportunity of conversing with them. On the following day the Jesuit father tried to converse with the Badagas on the subject of Christianity. He also had an interview with the Toda priest called Pallem (Pâlâl) outside the Badaga village, which he would not enter for fear of pollution. They saw some Toda women, and gave them looking glasses and hanks of thread, with which they were much pleased. The third day of their sojourn on the hills was spent in a visitation of some of the Toda settlements, which are very correctly described, as also their dress, diet, manners, and customs. They could not give much account of their own origin, and gave no information leading to the supposition that either they or their ancestors ever had anything to do with any form or profession of Christianity. They simply said that they had heard that their ancestors came from the East, that one party settled on these mountains, and another party descended into the plains. Their number was supposed to be about 1,000, scattered pretty equally over four mountain districts. Feeling the cold, and the Samorin's nephew beginning to be indisposed, they now began to arrange for their descent into the low country. Ere they left, they promised to return within a year, and make a longer stay. Circumstances however prevented them from so doing. The friendly Badagas showed them a better road than that by which they made the journey there.

Very probably the records of the Portuguese missionaries on the Western Coast would furnish us with further information regarding the Todas.

The only other notice (also furnished by Dr. Gundert) I possess, is the following:

Il Viaggio all' Indie Orientale del padre F. Vincenso Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, Procurator Generale dei Carmelitani scalzi. Roma 1672, Venetia 1683.

" The Todri, a small tribe of rather fair people on the mountains behind Ponâne in " the kingdom of the Zamorin, pray to the buffaloes by which they live. They choose the

* Mr. Whitehouse says, "I think the Manarecate must be the place called Manaar in Ward's Government " Survey Map, about Lat. 11°, Long. 76° 30', because it was 18 leagues inland from Tanur, and from thence " 12 leagues to the Todamala. There is a Manaar at the foot of the Sandapatti Ghât, but this is too near. " This idea receives support from Buchanan's Journey through Mysore and Canara, Vol. II. p. 494, where he " speaks of a tract of land occupying part of the mountains between Malabar and Coimbatore, divided into two " districts, Attapadi and Agraro-Cadam, and says that the pass leading to Attapadi is called Manarghât."

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
773 from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought
173 about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
773 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
776 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pdltchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute enumeration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,** *and Nilgiri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
537 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
773 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mānāhāl mund, near the top of the Sugūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Ootacamund road.

First Story.

A Pekkan* Ēn, and his wife who was with child, went from Kūltul mand to Okadnâdmand. The husband brought fibres of a thorn tree, and in due course the wife brought forth a pumpkin!† The Pekkan said, "What! this child is dead, we must make a *Kéd*." They made a *Kéd*, and when the fire touched the pumpkin it split in two, and one half contained a male child; they brought it to Ootacamund, and it lived there, until one day the father found it playing in the kraal, and blew some dust on it, when it became a kite, and flew away. In those days the gods used to assemble on Doddabett, and the kite used to sit with them. One day the gods took counsel, saying "Why does the kite come here, let us drive him out;" so one of them, named Kodâtha, took the kite home to Kodâtha-betta (Hulikaldūrga), and pushed him over; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodâtha's head, so that it split into three pieces. Again the kite joined the assembly of the gods, who said, "The kite does everything; will he turn backwards the stream of Picwakmund? will he catch hold of the sun?" The kite turned back the stream, and tried to catch the sun, first with iron, then with bell-metal chains, both of which melted; at last he made the hook and part of the chain with stone, and caught the sun, and brought it down to Nīrvithmand. Then the world was dark: then the gods went to the kite and said, "You are very great, let the sun go;" so he let the sun go, and the river return to its course.

Before death began, one Ēn, a Todi of Muttanâd Mand,‡ used to go to the other world and return, accompanied by Ponetwan of Okadnâdmand. One day when they were in the other world, the kite came and said to the people of Okadnâdmand, "Ēn and Ponetwan will not return, therefore tie bells to thirty buffaloes and make the *Kéd* ceremony on their account;" and they did so. As Ēn and Ponetwan returned, they met buffaloes with bells coming; so Ponetwan cried, "The kite has done this;" and he touched the buffaloes with his forehead and wept, and his tears became a spring of water; and he blew his nose and there sprang up a tree. Then both said, "They have killed buffaloes for us, we must go back to the other world;" so they went, and took the buffaloes with them. Afterwards a man died in a circle of stones on the right hand side of the road to Kalhatti.§ People tried to lift the body, but could not, so they burnt him there. As there were no posts to the circle, they made women with rice-pounders stand at the entrance all night, and next day the buffaloes were killed.

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* A Pekkan of Manjakal Mand.

† Comp. *Ramayana*, book 1, chap. xl. Soumati, the wife of king Sagara of Ayodhya, gave birth to a pumpkin, which broke, and from it issued the 60,000 sons she had been promised. Afterwards the 60,000 were reduced to ashes in an encounter with Vishnu, but obtained Swarga on being sprinkled by the Ganges, by the advice of Garuda, whose appearance seems to make it possible that the Toda story may really be a corruption of this very old legend.

‡ To the left hand of the Segūr road, near the top of the Ghât close to Seven Cairn hill. The "Bos" (Plate XIII.) is at this mand, which from the position it holds in all these stories, I imagine to be one of the oldest.

§ Nearly opposite Muttanâd Mand. There are several circles here, some apparently kraals. I dug out the circle built on rock and found that it had nowhere more than a foot of soil above the rock, so that the posts could not have been fixed. There are many *Andrans* on a neighbouring hill, and the place seems to have been an old deserted mand. This story looks like an invention to account for this abortive kraal, when the real story was forgotten.

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773

As the Paikāra *Tiriari* buffaloes had gone with Ēn and Ponetwan, Pūrsh, Ēn's daughter, went to the other world and brought them back. But when they returned, they said, "We will not give you our milk, Pūrsh; let our calves have it." Pūrsh went and told this to Ēn, who said, "Give the *Téd* tree bark to the buffaloes, and they will cease to speak, and you can take their milk." Again, Pūrsh went to ask for the golden milk-vessels and churn, which she had left in the other world; but Ēn said, "You left them here, and I will not give them back: use bamboos for milk vessels, and make a churn with five branches like the kafle flower,* and do not come here any more."

When Ēn was gone, there was no head of the Todas, so Pūrsh was made head; and she lived at Muttanâd temple (*Plate* XIII.), and established the *Pâlâls*, *Tiriaris*, *Mands*, and *Boas*. One day an army of horsemen from Mysore came near; when Pūrsh heard of it she said, "Let them all become stones;" so they were turned into stones;† but a few escaped. After this another troop came, and halted at Segūr. Four of them came up the hill, captured a Todi, and asked him, "Who turned the first army into stones?" and they bribed him to tell them of Pūrsh's curse. Then the Mysoreans returned and told their chief; and he said, "Take mutton, and throw it at Pūrsh's door, and the flesh will expel the god." They did so, and Pūrsh came out like a fire, and was transformed into the hill behind Muttanâd Mand.‡ Then the Mysoreans came up and plundered the Todas. Before this time the Todas used to see and speak to their gods, but from the time Pūrsh disappeared, and from the day that a Toda betrayed his people, the gods are seen no more of men.

Second Story.

Kotēn, Tekudi, and Elna were three brothers, who lived respectively at Hona Mand, Tārnāt Mand (*Plate* VIII.), and Muttanâd Mand.§ The wife of the former cursed her husband, saying, "You possess no *Kotagiri*, no *Tiriari*." Kotēn went to his brother and said, "I am cursed, I can't eat or go to the house; give me a *Tiriari* and some Kotas." Then Tekudi gave him a *Tiriari* bell and buffaloes from the Muttanâd *Tiriari*, and Elna gave him a Kota man and woman.

Kotēn went off with these to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Pâlâls*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri*, called by Todas Mērkōkâl.‖

When the Paikara Pâlâl drove Elna's buffaloes to the Sholūr Tiriari, where the god Ênta presides, the buffaloes refused to go, and said they could not go without the bell which Tekudi had taken. The Pâlâl told Elna, who told Ênta. He said he would give a stick, which was to be given to a Pekkan of Manjakal Mund, who was to take a horn to be cut from the head of a living buffalo, and blow it in front, when the buffaloes would follow. Even now when the Paikara buffaloes go to the Sholūr Tiriari, a Pekkan must go in front with a horn, and the horn is blown every evening when the Pâlâl has finished his meal. Enta added that he would kill Tekudi by a bow and arrow within eight days.

* Such as the Todas still use. Two are seen in *Plate* IX. leaning against the hut.

† A variety of this story is connected with some upright stones, apparently slabs from a half-destroyed cairn, near Mr. Findlay's plantation at Kodanâd. Mr. Findlay tells me that he was told by a Toda, that these were once soldiers who insulted the Pâlâl of a neighbouring Tiriari, whereupon he threw some milk over them and turned them into stones.

‡ The hill nearest Muttanâd Mand is Seven Cairn Hill, connected with the story of Dirkish.

§ All these mands belong to the Todi clan, which is the largest, and possibly the oldest from its position in these stories.

‖ Mērkōkâl means the Kota village of the Kūndahs. Mēr is the Toda for Kūndahs, and Kōkâl for Kota village.

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As Tekudi came from Tarnât Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air. 539 773

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikâra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Tarnât Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotên went to a Kurumba village in Bâni Shîma,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swâmi ‡ woman, by name Têrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotên returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotên slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring § and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Têrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotên and Têrkosh, on the Sisapâra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Têrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotên.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanâd. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanâd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ên's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Manda. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swâmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ên one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ên's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the foot, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bâni Shîma, the country of the Bhawâni (Bhowâny) river.

‡ Swâmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nirvên, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotên's ring. Nirvên claims to be a direct descendant of Kotên. He professes to have lost the spear.

‖ These five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodâtha, Pûrsh, Kotên, and Têrkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Maleswaramalê. 776 772

¶ This seems to have been connected to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanâd Mand.

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriaris*. They themselves became *Pālāls*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āsāram*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnâd Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Âmunâd*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Âmunâd*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Âmunâd*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of
771 which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

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797 * *Pūjā*, worship.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

174 discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may 771 be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their 777 desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars. I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nīlagiris, nor can *I find, in* the customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of Christianity. Mr. Metz derives Peranganād (Toda *Pirgár*) from Feringhi; but we have no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

771 If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic; while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

171 Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mūndah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed; the Larkā Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the Peikis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawāni; and they break a pot at funerals, their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

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114 * While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.) has been published. In this work, page 133, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever "to believe that the Todas of the Nīlagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or "Manichean settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of "Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Papuans applies word for word to the Todas:—

"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Uebungen welche, mit einigen anderen Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, "mit ihrem jetzigen Culturzustande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher "höhern Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem "quite irreconcileable with their present state of civilization, unless we recognise in them the traces of a formerly "higher culture."—*Trench's Study of Words, page* 22, *note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilisation. The case of the Todas and Kurumbas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primeval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay exist can hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be soon, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, to ascertain facts about the tribes in question seemed more germane to the matter than to discuss theories of civilization.—*Editor.*

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

plate III

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TODA MEN AND WOMAN.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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PLATE IV.

TODA WOMEN.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE V.

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TODA MAN.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE VA.

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TODA WOMAN.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE VI.

142

TODA MAN'S HEAD.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE VII.

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TODA MAN'S HEAD.

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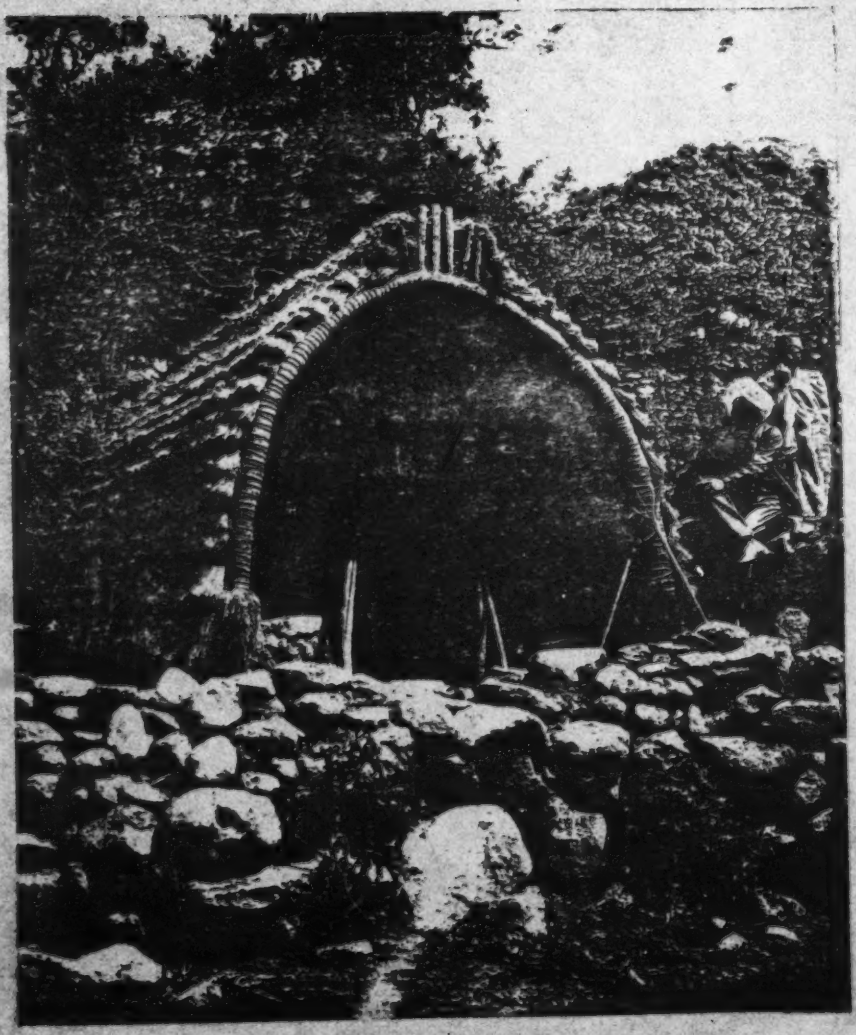
TODA VILLAGE. TÂRNÂT MAND.

Plate viii

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE IX.

342



TODA HUT. PAIKARA TIRIARI.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE X

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TODAS AT PLAY.

3a Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE XI.

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TODAS WITH CLUBS &c.

APPENDIX B.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE of ORNAMENTS, IMPLEMENTS, &c. of NÎLAGIRI TRIBES.

TODAS.

No. I.—*Pûthuli*, worn by men and women. *See* Report. The cloth purchased from weavers who come to the Hills from Serumugê in Coimbatore. Rupees 4.

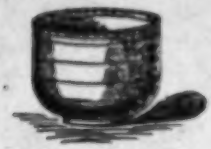
291 No. II.—*Thorp*. Waistcloth worn by men. Purchased from Serumugê merchants. Rupees 1.

No. III.—*Kosa* (ಕೊಸ) Langooty. Procured from Serumugê merchants. 2 annas.

292 No. IV.—*Kûsg* (ಕೂಸ), worn round the waist over No. II. by men who take a part in the funeral ceremonies. Procured from Calicut. Rupees 4.

285 No. V.—*Malari* (ಮಲರಿ). Four baskets, of sizes, to hold grain, made by Todas and Kotas of bamboo and ratan. Annas 10.

415



322 No. VI.—*Pon* (ಪೊನ್). Two milk vessels, of sizes, for milk and curds, made by Todas and Badagas from bamboo joints, with handle and binding of ratan. 8 annas.

415

No. VII.—*Wak* (ವಕ್). Drinking vessel size of a pint, made by Todas and Badagas of small bamboos and bound with ratan. 1 anna.

000 No. VIII.—*Kuarsh*. Walking sticks, two of bamboo, two of jungle wood.

No. IX.—Four pairs of rings worn by Toda men and women. Rings made by Kotas. Rupees 4, 10 annas.

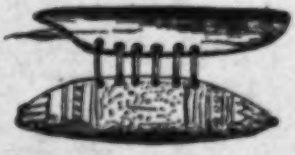
526 No. X.—Sticks and "*Cat*" used in the game *Ilidu*. *See* page 7.[1] Made by Toda men. *Gratis*.

[1] [Errata: See p. 10 -- Analyst]

293 No. XI.—Toda club (ornamented as used at a funeral ceremony). See Plate XI. Made by the Todas of the Hill tree. Rupee 1.
764
322

301 No. XII.—Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

293 No. XIII.—Silver box, end opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the *ikarp* with a string, or sometimes a silver chain. Silver, got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.



301 No. XIV.—*Tilestdi*. Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2½ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

301 No. XV.—Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women. Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklace called *Kashwal*. Red beaded necklace called *Nerbelli*. Annas 4.
283

000 No. XVI.—*Kyttkodiedri*. Tied round the elbow of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Made by Toda women.

Tigri (ತಿಗ್ರಿ). The bag or lump at the end contains the flower and leaf of * ?
6 pice.

45 No. XVII.—*Pagl*. Cocoa-nut drinking vessel, used by women for milk and tyre. Made by Todas out of cocoa-nuts brought from the low country. *Gratis*.

000 No. XVIII.—*Sa*. Cloth tied round the waist of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Cloth made by Badagas in Jakanâri in this district. The same villagers make the Pâlâl's cloths (Tuzni). *See* page 16. Rupee 1.

361 No. XIX.—*Kaythristh* (ಕೈತ್ರಿಸ್ಟ). Silver earrings worn by women in each ear. Made by Kotas. Rupees 5.

No. XX.—*Sibbel* (ಸಿಬ್ಬಲ್). Iron bracelets worn by women on the left wrist. Made by Kotas. 12 annas.

No. XXI.—*Helbu* (ಹೆಲ್ಬು).—Two small iron rings worn by women on the first finger of the left hand; they usually wear two, sometimes four. Made by Kotas. *Gratis*.

This was left blank, probably till the botanical name could be ascertained. I do not know what tree is referred to.—Ed.

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No. XXII.—*Tharig* (ϕϑϰ). Dish of bell metal made in the low country, used by Todas to eat out of. Four or five sizes will be found in each house. Rupees 3, 12 annas.

008

No. XXIII.—"Pútkuli." Same as No. I, but worn by women so as to hang down to the feet, and not thrown so much over the left shoulder. Rupees 3.

No. XXIV.—*Tharp* (ϕϑϖ.) Waistcloth worn by women high up over the breasts. The female "tharp" is larger than the man's "tharp." Procured from Serumuge. 10 annas.

No. XXV.—*Bíthagír.* Necklace, made by Kotas. The chain of silver, the tassels of cowries. When worn, the tassels hang down behind. Rupees 3.

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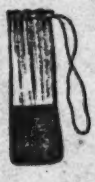
764

No. XXVI.—*Tinnigúni* (תיתקבמ). Purse made by Toda women. At funerals it is put into the pouch of the Pútkuli and burnt with the corpse. Made of coloured cotton thread. *Gratis.*

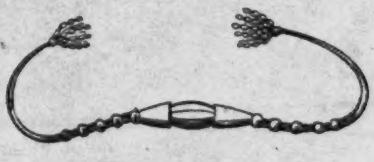
No. XXVII.—*Káttshtram.* Ordinary purse worn by Todas. Made in the low country and bought by Todas from traders who came to the Hills. *Gratis.*



No. XXVIII.—*Pénnír* (ϖϖϖϑ.) Made of black and white cotton by Toda women. Tied round the waist of the corpse and burnt at funerals. Ends done up with cowries. Sometimes eight or ten are burnt at one time. *Gratis.*

3¼ Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

301 No. XXIX.—*Kévilth* (ಕೆವಿಳ್ತ್). Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; burnt with the body at funerals. 30 rupees.



No. XXX.—*Billvall* (ಬಿಳ್ವಳ್ಳ). Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.

No. XXXI.—*Theggár* (ತೆಗ್ಗರ್). Brass chain worn by women round their waist next to the skin. Made at Kota village. Rupees 1, 4 annas.

No. XXXII.—*Módara* (ಮೊದರ). Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.

No. XXXIII.—*Pittch.* Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

372 No. XXXIV.—*Kvelth* (ಕೆಳ್ತ್). Bamboo for blowing up fires. Made by Todas.

764 No. XXXV.—*Patti.* A square basket covered with cloth and cotton, and ornamented with cowries; at dry funeral for a female, 15 or 18 will be burnt, each containing a piece of jaggery, garlic, saffron, sandalwood, and some nir (fibre) for sewing thread, the latter prepared by Toda women; the basket is made by the Kurumbas.

[53]

No. XXXVI.—*Kuttkuelth* (ಕುಟ್ಟ್‌ಕೆಳ್ತ್). Burnt at the dry funeral of a female. Made by Kotas.

534 No. XXXVII.—*Buguri* (ಬುಗುರಿ). Musical instrument; a sort of flute. Made by the Todas, and played by them and by Badagas.

3¼ Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

412 No. XXXVIII.—*Pat* (ᏫᏥ). Wooden implement, used in cooking to stir the rice. Made by Todas.

372 No. XXXIX.—*Nirsh*. Dry sticks which produce fire by friction. *See* page 13. Every mand has some of these sticks.

415 No. XL.—*Chidi* (ᏥᏫ). Spoon of cocoa-nut, and bamboo handle. Made by Todas.

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ART. II.—THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE NILGIRI HILLS.*

By Major W. Ross KING, F.R.G.S., F.S.A.S., etc.

121 THE tribes which I am about to describe are doubtless not altogether unknown by report to various members of this Society, and I do not claim for myself the credit of bringing forward many new facts concerning them. My simple object is to promote attention to the subject in hopes of ultimately eliciting some more certain information than we possess as to the origin of races whose early history is shrouded in mystery and doubt.

114 All personal experiences, however slight, are of value as contributions to the general fund of information, and I have, there-

* Read before the Anthropological Society of London, the 3rd May, 1870.

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fore, not hesitated to comply with the request made to me, that I would communicate such particulars concerning the hill-tribes of the Nilgiris as came under my own observation during a three years' sojourn on those hills, otherwise known as the Blue Mountains of the Deccan. T 114

It is not necessary here to describe that well-known range further than to observe, for better understanding the situation of the tribes by whom it is inhabited, that it occupies a nearly isolated position, has a superficial extent calculated at between six and seven hundred square miles, and an extreme central altitude of 8,760 feet. Approaching them through the flat parched district of Coimbatoor, the great abruptness with which these mountains rise from the plain adds to their apparent height, and at a distance of many miles the grandeur of the lofty blue line elicits the admiration of the traveller. Arrived at the stifling village of Metapollium, at their base, and near the forest entrance of the ascent by the Coonoor Pass, gazing upwards on their hanging forests, rhododendron-sprinkled heights, and precipitous grey crags, towering almost perpendicularly to a height of 7,000 feet, one may fancy oneself enjoying a glimpse of another world. Notwithstanding the temptation which its lofty verdant summits must have offered to Europeans dwelling on the burning plains below, this range remained, chiefly on account of the then almost impenetrable belt of jungle, abounding in tigers and elephants, and surrounding its base on every side, unexplored till the year 1819, and it was not till two years later that any road was opened up to the summit. T 131 T 133

Strange and unknown tribes were then found in possession of this favoured region, a region of green hills and sheltered hollows, of sparkling streams and tracts of primeval forest, with abundant vegetation and delightful climate. Todas and Khotas occupied the higher ranges, while Erulas and Kurumbas clustered here and there in the lower belts on the mountain sides. T 101

These tribes I shall notice in order. Before, however, proceeding to do so, I may render my account plainer by briefly noticing another people who are located on the same ground, and in constant intercourse with the more immediate subjects of our notice, viz., the Vadacas or Badaghas, commonly called Burghers. B 177

Though generally classed among the hill-tribes, they have, comparatively speaking, but recently come among them, having 166

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Badaga A450

197 migrated from the plains lying to the northward of the range,
166 not much more than two hundred years ago. Their history is well known, and there is so little that is new or remarkable about them, that were it not for their intimate connection with the every-day life of the Todas and other hill-tribes, any detailed mention of them would be unnecessary. Although simply Hindoos, their original characteristics and dialect have naturally become somewhat modified in the course of the six or seven generations during which they have inhabited a locality so different to that from which they emigrated.

142 They are lighter in colour than the Hindoos proper, and also than any of the true hill-tribes, from whom they are besides easily distinguished at a distance on account of their wearing turbans. They are beardless, slightly built, and smooth in limb.

565 Several different classes exist among them, the more wealthy
463 owning the only cows and oxen on the hills, as well as herds of buffaloes; many cultivate considerable tracts of grain and other agricultural produce; while the lowest grade either work for the others as labourers or hire themselves out to Europeans, being the only people on these hills who do so.

771 Their worship is that of Siva, and a separate caste among them,
776 the Lingaits, are the priests. The Lingam is the combination of the male and female Phallic symbols of Siva and Parvati, but this religion is free from the impurities that accompany the usual forms of Hindoo Phallism, and is stern and severe. Every Vadaca village has its Lingam, which, if not actually worshipped by all, is held in universal reverence. The mass of the people appear to believe in Rangasawmie and other minor deities.
346 These gods occupy thatched temples of sun-baked mud, and in front of each is a roughly-hewn flat stone or altar for the reception of the offerings of the devout.

I found in a solitary part of the hills near Hoolicul, half-hidden in lemon-grass nearly its own height, a temple of more interest, dedicated to Hetti. It consisted of two parts, the temple itself being a small thatched clay case like a large beehive, standing on a platform raised five or six feet from the ground. This contained, as I was told, portions of the clothing of a deceased Vadaca of wealth and of his widow, who had undergone the suttee with his corpse. Sutteeism, it may be observed, formerly prevailed among these people, even after their arrival on the

hills, though now for some generations discontinued. Opposite 346
to, and a few paces from, this small memorial temple stood half-a-dozen spear-headed stakes placed in two rows, and connected by an ornamented transverse bar, having a seventh point, and hung with grass cords. The sketch will convey a better idea of it. These simple erections, from their perishable nature, and from the custom which they commemorate, having become obsolete, are now rarely met with on the hills.

The Vadaca funeral rites are at the present day so far modified 764
as regards the suttee that the widow merely pretends to rush towards the blazing pile to sacrifice herself with her husband's dead body, and is pulled back by her friends, who throw her robe on the funeral pyre instead, and she herself commences a new lease of life with new clothing.

The villages of the Vadacas very much resemble those of the 361
Hindoos of the plains, and are more numerous and of greater size than any others on the hills, frequently containing from thirty to forty houses. The number of the tribe is computed to 161
be between eight and nine thousand, or fifteen to one, as compared with the Todas.

All the Vadacas may be considered as feudal vassals of the 563
latter, by whose permission they remained on their first arrival, 566
in certain appointed districts, for the occupation of which they pay tribute in grain—a certain fixed percentage on their crops. They pay great deference to the Todas, and never pass them without salaaming. Being a most industrious agricultural people, 157
they have largely increased in wealth, and are prosperous and thriving. They are, nevertheless, besides being totally illiterate, [212]
superstitious and timid to an extraordinary degree, and to this cause may in part be attributed their continued subjection to the mere handful of men which the Todas really are.

The Todas, though by no means the most numerous, are, from 000
an anthropological point of view, the most important and most interesting, being, doubtless, also by far the most ancient of the tribes of the Nilgiris. To them, therefore, the greater part of my observations will be devoted.

Totally distinct in aspect, mould, and bearing from any of the various races of the low country, and as markedly different from the rest of the tribes immediately around them, their exceptional and striking appearance at once arrests the eye of the most unobservant.

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142 The men are large in frame, tall and remarkably well-proportioned, with muscular, massive, and very hairy limbs and broad chests; a physique totally opposite in every respect to that of the dwellers in the plains. Their countenances are manly, open, and handsome, the features being unusually regular. They have luxuriant black beards, and, wearing no turban or covering on the head, display to full advantage their clustering bushy hair, the European look of which is increased by their practice of wearing it parted down the centre. In colour they are nearer brown than black; their lips are full rather than large, and their cheek-bones marked but not high. The eyes are large and intelligent, and the nose is elevated and arched. It is doubtless this combination of the distinguishing features of the white race, with an almost black complexion that gives them in part their peculiar aspect. Many of them have a very Jewish expression, but the general contour of the head and cast of countenance are rather such as we are accustomed to associate with the ancient Romans. This similitude is also enhanced by their stately carriage and flowing robe, the loose folds of which give them an appearance
291 best described by the term classic. This garment, in which the Toda envelopes himself, is of a thick coarse cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back and forward under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again, leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the lower part of the
293 person down to the knees. When herding their buffaloes, the men carry a thin straight rod or wand, about six feet in length, and this is the only approach to implement or weapon that they ever use.

142 The women are much lighter in hue than the men, the body being of a *café-au-lait* tint, and the face a shade darker. They are as a rule very pleasing in expression, and the young women, from fifteen to twenty, generally exceedingly good-looking. They are above the middle height, large in frame and well developed, though the hands and feet are very small. Their features are regular, the mouth not large, lips often thin, and the teeth even and beautifully white; the nose is straight, whilst the eyes are dark
302 and expressive. The most striking peculiarity about them is the arrangement of their fine glossy black hair, which is dressed in

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ringlets precisely such as ladies in this country wore about 302
twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and the long ringlets hang on either side of the oval face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life; the hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. The female dress on ordinary occasions consists 291
simply of a single robe similar to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand. This, as one very soon learns, generally constitutes the sole garment of the wearer, for the Toda women have a habit, even in the presence of strangers, of throwing open the mantle to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting it on the shoulders. Some of them indeed hardly take the trouble to hold it together in front at all, and this was especially the case at a *mund*, near Coonoor, which, as I was quartered in the immediate vicinity, I had frequently to pass. I 202
used to notice that the men watching their herds on the opposite heights, separated by a wide glen from where I was, would announce my coming by shouting across to the women at home, who were accordingly always on the *qui vive* at the roadside prepared to greet me with their usual begging cry *Enam Kurroo*, "give me a present." The way that these men carry on conversations with one another across wide intervening valleys, and apparently without effort, reminded me of the Kaffir herdsmen, every word of whose voices I have heard from hill-tops at distances that seemed incredible.

I have on occasions of ceremony seen the women with under- 292
clothing fastened round the middle in addition to the above 531
everyday costume. I may observe that they often embroider the corners of these robes with blue thread, and shew very considerable taste in the devices.

Neither slippers nor sandals are ever seen among them, men, 291
women, and children alike, going barefooted. The young children are generally pleasing in their appearance. I noticed that the 142
boys up to eight or ten years old are of the same light colour as the girls, the dark hue of later life being gradually developed with each year's exposure to the sun and mountain air until the age of manhood. It is to be noted, however, of the females that, though equally exposed to climatic influences, their complexions remain nearly the same all through life.

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142 The lineaments and characteristics of the Telingan race, as described by Pickering, seem to apply to this people in all points save one, but that a very important one, namely, the nature of the hair. According to the above author, the Telingans have "straight fine hair", but, as the hair of the Toda men is clustering, partially curled, and rather inclined to coarseness, the classification of this tribe under that head seems out of the question.

301 The most noticeable of the ornaments, generally valuable and always pleasing to the eye, worn by the Toda women, are their massive and very handsome necklaces of solid gold and silver, which, though of course varying in size and detail of design, are all of the same typical character, resembling some of the ancient [435] necklaces found in our own country. These ornaments they value very highly, and regard as heirlooms not to be parted with on any consideration, so that to procure a specimen was a matter of extreme difficulty. The one now exhibited I managed after much trouble to obtain through the medium of a friendly Moravian missionary, from a female whose interest in dress and ornament was, like herself, somewhat on the wane. Mr. Metz, the missionary in question, in the course of a residence of many years among these people, had gained their trust and confidence to an almost unlimited extent; nevertheless, it required, in addition to his oral arguments, several successive handfuls of small silver coin, finally amounting to thirty-five rupees to induce her to sell it. Even this sum (which was about equivalent to £3 : 10 : 0, in shillings and sixpences) the owner consented to accept only on condition that nothing should be said to any of her tribe regarding the transaction. This ornament is the work of the Khotas, one of the tribes that will be presently described, and its weight is nearly eight ounces of the purest silver. Nearly all the adult women have similar necklaces, many of them being much larger and more massive than the present specimen, and mostly having bunches and rosettes of cowrie shells on blue cords affixed, which hang down the back of the neck.

Their other ornaments are silver ear-rings and bracelets; gold, silver, and brass rings on the fingers, a couple of very large brass armlets above the elbows, and a brass or sometimes silver belt worn round the middle, and next to the skin. The use of the latter I fancy may be the suspension of the underclothing when worn.

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opp. p. 24

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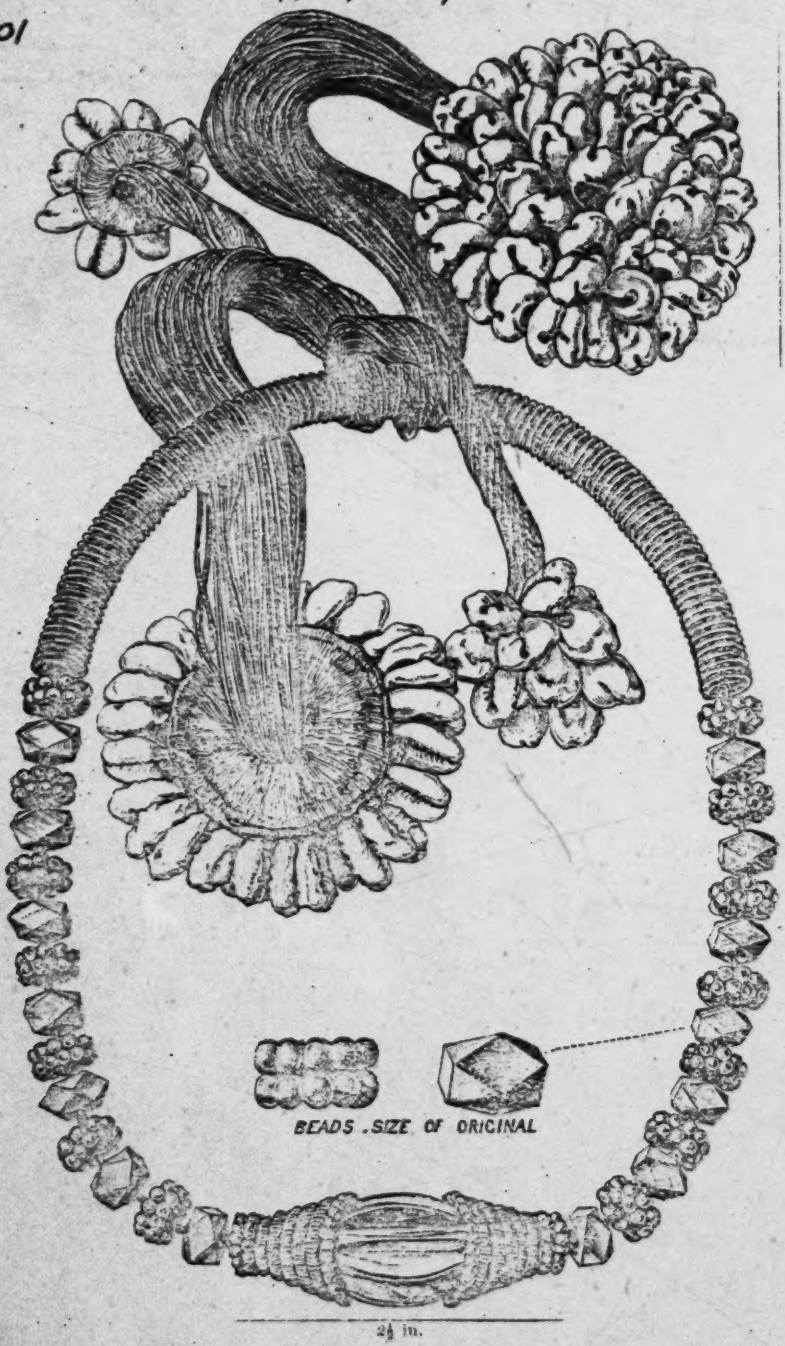

SILVER NECKLACE, TODA TRIBE.

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342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

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221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
563 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced
651 by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

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research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it. 197

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to everyday life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thoughtful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agriculture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers

157 262 241 181

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181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

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that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, 262
except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This [462]
consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds, which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones, the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, 231
though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their *munds*. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the European Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into 616
two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a 793
better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*. These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes, though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at. Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry, and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest, naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests [292]
are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

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616 others, I cannot recal, undergo a shorter and less severe period
793 of initiation. Both are often dairymen, an office of great honour and importance; but a *Khoota* is equally eligible, provided he goes through certain preparatory rites in order to purify himself for it. The especial duties of the priests are to tend the sacred herds just mentioned; to conduct the periodical sacrifice of a calf to invoke fruitfulness among their herds; to present the daily offering of milk at their temples; and to superintend the funeral rites. Of actual or of assembled worship, they have none, so far as I could discover, though, individually, they offer up occasional prayers to an Invisible Being for recovery or preservation from sickness.

346 Their temples differ but little in appearance from the ordinary huts. One of them, standing in a pretty little glen, near the road between Jakatalla and Coonoor, I made an examination of at a time when the *mund*, about half a mile off, to which it belonged was deserted by its inhabitants. Creeping in on all fours, I discovered, as well as the darkness permitted, that it contained nothing whatever but a square metal bell and a shapeless black stone, about twice the size of a man's head, the latter placed alone on the floor at the end furthest from the entrance. Being unwilling to bring this out to the light, I could not ascertain whether its colour was natural or artificial. The size precluded the notion of its being an aerolite, although it is well known that meteoric stones have been, in the early history of many countries, regarded with religious awe. To this temple, I
782 had often previously seen the priest from the neighbouring *mund* bring, in the early morning, a vessel of new milk; but whether the offering was poured out, as some say it is, as a libation, or merely presented and taken away again, I had no means of ascertaining without the risk of giving annoyance.

000 It will be borne in mind that black stones have, from the earliest times, been objects of reverence or actual adoration from east to west; as, for instance, in Mecca, also among the ancient Romans, and even in the western islands of Scotland, where, moreover, milk was offered to them. Bells, too, have been, in past ages, regarded with veneration, and as having mysterious powers over demons and evil spirits, not only by various Eastern races and castes, but in ancient Britain.

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and supreme Spirit, and in a future state, though this they seem to regard as one of a somewhat mundane character, inasmuch as buffaloes and abundance of milk are to be the portion of the faithful. They also pay reverence to, though they do not worship, inferior objects, such as hills and forests and the rising sun, precisely as did the ancient Celts. In connection with the adoration of light, they also make an obeisance to their evening lamps on lighting them. The observance of this custom in Europe is mentioned by Edward Spencer, who, writing in 1596, states that, "at the kindling of fire and lighting of candles, the Scots and Irish use superstitious rites."* 771

The presence in their temples of large stones, which have, by superficial observers, been regarded as gods, has led to the belief that these people are idolaters; but this is certainly not the case. There is no doubt that the shapeless symbols are merely representatives of an unseen power, and not in themselves actual objects of worship; though with other races, preserving less strictly their primitive character, this original use has degenerated into idolatry. The fact, therefore, that this tribe has so preserved to the present day, in the midst of a heathen country, the primary object and intention of such symbols, is one worthy of notice; and leads to the supposition that the Todas may be equally unchanged in all other respects since the earliest days of their corporate existence as a people. 771 778

It would be a most interesting point to determine satisfactorily whether or not the early progenitors of the Todas were the erectors of the numerous Druidical circles and remains found on their hills, and which crown the summit of almost every peak throughout the Nilgiri range. Several of the cromlechs have, rather against the wishes of the hill-tribes, been examined at different times, and found to contain urns of clay filled with black earth, charred fragments of human bones, and roughly made clay figures of buffaloes, and in some instances bells; the whole lying under large flat stones within the circle. It is to be noted, too, that these urns, as well as the bells, very closely resemble those that have been found in Great Britain. 172

Within the last few months, "a set of iron implements" has been found in a cromlech on the southern side of the Nilgiri

* *Early Races of Scotland.*

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Toda

172 range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes, as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a
837 time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

582 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early
583 age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

opp. p. 32

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TODA WOMAN.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 A1060 Toda A1060

582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

843 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
851 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

582 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
563 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

764 lucky and unlucky days. Each night and morning of the interval between the death and the funeral, a lament or coronach is sung over the body by the family and relatives of the deceased. In this they are often joined by passing friends, or by those who have come for the purpose of thus testifying their respect for the dead, and sympathy with the survivors—a trait in the character of this people exhibited in many other ways, and more remarkably than with even many civilised nations.

765 The day of a death is observed by the immediate relatives, as it was among the ancient Jews, as a solemn fast. Their necklaces and ear-rings are also taken off, and the hair is cut short, as a sign of grief and mourning. Both sexes are obliged to conform to this custom on the death of a near male relation, though when a female dies the men do not do so. The sacred class, or *Teralees*, are exempt in either case.

764 On an appointed day, the relatives from a distance having duly arrived in obedience to the summons, the body covered over with a mantle, but having the face exposed, is carried in procession on a sort of bier to the *Terraree*, or sacred ground belonging to the family, and, under the superintendence of the high priest attached thereto, assisted by his subordinate, is burned with certain solemnities and much wailing; the relatives, prior to the corpse being placed on the funeral pile, cutting off a few locks from the head.

766 The above are, however, only the preliminary honours paid to the dead, the principal rites being deferred to a subsequent period, which may be a few weeks, or as many months later.

With a view to the coming rites, portions of the deceased's ashes are saved from the pyre, and, together with the locks of hair, his ear-rings and other ornaments, are carefully folded in his own mantle, and laid by until the proper time arrives.

The concluding ceremonies are, perhaps, the most singular and interesting of all the Toda customs, and I was fortunate in having an unusually favourable opportunity of witnessing them. For, familiar as some of their practices have latterly become in the neighbourhood of our new Hill-stations, their funeral obsequies are only celebrated in the more remote parts of the mountains, and are consequently seldom seen by any European. 000 Indeed, I do not know that the presence of Captain J. and myself would have been tolerated on the occasion to which I

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refer, had we not been accompanied, or rather introduced, by the Moravian missionary, Mr. Metz, whom I have already mentioned as being so much esteemed by the tribe. 000

Our ride to Kapilla, the scene of these interesting rites, lay for some miles over a fine open undulating table-land dotted with enormous rhododendrons, which were loaded with clusters of dark crimson flowers. Gradually we got into higher ground, now pressing our hill-ponies up steep acclivities, now skirting the edge of great forest belts stretching downwards for many a mile into the sultry valleys at our feet, till, guided by the appearance of a few distant natives wending their way towards an isolated wood on one of the surrounding mist-covered peaks, we at length came within hearing of the shrill and very peculiar sound of Khota hautboys. 766 137

Leaving our ponies, we entered a deep shadowy wood of moss-grown trees, whose gnarled and twisted stems and branches were also completely covered overhead and down to the ground with ferns, orchids, long pendent tufts of grey lichen, and parasitical plants, one with dark glossy leaves and an orange flower being especially beautiful.

In an open space, near the centre of this shady grove, and lit up by the bright rays of the midday sun, was a surging crowd of white-robed Todas, and half-naked Khotas with wild and excited looks, whose unmusical pipes drowned all other sounds. Outside the wood, on an open green space, stood a Toda temple, having its gable-ends of polished wood thickly studded over with silver coins of various sizes, fixed in perpendicular rows on each alternate plank. Near at hand was a small temporary shed, or ridge-shaped tent, made of pieces of native cloth, whilst at a little distance off was a large circular *tooel*, or cattle kraal, with a wall both higher and thicker and altogether much more substantial than usual. It was constructed of stones and sun-baked clay, the entrance being barred with stout poles. 766 346

Within this enclosure stood ten splendid buffaloes, their clean bright skins and polished horns indicating that some pains had been taken to improve their naturally fine appearance. 766

Crowds of women and children stood or sat about the temple, in which a party of the former had just placed the deceased's robe and ornaments, together with two bags containing his ashes. With the exception of the younger children, who were naked

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

766 the whole were clad in clean, white, soft-looking mantles, and wore ear-rings and necklaces of gold and silver. A plaintive monotonous wail was sustained while each man arriving passed before and bowed towards the dead man's ashes.

766 541 231 782 All the males, except one or two grey-headed old patriarchs who sat with great dignity a little aside, now danced together in a circle holding hands, the Khota musicians accompanying them with tom-toms and pipes. 1

When this was concluded half-a-dozen young men, evidently selected for their strength and activity, came forward, each carrying a long heavy club made of dark wood and pointed at the thicker end. Having thrown off the usual mantle, they stood in a kind of kilt of thick white cloth, having a red border round the lower edge, or skirt, the upper part of their bodies, as well as the legs, being bare. In this picturesque and most becoming costume they looked exceedingly handsome fellows, models as they were of muscular symmetry. At once advancing towards the cattle enclosure, with all the women and children running after them in the greatest excitement, these combatants leaped in among the buffaloes, the crowd instantly closing round and completely covering the wall, each endeavouring to get as good a view as possible of the coming spectacle.

The buffaloes were, as may be supposed, alarmed by these unusual proceedings, and their alarm became all the greater when the clubmen dancing wildly in their midst commenced striking them with their clubs. When their panic was at its height the men, watching their opportunity, sprang two together on the necks of three of the largest animals simultaneously, seizing them by the horns and nostrils and endeavouring to bear them to the ground, and affix a collar and bell round their necks. This bell is of the kind usually worn by one or more animals in every herd when grazing, and is of the ancient four-sided form, made of a single plate of metal and roughly riveted.

Marvellous was the agility displayed by these gladiators, as we may term them, in avoiding the savage thrusts of the huge sharp-pointed horns and in getting in behind them on to the animal's neck, wrestling in desperate strife as they were borne here and there among the trampling feet, now dashed against the wall, now on the ground.

To escape unhurt in such a combat was impossible, and it was

1 [Second funeral rites -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AU60 Toda AU60

not long before we saw one of the men receive a dangerous wound in the neck from the thrust of a horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. He at once became an object of the greatest solicitude among the women, and was led away as a hero to the small tent, where he received every care and attention at their gentle hands. 766 541 231 782

As, one after another, fresh animals were attacked and borne to the ground with terrific struggles, those already belled and liberated turned on the common enemy, angrily tossing their formidable horns and butting so savagely that, had it not been for the extreme quickness and coolness of these men, some of them must have been killed. Their clubs now swung round and aloft with greater rapidity, and the heavy blows fell thicker and faster, the loud shouts and excited gestures of the male spectators, the exulting *Hau, hau* of the combatants, the weeping and occasional shrieks of the women, the stamping and rushing in the arena, the bellowing of the buffaloes, whose nostrils were covered with blood and foam, and the circling clouds of dust half-hiding the writhing mass, formed a whole more easily pictured in the mind than in words. A bag of the deceased's ashes was now laid at the entrance to the kraal, and the high priest, taking a handful or two of earth, threw some of it on the ashes, and some into the kraal amongst the buffaloes. One of these lay dead in the enclosure, and the rest were one by one led, or rather dragged out to their final doom, struggling violently, and plunging right and left in vain endeavours to escape from their brawny captors, who still clung to their necks. Forced up to a post fixed in the ground, at the foot of which lay the robe, ornaments, and ashes brought from the temple, the battered, bleeding animals were at length despatched there by the high priest's sacrificial axe as an offering to the dead.

Though the women had beheld with interest and excitement the torture of these unfortunate brutes, they now exhibited the greatest grief at their death, sitting and kneeling round the carcases with clasped hands and streaming eyes, addressing them in the most affectionate terms, as "Are you happy?" "Is it well with you?"

The mourners, male and female, next drew near to each other in couples, the man putting out first the right foot and then the left towards the woman he approached, who, dropping on one 766

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

766 knee, touched it with her forehead. Both parties then seated themselves on the ground close to and facing each other, and bringing their foreheads together remained in that attitude, with their hands placed either on each other's knees or shoulders, the woman weeping aloud, and having her mantle drawn closely over the head. In a few minutes the man would rise, and with a plaintive ejaculation, go to another to perform again the same ceremony, invariably offering first his foot, which was always saluted with the forehead.

[152] All this weeping and wailing, divided as it was between the buffaloes and the dead man, had a most striking effect. So unfeigned did their grief appear that I could not but feel that our presence was an intrusion. This scene continued until the mourners, who formed only a portion of those present, had all gone through the ceremony one with the other, when the priest, standing by the deceased's ashes and robe, laid on them a handful of what appeared to me, as far as I could see, to be some kind of seed or grain, and then, accompanied by the under priest, bore it back again with great reverence to the temple, the crowd falling back to permit the passage of the priests and their charge.

With this seemed to terminate the first part of the obsequies, and a sudden change came over the whole scene. The dead buffaloes were removed by noisy parties of Khotas, who had either bought them, or earned them by their services just concluded; and the crowd of Todas again assumed their every-day deportment, as they prepared for a general meal or feast.

We found that the rites would not be resumed till dark, when the robe and ornaments were to be burned; but, as we had no shelter to go to for the intervening seven hours, and no food for either ourselves or our ponies, which were, moreover, shivering from the cold of this elevated position, we were obliged to forego the gratification of witnessing the conclusion, but were shown the spot where it was to take place. This was within a circle of stones, exhibiting signs of many former burnings, and occupying a retired situation at the edge of the grove.

In the centre of this ring, on a pile of dry wood, the priests place the mantle, bags of ashes, ornaments, and wand of the deceased, together with gourds and grass-baskets of grain, for his sustenance in the other world, and the whole are ignited as the mourners stand round, the women with their heads still covered

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Toda Kota

T 766 by the mantle, and the men joining in a monotonous cry of *heh-hey, heh-hah.* Every vestige of the remains is on this occasion destroyed by fire, and the metal ornaments having been carefully searched for, the ashes are buried under a large flat stone in the centre of the circle. This done, the ornaments are taken home by the family with every sign of respect and affection for the lost one.

K 181 *The Khotas.*—Next to the Todas in point of interest, and probably also in antiquity of race, as well as of settlement on the Hills, stand the Khotas, though the two races have nothing in common either as regards physical development, countenance, usages, or dwellings.

K 142 302 [271] A party of Khotas seated, as I have often seen them, in the evening, outside their dingy huts, presents an exceedingly wild and weird appearance. Thin and spare in form, and very black, the men wear only a dirty cloth round the loins, and the uncomely women the common wrapper of the country. The bare heads of both sexes are shaggy, with matted locks of dusty hair, sometimes tied in a knot behind, and invariably uncombed from the day of their birth. This is very different in nature from that of the Toda, and could it by any possibility be disentangled would be found naturally long and straight, instead of curly and clustering; the bushy beard is also absent, and every feature is of an opposite character to those of the tribe with which they are so closely in contact; the countenance being entirely destitute of that intelligent and pleasing expression so noticeable in the other.

K 262 515 Dirty in their dwellings and persons, they are also unclean feeders, devouring dead cattle, putrid flesh, birds of prey, or vermin, with as much apparent relish as fresh buffalo-meat, for which, unlike the Todas, they have a great predilection. I have myself seen a Khota carry home for food a dead rat thrown out of the stable a day or two previously by my *ghorawallah.* Practising such habits, it is not to be wondered at that the Todas consider them an unclean people.

K 157 463 436 On the other hand, they are a peaceful and industrious race, ingenious artisans, and indispensable to the other tribes, for whom they manufacture gold and silver ornaments, pottery, agricultural implements, wood-work, and baskets, besides acting, as already described, in the capacity of musicians at the funeral and other ceremonies of their less skilled neighbours. For these varied services they receive payment from the Todas in coin or buffaloes, and from the Vadacas in grain and other produce.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda
Kota AW55

463 and from the Vadacas in grain and other produce. It is to be observed though, that they do not, like the latter, hire themselves out as labourers, but preserve a certain independence, entirely confining their mechanical labours to the supply of their own wants and those of these two tribes; I never saw a Khota labouring either for a European, or on the public works, which at Jakatalla gave employment to so many of the neighbouring Vadacas.

323 Though their pottery (made exclusively by the women) is of a
462 coarse and inferior quality, many of their gold and silver orna-
306 ments are, as will be seen by an examination of the necklace before noticed, artistic in conception, and exceedingly well executed. Its solid beads on either side are alternate polygonal cubes, and double rings of pellets, and are evidently cast in a mould; the centre ornament is an oval of more elaborate design,
534 and is of beaten silver. One of their chief musical instruments is the pipe, also before mentioned as being used at the Toda funerals, and of this I managed to obtain the specimen exhibited. It is a sort of hautboy, being played by means of a reed, and having a bell-mouth, which is remarkably well made out of a solid piece of hard wood. I cannot, however, say much in favour of the musical properties of this instrument, the tones of which are loud and harsh, and bear an inferior resemblance to those of the Highland bagpipes.

181 It is probable that the Khotas have been as long resident on the Hills as the Todas, to whom they were doubtless originally, as at the present time, inferior, both physically and in general condition. Their ability as artisans is as much the result of manual dexterity as of intelligence, in which they are by no means superior to the Todas.

As there were in the days of Adam, pastoral tribes and mechanical ("such as have cattle," as well as "artificers in brass and iron"), each following their own special occupation, so these two tribes may have held their present position with regard to one another through successive ages to the present time.

197 The Khota tongue is said, by those who have examined it critically, to be in its root and origin allied to that of the Todas, though, as far as mere sound goes, which is the only experience of it that I possess, they are very unlike; nor do the two tribes understand one another.

[The Kotas -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda
Kota AW55

In place of the deep pectoral and sonorous tones of the Toda, 194
who always speaks with dignity and deliberation, the Khota has 197
a rapid utterance with a somewhat nasal twang. The similarity that really exists in the formation of some words is, however, worthy of careful notice.

Though occupied chiefly as artisans, the Khotas, like their 231
neighbours, keep up herds of buffaloes, and, moreover, cultivate 241
the ground to some extent, producing fair crops of grain, millet, garlic, mustard, poppy, pulse of several kinds, and what at first much surprised me, of our well-known garden flower called "prince's feather."* The mustard is not used by them as far as 436
I could learn, but is grown as an article of exchange, or barter with the low-country people; but the poppy is largely consumed 276
among themselves, in the form of opium. Each family has a 351
larger or smaller patch of land, not generally close to its dwelling, but in any suitable spot on the neighbouring verdant slopes. The effect thus produced is often very beautiful: at one season sheets of scarlet poppy set in green; at another, of yellow-flowered mustard alternating with brilliant ridges of crimson amaranthus, suggest rather the idea of ornamental "ribbon border" gardens of native design than practical farming.

The prince's feather is grown for its seed, which is called *keerie*; 243
mixed with the flour of other grain, it is much used as food in 462
the shape of porridge. As is very generally the case among uncivilised tribes, a great proportion of the field work is performed by the women, whose, in this instance, not very pleasing form and features are by no means improved thereby. In addition to daily household duties, it is also their business to thrash out and winnow the grain, which latter operation they perform just outside their huts seated on a clean grass-mat. Raising the corn or seed in baskets to the full upward extent of the arms, they pour it out so that the wind shall carry the chaff to one side. Afterwards the grain is parched a light brown colour, and finally 252
ground between two stones, the meal being most ordinarily used in the form of porridge. Every hut has in front a threshing- 243
floor made of sun-baked and evenly smoothed clay, and this is a favourite place of resort in the evening.

Though, like the Todas, they have numerous buffaloes, these 231
keep them for an entirely opposite purpose; for, whereas the others feed them solely for the sake of their milk, and never use

* *Amaranthus tristis.*

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda
Kota AW55

231 them for food, the Khotas do not milk them at all, but kill them
262 as required, for the sake of their flesh only. It has been stated
251 that they make no use whatever of their buffaloes, neither slaughtering them nor milking them, but this is an error. They use a good deal of the meat, more or less fresh, and are also in the habit of drying strips of it in the sun for future use, like the *biltong* of the South Africans.

161 The Khotas number at the present time probably about two
361 thousand souls. One of their largest villages is that at Khotagiri,
621 close to which I took up my abode for several weeks, on two different occasions. Though, as has been seen, the Toda *munds*
342 never comprise more than four or five huts, the Khota villages cover some extent of ground, and the dwellings are of an entirely different character to the others, in form as well as material. These are simply rough square built cabins, with ridge roofs, thatched with grass, the walls being a mixture of clay and buffalo dung plastered over a framework of wattle and posts.

346 In each village are separate temples for the men and women,
771 the larger, intended for the male sex, being dedicated to an imaginary deity, and the other to an equally mythological goddess. These temples, if they can be so called, are built similarly to the huts, except that they have the upper part of the gable-ends open, and the chief temple, which is double the size of an ordinary dwelling, is distinguished by several tall poles projecting above the ridge, and having feathers and bits of cloth attached and fluttering in the breeze. I was freely allowed to enter the large temple at Khotagiri, but found it a mere empty shed, no stones or symbols of any kind being visible. This confirmed what I had previously heard, namely, that the religion of these people does not partake of idolatry in any degree whatever, all their deities, of which there are several of both sexes, being purely ideal.

793 They have no separate sacred class like the Todas, though each
796 village appears to have a family claiming an hereditary right to the priesthood, and from it a suitable man is selected to perform their simple and not very frequent religious ceremonies. He is paid and maintained by the rest for doing so, and is exempted from all manual labour so long as he continues to hold the office. The principal festival of their calendar is an annual one, lasting for several days, and held apparently for the purpose of invoking prosperity for their manufactures and tillage.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWLO Toda
Kota AWSS

As with the Jews, the Kaffirs, and many savage races, as well as with the Celts of old, the new moon is observed as a season of festival. Once a year at this time, the different trades of the village bring to the temple an offering of their first-fruits, each presenting a specimen of his own craft, being the first article manufactured in the commencing year. After this, a feast (to which every family in the place has previously been called on by the priest to contribute) is held in the temple with many introductory forms. A general dance takes place after dark round a blazing fire to the music of pipes and tom-toms. It was a striking scene to witness these wild-looking half-naked figures gesticulating and singing round the brightly blazing pile, clapping their hands in time to the fantastic dance. 527 796 535

In reference to this ancient custom of dancing at particular changes of the moon, I cannot resist quoting the following extract from Strabo, given in Col. Forbes-Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*: "The Celtiberians sacrifice to a nameless god every full moon at night, before their doors, the whole family passing the night in dancing and festival." This exactly describes the above scene, as well as many similar ones that I have witnessed among the races of South Africa.

Besides their modern temples there are some very interesting carved stones in different parts of the Hills which have apparently been erected at distant epochs. These most probably belong to this race, seeing that they are the only hill-people acquainted with the use of tools. 324 172

I accidentally discovered a very curious and perfect object of this character, and of evident antiquity, when shooting at the head of the Khotagiri Pass. In searching for a quail which had fallen into a dense bit of jungle, through which it was difficult to make a way, I came suddenly on a beautiful *kistvaen*, or perhaps *dolmen*, for it partook of the characters of each. It consisted of several large vertical slabs forming three sides of an oblong square, and having others laid horizontally on the top as a roof. It was divided by a centre slab into two cells, or compartments, the whole interior, that is to say, the inner face of each slab, being covered over with carving. The nature of these has now completely escaped my memory, and unfortunately a carefully made sketch which I took at the time was afterwards lost in the Mysore country, together with my collection of 000

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

000 portraits of the different hill-tribes; and of Toda songs and traditions; the latter, written in German, had been kindly presented to me by Mr. Metz, who had collected them among the natives.

Referring to these carved stones, it may not be out of place here to remind you of the eastern character of some of the symbols found on the incised monoliths in our own country; the Ko elephant, for instance, being one frequently met with in Scotland. 565 The Khotas, unlike their aristocratic neighbours, who all rank 556 equal in the social scale, are of different individual degrees of 764 wealth, and consequent consideration. The funeral rites of the poorer are of necessity of a very simple character, the body being burned by the friends without ceremony, and the ashes forthwith buried. When a well-to-do Khota dies, the body is placed on the funeral pyre with some form, and the ashes are at the end of the year collected by the friends and carried in procession to the place of sepulture, the final honours very much resembling those in Ku vogue among the Todas.

101 *The Kurumbas.*—About two-thirds of the way down the mountain sides, which at that height are encircled by a continuous belt of forest, we find the Kurumbas, the third of the hill-tribes, Ku properly so-called.* They, in their turn, differ widely from both 197 of those that have been described. Their language has a great many words belonging to, and seemingly borrowed from, the Toda, a fact doubtless due merely to their local position midway between that race and the Erulas, whose strange mixture of various low-country languages forms another portion of the Kurumba vocabulary. They have no written character, and their tongue is Ku rather a jargon of corrupted dialects than a language.

101 It is not to be wondered at that strange and mysterious stories should be circulated and credited of a people whose dwelling is in the recesses of an unhealthy jungle, avoided alike by natives and Europeans, haunted by wild beasts, and all but impenetrable. Seldom visible, even at a distance, they fly from the approach of civilised man with extraordinary agility, slipping over the steepest crags like the monkeys, their companions, and instantaneously

* This tribe is of another race from the shepherd Kurumbas, described by Sir Walter Elliot as having a distinct priesthood, and worshipping the god Bhyon. The Nilgiri tribe have neither cattle nor sheep, and, in language, dress, and customs, have no affinity whatever with their namesakes.

disappearing into the forest-depths. I cannot, however, bear out 101
the popular statements, either that "they have their dwelling in the tops of the highest trees," or are "thickly covered with hair." Their chief food is wild roots and berries, or grain soaked in water, 262
with occasional porcupines or polecats. Their dwellings are no- 342
thing more than a few branches piled together like heaps of dead brushwood in a plantation, often simply holes or clefts among the rocks. Their clothing is, with the males, a small dirty cloth round 291
the loins; and with the females, a rag thrown on any way that its condition and size render most available.

With no regular supply of food beyond a little patch of millet 261
here and there in some open spot, which receives no other pre- 754
paration beyond being scratched with a stick before sowing, and 789
with only a few plantains or occasional jack-fruit, their starvation 563
would be at times inevitable, but for certain allowances from the Vadacas in the form of grain, bestowed on them through fear of their supposed demonocracy and power of evil. For example, when any of those industrious, but most superstitious of agriculturalists, are about to commence the ploughing of their land, it is absolutely indispensable for good luck that the first furrow should be turned over by a Kurumba, otherwise the evil power at his command might be let loose to blight the expected crop. The wily savage, who, though evincing an extraordinary respect for the lordly Toda, despises the more wealthy Vadaca, is cunning enough to encourage the dread and secret dislike, in which he sees that he is held, the former owing to his strange immunity from the jungle fever and wild beasts, so dreaded by others, and the latter to his own repulsive personal appearance. He accordingly demands, as a preparatory sacrifice, a calf, or a goat, or a cock, according to the means of the occupier of the land, thus enhancing the solemnity of the ceremony to his own profit. A quantity of the native porridge being made for the occasion is also partaken of by all present. In return for the important protection supposed to be conferred by the foregoing rites, the neglect of which the Vadacas consider as certain to entail loss and disaster, and further, in order to ensure fortunate harvest weather, the magical Kurumba is again summoned when the season arrives, to reap the first handful of corn, receiving for his own use a liberal percentage on the crop. The women eke out their miserable exist- 222
ence by collecting gum and wild honey, for which they find a sale among the Hindoos.

[The Kurumbas--Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AU60 Toda
Kurumba AU56
Irula AU53

K 142 The appearance of these rude people[1] is wretched and even dis-
147 agreeable. Low in stature, they are also ill-made; the complexion is of an unhealthy hue, and their heads are thinly covered with mangy-looking hair. They have bleared eyes, a rather wide mouth, and often projecting teeth. Spare to leanness, there is also a total absence of any apparent muscle, and the arms and
K legs are as much like black sticks as human limbs.
161 The tribe is widely scattered round the range, and is believed to
791 number nearly nine hundred. Their religion resembles that of the Hindoos, so far as one can say that they have any religion at all, for they have neither priests nor temples. Their chief god is the popular Rangasawmie, but he receives no further notice than the small and easily-paid attentions of a plantain or a little grain laid be-
K
585 fore his stone image. No such ceremony as marriage exists among these people, who live together like the brute creation.
K Their dead are sometimes burned, sometimes buried; in either
764 case, with as little form or trouble as possible. They are, in short, among the most debased types of mankind.
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101 *The Erulas.*—The Erulas have been mentioned as inhabiting the immense tracts of forest clothing the lower ranges of the Hills, and, in fact, extend nearly to their base; so that they are less strictly hill-tribes than the others, though regarded as such
I by the inhabitants of the adjoining plains.
616 In point of numbers, they are rather superior to the last men-
565 tioned tribe, and are divided into two hereditarily distinct classes, an upper and a lower, the latter of which comprises the bulk of the people. This division is not in any way connected with their religion, but is altogether a social matter; and it is one the peculiarity of which becomes more striking when we reflect on their degraded and poverty stricken state, and on the fact that class distinctions, otherwise than for religious reasons,
I do not prevail among any of their neighbours.
142 In general appearance, the Erulas are something between the Kurumbas and the Hindoo pariah, but their hair is more abundant than that of the former, and they are altogether less wretched looking specimens of humanity, though by no means
I either well formed or pleasing in expression. The only appre-
565 ciable difference between the upper and the lower classes is, that
301 the former are perhaps more frequently decorated with necklaces and bracelets, made of dried berries or of millet straw, and some-
times have large rings of silver in the ears.

[1] [The Kurumbas -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Auto Toda
Erula Aw53

291 times have large rings of silver in the ears. The dress[1] is similar to that of the Kurumbas.

342 Their dwellings, though but rough sheds, are a degree or two
771 better than those of the latter; and they provide their idol, Rangasawmie, with a rude shelter from the weather. They have very few religious rites beyond the simple offering made to it, and the occasional sacrifice of a cock to propitiate evil spirits.

000 This custom is interesting, as having existed from the earliest ages among partially civilised races, in widely separated countries, both of the old and new world. In the East, we find it practised at the present day, as of old, among several wild tribes of India, by the Cingalese and others. Its progress westward is traceable among the Arabs; and, coming to the western limit of Europe, it is found to have existed, not only in the sun worship of the Celts, but to have been practised both in Scotland and Ireland to within a comparatively recent period.

262 In respect to food, these people fare no better then their half-
241 starved neighbours, the Kurumbas. As they bestow no labour on the ground, simply sowing their grain in a careless manner on any half-cleared patch that offers itself, the produce is naturally not very great, and the little there is, is never harvested nor stored. The daily supply is cut just as required, and so long as any remains they give themselves no care for the future, but consume what they want on the spot, roughly beating out the grain, and parching it in a rude and primitive way on heated stones. At other seasons, their food consists of wild fruits,
261 roots, and berries. In times of drought, these precarious
731 means of subsistence frequently fail them, and many die of starvation: a fact which, nevertheless, fails to teach any lesson of prudence or industry to the survivors. In the monsoon, the tribe is scattered in all directions, each individual seeking his own subsistence without any regard to the rest, begging or stealing, according to circumstances.

764 The funeral rites, or rather practices, of the Erulas are most singular; but, as I have not witnessed these myself, I can only speak from the description of others. The almost universal Indian custom of cremation is not resorted to at all; but each of the two classes has its peculiar burial-place as follows. Within a hut of considerable size, placed a little apart from the village, is a large and very deep pit dug in the centre of the

1 [of the Erulas -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

I 764 earthen floor. The opening into this hole is covered over with the trunks of young trees laid close together, side by side, with a mound of earth raised over them. This is removed for the reception of each fresh corpse, which is flung in headlong like that I of a dog, without any ceremony or preparation whatever.

585 Like the Kurumbas, they[1] have no notion of marriage, but 616 live promiscuously one with the other, save that the two classes keep th.. mselves to themselves.

OOO Both these unfortunate races have doubtless retrograded, mentally and physically, under their long continued endurance of hardship, and are, probably, in a lower and more debased condition at the present day, than ages ago, on their first arrival in T the locality.

144 In conclusion, it is difficult to believe that any of the tribes I 105 have thus endeavoured to describe (excepting, of course, the Vadacas) can be in any way allied to the inhabitants of the plains; whilst it appears almost impossible as regards the Todas, a tribe as distinct from all its various surrounding neighbours as an oasis in the desert. Superior in physique, countenance, and character, free from the inherent thirst for blood so universal among all wild races, and yet brave and courageous, by moral influence alone exercising dominion over larger tribes, exclusively pastoral practising polyandry, speaking an unknown tongue, believing in an invisible deity,—they stand totally isolated in the very midst of an enormous population of civilised and progressing people, of an utterly different religion; and after, it may be, thousands of years, still retain unchanged their primitive character, and the observance of religious rites and customs prac- T tised in prehistoric times.

144 There is no doubt that all these hill-tribes are aborigines of 174 the peninsula of India, the whole area of which was probably Ko once occupied by them. Some have thought it possible that 144 they may all have been originally of one race; and others, in 174 like manner, have argued that, even in the extreme instances of Ku the Toda and the Kurumba, the difference in physical character 144 may be attributed to the nature of the regions they respectively 174 inhabit. This is allowing extraordinary power to such influ- I ences, and is, moreover, entirely contradicted by actual fact in the 144 case of the Khotas. That tribe, occupying precisely the same regions 174 as the Todas, is as opposite to them in physical character as is

[1] [The Erulas -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW63
Kotai AW55
Kurumba AW56

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the Kurumba. Why, unless originally different, should one tribe have short clustering hair, with bushy beards, while another in the same district has long straight locks, with little or no beard? why should the one tribe be brown, with women fair, and the other have both sexes perfectly black? and what influence of climate could convert a Kurumba's nose into a Roman one?

It is very probable that the two most degraded of these tribes —namely, the Erulas and Kurumbas—were originally one, and that the slight physical differences existing between them may have resulted from the nature of their respective situations and consequent modes of life. The Todas and Khotas, however, can never have been one people; and the characterising differences of the present day must have always been equally marked. The preservation of their respective characteristics may be due to the fact of these tribes having escaped pursuit, or even observation, at the hands of the successive subjugators of the country, owing to the lofty and inaccessible retreat which they selected for themselves in the Nilgiri mountains. The Todas might, indeed, have been located there in earlier ages, not only previous to the irruption of the Hindoos across the Indus and through the plains of the Deccan, but anterior to the nations that preceded them, and possibly from the earliest ages. The Erulas and Kurumbas, flying thither for refuge, and finding the summit already in possession of a superior people, would naturally shelter themselves in the untenanted solitudes lower down, hiding in the dense forest of the mountain sides as at the present day. Their partial inoculation with the religion and language of neighbouring races seems also to confirm the theory of isolation in respect to the other, and further removed, tribes. In the Todas, therefore, is it not possible that we may have a remnant of one of the earliest races that inhabited Asia whose rites and customs, if not introduced into Europe by a westward migration, were doubtless analogous to those of the Celts of Britain? May they not be a living link connecting the present with ages of which we still know next to nothing, and in their singular social customs, religious rites, and even personal appearance may we not picture to ourselves, probably with a very near approach to accuracy, the scenes and people of an era coeval with, or even prior to, the stone monuments which on

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

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their mountains, as in this land, have so long excited our interest and speculation?

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The Todas have been, in turn, considered as outcast Jews, Roman colonists, and Celto-Scythians; one writer asks if they could be Aryans, or might not rather be Turanians, and another propounds their affinity to the Tasmanians. I do not presume to advance an opinion on so difficult a subject as this, but have thought it interesting to point out the striking analogy that exists between their rites, customs, and monuments, and those of the Celts of Early Britain, an analogy not unknown to antiquarians. On the other hand, I have drawn attention to the many points of resemblance existing between them and the Kaffirs. The number of these I might have added to, for I have left unnoticed here some with which I was much struck at the time. I have also glanced at the few points they have in common with the Jews of old, and also with the ancient Romans, whose coins have, by the way, been found plentifully in the Deccan.

Though I do not deduce any theory of origin from the above resemblances, they are equally entitled to notice with the former, and may possibly qualify the soundness of conclusions that have been drawn from Celtic analogy.

The real origin of the Todas and Khotas is a question which, if ever to be elucidated, we are not, as yet perhaps, sufficiently acquainted with their language satisfactorily to determine, and I would earnestly recommend the subject to this Society as one worthy of its investigation. There is, in fact, hardly any more inviting field for the anthropologist than that of Hindostan, almost every quarter of which furnishes wild tribes of whose history little is known. There were two others of these which interested me very much, namely, the Brinjarries and the Niadis.

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The former are the gypsies of India, a nomadic tribe roaming the Deccan with large herds of bullocks. The lineaments of the white race are plainly visible in their sable countenances. Their dress, too, is a partial approach to that of the European, though the tall handsome women wear very singular armlets, bangles, and necklaces. One of the latter which I procured, will be found worth the inspection of those acquainted with other eastern ornaments of that nature.

The other tribe, that of the Niadis, is of a totally opposite character. They are a wretched people scattered over the low hills and waste districts of Malabar. They are nearly naked, but

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Kota AW55

are only to be seen at some little distance, generally in parties of ten or twelve, and invariably retreat on the approach of strangers. They attracted the attention of my party by howling in the most unearthly tones, from a rising ground several hundred yards from the road. Looking at them through the glass, they were seen to be miserably thin and wretched-looking creatures of the wildest possible aspect. By the advice of a Hindoo *kotwal*, I put down a few *annas* on a rock by the roadside, for which, as soon as we were at a safe distance, they raced down howling and chattering like so many wild beasts. 000

Cock sacrifice is practised by these people also, and no doubt many interesting customs and rites might be discovered if properly investigated; but I must not digress from my subject; my only reason for thus incidentally mentioning either of these tribes is to show what material exists for inquiry among the tribes of Southern India, whether on the hills or on the plains.

To return for a moment to the former, I may add in conclusion that the Todas and Khotas of the present day are unfortunately degenerating. Both tribes are, I think, naturally capable of considerable improvement, both mentally and morally, but, so far as I saw, and especially in the case of the former, their contact with the European has hitherto produced only its too common results, intoxication, licentiousness, and cupidity, threatening to add to the long list of so-called uncivilised races that the white man has assisted to demoralise. T 177 K 177

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toirôs and töüviḷḷ.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tirmod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoiḷ, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toirôs are reckoned to have ten mod, the töüviḷḷ five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called pusuṭṭ, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are poḷḷoiḷ. Membership in a group of people known as poḷḷoiḷ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the poḷḷoiḷ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319-23.

582 601 618 daughters of his maternal grandmother's sisters' daughters, and so on; in the preceding generation his mother, his mother's sisters, his maternal grandmother's mother's daughters' daughters, and so on. To the generation younger than him belong his sisters' daughters, his mother's sisters' daughters' daughters, and so on. A man will also designate as his poɫjoɪɫ his mother's sons, his maternal grandmother's sons, his sisters' sons, and so on for any son of a woman who is related to him as poɫjoɪɫ, but not the descendants of these males. This network of relations in the female line cuts across mod divisions, and divides the toɪrðas at present into five exogamous sets of poɫjoɪɫ, the töŭviɫj into six. Rivers[4] has given a concrete example of how mod-relationships are handed down from one generation to the next; the relationships of poɫjoɪɫ are preserved in the same way even when links in the relationship are no longer remembered.

582 835 A man, then, while marrying within his own half of the whole tribe, must marry outside of his own mod and outside of his poɫjoɪɫ. As it is put by the Todas themselves, he must not marry a woman who is ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj, "one who is born to one and the same mod" or poɫjoɪɫ to him. The other peculiarities of Toda marriage and sexual relationships, viz. polyandry, the institution whereby a man may take another's wife upon the payment of compensation, that by which a man may take a concubine from the other half of the tribe, and the general license permitting a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman who takes his fancy without any permanent tie being formed, seem to have blinded observers to these fundamental rules, which govern not only marriages, but also all sexual relationships. No man may marry or have intercourse with any woman who is related to him through a wholly male line or through a wholly female line. This is the system which is generally followed by the castes and communities of Hindu south India (with some exceptions which follow the rules prevalent in north India or some peculiar system of their own). The corollary following from it, that a man may marry his cross-cousin, obtains of course among the Todas as it does among the other south Indian communities following these rules. Among the Todas it is optional, though preferable, and is applied in the symmetrical fashion.[5] It seems to be the rule among many of the south Indian communities that the mother's brother's daughter is preferred, though without excluding the possibility of marriage to the father's sister's daughter; there is no trace of this preference for asymmetry among the Todas.

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[4] Page 490.

[5] Rivers, p. 514, and my informants generally.

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Rivers' account of the general rule[6] is incomplete and in part incorrect. How this came about is of course not certain, but a guess may be hazarded on the cause. There is even now, when information is apparently more easily obtained on most subjects than it was thirty years ago, some reticence and embarrassment about the subject of poɭjoɪɭ. It seems to be connected in part at least with the taboos that surround the relationship, perhaps more with the general air of indecency and ridicule with which the Todas approach the subject. This will be made clear when an account is given of the names of the divisions and the stories behind them. At the moment it is necessary to criticize Rivers' account. He interprets the term poɭjoɪɭ (his püliol) as including both sets of prohibited affinities. This, being quite contrary to Toda usage, explains the impression he records that "it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his püliol included all the people of his own clan" (i.e. mod). It was a new and wholly erroneous idea. The list of püliol which he gives is in part a mixture of two sets of relationships, in part incorrect, and as a whole incomplete. A man may not marry the daughters of his father's brothers (Rivers' heading i) or the sisters of his father (heading iii), since they are üudmortkvæɪdvoj. The daughters of his mother's sisters (heading ii) and the daughters of his sisters (heading iii) are forbidden, since they are poɭjoɪɭ. His fourth head, the daughters of the sisters of his father's father, gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriages to such persons found in the genealogies.[7] The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poɭjoɪɭ to him, but üudmortkvæɪdvoj; they cannot have married his üudmortkvæɪdvoj, and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given[8] that a person must not marry the child of his motʃiṇj (matchuni, i.e. cross-cousin) is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him. If she has married outside his mod, there are no objections. Again, if a man's male motʃiṇj has married a woman who is poɭjoɪɭ to the man's mother, the motʃiṇj's daughter will be forbidden to the man; otherwise, not. The case in the last paragraph on p. 511 of Rivers' work, that of a man marrying a daughter of his sister's daughter, is impossible, since she would be his poɭjoɪɭ. The final case in this paragraph, the marriage of two brothers to the daughter of their sister's son, violated no rule; the disapproval that attended the marriage was undoubtedly due to the disproportion in age, not as such, but as depriving

[6] Rivers, pp. 509–11.
[7] Rivers, p. 511.
[8] Rivers, p. 511 *mod.* and again p. 513.

582 601 618 114 some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poɭjoɪɭ are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

196 A note on the semantics of the word poɭjoɪɭ may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the poɭj." The most usual meaning of poɭj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called ɑɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ŭɯd-voɭjoɪɭoɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ŭɯd) poɭj (i.e. poɭjoɪɭ)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poɭjoɪɭ institution. The semantic development of poɭj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poɭjoɪɭ and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poɭjoɪɭ. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate paɭli, "building, temple."

613 539 As was said above, there are at present five sets of poɭjoɪɭ among the toɪrðas. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinɯl of the kerɯroɪɭ (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The kŭatæɪnboɭjoɪɭ or oɪrvɯtʂɣaɪkvoɭjoɪɭ is said to be descended from kŭatæɪn (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poɭjoɪɭ make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (ɑɪr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɯtʂ). A crow (kɑɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moɣðɯtkoɪtʃvojvoɭjoɪɭ, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

618 539 order to strengthen a new-born child, they smeared it all over with butter and put it in front of the fire; as a result the child died. Another is called mukoṛðurktoɪṛjvmtvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of those who carried large baskets to the mukoṛ swamp" or moɪvγoɪṇoðmöʃγüartvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of those who ground pepper without seeing the deer." It is told that seeing carrion-eating birds circling over a swamp they assumed that there was a dead deer there and went off with large baskets to bring back the flesh, telling the women meanwhile to grind a large heap of [831] pepper for the curry. Of the other two, more indelicate stories are told. One is called pikukveṇvotsvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of one who put butter on the navel." A woman covered her navel with butter and made a dog lick it and have intercourse with her. The other is called puɪtʃvoʃjoɪʃ. It is said that formerly a man and woman of this poʃjoɪʃ had sexual intercourse with one another. The women of this line are said to be particularly [832] strong in their sexual passions; the verb with this meaning artsti, "she is passionate," and the noun arikn, "passionate woman" are tabooed under the conditions described below, and it is said that the element puɪtʃ–, not otherwise found, has the meaning of these tabooed words.

Six poʃjoɪʃ of the töüvɪʃj survive: one other is known to have become extinct some years ago with the death of küuɪsjγümɪṛ of the koʃemoɪʃ (Kurikudr in Rivers' Table 72). The others are as follows. The üatvaγðurspodjvæɪṭoɪḍjvojvoʃjoɪʃ," people of the house of one who hunted the pig in the üatvax swamp" are so named because one of the line hunted a pig which he had seen for a whole day and night and yet let it escape him. Another is called nöɪṇgoɪṭkvarʃγaṛtjvojvoʃjoɪʃ,"people of the house of those who sent fuel to nöɪṇgoɪṛ." Men of this line saw a hare, and intending to hunt it for food, set the family to work to collect fuel to roast it for three days. A third is called oɪrvmṭγeɪṛjvoʃjoɪʃ. The story is the same as for the oɪrvuṭγaɪkvoʃjoɪʃ of the other division, except that the cakes were in a basket mukeɪṛj, to which the element keɪṛj in the name is equivalent. Another, the pevuɪtγoʃɪjvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of the stealer of a large piece of meat," are so named because one of the line stole a large piece of meat at the sacrifice of a calf (æɪṛγuɪmtt, "act of killing male buffalo").[9] A fifth is called kuɪðuɪṛγoɪlvatjtʃetapeʃköθkjvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of one who seizing a horse's leg pole-vaulted." It is told that a man, finding a dead horse, cut off the leg and vaulted with it until he reached the door of a house where he was beaten by the occupants. The last is called ömʃöükörkojvuṇæɪtpuɪṭvuɪrkuṭvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of one who taking the milking-pot in his left hand at the tiɪ dairy called ömʃöü broke

[9] See Rivers, p. 274.

4 [Sets of poʃjoɪʃ among the toɪrðas -- ANALYST]

618 wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this
539 poɭjoɪɭ are forbidden to become poɭoɪɭ to this tiɪ. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the moγδɯtkoɪt ʃvojvoɭjoɪɭ of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a
[522] tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the kŭɯdzɯl, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the poɭjoɪɭ should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

602 A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse
835 between ŭɯd̆mortkvæɪdvoj and poɭjoɪɭ of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's mod̆), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as ŭɯd̆mortkvæɪdvoj) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his poɭjoɪɭ or his ŭɯd̆mortkvæɪdvoj). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the noɪjm or council takes cognizance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

602 Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same tuɯ or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

[See pp. 106 and 107, cat. 539 — Analyst]

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by
[264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poljoil or ümdmortkvæidvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ümdmortkvæidvoj or poljoil of the opposite sex.

602 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens,
533 and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ümdmortkvæidvoj and poljoil of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as
602 decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have
196 had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which
192 both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poljoil or ümdmortkvæidvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to
[833] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is
[522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (muiɽγüurt-, "neck-cut," and kläurtγüurt-, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kümɤdjvöm, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

196. 521 192 602 Thus aḍð–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also kɯ ʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nɑrtj–, "make walk," is permitted when ɯr, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb pɑtj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪṭj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again ɑtvɑt is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way pɯn, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [841] [304] Similarly poɪθj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kɪpoṇt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 521 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ɯɯdmortkvæidvoj or poʃjoɪʃ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

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[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

5: Emeneau L-5 (1935-37) 1937 Toda

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Enquiry into the details of the moγδoɪʈjt institution (called by Rivers mokhthoditi)[11] supplements Rivers' account in some important details. For all legal purposes, i.e. membership of mo*d* and the consequent relations to the tribe as a whole, Rivers is correct. Children of these unions are legally children of the man who has given the bow to the mother. In investigating restrictions on the freedom to form these unions it was found that there are two classes of union. In one the man who takes the woman gives only a cloak (puɪtγuɫj). Children of this type of union and the man's legal children may form moγδoɪʈjt unions without any restrictions, except that such a union may not be formed while the parents are still living together in a union of this kind. When the union in the earlier generation ceases, a union in the next generation may be formed.

In the other class of union the man gives to the woman jewelry and makes to her male relatives the koɪlmilvɯḍθt salutation ("act of falling on leg," i.e. kneeling and putting to one's head the other's feet in turn; of the one who raises his feet it is said, koɪlγoɪʈj–, "leg-show"). Children of the union are then in the same relation to the man's legal children as if they were ŭɯ*d*mortkvæɪdvŏj, and the same rules hold for unions between them and between their descendants as for unions between ŭɯ*d*mortkvæɪdvoj and their descendants. For example, a half-brother and a half-sister may not form the union; their children may form the union, for they are pseudo-mot ʃiṇj. Children of half-brothers may not form the union, but their children may. Rivers[12] mentions the union of kŭɯɪsiɑɫf of the töŭviɫj with piɫj-muɾγ of the toɪrδas. He insisted on giving ter for her[13] as if she could be his legal wife, and lived with her for many years (which is unusual in these unions), having by her four children, who were regarded by everyone as his own except that they belong legally to the toɪrδas. This seems to have been the first case in which ter was given in one of these unions, and there have been some later imitations of the precedent. This type of union is merely an extension of the type in which the koɪlmilvɯḍθt salutation is performed, and the regulations governing unions of the descendants are the same.

The taboos described above operate also between all those who are in a pseudo-relation of ŭɯ*d*mortkvæɪdvoj because of a moγδoɪʈjt union. In the first type of union they cease to operate when the union is dissolved, in the second they are permanent in their operation, just as is the prohibition against further unions.

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[11] Described in Rivers, pp. 526–29.

[12] Page 534 *mod.*

[13] See Rivers, pp. 523–25.

194 The Toda words given in this paper are written in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association with some changes. The language has three t-phonemes: t a tongue-tip dental, *t* a tongue-tip alveolar, and ṭ a retroflex; there are three d-phonemes with the same positions, d, *d*, ḍ; only two n-phonemes are found, n alveolar and ṇ retroflex. The language has a peculiar sibilant phoneme, which is homorganic with the alveolar stops and has the body of the tongue well flattened and lowered from the roof of the mouth, thus differentiating it from ʃ in the same position, while its position differentiates it from s. For this sibilant I write *s*. Three r-phonemes are to be distinguished: *r* a one-flap sound at the roots of the upper teeth (the IPA symbol for this sound is not available), r a trill in alveolar position, and ṛ a trill well behind the alveolar ridge, i.e. in retroflex position. The symbol j represents the English y-sound except when between voiceless consonants or final after a voiceless consonant, when it also is voiceless. Of the vowel symbols, ɯ is high, back, unrounded, ö mid, mixed, rounded. Four l-phonemes have to be distinguished, and the limitations of the printer's stock have forced me to write them as follows: l alveolo-dental voiced, *l* alveolo-dental voiceless, ḷ retroflex voiced, *ḷ* retroflex voiceless.

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[For word and language taboos see category 116, pp. 106-110.]

CHAPTER V

THE TODAS OF SOUTHERN INDIA

105 In the south of India, from 11° to 12° north of the equator and from 76° to 77° east of Greenwich, rise the Nilgiri Hills. Though individual peaks reach an altitude of nearly 9,000 feet, the Nilgiris form, in the main, an undulating table-land about 500 square miles in extent, ranging from 6,000 to 7,000 feet above sea level. The tropical climate of southern India is here greatly modified by the altitude. The mean annual temperature is only 58° F.; the thermometer rarely rises above 70°, and frosts occasionally occur on cold winter nights. The heavy precipitation of the monsoons nourishes the vegetation of the grassy prairie and forested valleys; from December to March, however, comes a dry season, during which the grass is parched. The plateau is singularly isolated from the rest of southern India. On every side the land falls away precipitously 3,000 to 5,000 feet to the plains below, and the steep slopes are covered with a dense, malarious, and almost impenetrable jungle where tigers, leopards, deer, and other animals abound.

The most interesting inhabitants of this plateau are the Todas, a pastoral tribe of buffalo herders. Their culture, though unique, reveals certain points of similarity with that of the Nairs and other peoples of Malabar, and this may indicate a common origin. Nevertheless, they have certainly lived in isolation in the Nilgiris for a very long time. They preserve no traditions about the prehistoric cairns which dot the hills, and their culture was already fully differentiated when they were first visited by a European, a Portuguese missionary, in 1602. Attracted by the salubrious climate, the Europeans in southern India began, about 1820, to retire to the Nilgiris for relief during the hot season. After 1850 they

came in considerable numbers, founding summer colonies at Ootacamund and other towns. They introduced venereal disease, from which the natives have since suffered severely. Today, however, the population of the Todas—about 800—is again slowly increasing.

The Todas speak a Dravidian tongue, akin to the languages of their neighbors. They frequently employ archaic or secret words and expressions in their ceremonial and in the presence of strangers. Though they possess no written language, they are able to count into the thousands. Time is reckoned according to a calendar with twelve months of thirty days each and a week of seven days.

Racially, the Todas differ markedly from their neighbors. They are lighter in complexion—the men a rich brown and the women still lighter. Their hair is thick, black, and wavy. The men, in contrast to the other peoples of India, have thick coarse beards and extensive hair on the body. Tall in stature, the men average five feet seven inches, the women six inches less. Other physical characteristics include a narrow head (cephalic index 73 to 74), a long oval face, brown eyes, a prominent nose of medium breadth (nasal index 75), and moderately full lips. The men are athletic and robust. One man seventy years of age, for example, used to walk fifteen miles to market in the plains, returning the same day to the hills, an ascent of 3,000 feet, with a heavy sack of grain. The young women with their bright eyes and ringlets of raven hair are sometimes distinctly pretty (see Fig. 31), but they rapidly degenerate in appearance. One observer describes the Todas as a race of superb men and hideous women.

Four other tribes also inhabit the Nilgiri Hills. The Badagas, who number about 34,000, and the Kotas, with a population of 1,200, share the plateau with the Todas, while two wild tribes, the Kurumbas and Irulas, occupy the encircling jungle-clad slopes. The mutual relations of these five tribes present an interesting example of an intergroup division of labor. The Todas practice no agriculture and few indus-

trial arts. They devote nearly their sole attention to their 105
herds of buffaloes, supplying the other tribes with dairy products in return for various goods and services. The

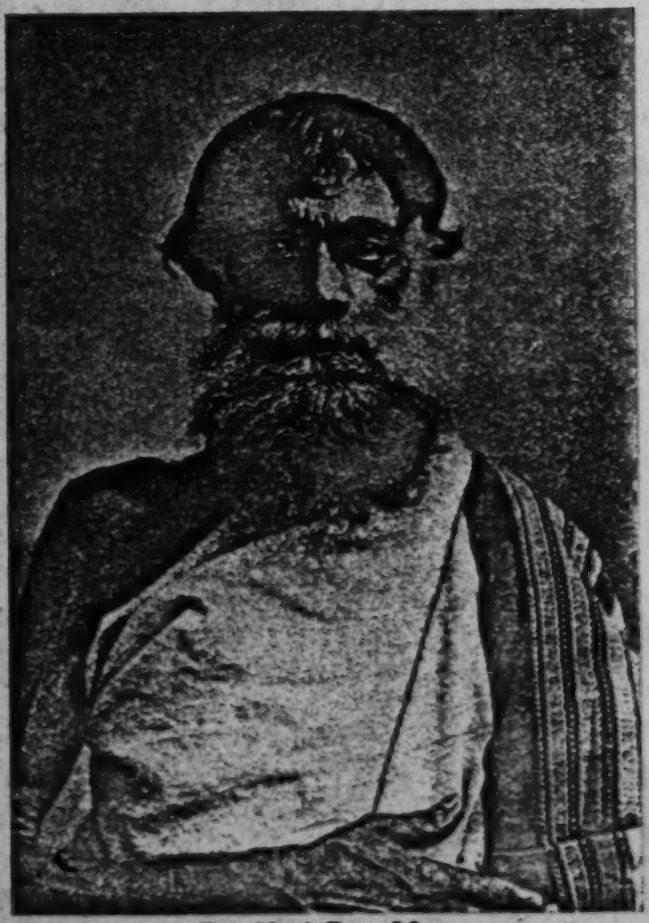

FIG. 28. A TODA MAN.
From Rivers, *The Todas*

Badagas, a predominantly agricultural tribe, provide their neighbors with grain and other farm products, and act as middlemen in the trade with the peoples of the lowland. They pay an annual tribute of grain to the Todas, partly

105 because the latter are considered the original owners of the land, partly from fear of Toda sorcery, and partly because it is immemorial custom. The Kotas, though they practice a little agriculture and possess a few buffaloes, are primarily an artisan tribe. They make and supply to the other tribes most of their pottery and ironware. They also provide the Todas with music and certain ceremonial objects, receiving in return the flesh of all sacrificed buffaloes as well as various dairy products. The Todas believe implicitly in their own superiority over all other peoples, and they regard the Kotas as definitely inferior. The Badagas, however, they treat in general as equals. The relations of these three tribes with the Kurumbas and Irulas are much less intimate, though the latter furnish certain forest products. Between all the tribes, however, complete peace prevails. War is absolutely unknown. The Todas, indeed, do not even possess weapons, save for degenerate clubs, bows, and arrows which survive in certain ceremonies.

The material culture of the Todas is surprisingly meager. Inasmuch as they neither till the ground, hunt, fish, nor wage war, they possess no tools or weapons for such purposes. They manufacture neither pottery nor textiles. They have knives and axes for cutting firewood, utensils of earthenware and bamboo for cooking and dairy operations, and brooms, sieves, and grain pounders for household purposes, but most of these articles they obtain from the Kotas. They generate fire by means of a simple fire-drill. Thorns serve them as needles, and leaves as dishes and drinking cups. Their fine arts are as undeveloped as their industrial processes. Decorative art is confined to simple adornment of the person and clothing. Occasional playing of the flute and the composition of songs for ceremonial events exhaust the musical attainments of the tribe. Their dances are rudimentary and confined to funerals. In general, the arts have been overshadowed by ceremonial.

The Todas clothe themselves in coarse cotton garments

obtained from the Hindus through the Badagas. Both sexes 105
wear a loin cloth and a long loose mantle or cloak thrown over the shoulders. The latter garment has a capacious pocket and is frequently embroidered. The men also wear a perineal band supported by a string about the waist. Head and feet are commonly bare. The women wear their hair in long ringlets, the men in a thick mop cut evenly at a moderate length. Children have their heads shaved at the sides and

FIG. 29. TODA DWELLING.

top, leaving locks of hair before and behind. The women load themselves with ornaments of gold, silver, and brass—earrings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, waist circlets. The men commonly wear silver rings and gold earrings, formerly also silver chains around the neck. Adult women are tattooed on the chest, shoulders, and upper arms. The men usually reveal raised scars on the left shoulder—the result of piercing with a hot stick as a magical cure for fatigue from milking. Circumcision is not practiced. The Todas paint the face very sparingly, the body not at all, but they smear themselves with ghee (the native butter), which soon becomes rancid and gives off an unpleasant odor.

Architecture is almost the only art at which individual Todas have become specialists. The ordinary dwelling resembles in shape a half of a barrel which has been split longitudinally. The side walls are merely a continuation of the curved roof; both are of thatch fastened with rattan to

105 curved bamboo rafters. They project some distance beyond the end walls, which are constructed of solid planks. One end serves as the front of the dwelling. Here a tiny entrance with a sliding door gives access to the interior. The atmosphere inside is usually intolerably stuffy, since a fire is kept constantly burning in the fireplace with no provision for the escape of the smoke. Raised platforms of earth, smeared over with a thick layer of dry buffalo dung, serve as beds. A hole in the center of the floor, where the women pound grain, divides the house into two portions; the women confine their domestic activities to the rear, while the men carry on their dairy operations in front. A village consists of from one to six such huts, usually situated at a slight elevation near a wood and a stream, and surrounded by a stone wall with openings large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo.

With the exception of a few cats, the Todas possess no domesticated animals save their buffaloes. These animals, a particularly fine variety of the common water buffalo of India, are tended exclusively by males. They graze by day, watched by boys, and are penned up at night. They are driven from place to place at different seasons, partly to secure better pasturage and partly to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations. The cows are individually named and their pedigrees remembered—only in the female line, however, for no attention is paid to breeding and no importance is attached to paternity. The bulls are unnamed and held in comparatively low esteem. Male calves are usually sacrificed or given away to the Kotas; a few only are retained for breeding. The Todas distinguish two classes of buffaloes—sacred and ordinary animals. The ordinary buffaloes are tended by the boys and men of the village without special ritual, and their milk is churned in the dwelling house. The sacred buffaloes, however, are tended by special dairymen alone, their milk is churned in special dairy buildings, and their care is surrounded with an elaborate ritual. Moreover, they are subdivided into herds of varying degrees of sanctity,

each with its own dairies, its own ritual, and its own class of dairymen. 105

The dairies associated with the sacred herds are usually situated at some distance from the villages, preferably adjacent to a separate water supply. Near each dairy is a circular inclosure for the buffaloes at night, a smaller pen for calves, and usually a small building for very young calves. The great majority of dairies resemble houses in architecture

FIG. 30. CHURN AND DAIRY UTENSILS OF THE TODAS.

except that they are surrounded by higher walls. A few very ancient and sacred dairies, however, are circular in shape with high peaked conical roofs. A partition divides the interior into two rooms. In the outermost, containing a fireplace and two beds, the dairyman sleeps and receives his friends. In the inner room, which he alone may enter, he performs the dairy operations and keeps, each in its special place, the various dairy utensils.

The principal dairy operations, milking and churning, are performed twice a day—in the early morning and late afternoon. The buffaloes are milked outside the dairy. In the bamboo milking vessel is placed a little whey from the previous churning, in order to cause a rapid coagulation of the

105 milk, for the Todas make little use of fresh milk or cream. The milk coagulates before the cream is able to rise—the morning's milk by evening, the evening's milk by the next morning. It is then churned in an earthen pot by means of a stick rotated by a cord. Churning separates the coagulated milk into a liquid part, whey, and a solid part, which may be called "butter" although it differs from our butter in containing the casein as well as the fat of the milk. The "butter" is heated over the fire and clarified by the addition of grain, which sinks to the bottom of the vessel along with the proteid constituents of the milk, forming a deposit which is a staple article of the Toda diet. The remaining liquefied portion, containing the fat of the milk, forms ghee or clarified butter, another staple product.

The Todas subsist solely on dairy and vegetable products. Except in a single ceremony, they never eat the flesh of their buffaloes. Nor do they eat any other meat with the single and rare exception of the sambar deer. They make considerable use of wild berries, thistles, nettles, and bamboo shoots, and they obtain grain and vegetables from the Badagas either in the form of tribute or by purchase. Their favorite dishes include rice boiled in milk or whey, vegetable broth, rice and jaggery (crude sugar) boiled in water, and a kind of curry. Millet is roasted and pounded, mixed with whey and jaggery, rolled into large balls, and eaten with ghee or honey. Whey is the usual drink; there are no native intoxicating liquors or other indigenous narcotics or stimulants. The men do the cooking and eat before the women. The Todas take two principal meals a day; they break their fast between nine and ten o'clock in the morning and dine between seven and eight in the evening. They are modest about allowing others to observe them eating—from fear of the evil eye.

The tribe is divided into two endogamous divisions or moieties, which in some ways resemble castes, although there are no restrictions against their mutual intercourse.

105 They reveal minor divergences in dialect and ceremonial, but they chiefly differ in the fact that the Tarthar division owns all the higher sacred herds and dairies while the Teivali division alone furnishes the sacred dairymen who tend them. The Tarthar division, which is much the larger, considers itself superior. Each moiety is subdivided into a number of exogamous clans, which are territorial rather than totemic in nature. The Tarthar division contains twelve clans; the Teivali, six. The clan is further subdivided into families. Expenses incurred by the clan as a whole, notably for the repair of dairies, are equally distributed among its constituent families, irrespective of their size or wealth.

The ownership of property may be vested either in the individual, in the family, or in the clan. Individuals hold title to clothing, ornaments, household possessions, and the like, never to land. Buffaloes, whether sacred or ordinary, are usually the property of individuals or families, though the highest of the sacred buffaloes, the *ti* herds, are owned by the clan as a whole. Houses and the smaller villages belong to the family. Land and the chief villages with their dairies are the common property of the clan, whose members migrate from one village to another at different seasons. The inheritance of property is patrilineal, *i.e.*, in the male line, and it always follows legal descent, which does not always coincide with actual paternity. The legal sons of a man either share in common or distribute equally the money, ornaments, and household possessions which he leaves behind. Grandsons inherit the portion of a deceased son. Daughters receive a dowry from their parents, but inherit nothing. If the sons continue to live together, as is customary, they hold their inherited buffaloes in common. If they separate, however, the buffaloes are equally divided except that the eldest and youngest receive an extra animal each; odd buffaloes after such a division are either sold and the proceeds distributed or taken by one son who recompenses the others. Debts are also inherited. Sons

105 must pay off the debts of their deceased father; in default of sons, the brothers must settle.

Each family has a head, who is responsible for the collection of its share in clan expenses. The clans possess informal headmen, who owe their positions to their personal qualities and lose them with sickness or old age. The tribe as a whole, however, has no chief. Its sole governmental institution is a council (*naim*) of five members. Seats in the council are privileges held by certain families in particular clans. One member is chosen from a Teivali clan, and three are similarly drawn from Tarthar clans. The fifth member is a Badaga, who usually sits, however, only in cases involving the relations of the two tribes. The council concerns itself chiefly with civil disputes between clans, families, or individuals, and in such cases a representative of each party sits with it. It also possesses wide powers in regulating ceremonial. A strong member frequently dominates the council either by the force of his personality or by the exercise of bribery or intimidation. The council has no voice in criminal cases. Indeed, crime seems to be absolutely non-existent. There is no recorded case of a theft or a murder by a Toda. On occasion, to be sure, a Kurumba is killed for sorcery, but this is regarded, not as murder, but as an act of self-defense. Certain acts which we consider crimes, *e.g.*, infanticide and adultery, are not so regarded by the Todas. Other acts, especially ritual offenses against the dairy, are viewed as sins rather than crimes. This striking respect for law simply reflects in one direction the extreme subservience of the people to ancient custom and tradition.

The Todas adhere to a classificatory system in reckoning kinship. Thus the term "father" includes not only one's actual or legal father, but also one's paternal uncles and all other males of the father's clan and generation, as well as the husbands of one's maternal aunts. "Mother" similarly embraces one's maternal aunts, other women of the same clan and generation as one's mother, and the wives of one's

various "fathers." "Son" and "daughter" are equally 105
inclusive terms. Differences of age play a rôle in the terms for brothers and sisters, those older than oneself, those of the same age, and those younger being distinguished. Otherwise, however, these terms are equally inclusive. "Elder brother," for example, includes all older men of one's own clan and generation. A cousin, therefore, will commonly be called "brother" or "sister." A special term (*matchuni*), however, is used for "cross-cousins," *i.e.*, the children of a brother and sister as opposed to the children of two brothers or of two sisters. A man should normally marry his cross-cousin, *i.e.*, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother. Cross-cousins of opposite sex call one another "husband" and "wife," whether or not they are actually married, for they are potential spouses. The term "father-in-law" (*mun*) is applied also to a mother's brother and to the husband of a father's sister, for with cross-cousin marriage such persons are potential fathers-in-law. The terms for mother-, son-, and daughter-in-law have a similarly broad connotation. The Todas, though they follow a true classificatory system, have nevertheless advanced one step in the direction of a descriptive system. Thus the son of one's own sister is distinguished from the son of one's clan or classificatory "sister" by calling the former "*my* sister's son" and the latter "*our* sister's son."

This system of kinship affects social life in several ways. At certain ceremonies, notably funerals, kinsmen of various degrees have definite duties to perform. Again, kinship may involve taboos. Thus a man may not mention the name of his several "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law." Moreover, relatives when they meet must observe definite forms of salutation. Though these are usually verbal formulas, a woman must salute an older male relative by kneeling and raising his foot to her forehead.

Descent is patrilineal. In other words, a child belongs to the clan of its father. To the Todas, however, fatherhood

105 does not mean physical paternity but a legal relation established by a ceremony performed when a woman has reached the seventh month of pregnancy. The legal "father" of the child may or may not be the actual father. Indeed, he need not even be a husband of the woman, for if she is unmarried or her husband is unable to attend to the matter, another man may perform the ceremony and thereby become the "father." For the actual ceremony, the man and woman retire into the woods with certain relatives. The man cuts a niche in a tree, places in it a lighted lamp, fashions a crude imitation bow and arrow, promises the woman a calf, and presents her with the bow and arrow according to a definite ritual. She raises the toy weapons to her forehead and gazes at the lamp till it goes out. Then he cooks a meal; they eat together and pass the night in the woods. This ceremony must be performed during a woman's first pregnancy; thereafter it is performed only when it is desired to change the fatherhood of her children. Thus it happens that a man may become the "father" of several children after his death. But for a child to be born without benefit of a bow-giving ceremony constitutes one of the worst scandals of Toda society.

An expectant mother observes one other important rite. At about the fifth month of pregnancy she secludes herself for a month in a special hut at some distance from the village, submitting to certain ritual acts when entering and leaving. Childbirth itself, however, involves no special ceremonies, and any interested party may be present. A woman skilled in midwifery attends the mother, who kneels with her head on her husband's chest. Prayers and ritual acts facilitate a difficult delivery. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife, and the afterbirth buried. Unwanted children, especially girls, are suffocated at birth and buried like a stillborn child. The preponderance of a hundred males in a population of 800 reflects the prevalence of female infanticide, which is, however, declining today. If twins are born, one is killed.

even if both are boys; if both are girls, they are both 105
killed.

Shortly after childbirth, the woman retires once more to the seclusion hut, where, with ceremonies similar to those on her previous visit, she remains for approximately a month. Until a child is three months of age, its face is covered as a protection against the evil eye. Then, in a special ceremony, it is uncovered. Shortly thereafter, in another ceremony, the child is given a name and its head is shaved. The sexes receive different names, commonly derived from such things as prayer words, gods, hills, villages, dairies, buffalo pens, dairy vessels, and stones. Each individual also has a nickname, usually given by the Badagas with reference to some personal peculiarity. In addition to the current name taboos, the Todas show a certain reluctance about uttering their own names and an even greater reticence about their nicknames. A man may change his name in certain cases, *e.g.*, if illness or some other misfortune befalls him.

Children are born about three years apart on an average. They are suckled for two years or more, though after the naming ceremony mother's milk is commonly supplemented to an increasing extent by a gruel of boiled millet or rice in warm milk. Parents display much fondness for their offspring and look indulgently upon their games with wooden buffalo horns and little imitation buffalo pens. Neither adoption nor formal puberty rites prevail. In the case of boys, however, an analogous ceremony involving the piercing of the ears must be performed before a sacred dairy office may be held. It may take place, however, at any time from infancy to adulthood.

Todas are usually married during childhood, sometimes as early as two or three years of age. The father of a boy selects a suitable girl and arranges matters with her parents. The wedding takes place at the house of the bride with a simple ceremony involving the presentation of a loin cloth as a bridal gift. Thereafter the groom is expected to present

the bride twice a year with a loin cloth or, after she reaches 105
the age of ten, with a mantle. These garments, small and cheap at first, gradually become larger and more valuable. The family of the groom must contribute a buffalo—now more commonly a sum of money—to the funeral of any member of the bride's family who dies. The child-bride, who continues to live at her own home, submits shortly before puberty to defloration by a man of another clan. To defer this ceremony until after puberty is a disgrace which will stigmatize the girl the rest of her life. When she reaches the age of fifteen or sixteen, she receives a dowry of clothing and ornaments and is conducted by her husband to his home, where she is inducted into his clan with a feast but no ceremony. Either party may annul the marriage at this time, the groom by payment of a single buffalo, the bride by paying a heavy fine of five, ten, or even more buffaloes. In either case the groom receives back any buffaloes previously given as funeral gifts.

The Todas observe a number of restrictions with respect to marriage. They never intermarry with non-Todas. The orthodox union is that with a cross-cousin, but in any case a man must marry a woman belonging to another clan in his own division, for, as noted above, the divisions are endogamous and the clans exogamous. Even though they belong to proper clans, however, persons may not marry if they fall within certain prohibited degrees of blood relationship. Thus a man, though he may and should marry his cross-cousin, may not marry an ordinary or parallel cousin, a cross-cousin of his parents, or a woman who would be a cross-cousin of his children. These restrictions, it should be noted, apply only to marriage, not to extramarital relations.

Though monogamy is not uncommon, and sporadic cases of polygyny occur, the prevailing and characteristic form of marriage among the Todas is fraternal polyandry. When a woman marries a man, she automatically becomes the wife

of his brothers, living or as yet unborn. They all live together with little jealousy or friction. One brother gives the bow during the wife's first pregnancy and thus becomes the legal father of her children, though the others are also considered fathers. When one brother is with the woman, he places a staff and mantle outside the door of the hut as a warning to the rest not to enter. In rare instances the husbands are not brothers, but even in such cases they are usually clan brothers. If they live in different villages, the wife usually visits them in turn for a month at a time, but disputes not infrequently arise. One husband gives the bow at the first pregnancy, and the first two or three children belong to him and his clan; then another husband performs the ceremony, and so on. Toda polyandry is unquestionably connected with female infanticide and the resulting scarcity of women. Even with the decrease of infanticide, however, the custom does not seem to be dying out. What ordinarily happens is that a group of brothers takes two wives instead of one. Even where different brothers take individual wives, they clearly hold them in common.

A man may divorce his wife on the grounds that she is lazy or a fool, not, however, for barrenness or adultery. He pays her family a fine of one buffalo and receives in return any buffaloes he has given as funeral contributions. It is a reproach to be a widow or a widower. If a woman survives all her husbands, she may either return to her parental home with her children, live with her grown sons or a married daughter, or remarry. If she remarries, her new husband must make a payment of buffaloes to the children of his predecessor. The death of a woman, in a community practicing child marriage and infanticide, is a serious matter. It leaves a man or several men without a wife and with no woman available to marry. Toda custom provides for this situation by permitting widowers to purchase a wife from another man. They obtain the consent of the woman, her father, and her husband or husbands, and pay the latter a

105 number of female buffaloes fixed by the council with reference to their ability to pay. The wife is then transferred with a feast and ceremony. The majority of cases coming before the council arise from this practice, especially today, when abuses have crept in and any man who desires a woman seeks to have her transferred to him, even without her consent or that of her husband.

Though members of the opposite divisions are forbidden to intermarry, a special form of union is permitted between them. Sometimes a Teivali man and a Tarthar woman, for example, live together as man and wife, their relation differing from an actual marriage only in the fact that their offspring are regarded as the legal children of the woman's legitimate husband or of some other man in her own division who has performed the bow-giving ceremony. More commonly, however, the man simply visits the woman from time to time as her recognized lover, after obtaining the consent of her husband or husbands and undergoing a ceremony in which he makes them handsome presents.

Great laxity prevails in sexual relations both before and after marriage. In addition to her various husbands and recognized lovers, a woman may have authorized relations with certain sacred dairymen and others, not to mention more casual unions which, though not socially sanctioned, are nevertheless not frowned upon. There is, in fact, little restriction of any kind upon sexual intercourse, even between members of the same clan. As Rivers says, "the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity." They possess no word for adultery, and even the concept itself is totally alien to them. "Instead of adultery being regarded as immoral," says the same classic authority, "immorality attaches rather to the man who grudges his wife to another."

Women occupy a definitely subordinate status in Toda society. With a few minor ceremonial exceptions they may not approach or have anything to do with the buffaloes and

dairies. They are rigidly excluded from all political, religious, 105
magical, and most ceremonial activities. They suffer at times, as when in the seclusion hut, from a stigma of uncleanness like that of a corpse. And they labor under other

FIG. 31. A TODA WOMAN.
From Rivers, *The Todas*

disabilities. For example, they must leave the village during certain ceremonies, and they may not use certain paths, especially those trodden by buffaloes. In spite of their distinct inferiority, however, they are not treated with cruelty or contempt, and they enjoy a considerable measure of personal freedom. Their low status may possibly be corre-

105 lated with their slight contribution to the economic life of the tribe. The men, in addition to their political, religious, and ceremonial functions, do the herding, milking, churning, fuel gathering, building, trading, and cooking. In the absence of agriculture and important domestic arts, the female share in the division of labor by sex is confined to such comparatively minor activities as fetching water, mending and embroidering clothes, pounding and sifting grain, sweeping the floor, and cleaning the furniture and household utensils with dry buffalo dung. There can be little doubt, at least, that female infanticide and polyandry represent an adjustment to this unequal distribution of industrial activities between the sexes. It is not surprising, moreover, that the Toda women, in view of their circumscribed lives and interests, have been described as markedly less intelligent than the men.

Recreation finds little place in the life of the Todas. To be sure, they derive considerable amusement from some of their ceremonies, and they enjoy visiting, but true games are few and little indulged in. In one game, a boy or man tries to crawl through a narrow tunnel of stones before another, starting with a handicap, can touch his feet. Another game resembles tipcat; a pointed piece of wood is propped against a rock, struck with a stick by one person, and caught at a distance by another. The Todas also occasionally hold lifting and jumping contests, and they are fond of riddles, but they have no mechanical puzzles or string figures.

Sickness may have various causes, prominent among which are sin, sorcery, and the evil eye. It bodes ill, for example, to be told that one looks well or that one's buffalo gives much milk. Indigestion, a common effect of the evil eye, is cured by a special class of medicine men, who rub the belly of the patient, put salt on his cloak, stroke the salt with a thorn, and burn the salt and thorn with an incantation. The same specialists treat headache, snake bite, and other ailments by

similar rites and formulas. When seriously ill and expected to 105
die, the patient is dressed up in jewels and finery to await the end. Occasionally an individual who has unexpectedly recovered may be seen strutting about proudly in his funeral raiment.

The Todas hold two funeral ceremonies for their dead. In the case of children, the second takes place on the same day as the first. With adults, however, it is usually postponed for several months or a year, and is often held for several persons at the same time. Kinship ties play a prominent part in determining who shall perform certain acts in the funeral ritual and who shall make contributions of buffaloes, money, and other necessary accessories. The chief mourner is a man's brother or son, a woman's husband, or a child's father. At the funeral of an unmarried boy, a female cross-cousin plays the rôle of wife and widow, and the usual pregnancy ceremonies are always performed in connection with the funeral of a girl or a childless woman. The Kotas participate by furnishing music and certain ceremonial objects, receiving in return the flesh of the sacrificed animals.

The first funeral is held, in the case of men, either at a dairy or at a special hut symbolically called a "dairy"; in the case of females, at a hut which similarly represents a house and is later burned. Thither, on the appointed day, the corpse is brought on a wooden bier. There follows a series of elaborate rites, including especially a sacrifice of buffaloes and a ceremony of cremation. The slaughtered animals—now limited by the British Government to two at a funeral—are dispatched to provide the deceased with a source of livelihood in the next world. The buffaloes selected for the sacrifice, infuriated by goadings, are caught in an exciting contest by the young men of the division opposite to the deceased, who rush at them, seize them by the horns, hang on their necks, and bear them to the ground. As the captive animal, smeared with butter and decorated with a sacred ~~bell~~, expires from a blow on the skull, the corpse is brought up to its head. Every one weeps and laments in characteristic Toda fashion

105 —in couples, forehead to forehead—but whether they mourn the deceased or the buffalo is not certain. The funeral pyre is lighted from a fire generated by friction. Before cremation, however, the corpse, the pocket of its mantle filled with food, money, ornaments, and other gifts, is swung thrice over the flames, then temporarily removed and the valuables thriftily extracted and redistributed to their donors. A lock of hair and a piece of the skull, rescued from the ashes, are wrapped in a bundle and kept in state in the chief village of the clan until the second funeral. Those who have attended the funeral, or have come into contact with the corpse or the relics, are rendered unclean. They refrain, especially if they are younger relatives of the deceased, from mentioning his name. The widow or widower, in addition, cuts his hair, covers his head, and observes a number of food taboos.

The second ceremony repeats many of the rites of the first, including an even more lavish sacrifice of buffaloes, and adds a number of new ones. Within a circle of stones, after an elaborate introductory ritual, the relics, anointed with butter, are burned along with certain vessels, implements, and other articles of a ceremonial nature. The ashes are buried and covered with a stone. A man encircles the spot three times, ringing a bell and shattering a new pot on the stone. All salute the stone, break their fast, and cut off a lock of hair as a token of mourning. At the time of the next new moon, certain ceremonies of purification are held to cleanse contaminated persons and places.

After the second funeral the soul of the deceased, which has hitherto haunted the earth as a malignant ghost, departs for Amnodr, the spirit world in the west where the sun shines while it is night on earth. Here the dead Todas lead a life much like that on earth. They tend their buffaloes and dairies—free, however, from rats and other destructive animals. Curiously enough, as they walk about, their legs gradually wear down, and when only knee-length stubs remain, they are reborn into the world as new individuals.

Of superior spirits or gods, the Todas believe in a vast 105
number. Invisible and somewhat vaguely conceived, they are reputed formerly to have inhabited the Nilgiri Hills and later to have retired to the summits of the hills, where they now live with their spiritual buffaloes and dairies. They intervene in the lives of men to punish sins and inspire divination. The Toda gods are not totemic, though each clan has its patron divinity; they are not the ancestors of men, though a few are deified heroes; nor are they personifications of the forces of nature, for there is not even a sun god. The outstanding deity, though by no means a supreme being, is the goddess Teikirzi, the divine ruler of this world. She instituted the characteristic customs of the Todas, but did not create buffaloes and men. The latter task fell to her younger brother, Ön, who now lives in and rules over the realm of the dead. Ön brought forth from the earth 1,600 buffaloes, the ancestors of the sacred herds, and the first man made his appearance clinging to the tail of the last buffalo. From one of man's ribs, woman was created. This original pair reproduced so rapidly that within a week there were already a hundred Todas.

Though they pay scant attention to omens, the Todas have faith in divination. To ascertain the cause of a misfortune, such as sickness, the burning of a dairy, or the death, disease, or drying up of a buffalo, they consult a special class of diviners, who are quite distinct from the medicine men. These specialists, who usually operate in pairs, frequently work themselves into a semi-hypnotic frenzy, during which they speak an alien tongue and are thought to be directly possessed or inspired by the gods. In this state they are able to reveal the cause of the misfortune, which is invariably either sorcery or sin, and to indicate the remedy.

The power of sorcery is transmitted in certain families, and its practitioners are distinct alike from the medicine men, the diviners, and the dairyman-priests. A sorcerer usually exercises his magical powers only against persons who have

106 deceived him or quarreled with him. If, for example, a man has given him an evasive or deceitful answer to a request for assistance, he obtains some human hair, binds five small stones together with the hair, wraps them up in a cloth, pronounces an incantation over them, and hides them secretly in the thatch of his enemy's house. When misfortune overtakes the victim, he resorts to a diviner and learns the identity of the sorcerer. He then goes to the latter with a present of food and grants the original request, whereupon the sorcerer utters a magical formula of recantation and removes the articles from the thatch. The hair employed need not belong to the victim; nevertheless, the Todas are careful to hide their hair and nail clippings. Other similar forms of sorcery prevail, and the Todas are feared by their neighbors for their proficiency at the black art. An exceptionally intimate association between magic and religion is revealed by the fact that both sorcerers and medicine men, instead of relying merely on "the belief in the efficacy of like producing like," make use of formulas which specifically invoke the gods and bear a marked resemblance to prayers.

A diviner may decide, however, that a particular misfortune is due, not to sorcery, but to sin. To the Todas, sins are ritual offenses against the sacred buffaloes and dairies, in which the gods have a lively interest. They include such acts as theft of milk from a dairy, entering a dairy after sexual intercourse in the daytime, and approaching a herd or a dairy after visiting a seclusion hut or a funeral, or even after chewing tobacco. But a man does nothing, however flagrant his sin, unless the gods manifest their displeasure. Only when and if a misfortune befalls him, does he appeal to the diviner, who then advises him to make a sin offering of a buffalo or a piece of cloth, depending on the gravity of the offense. He makes this offering, strangely enough, not to the gods or their representatives or the dairy, but to the other section of his own clan, each clan being divided into two sections for

the sole purpose of satisfying this ceremonial requirement. A man may also make atonement by dedicating a buffalo to the gods. Instead of sacrificing or giving away the animal, however, he actually vows to do neither; he keeps it until it dies a natural death and meanwhile uses its milk. 105

Sacred days play an important part in Toda religion. Not only does every ceremony have its appropriate day, but each village observes once a week a special rest day, when certain activities are taboo. On these days, for example, women may not leave or enter the village and its inhabitants may not bathe, wash their clothes, clean the household furniture with dung, hold a feast or a funeral, or sell or otherwise dispose of any object in the village. The Tarthar clans, in addition, celebrate a special dairy day each week, with similar restrictions. In spite of the fact that these taboos are frequently evaded by subterfuges, the Toda rest days resemble in many respects an embryo Sabbath.

The outstanding characteristic of Toda religion, however, is the extraordinary emphasis placed on ritual. Worship has become formal; divorced from the ideas which originally inspired it, it survives, buttressed by the immense prestige of custom and tradition, in the form of an elaborate and often meaningless ceremonial. Ritual permeates every phase of the life of the tribe. We have found it in the ceremonies attending pregnancy, name-giving, marriage, and death. It reaches its highest development, however, in the conduct of the sacred dairies.

The dairy is the Toda temple. When a man visits a strange village, he first goes to its dairy, prostrates himself at the threshold, and utters a prayer. The sacred dairies fall into several classes, each associated with a particular grade of sacred buffaloes. They range in sanctity from the village dairies to the venerated *ti* dairies, the highest of all, and the elaborateness and complexity of their ritual varies with their sanctity.

Each class of dairy with its herds is tended by a special

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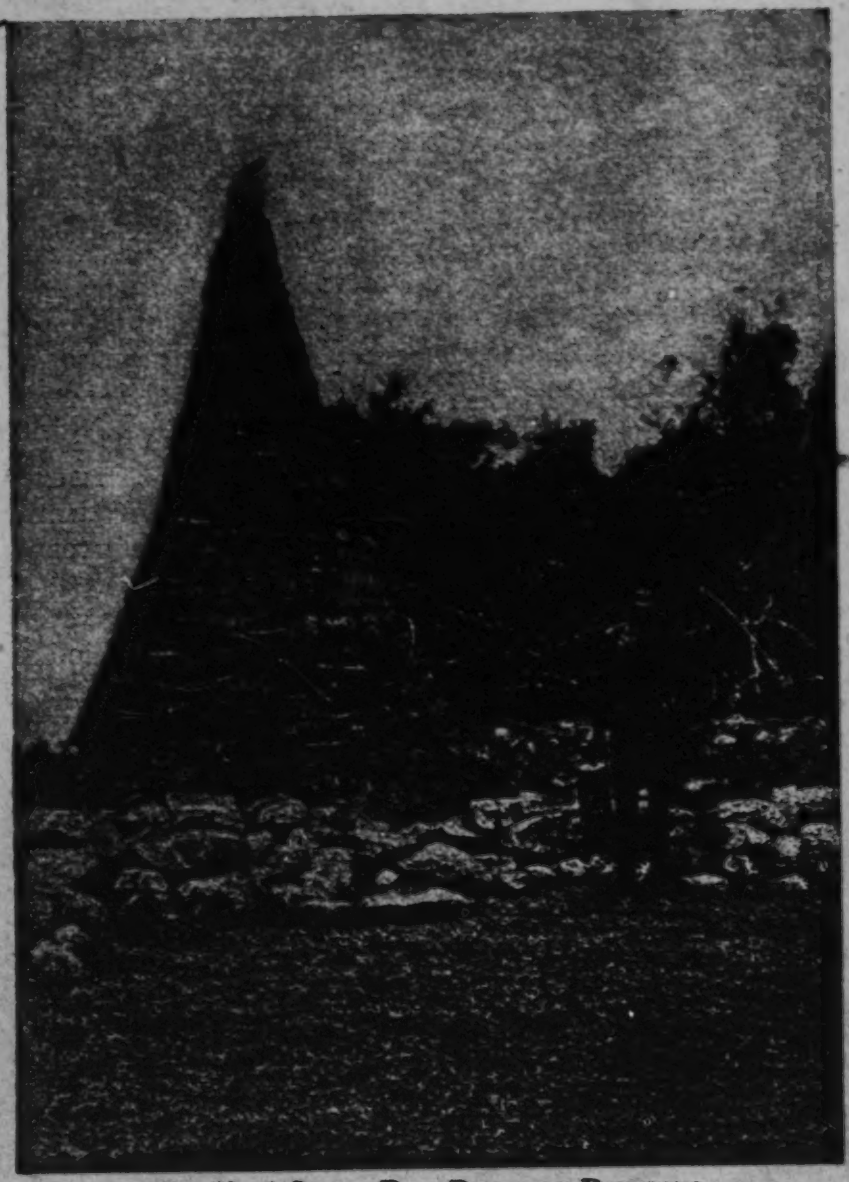

FIG. 32. A SACRED TODA DAIRY AND DAIRYMAN
From Rivers, *The Todas*

class of dairymen, the priests of the Todas. The assumption 105
of the office of dairyman involves elaborate ceremonies of initiation, varying in complexity with the sanctity of the dairy. Thus to become a *palol*, the sacred dairyman of a *ti*, a man must first pass a qualifying ceremony, in which, naked, he receives food from an old Tarthar woman who has never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and then undergoes an ordination ceremony, lasting nine days, in which at various stages he drinks water from the leaves of a sacred tree and rubs his body with the bark—in accordance with a belief in sacred numbers—three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven times. Thus he acquires a high degree of ritual purity, which enables him to come into contact with sacred things. He must maintain this purity by keeping stringent rules of diet, sleeping, and dress, and by observing a variety of taboos. He must not, for example, cut his hair or nails, cross a bridge, attend a funeral, transact business in person with the outside world, or associate with a woman, even his own wife. He submits to these restrictions chiefly because of the profits he derives from the sale of the products of his dairy. If he serves his full term of office, eighteen years, he performs a ceremonial act which under any other circumstances would be considered highly immoral, namely, intercourse in the daytime with any Tarthar woman of his choice. None of the dairyman-priests exercises any governmental influence, nor are they ever consulted on mundane matters; their sanctity is purely ceremonial.

In the daily conduct of his dairy operations, the dairyman must follow a definite procedure, each minute detail of which is prescribed by custom. The daily routine of the *palol*, for example, begins at 5:00 A.M., when he rises. On stepping outdoors, he salutes the sun with his hand to his forehead. He washes his hands and face in a special vessel in front of the dairy. Then, taking water in his right hand, he pours it into his left hand and thence conveys it to his mouth, which he rinses. He ties up his hair in a prescribed manner, bows at the

105 threshold of the dairy, and enters, reciting a formula. After transferring fire from the ordinary fireplace to a sacred fireplace, he doffs his cloak and dons a special loin cloth. Reciting a prayer, he kindles three special pieces of wood at the sacred fireplace and with them lights the lamp. Still praying, he touches with a particular bamboo stick the three special vessels containing the milk drawn the previous evening. Placing a special wand against the wall, he begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle vessel. Soon he pauses to "feed" the sacred bell, *i.e.*, to smear milk on it, repeating a sacred formula three times as he does so. And so on through the day. Space is here lacking for more than a sampling of such minutiæ, but the same complex and elaborate detail characterizes all Toda ritual.

Among the prominent features of the dairy ritual are the important part played by special utensils, bells, lamps, and other sacred objects, and the rigid separation maintained between the vessels and other articles which come into direct contact with the milk and those which come into contact with the outside world or with the finished products of the churning. Underlying the ritual seems to be the idea that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance. The sanctity of the buffaloes, apparently much greater formerly than now, seems to have been transferred to their milk. If, as appears probable, the sacred animals were not originally milked, the ritual may well have been developed as a prophylactic against the evils to be expected from the profanation of a sacred substance, in short, as a means of removing the taboo.

Prayer plays a prominent rôle in the dairy ritual. Toda prayers contain no direct invocation of the gods. They consist of two parts: an enumeration of the sacred objects (*kwarzam*) for the sake of which they are uttered, and a recitation of the blessings prayed for. The latter portion, considered much the less important, is frequently omitted. Since the *kwarzam* are frequently unintelligible, prayer is in

the process of being reduced to seemingly meaningless ritual words. 105

The daily ritual by no means exhausts the ceremonial of the sacred dairies. New vessels introduced into the dairy must be purified by an appropriate ritual. Salt is given to the buffaloes several times a year in a special ceremony. Elaborate ceremonies attend the seasonal migrations of the buffaloes from village to village, probably in order to counteract the evil involved in conducting the sacred animals through the profane world. The procession moves in a definite order, the vessels are transported on poles in prescribed positions, stops are made for prayers, and the new dairy is purified according to a special ritual. At a ceremony held when a calf is fifteen days old, the people partake of the milk of the sacred buffaloes, which is ordinarily taboo to them. This suggests a sacrament of communion. If an especially sacred pot, which is buried in the buffalo pen, is broken, stolen, or tampered with, or if a foreigner enters the dairy or a dairyman uses tobacco, an elaborate ceremony must be held, involving the consecration of a complete new set of dairy utensils, the ordination of a new dairyman, and the purification of the dairy. At a notable ceremony, held annually or oftener, a young calf without blemish is ceremonially sacrificed, dismembered, roasted, and eaten—the only occasion on which the Todas ever eat the flesh of the buffalo. The basic idea, as in the ritual eating of the totem animal among the Australians, seems to be that the sacrifice of one animal will promote the welfare and increase of the rest.

This overemphasis on ritual, thinks Rivers, indicates a state of degeneration in religion, in which the underlying ideas and beliefs have become atrophied, with the result that the worship originally based upon them has become formal and largely meaningless. "The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order

105 than they possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels."

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7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

CASTES AND TRIBES

OF

SOUTHERN INDIA

BY

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VOLUME VII—T TO Z

GOVERNMENT PRESS, MADRAS

1909.

[title page]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

000 given a prominent place to industry in their schemes of progress and reform. Organisations for the purpose of educating the members of the community on the importance of increased industrial efforts have been formed. The success which has attended the Industrial Exhibition conducted by the members of the community at Quilon, in 1905, has induced them to make it a permanent annual event. Some of their young men have been sent to Japan to study certain industries, and, on their return, they hope to resuscitate the dying local industries, and to enter into fresh fields of industry awaiting development. Factories for the manufacture of coir matting and allied articles have been established by the Tiyas in some parts of Travancore and Cochin."

In 1906, the foundation stone of a Tiya temple at Tellicherry was laid with great ceremony. In the following year, a very successful Industrial Exhibition was held at Cannanore under the auspices of the Sri Narayan Dharma Paripalana Yogam. Still more recently, it was resolved to collect subscriptions for the establishment of a hostel for the use of Tiya youths who come from other places to Tellicherry for educational purposes.

Tiyōro.—The Tiyōros are described, in the Madras Census Report, 1901, as "Oriya fishermen, who also make lotus-leaf platters. They have four endogamous sections, viz., Torai, Ghodai, Artia, and Kulodondia." It has been suggested that the caste name is a corruption of the Sanskrit tivara, a hunter. (*See* Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Tiyar.)

114 [113] **Toda.**—Quite recently, my friend Dr. W. H. Rivers, as the result of a prolonged stay on the Nīlgiris, has published * an exhaustive account of the sociology and

* The Todas, 1906.

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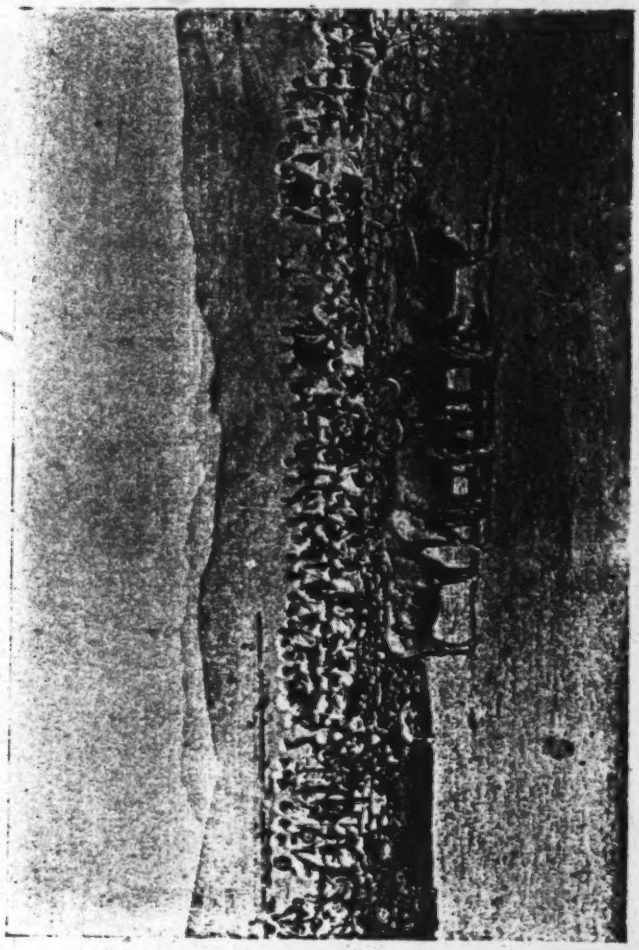

TODA BUFFALOES IN KRAAL

[facing p. 117]

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religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, number- 114
ing, according to the latest census returns, 807 [161]
individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and [127]
other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi- 233
domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products 234
(butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a [443]
less extent than in bygone days before the establishment [178]
of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the 556
number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in 233
connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral 648
life. But I have met with more than one man who had 464
served, or who was still serving Government in the [181]
modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of [233]

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

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648 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous
464 success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it
461 beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former
[241] Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances
562 by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda
512 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described
[157] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of
[171] the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans
177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand,
609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām).
[735] Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868,
114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most
177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who,
164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

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apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which 177
at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it 164
undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked- [114]
eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an [834]
absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection 628
with the question of the morality of the Toda women, 597
Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other 177
members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to [554]
his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his fellow Tribesmen.

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177 fellow tribesmen. To this man finger-prints came as no novelty, since his impressions were recorded both in England and America.

212 197 Writing in 1870,* Colonel W. Ross King stated that the Todas had just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. At the present day, a few write, and many converse fluently in Tamil. The Nilgiri C.M.S. Tamil 797 mission has extended its sphere of work to the Todas, and I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a Toda version of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The English say that once upon a time a rich man and a poor man died. At the funeral of the rich man, there was a great tamāsha (spectacle), and many buffaloes were sacrificed. But, for the funeral of the poor man, neither music nor buffaloes were provided. The English believe that in the next world the poor man was as well off as the rich man ; so that, when any one dies, it is of no use spending money on the funeral ceremonies. Two mission 797 schools have been established, one at Ootacamund, the 871 other near Paikāra. At the latter I have seen a number of children of both sexes reading elementary Tamil and English, and doing simple arithmetic.

797 A few years ago a Toda boy was baptised at Tinnevelly, and remained there for instruction. It was hoped that he would return to the hills as an evangelist among his people.† In 1907, five young Toda women were baptised at the C.M.S. Mission chapel, Ootacamund. "They were clothed in white, with a white cloth over their heads, such as the Native Christians wear. A number of Christian Badagas had assembled to witness the ceremony, and join in the service."

[113]

* Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills.
† Madras Diocesan Magazine, November, 1907.

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TODA.

[facing p. 121]

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The typical Toda man is above medium height, well 142
proportioned and stalwart, with leptorhine nose, regular features, and perfect teeth. The nose is, as noted by Dr. Rivers, sometimes distinctly rounded in profile. An attempt has been made to connect the Todas with the lost tribes; and, amid a crowd of them collected together at a funeral, there is no difficulty in picking out individuals, whose features would find for them a ready place as actors on the Ober Ammergau stage, either in leading or subordinate parts. The principal characteristic, which at once distinguishes the Toda from the other tribes of the Nilgiris, is the development of the pilous (hairy) system. The following is a typical case, extracted from my notes. Beard luxuriant, hair of head parted in middle, and hanging in curls over forehead and back of neck. Hair thickly developed on chest and abdomen, with median strip of dense hairs on the latter. Hair thick over upper and lower ends of shoulder-blades, thinner over rest of back; well developed on extensor surface of upper arms, and both surfaces of forearms; very thick on extensor surfaces of the latter. Hair abundant on both surfaces of legs; thickest on outer side of thighs and round knee-cap. Dense beard-like mass of hair beneath gluteal region (buttocks). Superciliary brow ridges very prominent. Eyebrows united across middle line by thick tuft of hairs. A dense growth of long straight hairs directed outwards on helix of both ears, bearing a striking resemblance to the hairy development on the helix of the South Indian bonnet monkey (*Macacus sinicus*). The profuse hairy development is by some [826]
Todas attributed to their drinking "too much milk."

Nearly all the men have one or more raised cicatrices, 304
forming nodulous growths (keloids) on the right shoulder. These scars are produced by burning the skin

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These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds the race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[231] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

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TODA WOMAN.

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a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda
elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-
gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr.
Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their
appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the
absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the
ground that they were too poor to afford the expense
of the operation, or that they were always suckling or
pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation
would not be free from danger. The dots and circles,
of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked
out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the
spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and
decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in
the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells
on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with
cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger;
silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes
of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

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304 2. Aged 28. Tattooed with a single dot on chin;
[531] rings and dots on chest, outer side of upper arms, back of left hand, below calves, above ankles, and across dorsum of feet. Wears thread armlet ornamented with young cowries on right forearm; thread armlet and two
[301] heavy ornamental brass armlets on left upper arm; ornamental brass bangle and glass bead bracelet on left wrist; brass ring on left little finger; two steel rings on left ring finger; bead necklet ornamented with cowries.

3. Aged 35. Tattooed like the preceding, with
[531] the addition of an elaborate device of rings and dots on the back.

4. Aged 35. Linen bound round elbow joint, to
[301] prevent chafing of heavy brass armlets. Cicatrices of sores in front of elbow joint, produced by armlets.

5. Aged 23. Has one child. Tattooed only below calves, and above ankles.

141 The following are the more important physical measurements of the Toda men, whom I have examined:—

	Av. CM.	Max. CM.	Min. CM.
Stature	169·8	186·8	157·6
Cephalic length ...	19·4	20·4	18·2
Do. breadth ...	14·2	15·2	13·3
Do. index ...	73·3	81·3	68·7
Nasal height ...	4·7	4·9	4·6
Do. breadth ...	3·6	3·8	3·4
Do. index ...	74·9	79·9	70·

Allowing that the cephalic index is a good criterion of racial or tribal purity, the following analysis of the Toda indices is very striking:—

69 ◆◆
70 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
71 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

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A thing of exceeding joy to the Todas was my Salter's hand-dynamometer, the fame of which spread from mand to mand, and which was circulated among the crowd at funerals. Great was the disgust of the assembled males, on a certain day, when the record of hand-grip for the morning (73 lbs.) was carried off by a big-boned female, who became the unlovely heroine of the moment. The largest English feminine hand-grip, recorded in my laboratory note-book, is only 66 lbs. One Toda man, of fine physique, not satisfied with his grip of 98 lbs., went into training, and fed himself up for a few days. Thus prepared, he returned to accomplish 103 lbs., the result of more skilful manipulation of the machine rather than of a liberal dietary of butter-milk. 123 141

The routine Toda dietary is said to be made up of the following articles, to which must be added strong drinks purchased at the toddy shops :— 262

(*a*) Rice boiled in whey.

(*b*) Rice and jaggery (crude sugar) boiled in water.

(*c*) Broth or curry made of vegetables purchased in the bazar, wild vegetables and pot-herbs, which, together with ground orchids, the Todas may often be seen rooting up with a sharp-pointed digging-stick on [443]

* Average 73.

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262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sâlep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sâlep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following :—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nîlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[294] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari :—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

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TODA HUT.

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[facing p. 127]

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Rubus ellipticus.
Rubus moluccanus. } Wild raspberry.
Rubus lasiocarpus.
Fragaria nilgerrensis, wild strawberry.
Elæagnus latifolia. Said by Dr. Mason to make excellent tarts and jellies.
Gaultheria fragrantissima.
Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, hill gooseberry.
Loranthus neelgherrensis.
Loranthus loniceroides. } Parasitic on trees.
Elæocarpus oblongus.
Elæocarpus Munronii.
Berberis aristata.
Berberis nepalensis. } Barberry.
Solanum nigrum.
Vaccinium Leschenaultii.
Vaccinium nilgherrense.
Toddalia aculeata.
Ceropegia pusilla.

To which may be added mushrooms.

A list containing the botanical and Toda names of trees, shrubs, etc., used by the Todas in their ordinary life, or in their ceremonial, is given by Dr. Rivers.*

Fire is, in these advanced days, obtained by the Todas in their dwelling huts for domestic purposes from matches. The men who came to be operated on with my measuring instruments had no hesitation in asking for a match, and lighting the cheroots which were distributed amongst them, before they left the Paikāra bungalow dining-room. Within the precincts of the dairy temple the use of matches is forbidden, and fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks of *Litsæa*

372 [178] [276] 234 372

* *Op. cit.*, Appendix IV, 738.

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234 *Wightiana.* Of these one, terminating in a blunt
372 convex extremity, is about 2′ 3″ long; the other, with a hemispherical cavity scooped out close to one end; about 2½″ in length. A little nick or slot is cut on the edge of the shorter stick, and connected with the hole in which the spindle stick is made to revolve. "In this slot the dust collects, and, remaining in an undisturbed heap, seemingly acts as a muffle to retain the friction-heat until it reaches a sufficiently high temperature, when the wood-powder becomes incandescent."* Into the cavity in the short stick the end of the longer stick fits, so as to allow of easy play. The smaller stick is placed on the ground, and held tight by firm pressure of the great toe, applied to the end furthest from the cavity, into which a little finely powdered charcoal is inserted. The larger stick is then twisted vigorously, "like a chocolate muller" (Tylor) between the palms of the hands by two men, turn and turn about, until the charcoal begins to glow. Fire, thus made, is said to be used at the sacred dairy (ti), the dairy houses of ordinary
[766] mands, and at the cremation of males. In an account of a Toda green funeral,† Mr. Walhouse notes that "when the pile was completed, fire was obtained by rubbing two dry sticks together. This was done mysteriously and apart, for such a mode of obtaining fire is looked upon as something secret and sacred." At the funeral of a female, I provided a box of tändstickors for lighting the pyre. A fire-stick, which was in current use in a dairy, was polluted and rendered useless by the touch of my Brähman assistant! It is recorded by Harkness‡ that a Brähman was not only refused

[113] * R. Bache. Royal Magazine, August 1901. † Ind. Ant., III, 1874.
‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, 1832.

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admission to a Toda dairy, but actually driven away by 234
some boys, who rushed out of it when they heard him 372
approach. It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being kiaz or keadj (*Litsæa Wightiana*), mōrs (*Michelia Nilagirica*), parskuti (*Elæagnus latifolia*), and [824]
main (*Cinnamomum Wightii*)." He states further that, "whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose, the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call kiaz or keadj, except in the tesherot ceremony (qualifying ceremony for the office of palol) in which the wood of muli is used. At the niroditi ceremony (ordination ceremony of a dairyman), "the assistant makes fire by friction, and lights a fire of mulli wood, at which the candidate warms himself." It is also recorded by Dr. Rivers that "in some Toda villages, a stone is kept, called tutmûkal, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron."

The abode of the Todas is called a mad or mand 361
(village or hamlet), which is composed of huts, dairy temple, and cattle-pen, and has been so well described by Dr. Shortt,* that I cannot do better than quote his account. "Each mand," he says, "usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts form a peculiar kind 342
of oval pent-shaped [half-barrel-shaped] construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway measures 32 inches in height and 18 inches in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick,

* *Op. cit.*

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342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sāmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part [353] of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

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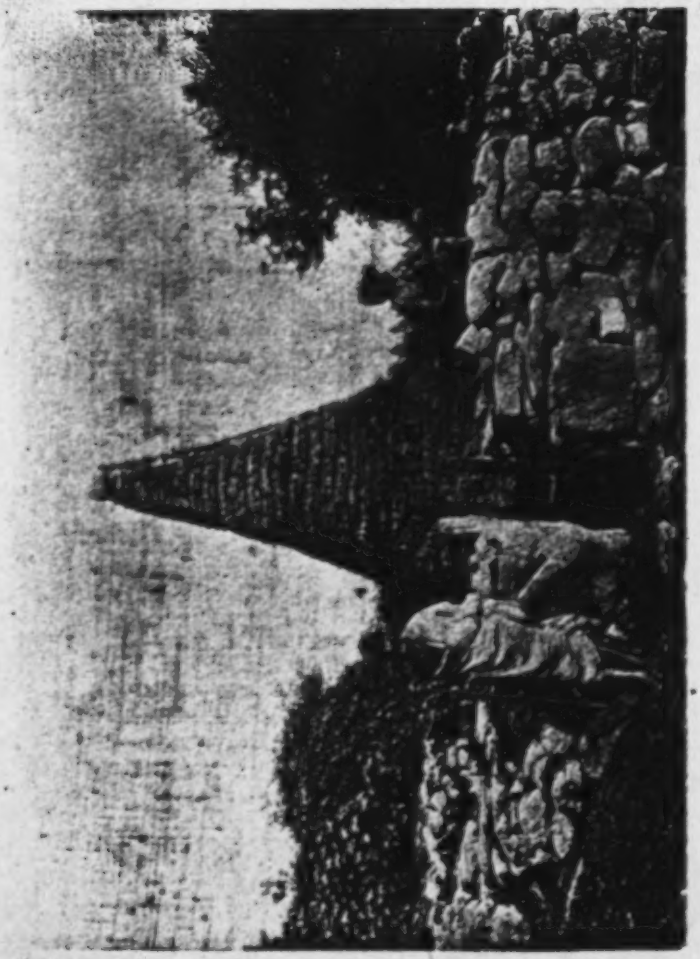

"TODA CATHEDRAL"

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[facing p. 131]

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Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351
two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to
permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343
is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others,
and usually contains two compartments separated by a
centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house
for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels.
The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342]
dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193]
than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of
the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354]
place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that
it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at
some little distance from the habitations. The huts
where the calves are kept are simple buildings, some-
what like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417
mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233
enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a
single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these,
the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422]
possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487
Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a
village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the
village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol
receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562]
women. Within the village there are also certain recog-
nised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234]
the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man
goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the
other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women
must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk
(maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562]
go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except
at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

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346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghât, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [184] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 178 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [164] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which, taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

[113]

* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

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Despite the hypothesis of Dr. Rivers that the Todas are derived from one or more of the races of Malabar, their origin is buried among the secrets of the past. So too is the history of the ancient builders of cairns and barrows on the Nilgiri plateau, which were explored by Mr. Breeks when Commissioner of the Nilgiris.* The bulk of the Breeks' collection is now preserved in the Madras Museum, and includes a large series of articles in pottery, quite unlike anything known from other parts of Southern India. Concerning this series, Mr. R. Bruce Foote writes as follows.† "The most striking objects are tall jars, many-storied cylinders, of varying diameter with round or conical bases, fashioned to rest upon pottery ring-stands, or to be stuck into soft soil, like the amphoræ of classical times. These jars were surmounted by domed lids. On these lids stood or sat figures of the most varied kind of men, or animals, much more rarely of inanimate objects, but all modelled in the rudest and most grotesque style. Grotesque and downright ugly as are these figures, yet those representing men and women are extremely interesting from the light they throw upon the stage of civilization their makers had attained to, for they illustrate the fashion of the garments as also of the ornaments they wore, and of the arms or implements carried by them. The animals they had domesticated, those they chased, and others that they probably worshipped, are all indicated. Many figures of their domestic animals, especially their buffaloes and sheep, are decorated with garlands and bells, and show much ornamentation, which seems to indicate that they were painted over, a custom which yet prevails in many

* J. W. Breeks. Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris, 1873.

† Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities, Government Museum, Madras, 1901.

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172 parts." Among the most interesting figures are those of heavily bearded men riding on horses, and big-horned buffaloes which might have been modelled from the Toda buffaloes of to-day, and, like these, at funerals and migration ceremonies, bear a bell round the neck.

234 193 Two forms of Toda dairy have so far been noticed. But there remains a third kind, called the ti mand, concerning which Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The ti is the name of an institution, which comprises a herd of buffaloes, with a number of dairies and grazing districts, tended by a dairy-man priest called palol, with an assistant called kaltmokh. Each dairy, with its accompanying buildings and pasturage, is called a ti mad, or ti village. The buffaloes belonging to a ti are of two kinds, distinguished as persiner and punir. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the ti dairy is concerned with their milk. The punir correspond in some respects to the putiir of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the palol, and are not treated with any special ceremony. During the whole time he holds office, the palol may not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another ti village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the kaltmokh, or with people who come to visit him at the ti. If the palol has to cross a river, he may not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford, and it appears that he may only use certain fords. The palol must be celibate, and, if married, he must leave [595] his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers." I visited the ti mand near Paikāra by appointment, and, on arrival near the mand, found the two palols, well-built men aged about thirty and fifty, clad in black cloths, and two kaltmokhs, youths aged

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about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkūlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkūli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

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778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikāra river.

733 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

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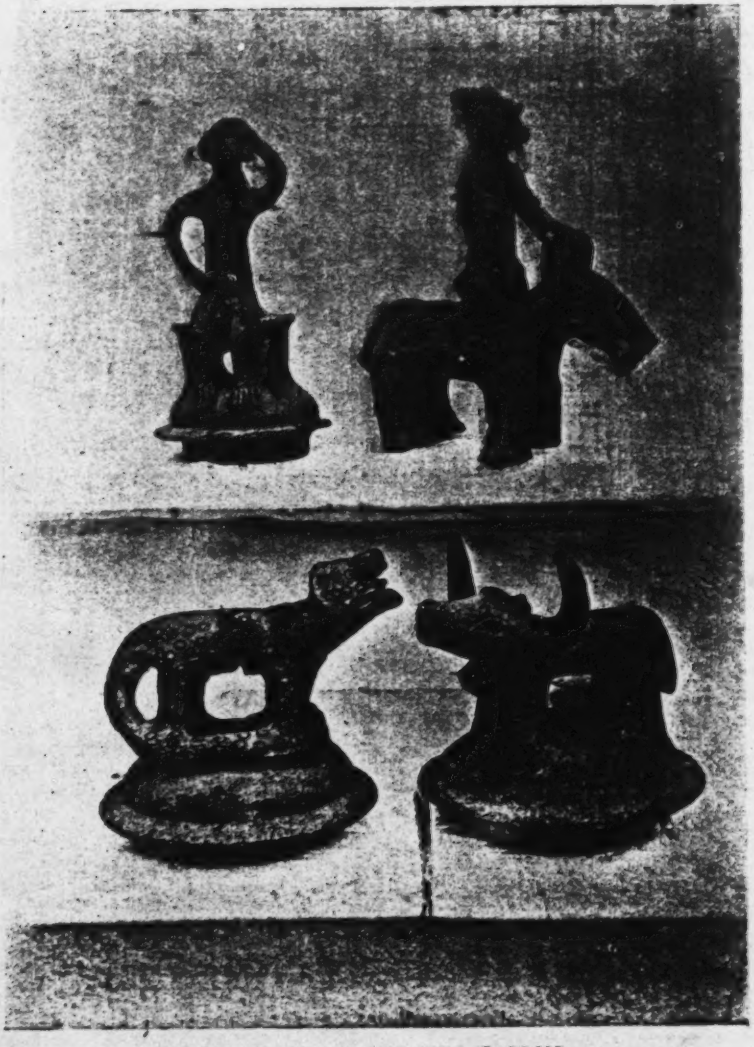

FIGURES FROM NILGIRI CAIRNS.

[facing p. 137]

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Avalanchē to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanchē-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

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427 648 an offering or tribute, called gudu or basket of grain, partly in compensation for the land taken up by the latter for cultivation, and so rendered unfit for grazing purposes, but chiefly as an offering to secure the favour, or avert the displeasure of the Todas, who, like the Kurumbas (*q.v.*), are believed by the Badagas to have [754] necromantic powers over their health and that of their herds. The European settlers also bought land in 648 Ootacamund from them, and to this day the Government 423 pays them the sum of Rs. 150 per mensem, as compensation for interference with the enjoyment of their pastoral rights in and about Ootacamund. Their position was, however, always a matter of dispute, until it was finally laid down in the despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 21st January, 1843. It was then decided that the Todas possessed nothing more than a prescriptive right to enjoy the privilege of pasturing their herds, on payment of a small tax, on the State lands. The Court desired that they should be secured from interference by settlers in the enjoyment of their mands, and of their spots appropriated to religious rites. Accordingly pattas were issued, granting to each mand three bullahs (11·46 acres) of land. In 1863 Mr. Grant obtained permission to make a fresh allotment of nine bullahs (34·38 acres) to each mand on the express condition that the land should be used for pasturage only, and that no right to sell the land or the wood on it should be thereby conveyed. It may be added that the so-called Toda lands are now regarded as the inalienable common property of the Toda community, and unauthorised alienation is checked by the imposition of a penal rate of assessment (G.O., 18th April 1882). Up to the date of this order, however, alienations by sale or lease were of frequent occurrence. It remains to be seen whether

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the present orders and subordinate staff will be more adequate than those that went before to check the practices referred to." With the view of protecting the Toda lands, Government took up the management of these lands in 1893, and framed rules, under the Forest Act, for their management, the rights of the Todas over them being in no way affected by the rules of which the following is an abstract :— 648 423

1. No person shall fell, girdle, mark, lop, uproot, or burn, or strip off the bark or leaves from, or otherwise damage any tree growing on the said lands, or remove the timber, or collect the natural produce of such trees or lands, or quarry or collect stone, lime, gravel, earth or manure upon such lands, or break up such lands for cultivation, or erect buildings of any description, or cattle kraals; and no person or persons, other than the Todas named in the patta concerned, shall graze cattle, sheep, or goats upon such lands, unless he is authorised so to do by the Collector of Nilgiris, or some person empowered by him.

2. The Collector may select any of the said lands to be placed under special fire protection.

3. No person shall hunt, beat for game, or shoot in such lands without a license from the Collector.

4. No person shall at any time set nets, traps, or snares for game on such lands.

5. All Todas in the Nilgiri district shall, in respect of their own patta lands, be exempt from the operation of the above rules, and shall be at liberty to graze their own buffaloes, to remove fuel and grass for their domestic requirements, and to collect honey or wax upon such lands. They shall likewise be entitled to, and shall receive free permits for building or repairing their mands and temples.

648 423 6. The Collector shall have power to issue annual permits for the cultivation of grass land only in Toda pattas by Todas themselves, free of charge, or otherwise as Government may, from time to time, direct; but no Toda shall be at liberty to permit any person, except a Toda, to cultivate, or assist in the cultivation of such lands.

In 1905, the Todas petitioned Government against the prohibition by the local Forest authorities of the burning of grass on the downs, issued on the ground of danger to the shōlas (wooded ravines or groves). This yearly burning of the grass was claimed by the Todas to improve it, and they maintained that their cattle were deteriorating for want of good fodder. Government ruled that the grass on the plateau has been burnt by the inhabitants at pleasure for many years without any appreciable damage to forest growth, and the practice should not be disturbed.

564 Concerning the social organisation of the Todas, Mr. Breeks states that they are "divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz., Dêvalyâl and Tarserzhâl. The first class consists of Peiki class, corresponding in some respects to Brāhmans; the second of the four remaining classes the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi. A Peiki woman may not go to the village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis." The class names given by Mr. Breeks were readily recognised by the Todas whom I interviewed, but they gave Têrthâl (comprising superior Peikis) and Tārthâl as the names of the divisions. They told me that, when 564 574 a Têrthâl woman visits her friends at a Tārthâl mand, she is not allowed to enter the mand, but must stop at a distance from it. Todas as a rule cook their rice in [252] butter-milk, but, when a Têrthâl woman pays a visit to

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Tarthāl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthāl woman visits at a Têrthāl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in butter-milk. The restrictions which are imposed on Têrthāl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Têrthāl woman, on a visit at a Tarthāl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkūli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthāls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Têrthāl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyāl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

564 574 [252] 564 621 [193] 564 614

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikāra bungalow.

881 [123]

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

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595 among them. When the girl becomes the wife of a boy, it is usually understood that she becomes also the wife of his brothers. In nearly every case at the present time, and in recent generations, the husbands of a woman are own brothers. In a few cases, though not brothers, they are of the same clan. Very rarely do they belong to
595 different clans. One of the most interesting features of
851 Toda polyandry is the method by which it is arranged who shall be regarded as the father of a child. For all social and legal purposes, the father of a child is the man
[843] who performs a certain ceremony about the seventh month of pregnancy, in which an imitation bow and arrow are given to the woman. When the husbands are own brothers, the eldest brother usually gives the bow and arrow, and is the father of the child, though, so long as the brothers live together, the other brothers are also regarded as fathers. It is in the cases in which the husbands are not own brothers that the ceremony becomes of real social importance. In these cases, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall give the bow and arrow, and this man is the father, not only of the child born shortly afterwards, but also of all succeeding children, till another husband performs the essential ceremony. Fatherhood is determined so essentially by this ceremony that a man who has been dead for several years is regarded as the father of any children born by his widow, if no other man has given the bow and arrow.
595 There is no doubt that, in former times, the polyandry
[847] of the Todas was associated with female infanticide, and it is probable that the latter custom still exists to some extent, though strenuously denied. There is reason to
[162] believe that women are now more plentiful than formerly, though they are still in a distinct minority. Any increase, however, in the number of women does not

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appear to have led to any great diminution of polyandrous marriages, but polyandry is often combined with polygyny. Two or more brothers may have two or more wives in common. In such marriages, however, it seems to be a growing custom that one brother should give the bow and arrow to one wife, and another brother to another wife." 595

The pregnancy ceremony referred to above is called pursutpimi, or bow (and arrow) we touch. According to the account given to me by several independent witnesses, the woman proceeds, accompanied by members of the tribe, on a new moon-day in the fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy, to a shola, where she sits with the man who is to become the father of her child near a kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*). The man asks the father of the woman if he may bring the bow, and, on obtaining his consent, goes in search of a shrub (*Sophora glauca*), from a twig of which he makes a mimic bow. The arrow is represented by a blade of grass called nark (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*). Meanwhile a triangular niche has been cut in the kiaz tree, in which a lighted lamp is placed. The woman seats herself in front of the lamp, and, on the return of the man, asks thrice "Whose bow is it?" or "What is it?" meaning to whom, or to which mand does the child belong? The bow and arrow are handed to the woman, who raises them to her head, touches her forehead with them, and places them near the tree. From this moment the lawful father of the child is the man from whom she has received the bow and arrow. He places on the ground at the foot of the tree some rice, various kinds of grain, chillies, jaggery (crude sugar), and salt tied in a cloth. All those present then leave, except the man and woman, who remain near the tree till about six o'clock in the evening,

595 851 843 [824]

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595 851 842 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may [765] be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram).

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nīlgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 178 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulhārs bungalow.
† *op. cit.*

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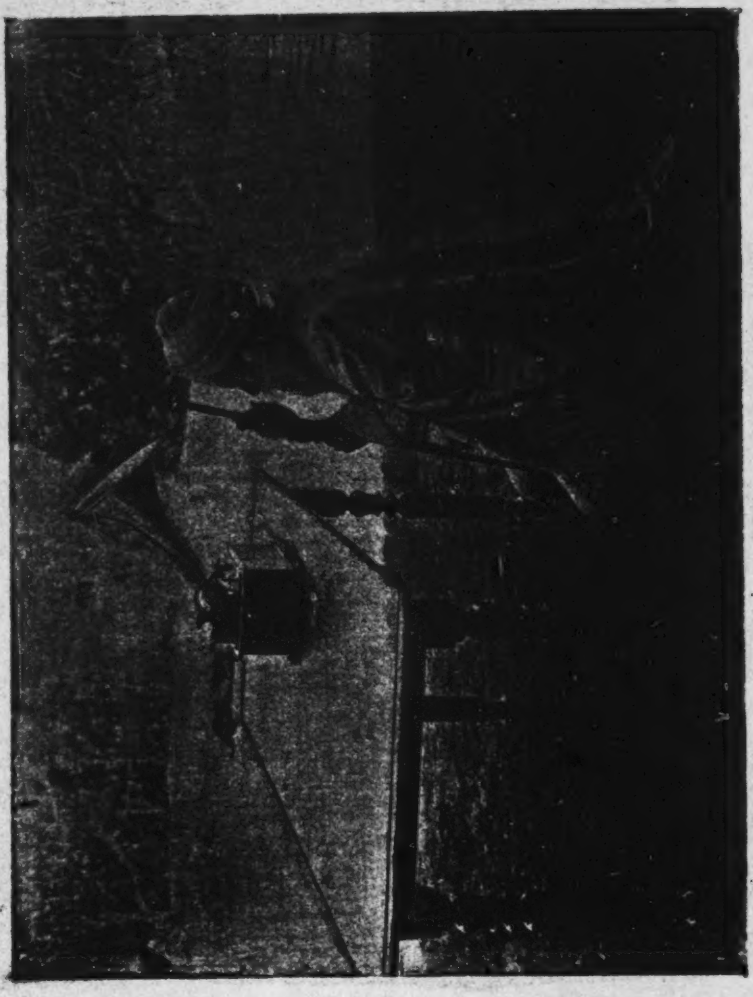

TODA AND PHONOGRAPH.

[facing p. 145]

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not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? 847
Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the open- 178
ing of the buffalo-pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were [732]
sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth with a cloth thus—here pantomimic action. It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The
kelachi got a present of four annas for the deed." The [465]
old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance to a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not.* The Missionary Metz † bears out the statement that the Toda babies were killed by suffocation.

At the census, 1901, 453 male and 354 female [162]
Todas were returned. In a note on the proportion of the sexes among the Todas, Mr. R. C. Punnett states ‡ that "all who have studied the Todas are agreed upon the frequency of the practice (of infanticide) in earlier times. Marshall, writing in 1872, refers to the large amount of female infanticide in former years, but expresses his conviction that the practice had by that time died out. Marshall's evidence is that of native assurance only. Dr. Rivers, who received the same assurance, is disinclined to place much confidence in

* Ellis. History of Madagascar.
† Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills. By a German missionary, 1856. [113]
‡ Proc. Cambridge Philosoph. Soc., XII, 1904.

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847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

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funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri hills, but has been widely adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas bara kedu, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted." The various forms of the funeral ceremonies are discussed in detail by Dr. Rivers, and it must suffice to describe those at which we have been present as eye-witnesses.

764 192 [765]

I had the opportunity of witnessing the second funeral of a woman who had died from smallpox two months previously. On arrival at a mand on the open downs about five miles from Ootacamund, we were conducted by a Toda guide to the margin of a dense shola, where we found two groups seated apart, consisting of (*a*) women, girls, and brown-haired female babies, round a camp fire; (*b*) men, boys, and male babies, carried, with marked signs of paternal affection, by their fathers. In a few minutes a murmuring sound commenced in the centre of the female group. Working themselves up to the necessary pitch, some of the women (near relatives of the deceased) commenced to cry freely, and the wailing and lachrymation gradually spread round the circle, until all, except little girls and babies who were too young to be affected, were weeping and mourning, some for fashion, others from genuine grief. In carrying out the orthodox form of mourning, the women first had a good cry to themselves, and then, as their emotions became more intense, went round the circle, selecting partners with whom to share companionship in grief. Gradually the group resolved itself into couplets of mourners, each pair with their heads in contact, and giving expression to their emotions in unison. Before

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[765] separating to select a new partner, each couple saluted by bowing the head, and raising thereto the feet of the other, covered by the putkûli. [I have seen women rapidly recover from the outward manifestations of grief, and clamour for money.] From time to time the company of mourners was reinforced by late arrivals from distant mands, and, as each detachment, now of men and now of women, came in view across the open downs, one could not fail to be reminded of the gathering of the clans on some Highland moor. The resemblance was heightened by the distant sound as of pipers, [648] produced by the Kota band (with two police constables [533] in attendance), composed of four Kotas, who made a weird noise with drums and flutes as they drew near the scene of action. The band, on arrival, took up a position close to the mourning women. As each detachment arrived, the women, recognising their relatives, came forward and saluted them in the manner customary among Todas by falling at their feet, and [576] placing first the right and then the left foot on their head. Shortly after the arrival of the band, signals were exchanged, by waving of putkûlis, between the assembled throng and a small detachment of men some distance off. A general move was made, and an *impromptu* procession formed, with men in front, band in the middle, and women bringing up the rear. A halt was made opposite a narrow gap leading into the shola; men and women sat apart as before; and the band walked round, discoursing unsweet music. A party of girls went off to bring fire from the spot just vacated for use in the coming ceremonial, but recourse was finally had to a box of matches lent by one of our party. At this stage we noticed a woman go up to the eldest son of the deceased, who was seated apart from the

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other men, and would not be comforted in spite of her efforts to console him. On receipt of a summons from within the shola, the assembled Toda men and ourselves swarmed into it by a narrow track leading to a small clear space round a big tree, from a hole cut at the base of which an elderly Toda produced a piece of the skull of the dead woman, wrapped round with long tresses of her hair. It now became the men's turn to exhibit active signs of grief, and all of one accord commenced to weep and mourn. Amid the scene of lamentation, the hair was slowly unwrapt from off the skull, and burned in an iron ladle, from which a smell as of incense arose. A bamboo pot of ghi was produced, with which the skull was reverently anointed, and placed in a cloth spread on the ground. To this relic of the deceased the throng of men, amid a scene of wild excitement, made obeisance by kneeling down before it, and touching it with their foreheads. The females were not permitted to witness this stage of the proceedings, with the exception of one or two near relatives of the departed one, who supported themselves sobbing against the tree. The ceremonial concluded, the fragment of skull, wrapt in the cloth, was carried into the open, where, as men and boys had previously done, women and girls made obeisance to it. A procession was then again formed, and marched on until a place was reached, where were two stone-walled kraals, large and small. Around the former the men, and within the latter the women, took up their position, the men engaging in chit-chat, and the women in mourning, which after a time ceased, and they too engaged in conversation. A party of men, carrying the skull, still in the cloth, set out for a neighbouring shola, where a kĕdu of several other dead Todas was being celebrated; and a long

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765 pause ensued, broken eventually by the arrival of the other funeral party, the men advancing in several lines, with arms linked, and crying out U, hah! U, hah, hah! in regular time. This party brought with it pieces of the skulls of a woman and two men, which were placed, wrapt in cloths, on the ground, saluted, and mourned over by the assembled multitude. At this [648] stage a small party of Kotas arrived, and took up their position on a neighbouring hill, waiting, vulture-like, for the carcase of the buffalo which was shortly to be slain. Several young men now went off across the 765 787 hill in search of buffaloes, and speedily re-appeared, driving five buffaloes before them with sticks. As soon as the beasts approached a swampy marsh at the foot of the hill on which the expectant crowd of men was gathered together, two young men of athletic build, throwing off their putkûlis, made a rush down the hill, and tried to seize one of the buffaloes by the horns, with the result that one of them was promptly thrown. The buffalo escaping, one of the remaining four was quickly caught by the horns, and, with arms interlocked, the men brought it down on its knees, amid a general scuffle. In spite of marked objection and strenuous resistance on the part of the animal—a barren cow—it was, by means of sticks freely applied, slowly dragged up the hill, preceded by the Kota band, and with a Toda youth pulling at its tail. Arrived at the open space between the kraals, the buffalo, by this time thoroughly exasperated, and with blood pouring from its nostrils, had a cloth put on its back, and was despatched by a blow on the poll with an axe deftly wielded by a young and muscular man. On this occasion no one was badly hurt by the sacrificial cow, though one man was seen washing his legs in the swamp after the preliminary struggle with

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the beast. But Colonel Ross-King narrates how he saw 765
a man receive a dangerous wound in the neck from a 782
thrust of the horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. With the death of the buffalo, the last scene, which terminated the strange rites, commenced; men, women, and children pressing forward and jostling one another in their eagerness to salute the dead beast by placing their hands between its horns, and weeping and mourning in pairs; the facial expression of grief being mimicked when tears refused to flow spontaneously.

The ceremonial connected with the final burning of the relics and burial of the ashes at the stone circle (azaram) are described in detail by Dr. Rivers.

A few days after the ceremony just described, I was 764
invited to be present at the funeral of a young girl who had died of smallpox five days previously. I proceeded accordingly to the scene of the recent ceremony, and there, in company with a small gathering of Todas from the neighbouring mands, awaited the arrival of the funeral cortége, the approach of which was announced by the advancing strains of Kota music. Slowly the procession came over the brow of the hill; the corpse, covered by a cloth, on a rude ladder-like bier, borne on the shoulders of four men, followed by two Kota musicians; the mother carried hidden within a sack; relatives and men carrying bags of rice and jaggery, and bundles of wood of the kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*) for the funeral pyre. [824]
Arrived opposite a small hut, which had been specially built for the ceremonial, the corpse was removed from the bier, laid on the ground, face upwards, outside the hut, and saluted by men, women, and children, with the same manifestations of grief as on the previous occasion. Soon the men moved away to a short distance, and engaged

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764 in quiet conversation, leaving the females to continue mourning round the corpse, interrupted from time to time by the arrival of detachments from distant mands, whose first duty was to salute the dead body. Meanwhile a near female relative of the dead child was busily engaged inside the hut, collecting together in a basket small measures of rice, jaggery, sago, honey-comb, and the girl's simple toys, which were subsequently to be burned with the corpse. The mourning ceasing after a time, the corpse was placed inside the hut, and followed by the near relatives, who there continued to weep over it. 764 A detachment of men and boys, who had set out in 781 search of the buffaloes which were to be sacrificed, now returned driving before them three cows, which escaped from their pursuers to rejoin the main herd. A long pause ensued, and, after a very prolonged drive, three more cows were guided into a marshy swamp, where one of them was caught by the horns, and dragged reluctantly, but with little show of fight, to the strains of Kota drum and flute, in front of the hut, where it was promptly despatched by a blow on the poll. The corpse was now brought from within the hut, and placed, face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of the buffalo, whose neck was decorated with a silver [301] chain, such as is worn by Todas round the loins, as no bell was available, and the horns were smeared with butter. Then followed frantic manifestations of grief, amid which the unhappy mother fainted. Mourning 764 over, the corpse was made to go through a form of 588 ceremony, resembling that which is performed during pregnancy with the first child. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a certain grass [824] (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*) and a twig of a shrub

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(*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkūli, and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb, and butter in the pocket of the putkūli, which was then stitched with needle and thread in a circular pattern. The boy's father then took off his son's putkūli, and replaced it so as to cover him from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. [On the occasion of the funeral of an unmarried lad, a girl is in like manner selected, covered with her putkūli from head to foot, and a metal vessel filled with jaggery, rice, etc., to be subsequently burnt on the funeral pyre, placed for a short time within the folds of the putkūli. Thus covered, the girl remains till next morning, watched through the dreary hours of the night by relatives. The same ceremony is performed over the corpse of a married woman who has not borne children, the husband acting as such for the last time, in the vain hope that the woman may produce issue in heaven.] The corpse was borne away to the burning-ground within the shola, and, after removal of some of the hair by the mother of the newly wedded boy, burned, with face upwards, amid the music of the Kota band, the groans of the assembled crowd squatting on the ground, and the genuine grief of the nearest relatives. The burning concluded, a portion of the skull was removed from the ashes, and handed over to the recently made mother-in-law of the dead girl, and wrapped up with the hair in the bark of the tūd tree (*Meliosma pungens*). A second buffalo, which, properly speaking, should have been slain before

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[765] [588] [824] [782]

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764 the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and
[782] jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother
[765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of
[293] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife.
[576] On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkūli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candolleana*) in the putkūli of the corpse;

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(2) Tying balls of thread and cowry shells on the arm of the corpse, just above the elbow; 764

(3) Setting fire to the funeral pyre, which was, on the present occasion, done by lighting a rag fed with ghi with a match.

The buffalo capture took place amid the usual excitement, and with freedom from accident; and, later in the day, the stalwart buffalo catchers turned up at the travellers' bungalow for a *pourboire* in return, as they said, for treating us to a good fight. The beasts selected for sacrifice were a full-grown cow and a young calf. As they were dragged near to the corpse, now removed from the arbour, butter was smeared over the horns, and a bell tied round the neck. The bell was subsequently removed by Kotas, in whose custody, it was said, it was to remain till the next day funeral. The death-blow, or rather series of blows, having been delivered with the butt end of an axe, the feet of the corpse were placed at the mouth of the buffalo. In the case of a male corpse, the right hand is made to clasp the horns. [It is recorded by Dr. Rivers that, at the funeral of a male, men dance after the buffalo is killed. In the dancing a tall pole, called tadri or tadrsi, decorated with cowry shells, is used.] The customary mourning in couples concluded, the corpse, clad in four cloths, was carried on the stretcher to a clear space in the neighbouring shola, and placed by the side of the funeral pyre, which had been rapidly piled up. The innermost cloth was black in colour, and similar to that worn by a palol. Next to it came a putkūli decorated with blue and red embroidery, outside which again was a plain white cloth covered over by a red cotton cloth of European manufacture. Seated by the side of the pyre, near to which I was courteously invited to take a seat on the stump of a rhododendron,

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764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf [648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded, the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter- [765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over [795] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that "it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed, and are available for use another time. This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas them- [193] selves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man [763] supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

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of this, the rule was made that the body should always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

764 [763] [173] 764 786 [196] [191]

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near

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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764. 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhutkina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

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We did our work according to his orders, and this excellent order was an ample one. Now this ———, a chief of the Todas, son of———, a deceased Toda, the above man joined with the moniagar of ——— village, joined together, and, dealing with bribes, now they arose against us, and doing this great troubles on us, and also, by this great trouble, one day Mr. ——— came for shooting snapes (snipe) by that side. By chance one grazing buffalo came to him, push him by his horns very forcely, and wounded him on his leg. By the help of another gentleman who came with him he escaped, or he would have die at the moment. Now the said moniagar and ——— joined together, want to finish the funeral to his late father on the 18th instant. For this purpose they are going to shut the buffaloes without food in the kraal on the 18th instant at 10 o'clock. They are going to kill the buffaloes on the 19th instant at 4 o'clock in the evening. But this is a great sin against god. But we beg your honour this way. That is, let them leave the buffaloes in the grazing place, and ask them to catch and kill them at the same moment. And also your honour cannot ordered them to keep them in the kraal without food. And, if they will desire to kill the buffaloes in this way, these buffaloes will come on us, and also on the other peoples one who, coming to see funs on those day, will kill them all by his anxious. And so we the Todas begs your honour to enquire them before the 18th, the said funeral ceremony commencing, and not to grant the above orders to them." 648 764 782

A Whit Monday at Paikāra was given up to an exhibition of sports and games, whereof the most exciting and interesting was a burlesque representation of a Toda funeral by boys and girls. A Toda, who was 52 536 764

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fond of his little joke, applied the term pacchai kēdu (green funeral) to the corpses of the flies entrapped by a viscous catch'em-alive-oh on the bungalow table. To the mock funeral rites arrived a party of youths, as from a distant mand, and crying out U, hah, in shrill mimicry of their elders. The lad who was to play the leading part of sacrificial buffalo, stripping off his putkūli, disappeared from sight over the brow of a low hillock. Above this eminence his bent and uplifted upper extremities shortly appeared as representatives of the buffalo horns. At sight thereof, there was a wild rush of small boys to catch him, and a mimic struggle took place, while the buffalo was dragged, amid good-tempered scuffling, kicks, and shouting, to the spot where the corpse should have been. This spot was, in the absence of a pseudo-dead body or stage dummy, indicated by a group of little girls, who had sat chatting together till the boy-beast arrived, when they touched foreheads, and went, with due solemnity, through the orthodox observance of mourning in couples. The buffalo was slain by a smart tap on the back of the head with a cloth, which did duty for an axe. As soon as the convulsive movements and twitchings of the death struggle were over, the buffalo, without waiting for an encore, retired behind the hillock once more, in order that the rough and tumble fight, which was evidently the chief charm of the game, might be repeated. The buffalo boy later on came in second in a flat race, and he was last seen protecting us from a mischievous-looking member of his herd, which was grazing on the main-road. Toda buffaloes, it may be noted, are not at all popular with members of the Ootacamund Hunt, as both horses and riders from time to time receive injuries from their horns, when they come in collision.

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While the funeral game was in progress, the men showed off their prowess at a game (eln),* corresponding to the English tip-cat, which is epidemic at a certain season in the London bye-streets. It is played with a bat like a broomstick, and a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. The latter is propped up against a stone, and struck with the bat. As it flies off the stone, it is hit to a distance with the bat, and caught (or missed) by the out fields. 526

At the Muttanād mand, we were treated to a further exhibition of games. In one of these, called narthpimi, a flat slab of stone is supported horizontally on two other slabs fixed perpendicularly in the ground so as to form a narrow tunnel, through which a man can just manage to wriggle his body with difficulty. Two men take part in the game, one stationing himself at a distance of about thirty yards, the other about sixty yards from the tunnel. The front man, throwing off his mantle, runs as hard as he can to the tunnel, pursued by the 'scratch' man, whose object is to touch the other man's feet before he has squeezed himself through the tunnel. Another sport, which we witnessed, consists of trial of strength with a heavy globular stone, the object being to raise it up to the shoulder; but a strong, well-built-man—he who was entrusted with slaying the funeral buffalo—failed to raise it higher than the pit of the stomach, though straining his muscles in the attempt. A splendidly made veteran assured me that, when young and lusty, he was able to accomplish the feat, and spoke sadly of degeneration in the physique of the younger members of the tribe. [147]

Mr. Breeks mentions that the Todas play a game resembling puss-in-the-corner, called kāriālapimi, which 524

* Called by Breeks ilata, [which, Dr. Rivers suggests, is a Badaga name.

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524 was not included in the programme of sports got up for our benefit. Dr. Rivers writes that "the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport." I have, on several occasions, come across young children playing with long and short pieces of twigs representing buffaloes and their calves, and going solemnly through the various incidents in the daily life of these animals. Todas, both old and young, may constantly be seen twisting flexible twigs into representations of buffaloes' heads and horns.

539 Of Toda songs, the following have been collected :—

Sunshine is increasing. Mist is fast gathering. Rain may come. Thunder roars. Clouds are gathering.

Rain is pouring. Wind and rain have combined.

Oh, powerful god, may everything prosper!

May charity increase!

May the buffaloes become pregnant!

See that the buffaloes have calves.

See that the barren women have children.

Go and tell this to the god of the land.

Keygamor, Eygamor (names of buffaloes).

Evening is approaching. The buffaloes are coming.

The calves also have returned.

The buffaloes are saluted.

The dairy-man beats the calves with his stick.

Milk has been offered to the bell.

It is growing dark.

This is a buffalo with beautiful horns.

A buffalo stupidly given away by the Badaga.

A buffalo brought to the Kāndal mand.

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Innerovya (name of buffalo).
Like this buffalo there is no other.
Parkûr (name of a Toda).
Like him there is no man.
The sun is shining. The wind is blowing.
Rain is coming. The trees are in flower.
Tears are falling. The nose is burning.
He is coming, holding up his umbrella.
He is coming, wearing a good body-cloth.
He is coming, wearing a good under-cloth.
He (the palol) is coming, wearing a black cloth.
He is coming, holding his walking-stick of palai wood.
I have a god. What is to become of me?
I am inclined to cry, my heart being heavy.
Oh, my child! Do not cry. It is still crying.
Thuree. Thuree. See. Be quiet.
A robust bull buffallo. Ach! Ach!
A big buffalo not intended for killing. Ach! Ach!
Is leading the cow buffalo. Ah! Ah!
Two or three men are driving it. Ah! Ah!

Song in honour of the arrival of the Maharâni-Regent of Mysore at Ootacamund. 539 648

All we Todas go to her house, and dance before her.
She gives us fifteen rupees.
She comes near our women, and talks to them.
She gives cloths to us.
Next day we take milk, eight bottles in the morning, four in the evening.
Month by month she pays us for our milk.
She goes back to Mysore, and, when she goes, we stand in a row before her.

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539 She gives us presents; cloths and three rupees.
[648] The women cut their hair, and stand before her.

Marriage Song.

Boys and girls are singing.
Much money are they spending.
To the girl her father is giving five buffaloes.
The husband tells his wife that she must curl her hair.
If her hair is curled, all the people will rejoice.
The buffalo is slain, and now we must all dance.
Why are not more people here? More should come.
My buffalo is big, very big.
Go quickly and catch it.
The Todas are all there. They are standing in a row.
Who will run, and catch the buffalo first?
To him will a present of five rupees be given.
I will go and catch it first.
The Todas are all fighting.
The Todas are all feasting.
People give them rice.
The buffalo is coming. Two men run to catch it by the neck.
Ten men collect the buffaloes. They pen them in a kraal.
At one o'clock we take our food.
The buffalo is running, and I hit it on the back with a stick.
It swerves aside, but I drive it back to the path.
Night comes, and we all dance.
Next morning at ten o'clock we bring out the buffalo, and slay it.

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At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539

At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.

At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793

He lights the lamp.

At eight he milks his buffaloes.

He puts on no cloth.

He places butter and ghi before the god.

Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.

Then he puts on his cloth.

At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.

He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.

He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.

He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.

He alone may sleep in the temple.

At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.

At seven he milks them.

The woman's house is down the hill.

The priest must not go in unto the woman.

He may not marry.

When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.

Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, etc. 771 114 771 197 788

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[791] etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
[197] "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
302 A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[782] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[788] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[765] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

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(7) Boy, aged 6. White spot painted between eyebrows. Hair shaved on top and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead. Hair brought forward in fringe over forehead on either side of median strip, and hanging down back of neck. 302

(8) Male child, aged 18 months. White spot painted between eyebrows. Shaved on top and sides of head. [531]

Todupuzha Vellāla.—For the following note, I am indebted to Mr. N. Subramani Aiyar. Besides the Nanchinād Vellālas, there are, in Travancore, two sections of the Vellāla caste, inhabiting the mountainous Todupuzha tāluk. These are the Tenkanchi and Kumbakōnam Vellālas. The former are known by the popular name of Anjuttilkar, or the five hundred, and the latter are designated Munnutilkar, or the three hundred, in reference to the number of families which originally settled in the taluk. Like the Nanchinād Vellālas, they take the title of Pillai, and, in special cases, the honorific prefix Kanakku. 000

The Tenkanchi Vellālas appear to have dwelt originally in the Tenkāsi taluk of the Tinnevelly district, and to have emigrated, as the legend goes, on account of the demand of a Vaduka ruler for the hand of a member of their community in marriage. The Vadakkumkur Rājas were ruling over Todupuzha at the time of their migration, and afforded them a safe asylum. The Kumbakōnam Vellālas believe that they emigrated to Travancore about the commencement of the Malabar era from Kumbakōnam in the Tanjore district. Both divisions speak Malayālam, but there are clear indications in their speech that their mother-tongue was once Tamil, and they always use that language in their ceremonial writings. The Anjuttilkar women have

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[title page]

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PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

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IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

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§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

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§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

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[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Pearcee Fund) in 1936-37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103-12, 1937); in that paper, *t*, *d*, *z* should be read for *v*, *δ*, *γ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

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551 patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions
[614] the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondurīdz. One of these is the daughter of ĭmuxfum (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxŭmĭr (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondur to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary
771 to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of
234 munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and
[192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as tŏŭ "god" or nŏĭr "sacred place" or by the compound tŏŭnoĭr, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and
776 noĭr when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some
778 extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the
[179] gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god ŏm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the tŏŭnoĭr, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

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[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343–60, 1937).

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It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly. 776 778 [821] [354]

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the küasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of küasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toiřüasoij moiety, but not among the töüfiljoij), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tii-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of küasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one küasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one küasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the küasm. 778 552 [788] [614] [103]

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and küasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. üuṣoiṛ of the melgaisoij (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paṛng (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maikais of the kaisoij (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tii-places of this sib. toisjaff of the kaisoij (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kuṛpoij dairy at the mund kais. komdüui of the toiroiṛoij (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoij dairy at the mund toiroiṛ. pepoib of the melgaisoij (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuisais, a mund of the sib. köiroiṛxüuṭṇ of the köiroiṛoij (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second küasm of the people of the sib. oitjarz of the puṛgoiṛoij (34, Atiurs) has the second küasm of the people of the sib. munombiṛṣtj, son of koitsiṛj (12, Kacheidi) has one of the küasm of the buffaloes of his sib. 778 551 614

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778 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this
551 is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has
614 been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæɸj in §12 and tæɸjxæm, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tuɪpuɪxũuṭṇ, son of tæɪpex (20, Teipakh), and tuɪfnuɪ (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoʃj dairy at the mund toɪroɪ, which is named tuɪpuɪforũ. In the case of one man panuɪ (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is komuɪ, which is the first kũasm of the mund paʃtuɪ of the toɪroɪroʃ, but that a real kũasm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name panuɪ is based on the second kũasm of this mund, paɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged kũasm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. ɔɪkjaʃf (24, Irkiolv) after the kũasm ɔɪṛṇuɪ, ɔɪkjaʃf, and oɪxũuḷṇ (24, Orguln) after the kũasm oɪṛṇuɪ, oɪxũuḷṇ; the kũasm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
776 existent is clear, for kiɪṛṇuɪ of the niṛjoʃ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second kũasm of the mund niṛj, and orjxuɪ of the
614 möɪroʃ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second kũasm of the mund pan. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always
551 clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of
103 compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. tõũmod (24, Teimad) < a valley (paʃ) called tõũmodfaʃ. mogoj (24, Mogai) < mogojnæɪ "cubit (mogoj)-shade (næɪ)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtsũuɪ of his sib.[6] kukuɪ (20, Kakar) < kukuɪrxũut, an open place in the middle of thickets (kũut) near the mund toɪroɪ. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiɸjmuṛj (20, Kidimudri) < kiɸjmun, a mountain; mun is the peak of a hill and muṛj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

[6] Rivers (p. 423) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

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§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -küuɪr. This is clearly the noun küuɪr "stream," "path," or "horn." One man küuɪngüuɪr (63, Kwongudr) is named after küuɪngüuɪr, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. noɪrgüuɪr (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tögoɪr. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iṭṣxüuɪr (21, Idrshkwòdr) <iṭṣfoḷ, a valley (poḷ) near the mund toɪroɪr; idzxüuɪr (23, Idjkudr) <idzfoḷ, a valley near the mund paʃtuɪr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. töɪsxüuɪr (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund æɪpuɪsgoɪr. In many other names however -küuɪr can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word küuɪr has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyze the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæmxüuɪr (62, Kangudr), where kæm refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxüuɪr (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoɪr, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms küuɪr "stream" or "path" and küuɪr "horn."[7]

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[7] I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

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The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

puʃyɪmiṭʃ	paṭk æɪfus
flower-lime fruit	crowd-for I became
teɪʃjomoḍ	tuɪṭk æɪfus
pole-who are-men	bushes-to they became

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The teɪʃ is a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

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193 §9. The frequent suffix -küwtṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that
551 it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in puṭʃofxüwṭṇ (a son of sirjuɪr 20)<puṭʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in tuɪpuɪsxüwṭṇ (20; referred in §6)<tuɪpuɪsfoɪü, the kogfoʃj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæɪnxüwṭṇ, son of toɪliɪθj and nertnuɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners)<kæɪnaʃf, the üuɪsoʃj dairy at the mund korkos. A son of küorom of the puɪrgoɪroʃ (34, Kwodron) is named asojxüwṭṇ<asojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib. köɪkisjxüwṭṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the
[177] Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüwṭṇ in table 25)<köɪkisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fum; e.g. in kororfum (21, Karadrvan)<kororθwṭ, name of a mountain (tuṭ) near toɪroɪr; uɪrküɪuɪrfum (24, Idrkudrvan)<uɪrküuɪrfaɪu, a river (paɪu) near Mt. koror; puṭʃefum (24, Pachievan)<puṭʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. puṭʃofxüwṭṇ in §9); kergæɪrfum (25, Kerskedrvan)<kergæɪrfaɪu, a stream near the mund paʃtoɪr; asojfum<asojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the puɪrgoɪroʃ, is another name of poɪtuɪs (35, Patirsh; cf. asojxüwṭṇ in §9); mupuɪfum (16, Mopuvan)<mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to
[888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoɪʃ or pæɪθoɪʃfum, kæmodz or kæmodzfum; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits
[114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is muɪn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word puɪn, which is the only possibility,
[192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly
[553] the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used.
831 The three meanings given for puɪn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite
192 distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fum derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of küasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. mymj of the kuɪüuṭoɪʃ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first küasm is paɪrnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪs) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭṇuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nul- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the küasm koɪnuɪs of the mund nyɪḷṇ of the meḷgaɪsoɪʃ is to be interpreted as koɪn-nuɪs "the place of the god koɪn;" koɪn or koɪnśöü is the mountain near this mund. The first küasm of the mund meḷgaɪs is naɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two küasm of the people of this sib, naɪsθoɪr, naɪsfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrθasoɪʃ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first küasm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsiḷṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪs, naɪsüuɪ (i.e. naɪs-tüuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪs is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kïuɪr of the kuɪüuṭoɪʃ and küaɪrθynj of the puɪrgoɪroɪʃ, have küatæmuɪs as their first küasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of küatæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the möɪroɪʃ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not küasm, with this element are poɪʃjnuɪs "the place of the funeral-ḥut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪüuṭoɪʃ, and maɪsnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the möɪroɪʃ, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and küasm of munds. A brother of moɪngiɪθj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kïuɪdnuɪs, whose name is the first küasm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kuɪsnuɪs (56, Karsners) < the first küasm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kimuɪs (26, Kiner) is derived from kimuʃnuɪs, the first küasm of the mund köɪroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

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is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboos work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 110).

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551 193 suitable ending for personal names. E.g. panuɪ and tuɪɪfnuɪ (§6); küuɪjnuɪ (25, Kudeners) < the relic-burning place küuɪjoɪsoɪɪm at the funeral-place tyɟtsüuɪ; piɪldjnuɪ (21, Püldenir) < piɪldjxaɪfem, the slope of a hill near the mund küuɪmaɪ; nertnuɪ (24, Nertiners) < nerpaʃt, an alternative name, or unerpaʃt, the first küaɪm, of the mund tæɪlgüuɪɪ.

[103] §12. Another suffix of quite unknown meaning, but probably originally at home in place-names, is -iɪθj. ertsiɪθj (20, Ircheidi) is taken without change from the name of a hill near the mund karkoɪ. All the other names with this suffix that I can derive show it as a suffix or as a substitute for some other element; e.g. tuɪsiɪθj (20, Tirseidi) < tuɪkisjxöɪɪ, a pool at the mund toɪroɪɪ. He was a brother of ertsiɪθj, but his eldest brother, and so his name was not influenced by the latter's, but vice versa, and both were probably influenced either in formation or in choice by that of their father tæɪθj. This last name is puzzling, but is said to be derived from tæɪf, the name of the mountain near the mund toɪroɪɪ, and we may suspect that -θj is related to the suffix -iɪθj. Two other brothers of tuɪsiɪθj have names with the same formative -iɪθj, tuɪnpiɪθj (Tanpeidi) < küuɪɪṭθuɪnp, the raised grassy mound (tuɪnp) where the corpse is laid at the funeral-place tyɟtsüuɪ, and muɖbiɪθj (Madbeithi) < muɖboɪɪθuɪt, a mountain near toɪroɪɪ. paɪkiɪθj (21, Parkeidi) < paɪkefem, the slope of a hill near the mund karkoɪ. toɪliɪθj (24, Tòleidi) < toɪlfaɪu, a stream (paɪu) near the mund tæɪlgüuɪɪ. It was said that puɪlkiɪθj (22, Pulkeidi) was named after the mund puɪlküuɪɪ and the mountain kiɪθjmuɪn near the mund küuɪmaɪ; this is possible, but derivation from puɪlküuɪɪ alone is possible in view of the preceding examples. kydsiɪθj (21, Kudztheidi) < kyd, a male funeral-place of the toɪroɪroɪɟ. küuɪɪṭiɪθj (21, Kuteidi) < küuɪɪṭθuɪnp, see tuɪnpiɪθj above. These two men were brothers, an elder brother was paɪkiɪθj (explained above), their father was petüuɪɪθj and another elder brother was oɪrdüuɪɪθj; the similarity of endings is striking, and is paralleled by various similarities of ending (such as that given earlier in this paragraph) or of beginning in various families. The ending found in the last two names is probably -tüuɪɪθj. I know it in these names only. oɪrdüuɪɪθj (Arthothi) derives from oɪrθoɪɟ, an open stretch of ground (toɪɟ) near the mund ertoɪɟ. The origin of petüuɪɪθj (Peratuthi) is unknown.

§13. Another ending is -odz; e.g. kæmodz (21, Keinodz) < kæmaɟf, the üuɪsoɟj dairy at the mund karkoɪ. This ending appears preceding another suffix in the name of tyɟjodzxüuɪɪ, son of toɪliɪθj (24), named after tyɟjpuɟ, a path through a thicket near toɪroɪɪ; tyɟjxüuɪɪ would have been possible, but this name is borne by another man, as is also tyɟjodz (62, Tilliodz), which is derived from kaɪyɟj, the küaɪm of the gateposts of the pen at the mund piɪɪ.

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§14. The suffix -oɪn is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nɑsoɪn (a son of tæɪpɑx [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. küɑɾoɪn of the puɾgoɪɾoɪl (34, Kwodron), who is named after the mund küɑɪɾöynj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. pɑnuɪs in §6). The suffix -ɑɪr is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ɑr "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinɑɪr (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. sirjɑɪr (20, Siriar) <*siriraŋgam*, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piljɑɪr (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun pilj "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kuɾfoljj dairy at the mund kuɪüuɪr, which has as küɑsm piljɑg, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag). 551 193 [614]

§15. Rivers took -ɑlf (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So toɪsjɑlf in §5, and öɪkjɑlf in §6; the latter is one küɑsm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one küɑsm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are küɪɪsjɑlf (52, Kuriolv) and pɑɪukiɪsjɑlf (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from küɪɪsuɪn, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at piɪts, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from puɪnɑ:sɑlf, the second küɑsm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. pɑɪukiɪsjɑlf <pɑɪukiɪsjniɪ, the watering place of the kuɪpoljj dairy at the mund kɑɪs, with the ending from toɪsjɑlf, the name of the kuɪpoljj dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in poɪü used as a personal name, viz. tyljpoɪü (12, Tilipa), which is derived from poɪüöyljpoɪü, the küɑsm of the üɪɪsoljj dairy at the mund noesminoɪr. Usually some change is made, as in tɪɪpɑɪsxümtn and tɪɪɪfnɪɪs in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piɲljxüɪɪr in §21. 551 193 234

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. pɑnɪɪr (23, Puner) <pɑnɑɪröü, the second küɑsm of Mt. 551 193 [563]

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55 193 [553] pairθotj near the mund kɑrkos. edzen (22, Idjen) < iidzɪfɑl, a valley near the mund pɑʃtɑɪr; this man was afterwards called küɑrxɑs, from a rocky ground near the mund tæilgüɪɪr, since there was another man called edzen. nɑtyłj (25, Natuli) < kinxɑtyłj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund pɑʃtɑɪr; kinxɑtyłj = "small (kin)-stone (kɑs)-deep pool (tyłj)," and nɑtyłj = "beauty (nɑs)-deep pool (tyłj)." I could not discover that nɑtyłj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tærθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tærθj and kæm, a brother of tærθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmɑłł, cf. kæmgüɪtn̩ (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkirθj, for which see §12.

55 552 614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or küɑsm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjɑir in §14. Others are moiromɪs, a son of töüθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moiramn, i.e. Mariamma; noixoroidzn, a son of sirjɑir (table 20), < noixuir "Nagore" or noixuirxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roidzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noixor or noixoroif "cobra."

55 776 177 §18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ɑrdʒon "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda n̩ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ɑrdʒ. The other name is idjoin (a son of tæipɑx, table 20). This is from idroidzn "king (roidzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in öingüɪtn̩ (20, Enkutan); öin, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes küɑtöü, who belonged to the sib of the mełgɑisoł, had another name mæiltɑrz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

55 177 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. kointsɑrz, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (ɑrz is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa ɑrasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

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also means "Englishman, European in general." It may be that the Tamil 551
ərəsən is also concerned in the origin of the Toda word, but in that case we 177
should expect final -n to remain.). It is to be expected that names of Badagas might be adapted, and perhaps such cases occur, but I have no record of any.

§20. One name that I know of has reference to an incident in the life of 551
a man's father. udjoɪsn (34, Udiosan) was made from udj "a government 554
appointment" and oɪsn "he who became," since when this man was born, his father held an appointment as a forest-ranger.

§21. Many of the examples given above are names of men of the 551
toɪroɪr sib. In order to give a comprehensive view of all the names of 614
one sib, I collect those here with references to the paragraphs where they are treated above and add all those that have not yet been mentioned. A few names given in Rivers' tables of this sib are not remembered by my informants, either because they belonged to children who died before they made any mark in the tribal life, or because the taboos on the names of the dead have caused them to be forgotten. I mark with an asterisk those names that follow the norm of derivation from names of places, objects, etc., connected with the sib.

RIVERS' TABLE 20

*tæɪθj (§12)
*tuɪzɪɪθj (§12)
*tuɪnpɪɪθj (§12)
*nöɪrnuɪs (Narsners) < unöɪrof, the second küasm of the mund tæɪlgüuɪr (see nertnuɪs, §11)
*munḍbɪɪθj (§12)
*ertsɪɪθj (§12)
*kakaɪr (§7)
*tæɪpax (Teipakh) < tüuɪθæɪpax, a pen at the mund toɪroɪr
sɪrjaɪr (§§14,17)
*tæɪfxüuɪr (Tavkudr) < Mt. tæɪf near toɪroɪr, "he who has horns as tall as Mt. tæɪf" (cf. §8)
*kiɪθjmuɪj (§7)
*paɪnxüuɪr (Pankudr) < paɪnḍüuɪ, two pens, one at toɪroɪr, one at kaɪkos (cf. §8)
*köɪkisjxüuɪṭp (§9)
*ædʒ, son of kakaɪr, < ædʒaɪxuɪṭ, a ravine near paʃtaɪr (cf. §7)
idjom (§18)
nasom (§14)
*tuɪpaɪxüuɪṭp (§§9, 15)

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öɪŋgüɪɯtʂ (§18, and cf. §9)
noɪxoroɪdzn (§17)
*tæɪθjxæm (§16)
*pɯtʃofxüɪɯtʂ (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 21

petüɪɯɪθj (§12)
*karorfɯn (§10)
*oɪrdüɪɯɪθj (§12)
*pɑɪkiɪθj (§12)
*kydsiɪθj (§12)
*küɪɯɪtiɪθj (§12)
*piɪldjnɯs (§11)
*kæmodz (§13)
*iɪʂxüɪɯɪr (§8)
*mɯnæɪs (Muners), name of a mountain near the funeral-place tyltaüɯɪ (cf. §5)

küodxɑrts (Kudrvas), son of kæmodz; this was the name of the father or grandfather of petüɪɯɪθj, a great man of former times. The origin of the name is unknown; a guess was hazarded that the first part (küod) represents the Badaga word for an umbrella and has to do with the shape of a tree connected with the sib.

kɔɪntsarz (§19)

RIVERS' TABLE 22

*pɯlkiɪθj (§12)
*kiɪŋjxæɪr (Kiuniar), a level ground where the game el, tipcat, is played near the mund pɑʃtaɪr (cf. §5)
*pɔɪlgar (Polgar), a valley between tɔɪrɔɪr and pɑʃtaɪr (cf. §5)
*edzen, alias *küɑrxas (§16, and cf. §5)
*pɯndüɪɯɪ (Pundu) < pɯndüɪɯɪ, a cooking ground at kɑrkos (cf. §16)
*kömɯɯɪf (Keinmuv) < kömmɯɪfniɪr, the dairy watering-place at pɑʃtaɪr (cf. §7)
*pɑʃtxüɪɯɪr (Pushtikudr) < nerpɑʃt (§§8, 11) with special reference to the pɑʃt "large flat lichen-covered rock" at the mund
*tɯɪküɯs, son of pɔɪlgar, < tɯɪküɯtʂθj, a mountain, formerly a semi-mythical hero who belonged to the sib

RIVERS' TABLE 23

*pɑnɯs (§§6, 11)
*tɔɪkas (Tokas), a mountain near kɑrkos (cf. §5)
*pɯntɯr (§16)

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*tööθuxn (Teitukhen), a mountain near toiroir (cf. §5)
*iidzxümiṛ (§8)
*komdüui (§5)
*töötüui, son of toikas and puinuir, <name of the general pen at toiroiṛ (cf. §5)
moiponuis (§17, and cf. §11)

RIVERS' TABLE 24

*puitʃefun (§10)
*uṛkümirfun (§10)
*kidʒxümṭṇ (Kidjkutan), origin unknown to my informants (cf. §9)
*öikjoʎ (§§6, 15)
*töümod (§7)
*oixümḷṇ (§6)
*toiliθj (§12)
*nertnuis (§11)
*magoj (§7)
*piʃtjxümiṛ (Pushtikòdr) <piʃtjfoiü, the second küasm of the üuisoʎj dairy at toiroiṛ (§15, and cf. §8)
*tyʎjodzxümiṛ (§13, and cf. §8)
*kæinxümṭṇ (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 25

*natyʎj (§16)
*kergæirfun (§10)
*küuṛjnuis (§11)
*tuifnuis (§§6, 11, 15)
ardʒoṇ (§18)

§22. This list contains 66 names, plus one alias; 6 of those in Rivers' tables were unknown to my informants. Of the 67 names, 2 are of unknown origin, one (küadxarts) is doubtfully connected with the sib, 8 are definitely not connected with the sib, and 56 (55 plus one alias) are definitely connected with the sib. Expressed in percentages and counting the one doubtful case with the two of unknown origin, we have approximately 83.6% accounted for as being sib-names, 4.5% of unknown origin (and the presumption is that they are sib-names), 11.9% derived from other sources than the sib. In a similar enquiry into the names of the piṭoiʎ, 59 names (one an alias) were known to my informants. Of these, two could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, 56 were certainly sib-names, and one was doubtful. This last was komdsöm (62, Komjon) "queen-bee." When he was born, his parents were living at kufiθj in the Wynad where honey is

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55/14 very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tōm, a son of pi/jog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because [937] honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kuriūuṭoi/, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tōm) has just been analyzed, and one, pi/jair, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the tōōfi/joi/ moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toiroiroi/ sib, belonging to the toirōasoi/ moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toirōasoi/ sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kuriūuṭoi/ and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piṭṭoi/ have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the tōōfi/joi/ moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any [924] definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association [533] with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

55/193 §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

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of female-denoting significance, is -ɪdz. E.g. ɑrlɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from ɑrl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noɪṇoɪ; it was at noɪṇ that the goddess töɪkɪsj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is: 551 193 551 193 619 773 [538]

mɑxɑrxoj	potsɪwθnoɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
mɑxɑrɑl	oɪkjɪwθnoɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noɪṇ) the sacred place where töɪkɪsj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that ɑrl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with töɪkɪsj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moṇɪdz (7, Manidz); moṇ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—iṇefædʒ, moṇefædʒ "quarrels (pædʒ) about women (iṇ, a Badaga word) and land;" 551 193 533

iṇexüɑɪṭ	koṭjoθik
woman-bungalow	you built
moṇexöɪr	kertoθik
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɑrmɪdz (44, Termidz) < tɑrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nüɪmṭɪdz (3, Notidz) < nüɪmṭ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koṭleoɪṭ, koṇenüɪmṭ "dancing (oɪṭ) with the legs (koṭl), sights for the eyes (koṇ)." poṇɪdz, daughter of küɪmlpɑx (52, Kulpakh) < poṇ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otɑodjɪoṇ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sɪnɪdz (21, Sinidz) < sɪn "gold." lɑɪbɪdz, daughter of töɪküɪmɪr (63, Teikudr), < lɑɪbɪm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). rɑɪpojɪdz (also rɑɪpoj), daughter of kömɑnɪs (34, Kemners), < rɑɪpoj "rupee." rɑɪmɪdz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. roɪdʒɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), < roɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪdz (28, Pirkidz) < pɪrkɪtɑn, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nīlgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmɪdz (63, Sanmidz) < sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this [177]

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name is possibly made with thought of the song-pair: kuṛṛefuṛ, keresonm "a crowd such as has not gathered before, the people in a crowd such as has not assembled before." motʃɨɪdz (21, Matchidz) < motʃ "cot," with thought of the song-unit sinaθmotʃ "golden cot," which occurs in descriptions of the possessions of a wealthy man or of his wife. ofulɨɪdz (16, Ovalidz; 24, Ovelidz) < ofuɪ "rice puffed over the fire."

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§25. The suffix -ar is found in several names; e.g. koɪsar (57, Kosar) < koɪs "coin, rupee" and piʃjar (21, Piliarh) < piʃj "silver." noɪxoremj (10, Nagerami) contains a suffix -emj found in several other names; the first part of the name is to be compared with the first part of noɪxoroɪdɪn (§17). In sinog (27, Sinakh) we have sin "gold" and a suffix -og. In several names there is a suffix -ul; e.g. sinul (28, Sinul) < sin "gold."

§26. Many names are compounds. Frequent first members are sin "gold," pun "gold" (used in this sense in songs and proper names only), piʃj "silver." E.g. sindarm (10, Sindarm) with tarm "charity" (for the song-association cf. tarmɨdz in §24); sindagas (62, Sintagars) with tagas "chain," with special reference to a chain as a neck-ornament; sinboṇm (63, Sinpanm) with poṇm "4-anna piece;" singüuṛ, daughter of töɪküuɪr (63), with küuṛ "umbrella," a frequent word in songs; sinbydj, daughter of the same man, with pydj "wisdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit buddhi); sinmal, daughter of tuɪbxüuɪr (68, Tebkudr), with mal "mountains, esp. the Nilgiris," a frequent word in songs; sindoḍ (38, Sindod), with toḍ "army," a frequent word in songs (indirectly from Sanskrit daṇḍa); sinɪɪr (56, Sinir), with nɪɪr "water;" sinuɪr (41, Sinur), with uɪr "town, city;" singupj (14, Sinkupi), with kupj "the cowries or beads dangling in a bunch from a woman's armlet;" sinduɪfj (58, Sinduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" sinbaθuɪfj (65, Sinbuthuvi), with pa(θ)-tuɪfj "eagle's feather;" sinez (8, 40, Siners), with ez "leaf;" sindarz (3, 25, 56, Sinderg; 53, Sinterg), with tarz "plate from which food is eaten," and singöb (43, Singib), with köb "small bamboo cup from which milk is poured to drink," probably have reference to feeding visitors in the song-pair: tarzüuɪrʃkj, köbüuɪrʃoɪs "rice in a plate, milk in a cup;" sindurp (68, Sintharap), with turp "key." In a number of names the vowel -a- is inserted between the two parts of the compound: sinamut (43, Sinamut), with mut "pearl;" sinamoṇj (24, Sinamani), with moṇj "bell" (see note 10); sinabuɪf (8, Sinabuv), with puɪf "flower;" sinaʃʃj (1, Sinavel), with piʃj "silver." Names with pun "gold" are: punduɪfj (68, Punduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" punbaθuɪfj (8, Punbuthuvi), with paθuɪfj "eagle's feather;" punuɪr (66, Punur), with uɪr "town, city;" pundarz (26, Pündergh), with tarz, cf. sindarz above. punabuɪf (10, Punabuv), with puɪf "flower," contains the inserted vowel -a-. pundüu-

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ţeuj (10, Punduteimi), with tüuţ "handle of a bamboo vessel" (frequently found in songs), has also the suffix -emj mentioned in §25. piʎj "silver" is found in piʎjmoʃt (54, Pilimasht), with moʃt "ax;"[10] piʎjnir (55, Pilinir), with nir "water;" piʎjmut (35, Pilimut), with mut "pearl." 551 193

§27. As first member of a compound is found nas- 'beauty;" nasturfj (49, Narstufi), with turfj "feather;" naspiʎj (35, 52, Naspilthi), with piʎj "silver." It is found in the form nal- with insertion of -a- in nalaburf, daughter of panus (23, Paners), with puif "flower." puif "flower" is found as first member of a compound in purfiʎj (20, Puveli), with piʎj "silver;" with inserted -a- in purfamut, daughter of sirjair (20), with mut "pearl;" with suffix -idz and piʎj "silver" in purfidzfiʎj (65, Puvizveli).

§28. Other compounds are found with more sporadic members. korsmalj, daughter of oitjarz and udjoisn (34, Atiurz and Udiosan), from kors "rupee" and malj "garland;" korsafiʎj (11, Kosaveli), from kors "rupee" and piʎj "silver" with inserted -a-; cf. korsar §25. nirfiʎj (63, Nirveli) from nir "water" and piʎj "silver." arznir (16, Arsner), from arz "European" and nir "water." mutnirfiʎj (51, Mutnirveli), from mut "pearl," nir "water" and piʎj "silver," is rather exceptional in having three members. pumes (23, Pumers), from pum "fruit" and es "leaf;" cf. sines §26. Several contain English words: soipnir (6, Sapnir), from soip "shop" and nir "water;" pofurmut, daughter of oitjarz and udjoisn (34), from pofu · "power," referring to the electric power line across the hills, and mut "pearl."[11] Three refer to Miss C. F. Ling who was formerly a missionary among the Todas.[11] ligmisj (23, Lingimishi) represents Ling Missy (i.e. Miss Ling), which is the ordinary way in which a South Indian would refer to this lady; ligjaburf, daughter of üusoir (48, Ushadr), has puif "flower" with an inserted -a- and an unwarranted j; misjamut, daughter of kömanus (34, Kemners), is misj "missy" and mut "pearl" with an inserted -a-. 551 197 193

§29. Uncompounded words without any suffix are found as names: tugual, daughter of küurjaʎf (52, Kuriolv), "moon;" sæifer (62, Sever) "1000;" ysmitʃ (12, Irsimitch) "lime (the fruit)," cf. the appendix to note 7; mumes (56, Munat), "affection." poţoṇm (34, Paton) is the word found in Sanskrit as paţţana "city" and is the usual Toda word for Madras city. kopol (41, Kapal) seems to denote the compound of a bungalow and refers especially in the songs with its pair kotsærj to the law-courts in Ootacamund. A few English words have been taken as names changed only to such 551 193

[10] Moʃt "ax" and mosj "bell" (cf. sisamosj §26) form a song-pair, denoting two of the objects found in daidas.

[11] See *The Songs of the Todas*, footnote 2 and p. 354.

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551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæıbj, daughter of öıknuı (8, Arkners), < "baby;" pentʃ, daughter of koɾxüuıṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæısn; a woman's name tæıs is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kujniɾ, 3, Kainir).

[177] §30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiıfj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandiıfj, daughter of küuılpux (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 614 778 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and küusm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. öıngüuıṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 193 [614] §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[12] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even [177] comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

[12] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the küusm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23. [562] [533] [778]

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when I recorded such names. The tendency appears to use words that have song-associations, and one may refer especially to the large class of names with pun "gold," a word used in this sense in songs and not so used in ordinary speech. It may be that this tendency is even more powerful than appears to the non-Toda observer, since it is extremely difficult for him to know what connotations a word may or may not have and informants are inarticulate on this matter. It may be, again, that the feeling that an outsider receives, that Toda women's names are generally rather poetical in the Western sense, i.e. in their reference to objects with aesthetic associations, is not entirely in accordance with Toda feelings. I can only adduce a small bit of evidence which I have already used in *The Songs of the Todas*.[12] In composing a song lamenting the death of the late King George V, the composer changed kiŋsoɪrdʒ, the Toda form of the king's name, into siŋsoɪrdʒ. He gave as the reason for this change that the former is not "poetical" and the latter is; my interpreter explained that kiŋ- suggests the word for "small" while siŋ- suggests the word for "gold," i.e. sin. This being so, we may conclude that women's names with the element sin "gold" are poetical to the Todas, i.e. they suggest to them the vocabulary of song. We have already seen that those with pun "gold" are poetical in the same sense, and I think that it is possible to conclude that women's names in general have for the Todas much the same connotations that they have for us. They are connected with the expressions of song and derive their connotations from the songs, and so may be justly said to be poetical.

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[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 533.

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THE CHRISTIAN TODAS *

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ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianised communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling [1] and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Dawn in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, ?1933). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

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797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kišker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low
797 status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime.
194 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the aban-
[177] doned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the
[341] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the
[346] more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts
[182] themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final
[162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[113] [2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small
[104] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ʂ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ṛ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [š] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [c] and [ʒ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ö] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [u] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [awu] in one name is the diphthong [aw] plus the vowel [u].

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about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaroin] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuisodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

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794 animals which have not yet reached the milch stage and which otherwise
233 would unprofitably use up the community's scanty pasturage. It seems
184 also that the Christians still retain some of their original feeling that
[437] wealth is to be measured by possession of cattle. They tend to acquire
more and more head of cattle and because of the pressure on their own
[556] pasture area the superfluous beasts are kept with the tribe almost permanently or in alternation with unproductive animals. In these cases the man who provides pasturage gets the produce, milk and the resulting
[184] products. In all cases when cattle are pastured on tribal lands, it seems that it is the buffalo that is so treated; cows are kept at the Christian colonies, since the tribal Todas do not own cows.

648 The Todas live in economic symbiosis with the other aboriginal tribes
437 of the Nilgiris, viz. the Kotas and the Kurumbas, and with the Badagas, who settled in the Nilgiris perhaps five centuries ago. The mechanism of the economic interchanges has not yet been described in detail,[6] but an outline of the Toda relations with the Kotas will be given here. The Kotas are blacksmiths and potters, and all the Toda needs in these departments are supplied by them, as well as music for the Toda funerals. In return the Kotas receive the carcasses of all Toda buffaloes that die or that are slaughtered at funerals, as well as certain other minor perquisites, such as cane for house-building, bamboo churning-sticks, and a certain amount of clarified butter. The interchanges are made between individuals, who are in a permanent and usually hereditary relationship to each other, referred to by the Todas as [kel], by the Kotas as [kel]. The relationship includes also the right of the Kota to obtain by purchase from his Toda opposite number such buffaloes and buffalo calves as he may need for his own economic purposes. In most cases one Toda has several Kotas who supply him, the relative numbers of the tribes and the Kotas' similar relationships with the Badagas making such an
648 arrangement necessary. This economic relationship has broken down
437 formally so far as the Christian Todas are concerned. But in spite of
184 this, there is a tendency among the Christian Todas to retain the relationship with their hereditary Kota partners. They obtain their iron tools and pots from these Kotas and recompense them on a more strictly commercial basis than the original one. *E.g.* [kanfusodj] retains such relationships with the Kota who was his father's partner and has in addition formed a new relationship with another Kota. He at least still uses the term [kel] in referring to his relationship with these two men, though my Kota linguistic informant was insistent that the Kota

[6] Reference may be made to Rivers, chap. 27. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has made more extensive notes on the subject and it is hoped that his account will soon appear.

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term [keL] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas. 648 437 184

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing.

797 797 535 [562] [184]

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[7] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc-

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[7] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 543-569. [113]

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797 533 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfuusodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 797 [614] [533] I have shown elsewhere [9] that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytized from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When 553 797 we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no

[113] [9] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40. 205–223.

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Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɯsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaːsmonguɯːʀ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuːf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuːʟ] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piʟjiːʒfuːf] "silver-flower" and [tyʟjiːʒfuːf] (the first member [tyʟj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaʀoːn] has a son called [asojxuɯrn] from [asojur], the buffaloes of the [tiː]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuɯːʀ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɯːʀ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuɯːʀ] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iːsxuɯːʀ] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 26–8, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iːʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 26, for the element [pum].

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797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
582 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iıʂxuuıR]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuuıR]. His sister [sindafuıL] (Sindavul) married [tuaısmonguuıR] (59, Tormungudr)[14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuıf]. [iıʂxuuıR] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough,
[601] Mary was married to [nasoın] (son of [teıpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [nasoın] and [sindafuıL] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasoın] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this mar-
[584] riage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iıʂxuuıR], a clear carry-over from tribal custom,
797 and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
184 ried to [pumxuuıR]. When she came of age however, [pumxuuıR],
686 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
627 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [tōumuʂkuLN]. [iıʂxuuıR] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuuıR] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tōumuʂkuLN] and [sotjabuıf] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peıθoL]
[692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iıʂxuuıR]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaısmonguuıR] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iıʂxuuıR]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.

♂[iıʂxuuıR] ♀[sindafuıL] = ♂[tuaısmonguuıR]

♂[pumxuuıR] ♀Mary = ♂[nasoın] ♂[tōumuʂkuLN] = ♀[sotjabuıf]

[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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794 184 563 177 [869] The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 184 564 783 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, 564 648 186 though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with [574] the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and [184] does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than [794] any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

[113] [15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

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The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfusodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuum:n], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

797 has been baptised, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ults), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuuːʀ] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanuɪs] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfuɪsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiškeːn] (14, Küshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnuɪs] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paːuiːʒfiɴj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfuɪsodj]. Her brother [noːnmuʀj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfuɪsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnuɪs] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noːnmuʀj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfuɪsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoːn] (20, son of [teːpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfuɪsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noːnmuʀj] should pay to [kanfuɪsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
585 and five rupees; these are the [kökuɪlj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [aʀpum] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

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He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kiš̆ker] gave one buffalo to [keːnoʒ] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keːnoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoːn] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdiːfj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kiš̆ker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kiš̆ker]'s father's sister [tuarfuːnemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjoːnauf] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kiš̆ker] by the latter and [kiš̆ker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuanoːn], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it. 794 184 585 [583]

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for 794 184 794 184 171 794 184 [233]

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its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people"[18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 105.

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TODA CULTURE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER: AN ACCULTURATION STUDY [1]

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The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in South India have long been an object of interest to anthropologists. They became known to Europeans early in the 19th century when the hills were visited by Sullivan (1813), and since then they have been written about by many officials as well as by more casual visitors. Finally, in 1901-2 a close study was made of their institutions by W. H. R. Rivers, and his treatise *The Todas*, published in 1906, has been since then an anthropological classic, describing as it does a tribe of pastoralists with a culture very aberrant as compared with that of the rest of India. Centred upon the buffalo,

[1] My work on the Todas was done with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-7. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has read over the paper and given me the benefit of his suggestions and criticisms.

Bibliographical details of the publications referred to in the paper are:

W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*; London, Macmillan and Co., 1906.

M. B. Emeneau, *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 77. 543-560.

id., *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, Journal of the American Oriental Society 57. 377-389.

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the care of which forms a very complex ritual, and containing within itself such an unusual feature as polyandry, this culture was bound to attract attention as a thing *sui generis* in the field of knowledge of anthropologists. Work on the language of the tribe in 1935–7 has given me an opportunity to study the culture as well. The present paper attempts to assess the amount and nature of such changes as the culture has suffered in the thirty-five years since Rivers' visit.

In 1901–2, the Todas were already exposed to outside influences of several different kinds. Leaving aside their immemorial connexion with the Kotas and the Kurumbas, these three tribes regarding themselves as being the aboriginal inhabitants of the hills and as having been created there together, and their more recent but still ancient connexion with the immigrant Badagas, two other strong influences had been in a position to affect Toda culture from the time that the Nilgiris became accessible early in the 19th century. The English, who created three hill-stations, Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagiri, and a military station Wellington, provided one of these influences, and their Indian servants, minor officials, and tradespeople, an even stronger influence. Since Rivers' time conditions in the hills have changed so that outside influences have become potentially much stronger. A railway now connects Ootacamund and Coonoor with the Tamilian plains to the south and motorbuses connect the whole area with the Mysore plains. The possibilities of the Nilgiris as a suitable ground for growing vegetable produce and tea have been exploited to a high degree. Their attractions as holiday grounds for Europeans and a place of retirement at the end of official life have been certainly not more widely appreciated, but perhaps more widely used by Europeans from all parts of India. The climax of this tendency of the English to invade the Nilgiris

id., *Personal names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, April 1938.

id., *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*, Journal of the American Oriental Society (not yet published).

Census of India, 1931, vol. 14 (Madras), part 1 (report by M. W. M. Yeatts), 387–392.

[M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, American Anthropologist 39, 103–112. This completes the list of my papers on the Todas up to date, but is not referred to in this paper.]

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for short or longer periods has however been passed and with 177
changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations: whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area.

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an 177
attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on 128
the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments.

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has 177
felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on 233
which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A 262
great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and 262
of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills 648
were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, 437
and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained

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262 from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly
437 or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last
648 transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse.
443 At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund
439 and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply
437 all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on
[29] corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If
[426] a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit
[452] and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt.
[57] When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years
[652] ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

648 The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their
437 contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

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is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonizes a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

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177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
177 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Oot-
233 acamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
425 from the Todas. The sib of the unkitjo:ʃ (Rivers' Pam; for
[614] details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ɕo:ʃ and melga:-ɕo:ʃ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
[311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ɕo:ʃ sib, the other of the mö:ɕo:ʃ sib, which had not been used for a number of years,
[799] were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ɕo:ʃ sib were sold to Government
[614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
[684] when the sib of the ka:ɕo:ʃ were in need of a large sum of money to settle parkume's liability in the suicide of nörnmɕ. In general,

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In general, 177 233 425 657

the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and prevent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic 177 life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the 657 interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in con- 177 nexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature 657 of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work 241 this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings 648 in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of 434 Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 5], 123. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:ɻ), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover] !"). 584 588 616 178 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kuɯ:ɕjaɻf made an innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kuɯ:ɕjaɻf or the children of this union. The example was followed in kuɯ:ɕjaɻf's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kuɯ:ɕjaɻf's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

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have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ə- 588
jaɟf's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kum:ɟjaɟf, who was a man of great force and influence, was able
to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon
as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the
buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man
who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor
also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when
they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to
be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess
in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 887
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while
the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the tɔufiɟ moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the to:rθaɟ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the to:rθaɟ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the to:rθaɟ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

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887 764 554 526 [548] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kuṇṇjaṉṉ, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kenods (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθaŋ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the nirjo:ʒ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumʒ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new po:lm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 194

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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷo:ḷ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nȯdrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nȯdrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nȯdrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the tȯuθmt and the tȯuno:ṭ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the wrfcolfmat, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. kaṭθum, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hȯ̃i at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as no i·n, after it as wr,

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθut and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tut) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiɟ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund no:ɽ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθut are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The töuno:ɽ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töuno:ɽ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as a:ɽ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is no:ɽ "sacred place." Within the no:ɽ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the no:ɽ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or no:ɽ "sacred place" or töuno:ɽ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

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is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːṛ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noːṛoːselm	kuːtjuθnoːṛ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tōuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːṛ), the sacred place to which the goddess tōːkiṛj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθaṛm	kumṛtmθnoːṛ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mṛeθaṛm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noṛexuːdtk	piːmθnoːṛ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tōuenoːdtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tōuθmṭ, the tōunoːṛ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tōunoːṛ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tōunoːṛ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; paːrnuːṛθu, puːṛṛuːṛθu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kuaṛm)" of the mund myːnj, which is paːrnu, said to mean "the standing-place (nu) of the 1600 gods (represented by paːr for paːrnur)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunoːṛ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the tiː. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not tōunoːṛ. Some munds also which have dairies are not tōunoːṛ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunoːṛ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunoːṛ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the tōunoːṛ, which are mtumḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunoːṛ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuθuṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation.

When a tōunoːṛ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunoːṛ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunoːṛ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōuθuṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nȯdrodchi, i. e. noːṛoːḍci-, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōuθuṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (mtumḍmoḍ or tōunoːṛ) was created, as we have said, by a tōuθuṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

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771 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion
776 seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at
794 the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs"
234 he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiṣj and the rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθmṭ. Since they are distinct from the töunoṭ, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθmṭ. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may pro-
771 bably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product
774 of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly
794 general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by
234 which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualised dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kiṣj and the other töuθmṭ for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiṣj and the gods
[776] associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods, the töuθmṭ, stories are still told in the vague way of which
776 Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really
538 merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

771 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no
234 change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such
794 change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete
177 abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical
178 alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-9 worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

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worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nörnmṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son airjar; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1939 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a töu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief already mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is sōmṇ (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

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of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative so:mi: as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimedai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

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will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies; the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known;

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177 the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief
[771] in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing
[178] no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage
[582] customs attempted by kumzjalf and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and
[425] that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of
[426] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made
[657] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

161 There remains the important question of the effect of outside
177 influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems
[114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women
[831] by the polyandrous system combined with the manofiljej institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

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irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931.[1] The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901–11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918–9 and relapsing fever in 1923–4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about 8¼ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931–41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of the tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

[1] See *Census of India*, 1931, reference given in note 1.

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EDITED BY

S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph. D. (London)

AND

P. K. GODE, M.A.

EXTRA SERIES I

A VOLUME OF EASTERN AND INDIAN STUDIES

IN HONOUR OF

PROFESSOR F. W. THOMAS, C. I. E.

[facing title page]

KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE
Karnatak House, Chira Bazar, Bombay (India)

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A VOLUME OF EASTERN AND INDIAN STUDIES

Presented to

Professor F. W. THOMAS, C. I. E.,

on his 72nd birth-day 21st March 1939

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S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph. D. (London)

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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] [234] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 718 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12. [113]

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is a god, and a profane part where the houses are. [361] [718] [716]

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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poly). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoly, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuu:y of the sib called mö:r was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti:-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti:-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:y but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle).
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

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841 Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags [178] are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all discarded ones [171] are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community.

841 The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those
794 of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small
563 Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been
177 sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has bein made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

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LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND PERSONALITY

Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir

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LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL FORMS: A STUDY OF TODA KINSHIP TERMS AND DUAL DESCENT

By M. B. EMENEAU

121 THAT THE DATA obtained by linguistic investigation of any community is of indispensable value for the ethnographer studying that community has long been axiomatic for the anthropological school of which Sapir was a brilliant member. His statement of the point in *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* deserves to be quoted:

> Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. In a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society. Some day the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labors of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which he is describing.[1]

To go a little further and say that the culminating item of value that the linguistic student can give to ethnology is the study of a community's most highly verbalized cultural manifestations would be what Sapir would and undoubtedly did hold. It is here, in their verbal art-forms, stories, songs, oratory, or the like, that the members of the culture give the most overt and self-conscious expression to the patterns which they follow or profess to follow in their life. Linguistic study, if it is confined to its primary object of recording and analyzing the forms of utterances and never goes beyond that, can offer little to ethnology. It must, with that analysis as a basis, go on to a strict philological analysis of well-recorded and fully guaranteed texts in the forms most highly esteemed by the culture, and the results of such study should provide them "the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines [of a culture gained through sheer observation] significant and intelligible."

121 The following study presents the kinship system of the Todas of the Nilgiris in South
128 India. In a previous paper on *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, the existence was re-
614 ported of a complete division of the Todas into matrilineal sibs alongside of the previously
[114] known complete division into patrilineal sibs. In this paper I present, following on the kinship system, the material on the functions of the two sib-systems as against one another. In these sections an attempt has been made to use the evidence provided by the Toda art-form of highest prestige, the songs. Discussion based on this evidence is found on pp. 160–161 on the use of "friend" terms beside kinship terms, on p. 165 on the special kinship term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father, and throughout the Appendix, which presents the kinship terms; and again on pp. 169–172, where the data on the

[1] Edward Sapir, *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* (Language, Vol. 5, pp. 207–14, 1929), p. 209.

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emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them. 121 128 614

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[1] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[2] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system. 114 614

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in 200's generation based on age relative to that of 200.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to 200. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of 200's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, opoɪ in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okoɪ in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ʊɯɾ-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endoɪ in address. En-ʊɯɾ-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nɯm-ʊɯɾ-fed "your younger sibling," an-ʊɯɾ-fed (or an-don-ʊɯɾ-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ʊɯɾ-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ʊɯɾ-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nɯm-ʊɯɾ-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or oʊɯn-ʊɯɾ-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xuɪx (=kuɪx) a female.[5] 601 561 [114]

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers. [104]

[2] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 205–23, 1938), p. 205 fn. 1. In this paper I use ł, ł for palatalized alveolar sibilants, c, ʒ for post-dental affricates and č, ǰ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ɯ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. [104]

Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1937–38 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38. [122]

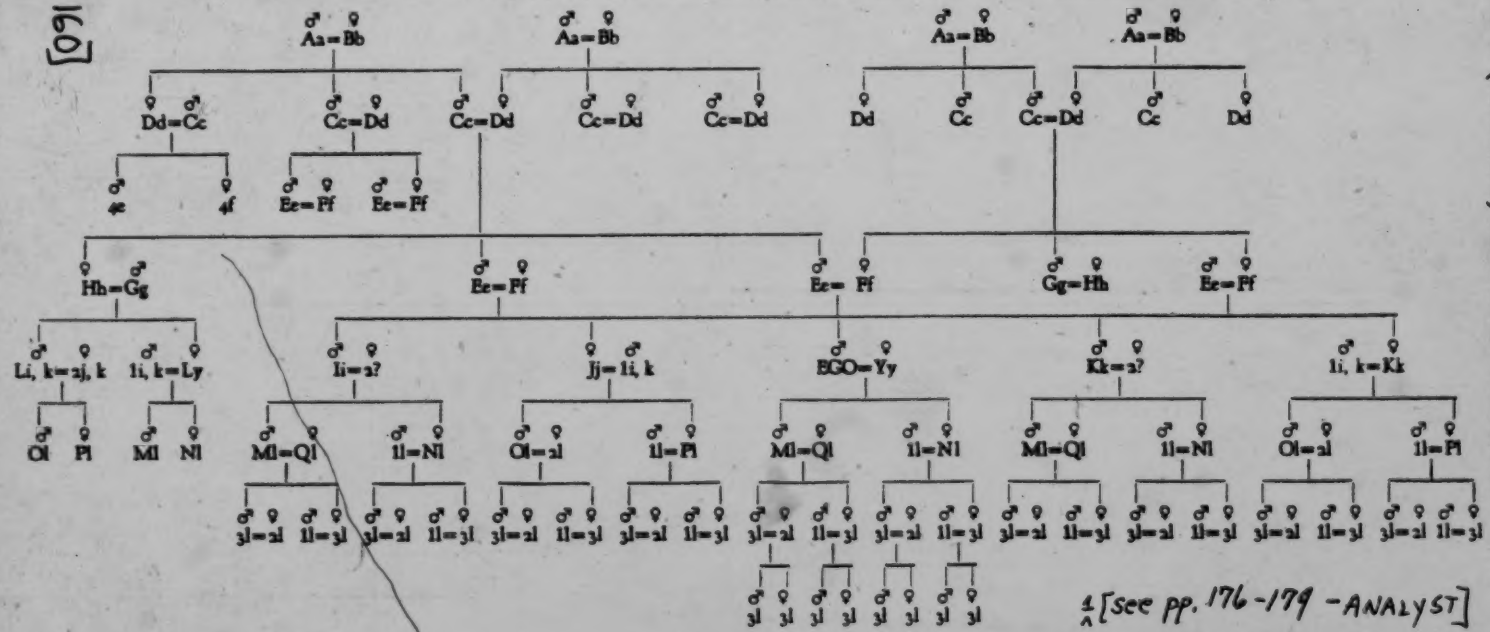
[4] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and passim.

[5] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom 200 would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

[Facing P. 160]

DIAGRAM 1. GENEALOGY OF TERMS (MAN SPEAKING).

Capitals indicate reference terms of a classificatory nature, numerals reference terms of a descriptive nature, and small letters address terms. (See Appendix.) ‡



‡ [see pp. 176-179 - ANALYST]

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601 Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as ego.
561 This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cul-
114 tural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the
[576] matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as ego. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɨ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɨ or en-goɨ "my friend" (in address -es is added), nun-goɨ "your friend," on-goɨ or ton-goɨ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used
601 at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts
[193] that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocɔoɨ/jɔɨ, eningoɨ/jɔɨ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was cer-
[114] tainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These
[126] songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

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in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister forms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as ego the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[601] [561]

[6] Rivers, pp. 496–98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age elder or younger than that of ego is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper The Songs of the Todas (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 943–60, 1937), especially pp. 949–50.

[114]

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526–29.

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song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song pi̯ljɑɪr (Piliar, 52) and merṇɪɪs (Mudriners, 57) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another sindɪɪrp (Sintharap), wife of kūɪɪɪsjɑ̯lf (Kuriolv, 52), and koɪsɪr (Kosar, 57) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: tæɪ̯ŋjxæɪn, son of sirjɑɪr (Siriar, 20), and tōōōūɪɪ, son of toɪkɪs (Tokas) and pɪnɪɪr (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter ejɪɪ "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ego's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ego's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., mɑn-mɔx "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ego" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and mɑn-gɪɪx "daughter, etc." may be replaced by en-okng-fæɪdfoj-mɔx "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," en-ūɪɪr-fed-mɔxk-fæɪdfoj-xɪɪx "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

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There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference mɔ̄činj "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (en-in-mɔ̄činj "my father's cross-cousin," en-af-mɔ̄činj "my mother's cross-

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DIAGRAM 2. GENEALOGY OF TERMS (WOMAN SPEAKING).

Only the section is given where female usage differs from male.

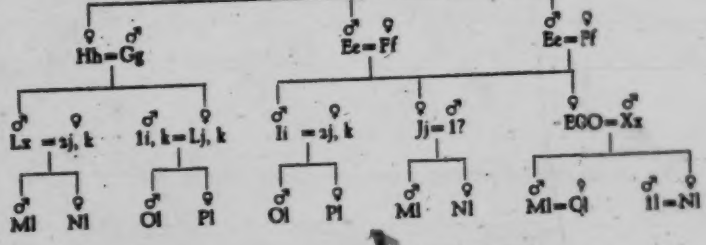


DIAGRAM 3. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR WIFE'S RELATIVES.

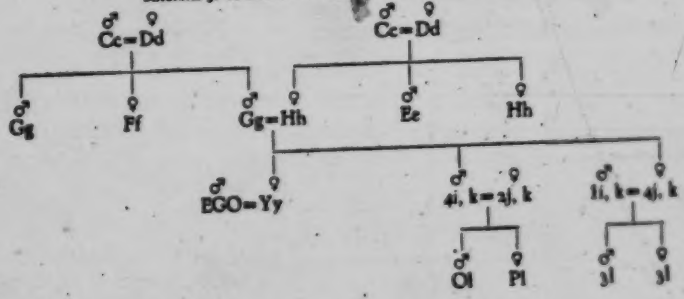
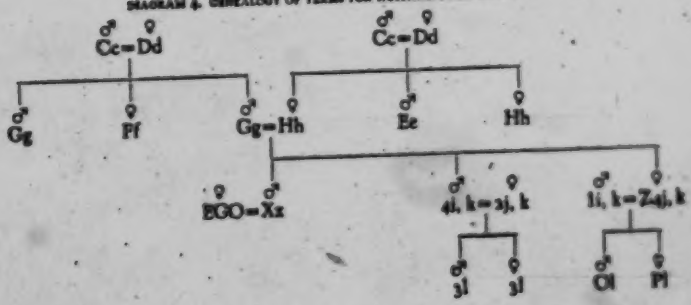


DIAGRAM 4. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR HUSBAND'S RELATIVES.



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cousin;" sex may however be indicated by the addition of the respective sex-denoting words). In ʒoo's generation sex is specified in referring to and addressing his siblings and parallel cousins older than himself, and in addressing cross-cousins, but not in referring to and addressing siblings and parallel cousins younger than himself or in referring to cross-cousins; in reference in the latter cases an optional reference is allowed. In descending generations sex is specified in reference but not in address. 601

In ʒoo's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age older or younger than his own (see above), in the case of siblings and parallel cousins when referred to or addressed, and in the case of cross-cousins of the same sex as ʒoo when addressed. In the first ascending generation ʒoo's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and ʒoo's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's, in both cases by prefixing per-ʊwd̩ "big-who is" and kur-ʊwd̩ "small-who is" to the classificatory terms, either of reference or address.

The father is not distinguished in address or reference from his brothers and male parallel cousins, nor in address from his male cross-cousins; the mother is not distinguished in address or reference from her sisters and female parallel cousins, nor in address from her female cross-cousins. A step-parent is not distinguished in reference or address from a parent. [595]

In ʒoo's generation siblings by the same father are not distinguished in reference or address from children of the father's brothers or from children of the mother's sisters. There is a permissively used special term of reference for a man's brother who is a son of the same father, oṇtofn; e.g., oṇ̃ en-oṇtofn-ʊji "he is my brother, the son of the same father as myself," oṇtofn-mox fatjoṭi "do not seize the wife of (your) brother by the same father (i.e. do not carry her off as you may do with other men's wives and then have compensation [ter] arranged by the tribal council)."[19] When special exactness is needed, descriptive phrases may be used.

In the first ascending generation there is a special term, both in reference and address, for the father's sisters and female parallel cousins, and this is also used for the mother's male siblings' and male parallel cousins' wives, and for ʒoo's mother-in-law and her female siblings. Similarly, there is a special term for the mother's brothers and male parallel cousins, and this is used also for the father's female siblings' and female parallel cousins' husbands, and for ʒoo's father-in-law and the latter's male siblings. In ʒoo's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences, except those who are affines; a spouse's siblings are not classed as ʒoo's cross-cousins, unless they are really so. In the first descending generation a distinction is made in reference between two groups: (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are all descriptively distinguished, e.g., on-mox "elder brother's son," en-ʊwr-fed-moen-mox "my younger brother's son," močiṇj-ʒutn-mox "female cross-

[19] Rivers, pp. 723-25. It is possible that oṇtofn is the word meant by Rivers (p. 684), *ontofan*. [114]

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601 cousin's son," male speaking in all three cases), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself (these are all mon-mox [male],[11] mon-gutx [female], or may be distinguished descriptively, e.g., okn-mox "elder sister's son," en-ûwr-fed-xutxn-mox "my younger sister's son," močiṇj-moxn-mox "male cross-cousin's son," male speaking in all cases). The terms mon-mox, mon-gutx are used also of the children of one's spouse's sibling of the opposite sex to that of one's spouse. Members of (a) are cross-cousins to members of (b). In address members of (a) and members of (b) are not distinguished. It will be noted that the sex of the speaker must be regarded in (a) and (b), as in the last paragraph on this page.

The terms of address that would apply to ɪoo's spouse's relatives if the spouse were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the spouse is not a cross-cousin. That is, the basic equation for terms for affines is: cross-cousin = spouse. The only violation of the equation is found in that, man speaking, wife's sister is not equated with the daughter of father's sister or of mother's brother, and, woman speaking, husband's brother is not equated with the son of father's sister or of mother's brother. The basic equation also works with terms of reference in the ascending generations and in class (b) of the preceding paragraph for the first descending generation. In the spouse's own generation and in class (a) of that paragraph in the first descending generation descriptive terms of reference are used; e.g., en(k)-kortfojn-dan-oṇ "elder brother of my wife," en(k)-kortfojn-dan-okn-mox "son of my wife's elder sister," en-oɪ̨ṇ-dan-okn "my husband's elder sister," etc. A woman may refer to her husband's female siblings, real or classificatory within his patrilineal sib (mod), as mod-okn, apparently irrespective of their relative ages; in address ordinary "sister" terms are used. This word, though itself a phrasal term, is in connotation a simplex, like mon-mox and mon-gutx (cf. pp. 161 and this page above).

Two classes in the first ascending generation yield one class only in the second ascending generation, divided in terminology on the basis of sex, both in reference and address. Likewise, in the third and preceding ascending generations, though occasions for address are comparatively rare. Frequently, when no more exact reference is necessary, the terms for the second ascending generation are used for all preceding generations. In the second and succeeding descending generations no distinctions are made in address, and the same term is used as in the first descending generation (cf. p. 163). In reference descriptive terms are used, distinguishing the sex of the individual and the reference status of the individual's links with ɪoo as in the second paragraph above, (a) and (b); e.g., mo:t-mox or mozk-fæ:dfoj-mox "son's son," mo:t-xutx or mozk-fæ:dfoj-xutx "son's daughter," kutxn-mox or kûtxk-fæ:dfoj-mox "daughter's son," mo:t-mox-mox "son's son's son," močiṇj-moxn-mo:t-mox "son's son of male cross-cousin."

"Husband" is oɪ̨j in reference, oɪ̨jɪ in address; "wife" is toçmox in reference, toçmoxjɪ or kutxjɪ in address. When ɪoo is male, he addresses a female cross-cousin, even if she is

[11] Rivers, p. 488, queries whether mon-mox denotes also a son-in-law who is not a sister's son. It is not used of him; he is pajol (see p. 163); when exactness is required kutxn-oɪ̨ "daughter's husband."

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not his wife, by the same terms that he uses for his wife; similarly, when *ɪoo* is female, she addresses a male cross-cousin, even if he is not her husband, by the same term that she uses for her husband. 601

Affines are referred to collectively as pojoɪ/; the same term includes also female affines. When the term refers to an individual, it may denote either male or female.

There is a special reference term for the wife of one's son (own son or the son of one's own brother), if she is not one's sister's daughter, viz. mor-ɓ/ʊ (mor- as in mor-mox = "son's;" -ɓ/ʊ [i.e. pi/ʊ] is not otherwise found).

There is a special reference term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father (or fathers in a polyandrous marriage), viz. ʊ̃ʊrxitj. It may also be used of the woman in reference to this type of relationship. In address these women use to one another "sister" terms. The word is frequently combined with oɲtufn (cf. p. 163 above) in songs. When a woman laments her husband's death, if her husband had several brothers each married to a separate wife, she may sing:

oɪr-oɲtufn oɪjuʊ̃ʊuk
oɪr-ʊ̃ʊrxitj kusuʊ̃ʊuk (or, usɪjuʊ̃ʊuk)

"You (plural) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father; you (plural) made (or, caused to sit) six sisters-in-law (wives of brothers)." This may also be said in the words shouted during the dancing at a man's funeral.[12] When a man laments his brother, if he had several brothers each of whom had a separate wife, he may sing:

oɪr-oɲtufn oɪjuʊ̃uk
oɪr-ʊ̃ʊrxitj oɪjuʊ̃uk

"We (inclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father: we (inclusive) were (having) six wives." When a man laments his wife under the same circumstances, he may sing:

oɪr-oɲtufn oɪjʊ̃ʊum
oɪr-ʊ̃ʊrxitj oɪjʊ̃ium

"We (exclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father; you were one of six wives of the brothers."

The system is essentially classificatory, as is shown especially by the terms of address. It is used in this way by the Todas. Each member of a person's patrilineal sib is addressed by the appropriate classificatory vocative. It will be remembered from Rivers' treatment[13] that the classification is made even when the various families of a sib are unrelated so far as the Todas' genealogical knowledge goes; the correlation of generations is handed down by adaptation and frequent use, and even when the links of a pedigree have been lost to memory, the correct terminology based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and the persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with 601 614

[12] See *The Songs of the Todas*, pp. 176-77. [13] Pp. 490-92.

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the appropriate terms. Similarly, the members of a matrilineal sib use the appropriate terms to one another, assigning the appropriate terms between any two individuals in the same way that it is done within the patrilineal sib, even when knowledge of the pedigree has been lost. An example may be given of the usage between members of matrilineal sibs. Tisjom, son of tæŋgŏwiɪr of the noɪŋ patrilineal sib (Teigudr, 4) and his wife uɪnɪr (Uwer), is related to kon̥fuɪsodj of the koɪɪ patrilineal sib (Kunpuradi, 14) as nephew to maternal uncle, addresses him with the vocative mumoɪ, and is addressed as enoɪ. Kon̥fuɪsodj addresses uɪnɪr as elder sister (okoɪ), since his mother addressed her as daughter (enoɪ); they are members of the same matrilineal sib but the pedigree is not known to the Todas.

Within each moiety of the tribe, the Todas may be related, when they are related, as members of the same patrilineal sib, as members of the same matrilineal sib, or by marriage. Frequently, between the same two individuals there is not only one relationship, but two or even three. The question arises as to which relationship takes precedence in determining the use of kinship terms. When this matter was investigated, it was found that the informants were quite articulate on the subject and gave an answer in general terms. Relationship within a matrilineal sib overrides any other relationship; of the other two, relationship by marriage overrides relationship within a patrilineal sib. Relationship by marriage may involve two marriage links, i.e. it is necessary for a Toda to address with the correct terms his wife's relations by another marriage in her family. If the wife has a choice of terminology for any of her relations by marriage, once she has determined the correct term, her husband adopts an appropriate term on the basis of his wife's usage, provided that he is not himself related to the person involved as co-member of a matrilineal sib, this relationship overriding all others. This statement also applies *mutatis mutandis* between a woman and her relations by marriage. The general statement given by the informants is borne out by usage. A few examples will suffice.

Kæmoŋ (Keinodz, 21) calls [illegible] (Teitukhen, 23) father (ejoɪ) since they are members of the same patrilineal sib and related thus by generations. He should then by this relationship call the latter's son [illegible] younger brother (enoɪ). But nafob (Navob), mother of [illegible], calls kæmoŋ elder brother (oŋoɪ) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Consequently, [illegible] calls kæmoŋ maternal uncle (mumoɪ).

Kon̥fuɪsodj (Kunpuradi, 14) and puɪŋoŋ (Puɪŋoŋ, 14) are brothers' sons within the same family, and the former should call the latter elder brother (oŋoɪ). But kon̥fuɪsodj's mother pŭjŏ̆ŋŏ̆ŋ (Pathuŋkoh) called puɪŋoŋ's mother kopiŋŏ̆ŋ (Kupizoh) grandmother (pioɪoɪ) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Hence kon̥fuɪsodj calls puɪŋoŋ grandfather (pioɪ).

Kolgiɪnæ (Kolgiɪnæ, 15) is by relationship in the same patrilineal sib elder brother to kon̥fuɪsodj. The former's son tæŋgæŋ should then be called by kon̥fuɪsodj son (enoɪ). But the mother of tæŋgæŋ, kolæl (Kuæl, 27), is by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib grandmother to kon̥fuɪsodj, i.e. mother to his mother. Hence he calls her son maternal uncle (mumoɪ).

Piṭḍjonu (Pūldenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to penuu (Paners, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumat. The wives of these men were sinmiv (Sinenir) married to piṭḍjonu, and pæ:ŋgẽḍj (Pergwẽl) married to penuu. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmiv would have called pæ:ŋgẽḍj grandmother (piafat). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmiv should have called pæ:ŋgẽḍj minjat (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmiv's mother coṭẽḍj (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pæ:ŋgẽḍj, both being daughters of the same mother penbutf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmiv called pæ:ŋgẽḍj mother (afat).

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DIAGRAM 7

In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piat) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumat). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piafat), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (minjat) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[24] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[25] an account of the rules regulating

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[24] Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.

[25] Pp. 367-71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

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535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy (poj-ful-fæ ist), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pɔjoɪl, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoɪl, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojoɪl relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

[616] [837]

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the ŋŋkitj, nirj, and purgoɪr sibs of the toɪrθus moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the töθfiljj moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance; but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [851] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pæs-æjt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[621] [17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (æt-ford-mod) as opposed to other munds (mæs-mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojot/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work nɔ́ilkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɪ́ɪr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɔrlɪ́ɪz had married pɪ́lkoɾ (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mɔ̀ɪr patrilineal sib, whose mund pon is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kɔ̀ɪ(k)-kɔ̀ɪtpoɪ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pats-ɔɪt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

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539 pormaxθur,[19] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kojniɪr asked what
614 it was he was told: il-ɓon-uji puɪrotj-noɪj yst "It is just here that the puɪrotj-noɪj [a tiger
[775] that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poljoɪl-xuɪrjfojoɪl
[114] ũud-mortk-fæɪdfoj-xuɪrjfojoɪlṇ puɪrotj-noɪj ysti; poljoɪl ṇoɪṇjti; oɪtoɪl xarsti' udng. "He
asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The puɪrotj-noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse
with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal
sib; his poljoɪl feel shame; the oɪtoɪl laugh.' " The word poljoɪl was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɪl those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poljoɪl means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɪl, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poljoɪl into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poljoɪl occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪlkj (cf. the verb noṇjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-
[764] day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These
[578] included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kuɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

puɪlkũuɪrθoɪr	poljoɪl-ṇoɪlkj	oɪjxũuθun
pæɪθoɪr	oɪtoɪl-ṇoɪṇ	oɪjxũuθun
noɪɖoɪlk-noɪlkj	oɪjxũuθun	
sɪmjoɪlk-sig	oɪjxũuθun	

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poljoɪl, the oɪtoɪl, the people of the country (noɪɖoɪl), the people of the district (sɪmjoɪl; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poljoɪl and the oɪtoɪl together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poljoɪl and oɪtoɪl have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[19] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Pedmukhtair: pp. 398–400); his account is in general incomplete.

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In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says:

poʃjoɨ̨-ṇoɨ̈ɨ̈kj	æɨfunen
oɨɨoɨ̨-foṇt	æɨfunen
noɨɨoɨ̨-ṇoɨ̈ɨ̈kj	æɨfunen
sɨmjoɨ̨-sig	æɨfunen

"I have become ashamed before the poʃjoɨ̨; I have become a word [i.e. a subject for ridicule] before the oɨɨoɨ̨; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of pont "word" with oɨɨoɨ̨ seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's poʃjoɨ̨ would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The poʃjoɨ̨ and the oɨɨoɨ̨ together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

poʃjoɨ̨k-noɨ̈ɨ̈kj	æɨfunen
oɨɨoɨ̨k-foṇt	æɨfunen

"I have become ashamed before the poʃjoɨ̨; I have become a subject for ridicule before the oɨɨoɨ̨." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by poʃjoɨ̨ and oɨɨoɨ̨, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way. [777]

Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

poʃjoɨ̨-ṇoɨ̈ɨ̈kj	æɨfunum
oɨɨoɨ̨-foṇt	æɨfunum

"We have become ashamed before the poʃjoɨ̨, we have become a subject for ridicule before the oɨɨoɨ̨." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, poʃjoɨ̨ and oɨɨoɨ̨ seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we feel that the poʃjoɨ̨ relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

196 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

539 nɯlkɯnɯsk sydj-mil-sydj pɯṭɯθik
614 poljoɪ̯-xoɪrjm oɪtoɪ̯-foṇt öštjɯḍoɪ ɯdɯθik
oɪn ɑrjeṅ enk öštoθ sotj-moɪḍkin ɯdɯθɯng noɪrṇɯsfɯn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgɯs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poljoɪ̯.' Noɪrṇɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poljoɪ̯, oɪtoɪ̯ is used as demanded by convention, as is also poṇt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poljoɪ̯ (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪrjm,[23] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɪ̯-foṇt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, [115] noɪrṇɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly [609] knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by [114] shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poljoɪ̯, is to be explained.

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poljoɪ̯, oɪtoɪ̯ did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poljoɪ̯, oɪtoɪ̯ may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪrṇɯs
835 to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[23] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates and the tortjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[34] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjnir (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister ezŋg (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[35] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[34] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's tortjfojoj. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Maknir (Makner), wife of tulkirõj of the noŋ patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tõũfarn (Tevõ), looked like his mother's tortjfoj-oj, nobus of the pirtoj patrilineal sib (Naburs, 64), also called kwtj (he reared the children after tulkirõj died). In a quarrel tõũfarn might be abused (Naburs, 64), also called kwtj (he reared the children after tulkirõj died). In a quarrel tõũfarn might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobus-mox "son of nobus" or kwtj-mox "son of kwtj," or as nobus or kwtj.

[35] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana (Biṭṭiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeevaram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

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But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I
614 judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
[197] background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[26] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[27] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

197 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
174 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
[79] they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[28] that the model house
[787] or dairy used in the uɪr-foṭt ceremony, and called poɪl-poj (Rivers' pūlpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyj) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
595 some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar before comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
[114] ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Fur-
[171] thermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[29]

174 The toɪtjfoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
837 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[26] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123–47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611–40, 1907). [27] Pp. 693–718, especially pp. 698 ff. [28] Rivers, p. 702.

[29] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 574–83, 1938).

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The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439 177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361 778 231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōwg. This is etymologically connected with Kota hogg in the same meaning, Tamil kogku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa hoggu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam hoggu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa kodagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōwg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

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APPENDIX

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Reference terms, classificatory

A pɛfiin

B pɛfiaf; members of preceding generations may be referred to exactly as muɪd-tal-fiin, muɪd-tal-fiaf (great-great-grandparents), nom-tal-fiin, nom-tal-fiaf (great-great-great-grandparents), or they and the great-grandparents may all be referred to by grandparent terms.

C piin

D piaf

E in, ejir
F af, afuf
G mun, mumum
H mimj, mimimj
I oṇ, oṇoṇ
J okn, okok

The second entries are reduplicated forms which do not differ from the simplex forms in denotation; they are in connotation somewhat less formal, and no trace of them has been found in the song-language or in the address terms, formal or otherwise. For a preliminary discussion of the linguistic structure of the forms, see my paper *Echo-words in Toda* (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. 1, pp. 109–17, 1938), p. 112.

K -ṭuɪr-fed (-mox, -xuɪx; see p. 159)

L močiṇj (-oɪ/ or -mox, -ḍozmox or -xuɪx)

M mox

N kuɪx

O man-mox
P man-guɪx
(see pp. 161, 164)

Q mort-fi/ṇ (see p. 165)

X oɪ/

Y tozmox

Z mod-okn (see p. 164)

Reference terms, descriptive

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1. The husband of a female relative is referred to by -n-oɪ/ suffixed to the term by which she is referred to; e.g., okn(n)-oɪ/ "elder sister's husband," en-ṭuɪr-fedn-oɪ/ or en-ṭuɪr-fed-xuɪxn-oɪ/ "younger sister's husband" (in both cases if the husband is not ɜoo's cross-cousin, and permissively if he is), močiṇj-xuɪxn-oɪ/ "female cross-cousin's husband" (if he is not ɜoo's brother), kuɪxn-oɪ/ "daughter's husband" (otherwise pojoɪ/), man-guɪxn-oɪ/ "sister's daughter's husband (man speaking), brother's daughter's husband (woman speaking)" (unless he is ɜoo's son), mort-xuɪxn-oɪ/ "son's daughter's husband," kuɪxn-guɪxn-oɪ/ or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-xuɪxn-oɪ/ "daughter's daughter's husband," en(k)-kottfojn-dan-okn-oɪ/ "my wife's elder sister's husband," en-oɪ/ṇ-dan-okn-oɪ/ "my husband's elder sister's husband" (see 4 below for discussion of -dan- = tan), etc. In most cases explicit description could be carried further, as okng-fæɪdfoj-xuɪxn-oɪ/ "elder sister's daughter's husband."

2. The wife of a male relative is referred to by -(k)-kottfoj (or -(g)-gottfoj, depending on certain grammatical rules) suffixed to the term by which he is referred to; e.g., oṇ(g)-gottfoj "elder brother's wife," en-ṭuɪr-fed(k)-kottfoj or en-ṭuɪr-fed-mox(k)-kottfoj "my younger

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brother's wife" (in both cases if the wife is not ego's cross-cousin, and permissively if she is), močiŋj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "male cross-cousin's wife" (if she is not ego's sister), man-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "sister's son's wife (man speaking), brother's son's wife (woman speaking)" (unless she is ego's daughter), moɪt-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "son's son's wife," kuɪxn-mox(k)-koɪtfoj or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "daughter's son's wife," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-oŋ(g)-goɪtfoj "my wife's elder brother's wife," en-oɪ/ŋ-dan-oŋ(g)-goɪtfoj "my husband's elder brother's wife," etc. Explicit reference can be carried further, as okng-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "elder sister's son's wife."

3. The son or daughter of a relative is referred to (a) by suffixing -n-mox or -n-guɪx (-n- need not be found) respectively to the term for the relative, or (b) by suffixing -k-fæɪdfoj-mox or -k-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx respectively (-k- may be replaced by -g- depending on certain grammatical rules as in 2); e.g., oŋ-mox or oŋg-fæɪdfoj-mox "elder brother's son," oŋ-guɪx or oŋg-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx "elder brother's daughter," en-üɯr-fedn-mox or en-üɯr-fedk-fæɪdfoj-mox" my younger sibling's son," kuɪx[n]-mox or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "daughter's son," man-mox[n]-mox or man-moxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "sister's son's son (man speaking), brother's son's son (woman speaking)," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-okn(n)-mox or en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-okng-fæɪdfoj-mox "my wife's elder sister's son," etc. Permissively for explicit reference we may find, e.g., en-okn(n)-mox or en-okng-fæɪdfoj-mox "my elder sister's son." A son's son is moɪt-mox (moɪt- = moxn; cf. p. 165), a son's daughter moɪt-xuɪx; a son's son's son is moɪt-mox-mox.

4. Other relatives of relatives may be referred to by suffixing -n- (which need not be found) plus the appropriate term. Most frequently -dan- or -ðan- (= tan; the variation depends on grammatical rules) is inserted after -n- or after the member which may end in -n-; e.g., en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-on "my wife's elder brother," en(k)-koɪtfojn-[dan]-üɯr-fed "my wife's younger sibling," en-in-[dan]-močiŋj "my father's cross-cousin." This tan is originally the reflexive pronoun of the 3rd person; it is used often enough in this sense, but more often with kinship terms as in the examples just given without any meaning that I have been able to discover (never, however, when a 1st or 2nd personal pronoun form would immediately precede it). Though it might mean in these uses "(his) own" there are some contexts where no question of the persons being "own" brothers or the like can arise. The reflexive force seems to have been lost in this use with kinship terms, and one is tempted to think that kinship terms are on the way to a grammatical state in which they will not occur without a pronominal reference, i.e. inalienable possession (in reference only, not in address). The reduplicated forms of E-J do not occur with tan preceding. A few other examples may be given: küatæm-dan-af "küatæm's mother," pi/jaɪr-ðan-biin "pi/jaɪr's grandfather," i-oɪ/-ðan-man-mox "this man's sister's son," ðam-dan-mun "the maternal uncle of these men," in-dan-mun-öö-m "all the seven maternal uncles of this man," an-dan-oɪ/ "her husband," e(m)-muɪd-om tan-onaɪm-oɪfemi "we (exclusive) three are brothers," iö-æɪd-m tan-oŋ-m tan-üɯr-fed-m-uk-oč uæɯn "these two were living like brother and sister;" in one passage a snake's coming is referred to and the snake, not referred to previously, is called tan-a(f)-foɪb "the mother snake" and later on tan-in-foɪb "the father snake" comes. Cf. for other examples 1–3 above and pp. 159, 164.

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Terms of address

Ordinary		Formal: Used by men	Formal: Used by women
a peβa:	pia:	a and b same as for c and d	
b peβafa:	piafa:		
c pia:		timbje:ʔ	(ɛ)tjβaʔ
d piafa:		timbiafaʔ	(ɛ)tjβafaʔ
e eja:		tjɛ:ʔ, tj:ʔ	(ɛ)tjɛjaʔ
f afa:		tjafaʔ	(ɛ)tjafaʔ
g muma:		tjɥ:ʔ	(ɛ)tjmumaʔ
h mimja:		tjmimjaʔ	(ɛ)tjmimjaʔ
i oɲa:		tjɔ:ʔ	(ɛ)tjoɲaʔ
j oka:		tjokaʔ	(ɛ)tjokaʔ
k enda:			
l ena:			
x oiʃja:			
y toʒmoxja:, kuɪxja:			

[194] (The formal terms contain extra-phonemic phonetic material, the glottal stop, nasalized vowels, and initial consonant groups.)

601 In formal address a man, to a man whom he calls enda: or ena:, uses the latter's name plus -es; e.g., kũaɲomes.

576 A man who is addressed formally by another man with the salutation timbje:ʔ, tjɛ:ʔ, or tjɥ:ʔ, answers tæ:m.

Older man or woman to younger woman when putting feet to the latter's forehead in salutation, i.e. in formal address: (e)tjfuneʔ.

Woman to younger male related to her within a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage or by "lover-mistress" relation, says, if he is of:

tõõõj moiety	(e)tjfakeʔ
toɪrõas moiety	
melɲa:s patrilineal sib	(e)tjfakeʔ
ka:s patrilineal sib	(e)tjxenaʔ
noɪŋ, möɪr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjũwɪβeʔ
toɪroɪr, köɪroɪr, nirj, umkitj, kerur, puɪrgoɪr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjxũwɪɲeʔ

601 Corresponding to these salutations, in a lament for her husband a woman uses the vocatives: usafuka:, usafuka:, usaxena:, usõũwɪβa:, usaxũwɪɲa:; cf. with these terms the Badaga classification of the Todas given by Rivers, pp. 541–42. A man in a lament for his wife uses the vocative usafuna:; cf. the salutation (e)tjfuneʔ used by older man or woman to younger woman.

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Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation. [576]

There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated. [114]

A further note should be added on the words mox and kuɪx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuɪx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuɪxjɑɪ in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ-, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuɪx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯɑɑxuɪxjɑɪ, containing kuɪx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯɑmoxjɑɪ, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmoxubɑɪ, enmɑrjubɑɪ, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, mɑrj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuɪx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯɑmoxjɑɪ "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained. 192 601

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A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

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CHAPTER 3

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

114 It has often been said that the Todas are the best known aboriginal community in the world. Every general treatise on anthropology is supposed to make at least a passing reference to them, and it is certainly true that data concerning them in very widely quoted in ethnological literature the world over. This, to a large extent, is due to the excellent work done among them by that distinguished British anthropologist, the late Dr W. H. R. Rivers. His book, *The Todas* (see Bibliography), is a classic on the subject, and its voluminous contents cover to a remarkable degree all those aspects of their culture which it was possible to investigate with the contemporary ethnographical means at the disposal of the author. Since then, much progress has been made in this field, and, as I was able to note when with the Todas, the store of information which they can offer is still very far from being exhausted. From this point of view, as from many others, they are truly a most remarkable people, worthy of continued anthropological attention.

[127] During my first visit to the Nilgiris, my time was mostly taken up with making the acquaintance of the tribe. I read Rivers on the spot and looked into the polyandry of the people in a general fashion. I also got to know the neighbouring inhabitants, without a knowledge of whom it is difficult to acquite a proper functional picture of Toda culture, so closely is the latter bound up with that of others, especially in ceremonial and economic matters. On my return, ten years later, I delved more deeply into polyandry, and, in order to get a thorough working knowledge of this form of the marriage institution as practised by the Nilgiri tribe, made a specialized study of one single family, in which two successive generations of men had had quite a considerable number of children born in this type of wedlock.

[128] In this chapter, on the polyandry of the Todas of the Nilgiris, I shall deal first with the general study which I made in 1939, and follow on

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with the special study that is the result of my second visit to south India in 1949. 114 128

A. GENERAL STUDY: THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

A general study of the culture of the Todas of the Nilgiris has been presented so well by Dr W. H. R. Rivers in his book that it is quite unnecessary to repeat it here. Readers who are interested in getting to know these people thoroughly are referred to the work, which they will find quite absorbing reading.

In the following paragraphs I propose to give only an outline of the principal traits of Tota culture so that what follows should be intelligible. Some of the Toda institutions are so unique, or as we would say anthropologically, aberrant, that it is absolutely essential to have at least some idea of what they are like in order to understand the nature of the whole. 128

I will, therefore, first give this outline of Toda culture with a brief description of the habitat and social organisation of the tribe, and go on next, in a second paragraph to describe those customs of the Todas which, in my opinion, have a direct bearing on their institution of polyandrous marriage. Being by inclination functionalist in anthropological outlook, I can quite see that their marriage customs are linked to the entirety of their culture, and even, to some extent, to those of their immediate neighbours, with whom their ties are very close. But it would be too long and too complex to attempt to give so vast a picture of the whole intricate and inter-related pattern, and I would ask my readers to content themselves with the choice of those items of culture which I consider relevant in this connection. [182]

A third paragraph, before we go on to the special study of one Toda polyandrous family, which I reserve for Part B of this section, will deal more closely with Toda polyandry, treating in a general description, all those aspects of it which I was able to gather during my first stay in the Nilgiris in 1939.

1. DESCRIPTIVE OUTLINE

The mountainous district of the Nilgiris is part of the State of Madras, in south India. The name, which means "Blue Mountains" in Sanskrit, is derived from the fact that, seen from the plains, the nearly 9,000 133

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133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" 648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out [491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced [137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, 361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something 000 like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

a = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot	u = blue	z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ô = word	ü = French	ò = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	h = cook	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
			r = rot		

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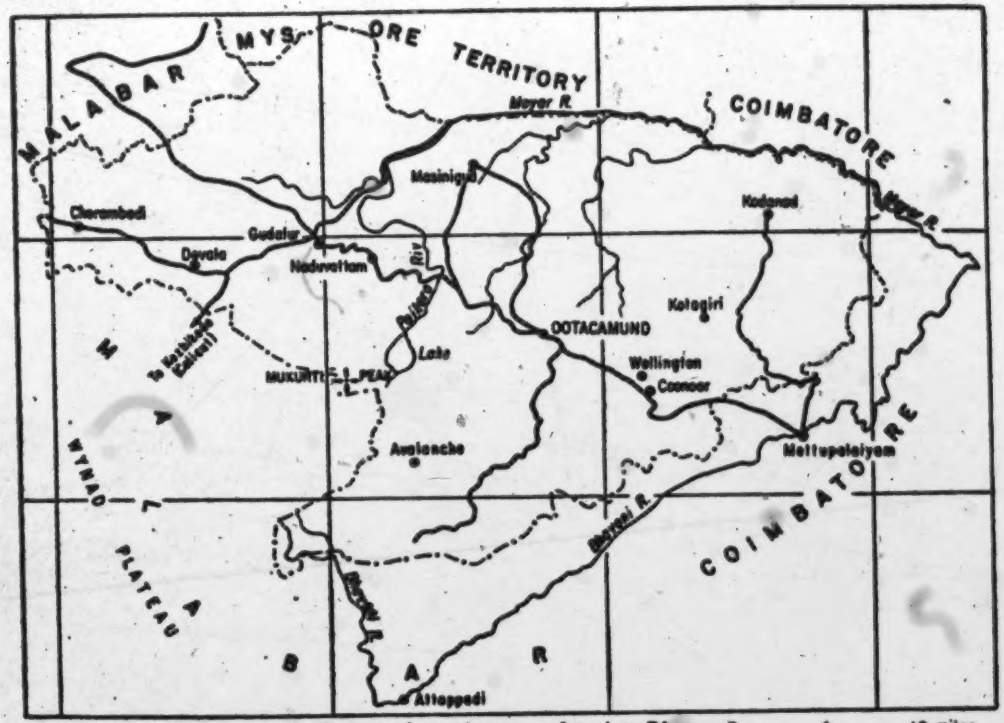

Map III. The Nilgiris. For the Toda *mads*, readers are referred to Rivers, *The Todas* (see Bibliography).

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302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, 304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the 291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *put-kuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103 No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
162 1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
621 2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodah	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

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No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

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101 gods, are very close indeed; so close in fact that to know them really
648 well it would be necessary to make a special study of them from the point of view of each of the five communities in turn. As others who
121 have worked solely on the Todas before me, I am, however, only acquainted with these relations from the Toda viewpoint, and consequently can only briefly account for them here as described to me from that angle.

648 Of the four, the Badaga community is the largest. It is said, too, that it is the latest to have arrived in the Blue Mountains, but even so, this must have been quite a long time ago, as there are Portuguese descriptions of it going back for more than three centuries. The Todas
[186] consider the Badagas as practically their equals, and their name for them is *Mav*. They depend on them for much of their livelihood, as
[439] they are the agriculturists who supply them with grain, and all relations with the outer world are conducted to a large extent for the Todas through their intermediary. They pay a specified grain tribute called *kur* (Rivers' *gudu*) to the Todas, and the priests of the latter's most important temples may eat only Badaga grain (which includes rice) and none other. Furthermore a Badaga from the village of Tuneri is by right a member of the Toda tribal council, when it decides questions of inter-tribal importance, and at certain ceremonies in the principal temples, a Badaga, known as a *tikelvmav* has to be in attendance.

[186] The Kotas, called *Kuv* by the Todas, are looked down upon by them
[439] and considered low-caste. They are the artisans who supply metalware and pottery to their neighbours, and, as is often the case with smiths in India, also music at festive occasions. They are indispensable at Toda funerals, where they have very distinct duties such as providing a band, giving cloth, grain, ceremonial bows and arrows, money etc. for the proper disposal of the corpse, besides taking away the sacrificed buffaloes which they eat.

The Kurumbas and Irulas are slight, dwarf-like aborigines who inhabit the forest-clad, malarial southern and western slopes of the Nil-
[186] giris. They are known respectively as *Kurub* and *Erl* by the Todas, who fear them greatly as sorcerers and magicians. It is on them, and
[439] principally the Kurumbas, that the tribe is dependent for its supply of bamboo vessels, of a certain long pole, the *tari*, used at funerals, and more especially of medicine, which appellation includes poison. The Todas make habitual use of the latter when they want to fight each other in personal or inter-clan feuds. In Toda mythology, the two last named of their neighbours as well as the Kotas, but not the Badagas, are mentioned.

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In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

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776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[24] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
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economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

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616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they
793 take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
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modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwoten-Pöldh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörori or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Pöth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhoni	

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modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkpari
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietari	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyusillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, On, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konari, his grandson and great-grandson.

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642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mod* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vastkpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes stand at the *mod*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

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child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock cf hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their

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796 304 562 ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when 291 they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of 858 three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

562 It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

462 562 Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. [252] They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also [234] m[illegible] ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also [114] mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by [576] putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmel-* [487] *puditht* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkatvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she [234] must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the [841] womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

562 784 Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

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562 784

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division. [616] [621]

616 793 837

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower [illegible]iety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography). [834] [114]

562 [847]

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

591 614 618 428 614

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the
[123] sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded
[766] to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

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of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

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595 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized
851 one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically; they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place
851 during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman – which
[843] appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives, and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia
[824] Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp,
[354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from *mark* grass (Andropogon schoenanthus).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother (in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying, after the *kwarshm* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, pursvat!* (To Terkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs*
[W4] *iveru?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*, as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsh* name for the bow. Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something

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which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and 595
return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves 851
a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held.

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to pro- [842] create children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, [684] so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about [616] by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would [848] otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas.

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the 851
legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a 848
man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a 836
pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her.

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to 586
become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently [587]
compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation

586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Oknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

[837] [684] [623] [115]

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiil* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertiilkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 [114] A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

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881. 616 833 604 124

therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun*? He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off. [302]

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15). [114]

616 837

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization. [595]

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only. [773]

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

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616 Either the couple live together in the same *mad*, quite openly, or the
837 man visits the woman periodically at the house of her husband or husbands. In the case of a Tardharsh being *mokhthodvaiol* to a
[621] Teivilkh woman, because of the prohibition for those of her kind to visit the *mads* of the superior moiety, it always has to be her lover who visits her at her home. There is no objection on the part of the husbands as, in accordance with the formalities necessary to establish a *mokhthoditi* relation, they will have been consulted in advance and will have given their consent to the arrangement.

837 The usual way for a man to go about getting himself a *sedvaitazmokh* is, after having found the lady of his choice, to approach her husband or husbands, if she has any, or her father or fathers if she has none, and to obtain their consent to what he plans. He will agree to give the
[431] men a present (such as a piece of cloth or a *putkuli*) in exchange, whereupon, if the other party is in accordance, he becomes the woman's *mokhthodvaiol* without any further formality. (Rivers has it that a third party may be called in to seal the pact, (see *The Todas*, p. 527) but none of my informants said this was done nowadays.)

Some time later, he will make collective obeisance to the lady's *pailol*, that is, her male relations (fathers and brothers). This is as in
[588] a Toda marriage, there being no difference at all here between regular and irregular unions. On this occasion the man will promise to give the woman some pieces of jewellery, and her son, should she have one, a buffalo calf. It is after these promises have been made, that the *mokhthodvaiol* will perform the *kalmelpudithti* salution to the *pailol* and, significantly enough, after this has taken place, he will call his *sedvaitazmokh's* father *mun* as he would his wife's father or his maternal uncle.

While working at Melgarsh *mad*, I had the opportunity to see how such a *mokhthoditi* arrangement functioned. Amoniwuf, the common wife of the two brothers, Singharsh and Singhud, had a regular lover, a Teivilkh from Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol*, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded (his picture is shown on pages 56 and
[113] 57 of Lidio Cipriani's *I Toda, Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vol. LXVII, 1937). Things seemed to go very smoothly, and all three men as well as the woman appeared happy and on the best of terms. The Teivilkh used to come regularly to Melgarsh, at least twice a week in the afternoon, staying until the next morning when he would go home again early. I was told that he had given Amoniwuf a very
[431] nice gold necklace, which I was, however, never shown. The husbands

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had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment. [764]

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *än* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366). 837 764 [301]

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough". 648 837 [834] [684] [143]

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

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648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
.83 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all.

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[625] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, viriloid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was
828 through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangur, son of Piliar (52), however, was a case

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in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Not is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

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578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [682] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured [648] method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 682 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for [754] the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of [115] the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some milk to Tödhem at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [123] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his [757] case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

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the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die. 578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed. 595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above). [115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursütpini* was, however, performed for 595 614 595 587 595

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595 her by Wunkwur. Kanvarsathi assured me that there were other such non-fraternal cases in outlying *munds*, but I did not come across any.

114 My impression was that the polyandry of the Todas is tending more and more to be restricted only to real brothers, in the way we use that word.
595 Rivers in his book does mention a number of instances in which non-brothers, not even classificatory, are married to the same woman (see *The Todas*, pp. 515–516), but although I searched for some, I was unable to find any in existence today. Rivers already remarked in his time: "It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present." (*The Todas*, p. 516.)

Rivers' description of the marriage of *matchuni* seems to imply that such weddings are monogamous, (see *The Todas*, pp. 512–513). I enquired about this when in the Nilgiris, and was told that it was not necessarily, although admittedly generally, so. There have been recorded cases of polygamous unions of this type, both polygynous and polyandrous, the latter being, rather naturally with the Todas, the more usual of the two. My informants could not take me to see any such case existing at the time, but assured me that they had known some. There was nothing in Toda custom to forbid it, they assured me (see also, *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers' Book, Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

648 Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf has shown, in his short
837 note about *Heriditary Friendships and Inter-Tribal Sex relations be-*
[114] *tween Todas and Mudugas* (see Bibliography), that such relations of the Todas with their Muduga hereditary friends are definitely not limited to one man, but include a number of brothers. In this case, of course, we are not dealing with a regular marriage. Inversely, the Muduga headman whom he mentioned has access to the common wife of the two Toda brothers who are his friends, whenever he pays back their call in the Nilgiris, although the Mudugas themselves, like most more primitive people, do not practise polyandry. The type of established, even institutionalized, sex relation described here, seems definitely to follow the Toda pattern and not the Muduga one.

595 About sixty per cent of the Todas are polyandrous. I did not actually take count of exactly how many there were, because as the community is continually in flux with regard to marital arrangements, principally because of the *terershti* institution, figures would not have meant very much anyhow. But Kanvarsathi worked it out that the number of polyandrous marriages must involve just about that percentage of the whole tribe's number, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of

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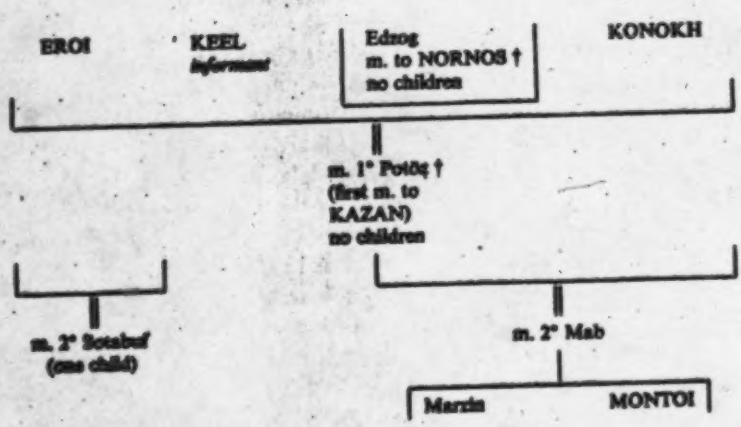
TABLE 21. GENEALOGY OF THE ARSHMAD OF KUUR (TEIVILKH) MODOL. 601 595



Note: This is how Keel described it to me, but according to Rivers it would seem that Eroi had been married twice before, Keel and Konokh once each respectively, and the girl, Edzog, at least four times previously, twice polyandrously to successively three and two husbands (see Rivers, *The Todas*, genealogical table No. 56). [587]

Males in capital letters
Females in small type
† = dead
m. = married

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595 [621] [592] his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further, away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 595 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroĭ, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] [587] Then the following occurred: Eroĭ found employment as a government peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotsbuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

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jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *mad*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensation to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoï, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *purstitpimi* in the first instance.

The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

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601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
[843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
[164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
[578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
[682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was
[595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

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married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

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595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen
[515] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

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to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by 831
overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of
course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined pa- [848]
ternity through the *pursiitpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and consequently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it would, I suppose, elsewhere.

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases 833
of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard, but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as contradicting these findings.

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris 114
has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the subject of an addendum.

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in 614
many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to 616
W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe.

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh 614
at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the 554
subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples – such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the *palol*), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *timad* – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a

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[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in
621 number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

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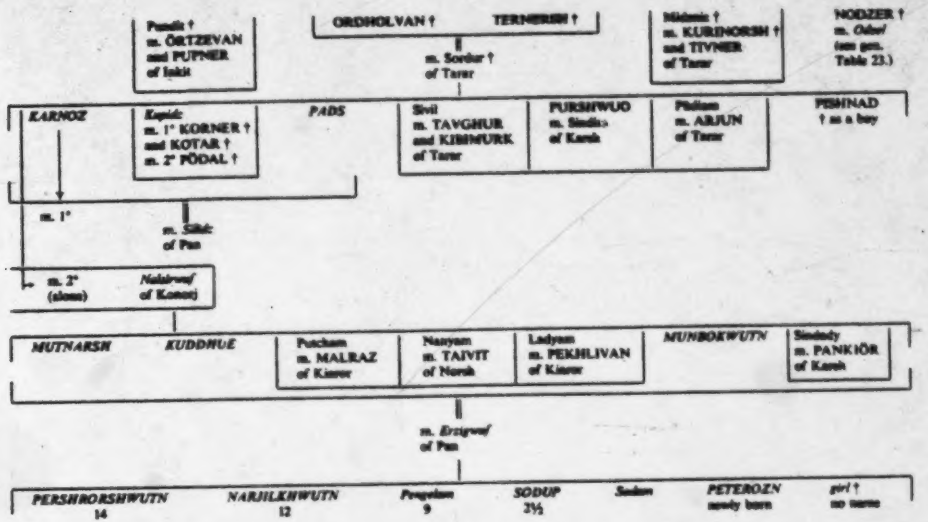
TABLE 22. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: THE PRINCIPAL FAMILY OF THE MELGARSH ETUMAD.



Note: The name of the clan to whom outsiders belong is given after the name of someone married. The ages of the children are given in figures below their names.

Conventional signs as in Table 21.

[paina p.276]

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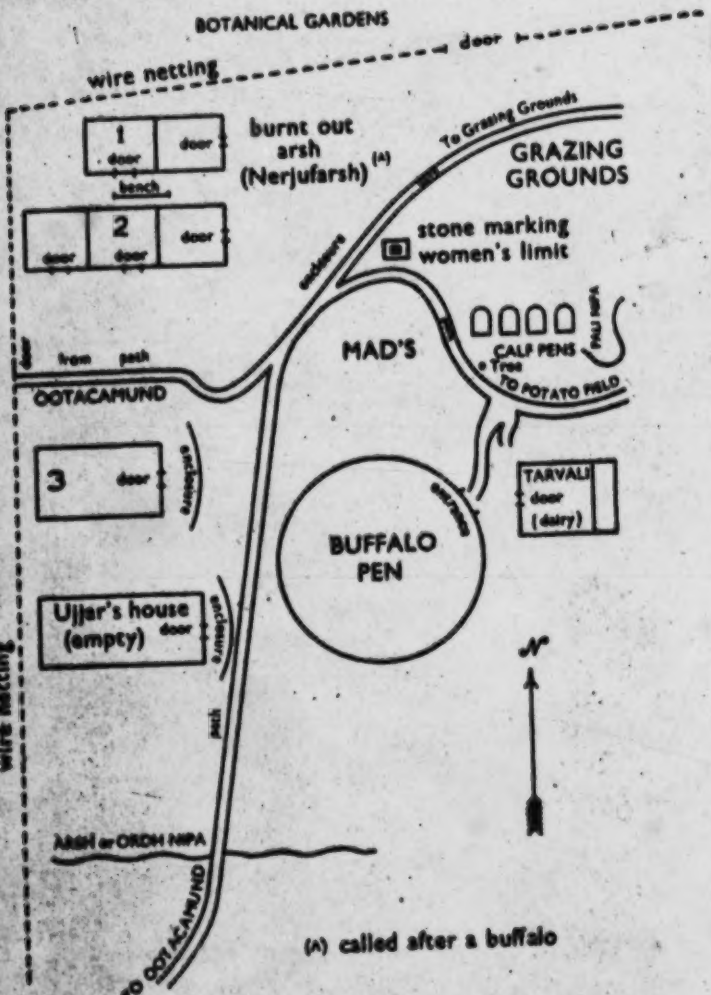

(A) called after a buffalo

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Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mund*.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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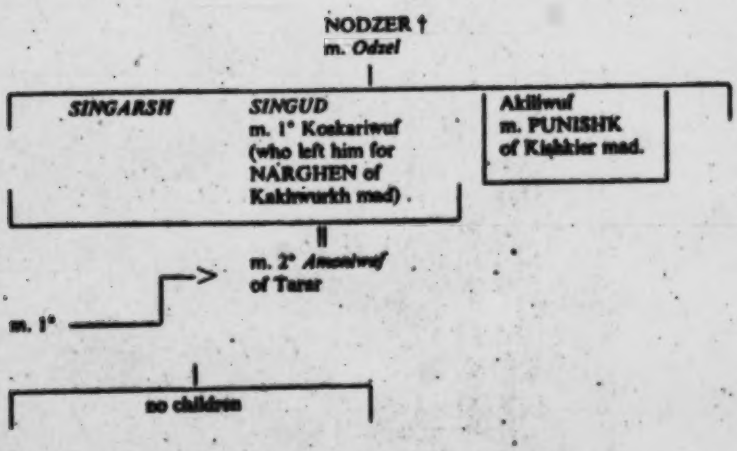
TABLE 23. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF NODZER LIVING AT MELGARSH MAD.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

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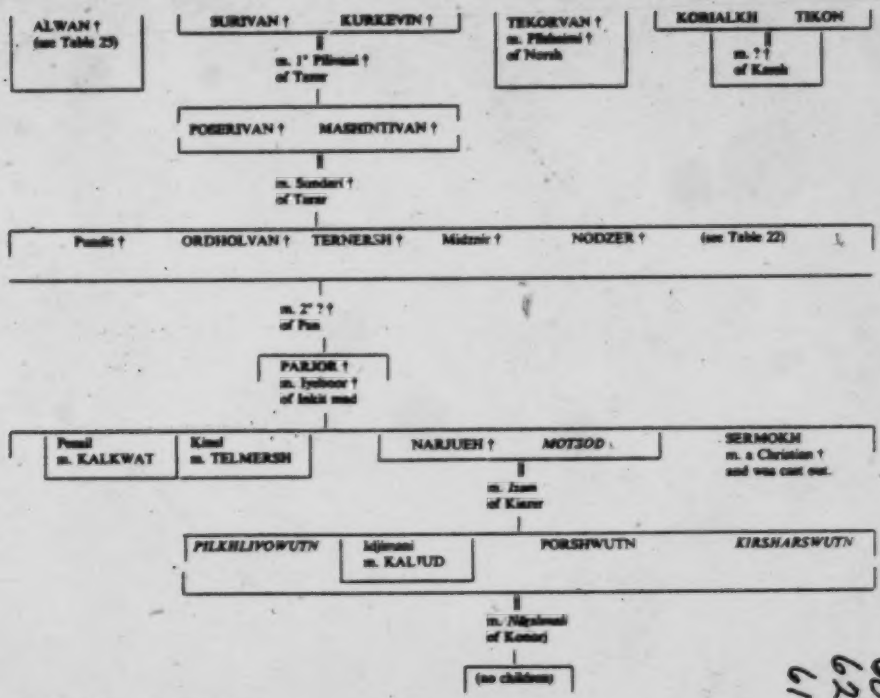
TABLE 24. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHERS FROM ANOTHER MARRIAGE.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

[facing p. 278]

13; Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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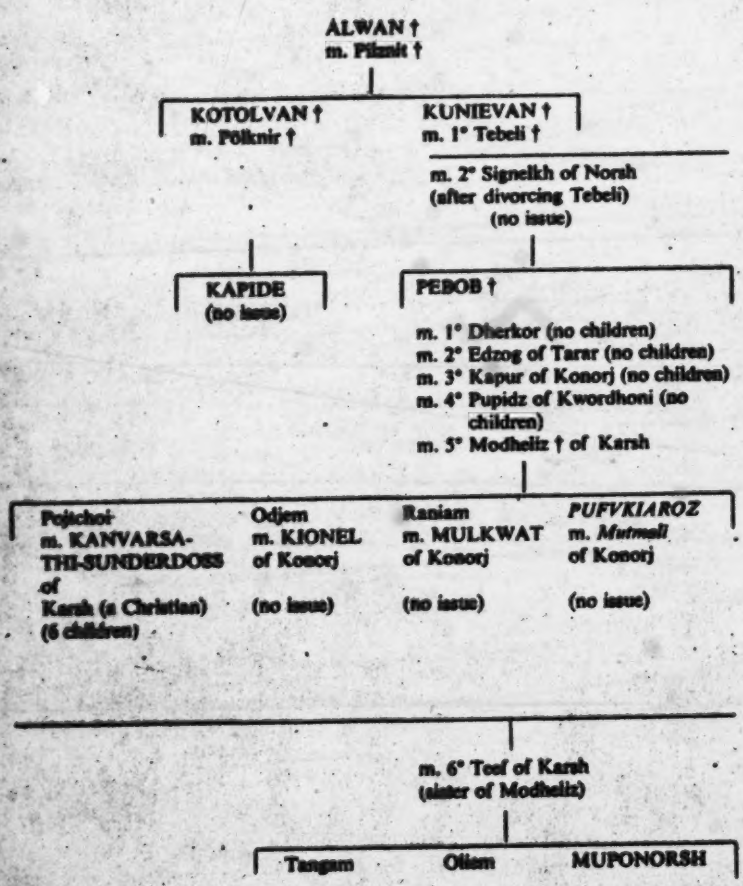
TABLE 25. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF THE GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHER ALWAN.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the
621 house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly,
[754] nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children,
[135] whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to
[123] me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund
[464] Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress
[291] in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that
[124] I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

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[Melgarsh Village]

(6) Nalsirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pads. She is twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knowns it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife. 159 621

(7) MUTNARSH: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [464]

(8) KUDDHUE: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mad*, in the tribe's *wursulis* for which he is very much sought after. [732] [793]

(9) MUNBOKWUTN: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Erzigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mad* where he apparently likes to stay. [595]

(10) Erzigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda women who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so [842]

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[Melgarsh Village]

159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elabo-
621 rated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Urshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Urshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn
[846] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror.
[587] When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which
159 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and
621 wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then
[842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup
[777] and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf
159 had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus-
621 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur-
[837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

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[Melgarsh Village]

(11) PERSHRÖRSHWUTN, abbreviated to PERSHRÖRSH: The eldest boy of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is noticeably proud. He likes to go out to other munds, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mad*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman. 159 621 233

(12) NARJILKHWUTN, abbreviated to NARJILKH: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Munbokwutn, his youngest father.

(13) Pengelam: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friendly. She is gay and playful, and is nearby always in the company of Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris. 159 621 [123]

(14) SODUP: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exceptionally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop. [855]

(15) Sodam: She is as dull and backward as Sodup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) PETEROZN: Called after me (*Rozn* being Toda for Raja = Prince) who am his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived [123] [551]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 621 in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative. [276] He takes snuff and rately goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being reserved for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-shaven except for a short moustache. [464] [291] He is a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda *putkuli* and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz, [837] whom she helps a lot. She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been accepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, handsome, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at the *mad*'s *tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies [293] the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

(23) PILKHLIVOWUTN: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early [464] twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding moustache.

(24) KIRSHARSWUTN: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershrörsh, and is a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 159 621

(25) Närshmali: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhlivowutn have to search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Närshmali had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershti* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them. [832] [837]

(26) Pufvkiaroz: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that surviving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also works as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [847] [797] [464]

(27) Mutmali: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns after some days, without Pufvkiaroz exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmali came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again. [832] [837]

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[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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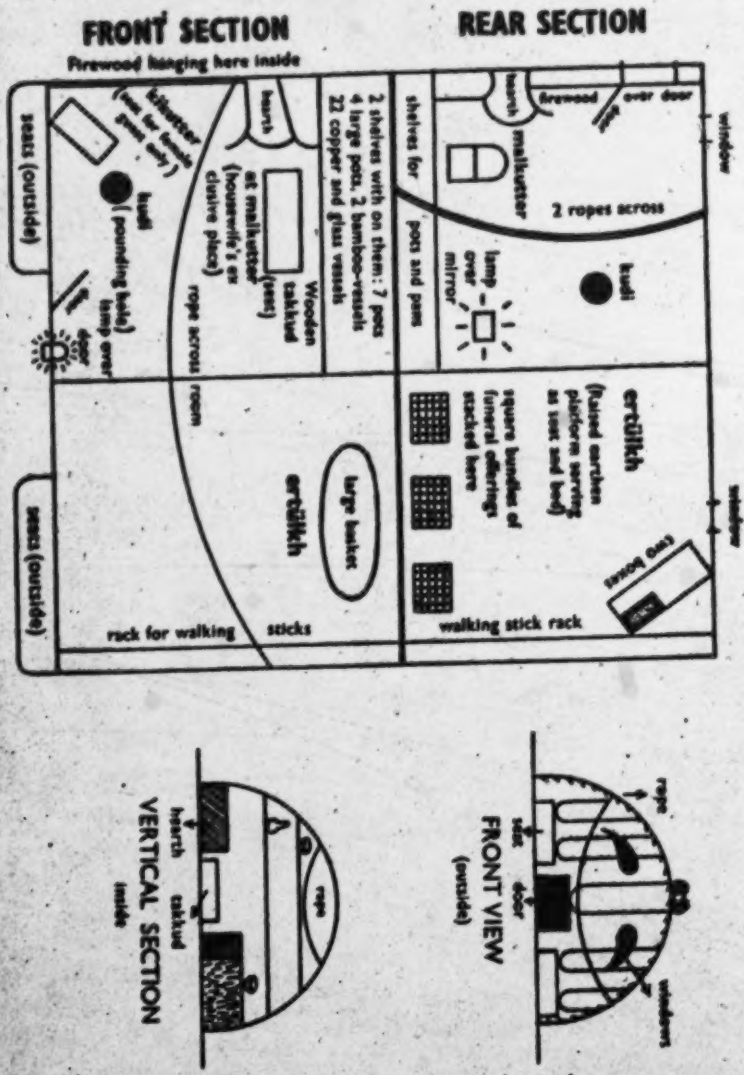

Fig. 19. House No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*.
Inhabitants of front part: Karnoc, Naisirwuf, Sodup and Odzsl; the last named sleeps on the floor, the other three on the *ertülkh*.
Inhabitants of the rear part: Singharsh, Amonwuf, Singud and Mushokwuto; the last named sleeps on the *ertülkh* with either of the brothers, while the other alternatively sleeps on the floor with the common wife.

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[513]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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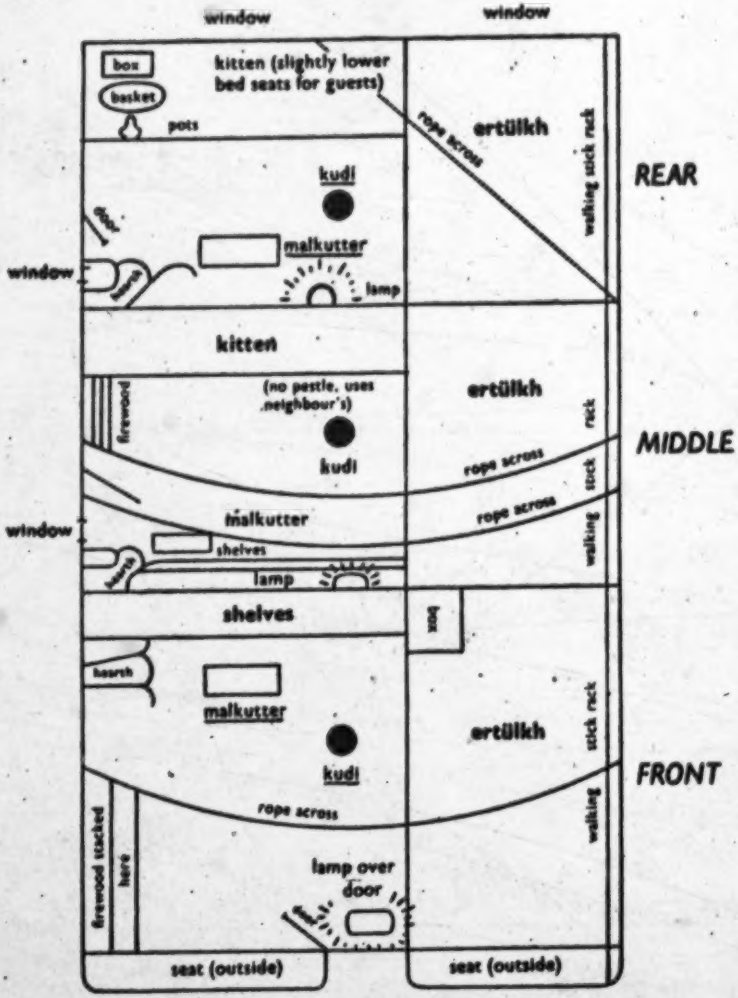

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[574]

Fig. 20. House No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*.

Inhabitants in the front part: Padz, Silidz, Narjilkh, and Pengelam; the two children sleep at the feet of their grandparents, who have their heads nearest the door; guests are accomodated on the *ertülkh*, while the inhabitants sleep on the floor.

Inhabitants in the middle part: Puvkiaros and Mutmali; they sleep together on the *ertülkh*; guests are accomodated on the *kitten*.

Inhabitants of the rear part: Mutnarsh, Erzigwuf, Kupidz and Sodam; the new-born twins were also put up here with their mother; the father sleeps with the little girl on the *kitten*, the two women sleep on the *ertülkh*, one at each end.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melqarsh Village]

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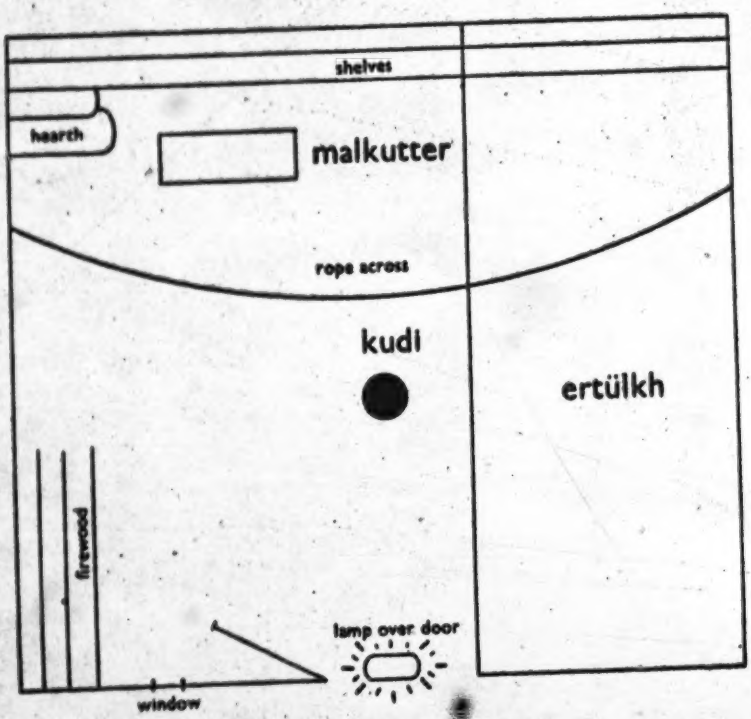

Fig. 21. House No. 3, the *Pudharsh*.

Inhabitants: Pilkhlivowutn, Närshmali, Motsod, Izam and Kirsharswutn; the two first of these sleep on the *ertülkh*, the older couple on the floor, the younger boy sleeps on the *ertülkh* too, with his head towards the back of the arsh. Motsod is very often out, either as priest-dairyman, when he sleeps in the tarvali, or to see friends in other mads. Kirsharswutn often helps his father in the tarvali, when he also sleeps in the dairy-temple. [592] [513]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

511 621 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following members of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsod, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 [23] The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 428 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding. [562] [583]

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the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*. 425 428 [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512 [123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (under-clothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514] [296] [233] [234] [264] [291] [356] [515]

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

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264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

512 In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would [234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and [264] everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position, [606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and [278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back to the *ertülkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.

845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

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complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by ask-
ing me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not ac- [123]
cede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the 273
occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the 431
demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is 846
impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even be-
ing tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the dif- 847
ficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mut- 595
narsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children
were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal ob- [865]
servation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The* 846
Todas, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. 796
Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was un-
usual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of [183]
bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite un-
[865] orthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[788] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quick-
[793] est way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

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as they had given up of their own accord when the taste of Erzigwuf's milk changed, due to her advanced pregnancy. 862

Somewhat incredulous of Erzigwuf's assertions as they were made to me, I questioned the local medical practitioner of Ootacamund, Colonel D'Souza, Indian Medical Service (rtd.) about their veracity. He assured me that it was quite possible. He said, even, that it did not tire the mother, as after some time "it becomes mechanical". Colonel D'Souza also assured me that the contention often heard that prolonged suckling prevents conception was a fallacy completely disproved by facts, "at least in Asia". Erzigwuf also told me that Sodup and Sodam were born after she had not had any menses for eight years; two days after, however, she contradicted herself and said this was not correct (she said she had made "a mistake"). But another time she assured me that Toda women cease having any sort of periods for four months after they have given birth; that is why, she said, they cannot have children earlier – she herself had been like this. Although I do not much believe in this assertion, which is contrary to every ordinary observation anywhere, I give it here for what it is worth. 853 841 842

Small children suck their thumbs very early, Erzigwuf asserted. As a proof, she showed me one of the new-born twins, fast asleep in her lap with its thumb in its mouth. For napkins, she used bits of cloth which she regularly changed and washed. She said that she taught her children to be clean after six months. Before that, she would take them out at regular intervals and hold them in her hands, both boy and girl. Then, after, she would teach them gradually to go out by themselves, punishing them by beating them on the buttocks with a stinging nettle (called *tworkh* in Toda) when they misbehaved in the house, and rewarding them with sweets when they were good and did as they were told. They learned very quickly, in approximately one month. 854 863 [861] [824]

Regarding genital development, Erzigwuf was very outspoken, and I had no difficulty in getting information from her, even in the presence of Narjilkh and Pengelam, who would listen with interest to the conversation through Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, my interpreter. She said that masturbation started very early – at about nine months. They play with their genitals, both boys and girls, but the former more so, all the time; when walking, suckling and lying down, as she put it. When they get older, this play is intensified, and after they have reached the age of one year, she intervenes to stop it. She did so, she said, and not Mutnarsh who "lets the children do anything they want". Asked why she did not allow them to carry on freely, she said, because if she did not forbid 864

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864 them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health
[861] by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer
[824] *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Incidentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed
[861] were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult
[828] son of the Tarvilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given
[839] up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

836 Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but
[835] within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are considered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

845 Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see
123 them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

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still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of [614]
the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
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764 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-
588 world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground,
614 with a further display of grief and lamentation.
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ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance, the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was
123 interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me
855 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex-
159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con-
857 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Nārahmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

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not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

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159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said
776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting
[125] on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
159 even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Poi`hll*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh*, *wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be-
[836] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konor).

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Fig. 22. A typical Toda mad in the Nilgiris: Karsh, near Ootacamund.

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[793] Fig. 23. The *tarvali* of Melgarsh: Motsod, the *tarvalikartmokh* in his black *tuni* at the door.

[P 300-A]

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Fig. 24. Karnoz.

Fig. 25. Nalsirwuf.

[P 300-B]

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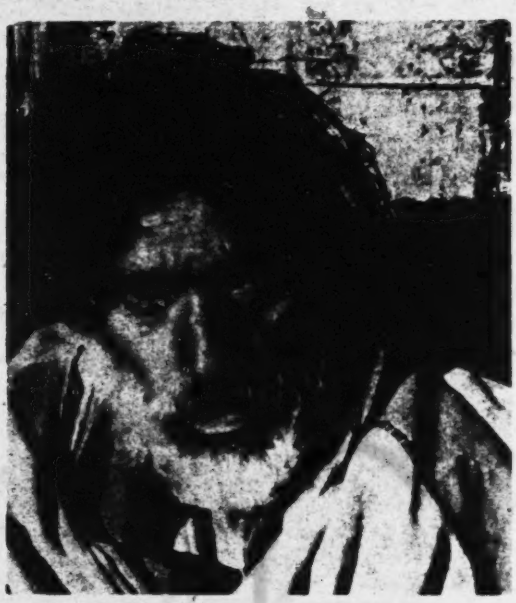

Fig. 26. Pads.

Fig. 27. Silidz.

[p 300-c]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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Fig. 28. Erzigwuf with Peterozn, Mutnarsh and the twins, Sodup and Sodam.

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Fig. 29. Kuddhue.

[p 300-D]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

Fig. 30. Munbokwutn.

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Fig. 31. Narjilkwutn.

[p. 300-E]

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Fig. 32. Pengelam.

Fig. 33. Mutmali, Nalsirwuf and Närshmali.

[P 300-F]

13: Peter
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AW60 Toda AW60

Types of cattle and associated dairy-temples and priest-dairymen

Cattle	Dairy-temple	Priest-dairyman
postir (sacred)	(poikhthli)	
1) tiir (most sacred)	1) ti	1) palol and kaltmokh
2) kugvalir	2) kugvali	2) kugvalikartmokh
3) nodrovair	3) kurpali	3) kurpalikartmokh
4) wursulir (least sacred)	4) wursuli	4) wursol
putir (ordinary cattle)	tarvali	tarvalikartmokh

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Arsh - house
Ker - family
Mad (Mund) - hamlet or village
Matchuni - cross-cousin
Modol - patrilineal clan, patrilineage
Mun - maternal uncle
Noim - supreme council
Polkhliol - matrilineal descent group, matrilineage
Polm - a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them
Putkuli - toga-like garment worn by both sexes
Shola - woods of short trees and bushes

[Information on Toda "clans" will also be found in category 614.]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

PREFACE

121 It has been my object in writing this book to make it, not merely a record of the customs and beliefs of a people, but also a demonstration of anthropological method. The great need of anthropology at the present time is for more exact method, not only in collecting material, but also in recording it, so that readers may be able to assign its proper value to each fact, and may be provided with definite evidence which will enable them to estimate the probable veraciousness and thoroughness of the record.

With this idea in my mind I have tried to describe as fully as possible the way in which my account has been built up, and have been careful to point out the different degrees of trustworthiness of different portions of my story. Perhaps I have been so anxious to make it clear when my record is of doubtful value that sometimes I may have laid undue stress on its uncertainties and deficiencies.

121 I have tried to make a clear distinction between my
128 description of Toda custom and belief, and any theoretical conclusions drawn by myself, and have kept the latter for sections at the ends of chapters or for special chapters, of which those numbered xi, xix, xxix and xxx are the most important.

It may be thought by some that the book is unduly loaded with minute detail, and I am myself aware that I have often complicated, perhaps even obscured, the story I am telling by the mass of detail with which it is accompanied. I have had,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

121 128 however, no scruples on this score, partly because I wished my readers thoroughly to grasp the nature of the material on which my account is based, but still more, because details which may seem insignificant or trivial are often of great importance in the comparative study of custom and belief.

I have not attempted such a comparative study of Toda institutions. It was often very tempting to suggest resemblances with the practices of other peoples of the present or the past, but the result would have been to swell the book to unwieldy dimensions, and perhaps to have obscured the description of the life of the people. In giving parallels for Toda custom I have therefore limited myself to examples from other parts of India, and even here I have only dealt with a few resemblances which illustrate certain suggestions made in the final chapter on the origin and affinities of the Toda people.

122 In conclusion, I am very glad to express my gratitude for help received from many sources. The researches on which the book is based were undertaken in consequence of the award to myself of the income of the Gunning Fund of the Royal Society for the years 1901–2, and my work was also assisted by a grant from the British Association. In India I received every assistance from those whose official positions gave them the means of helping me, and my thanks are especially due to Mr. Edgar Thurston, whose kind interest and assistance I cannot sufficiently acknowledge. I owe much to the care and attention with which my two interpreters, P. Samuel and Albert Urrilla, performed their duties, and I am greatly indebted to the managers of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society at Ootacamund for the services of the former, and to Mr. C. M. Mullaly and Mr. Hadfield for giving the latter leave from his forest duties in order that he might help me.

128 Of friends in England I am especially indebted to Dr. C. S. Myers, who kindly read nearly the whole of the book in proof; to Syed Ali Bilgrami for information on various points connected with Indian custom; to Don M. da Zilva

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 A review of the literature, however, showed me that there were certain subjects about which our information was of the scantiest. This was especially the case in matters connected with the social organisation. Little was known of the system of kinship, and it was not known whether there was any definite system of exogamy. The Todas furnish one of the best existing examples of the custom of polyandry, but scarcely anything was known about the various social regulations which must be associated with such a practice.

114 121 I had not worked long among the Todas before I discovered the existence of many customs and ceremonies previously undescribed, and I was able to obtain much more detailed accounts of others which had already been repeatedly recorded. I found that there was so much to be done that I gave up an intention of working with several different tribes, and devoted the whole of my time to the Todas.

This book is not intended to be a complete account of all that is known about the Toda people. Their physical anthropology has been so ably dealt with by Mr. Edgar Thurston that I leave this subject almost untouched, and I omit all but a brief mention of my own psychological observations which I have published in detail elsewhere.[1] The book deals almost exclusively with the religion and sociology of the people. Even here, however, the account will be far from complete. After several months' work among a people about whom "we knew all there was to be known," I came away knowing that there were subjects of which I had barely touched the fringe, and many others on which my information could have been made far more complete with greater opportunity. About certain subjects the Todas are extremely reticent, and my information is in consequence very defective. There are many points on which I know my information to be far from complete, and doubtless there are far more numerous examples of deficiency of which I am not aware.

123 Some deficiencies of the record are due to certain untoward events which occurred during my visit. After I had been working among the Todas for about four months, various misfortunes befell some of those who had

[1] See *British Journal of Psychology*, 1905, vol. i., p. 321.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peranganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr.

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information.

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXV

LANGUAGE

121 My chief purpose in writing this chapter is to give information which, I hope, may increase the value of the linguistic material which is scattered throughout this book, and especially to describe some of the doubts and difficulties which I encountered in my attempts to reduce the Toda language to writing.

At the end of the chapter I give some new facts relating to the sacred and secret languages of the Todas, and I will begin with a brief sketch of the views commonly held on the linguistic position of the Toda language.

197 The Nilgiri Hills are situated at the point of junction of three of the chief linguistic districts of Southern India. In the country on the South and East, Tamil is spoken; on the West, the language is Malayalam, and the people of Mysore to the North speak chiefly Canarese. The Todas live at this meeting-place of three languages, but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these, but has very definite and distinctive characters of its own, as might, indeed, be expected from the character of the people. The Badagas with whom the Todas have much intercourse speak a corrupt form of Canarese, and the Todas have undoubtedly borrowed many words from their language.

114 Previous writers have differed in their views on the special affinities of the Toda language. No one has now, I think, 197 any doubt that the language is Dravidian. Bernhard Schmid,[1] who wrote in 1837, appears to me to have known more of

[1] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1837, vol. v. p. 155.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ment provided by the Nilgiri plateau. I have already referred to the resemblance between certain Toda customs and those of one such tribe, the Hill Arrians, who live in the hills in Travancore and on the Travancore-Cochin boundary. These people are fair, about five feet six inches in height, and frequently have aquiline noses. They inherit in the male line, and have an early marriage ceremony, followed by another in which cloths are presented to the bridegroom. After child-birth the woman lives in a shed for sixteen days. They bury their dead, the earth being dug with the ceremony to which I have already alluded,[1] and though we are not told that a cloth is laid on the corpse at the funeral ceremonies, Fawcett[2] records the fact that a cloth is placed on the grave. There are thus several points of resemblance between their customs and those of the Todas, and this resemblance extends in some measure to the physical appearance and suggests, not only that they and the Todas have been influenced by the same culture, but even that they are people of the same race. We are here, however, plunged almost entirely in the region of conjecture, and we must wait for further information before we consider whether such tribes as the Hill Arrians are representatives of the same race as the Todas, both having been driven from the plains of Malabar into their mountain fastnesses, or whether the Todas and Arrians are two hill tribes of similar descent who have each been influenced by Malabar, of whom the Todas have advanced more in culture, owing to their exceptionally favourable environment on the Nilgiri plateau.

The whole of this last chapter is, I am afraid, open to the charge of being highly conjectural. It has, however, seemed to me desirable to raise some of the problems suggested by the existence of the Todas. In the settlement of these problems much further research is necessary, and I have somewhat reluctantly dealt so largely with the conjectural topics of the chapter, because they seem to point clearly to two lines of research in which further work is necessary. One is the archæology of the Nilgiris, which would, I believe, now well repay further investigation; the other is a detailed

[1] See p. 402.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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inquiry into the more popular customs of Malabar and especially of its less known peoples, such as the Hill Arrians, of whom I have just written. It is in the hope that further interest may be awakened in these lines of inquiry that I have devoted so much space to the hypotheses and surmises of this final chapter.

If further research should show that the Todas are derived from ancient races of Malabar, it is possible that the existence of this strange people may help to illuminate the many dark places which exist in our knowledge of the connexion between the Aryan and Dravidian cultures. It is even possible that the Todas may give us a glimpse of what the culture of Malabar may have been before the introduction of Brahmanism, a culture from which many features would have disappeared, while others would have undergone special development; and, if this were the case, the complex dairy ritual of the Todas would be the most striking instance of the development, a development, however, carrying with it the germs of that degeneration from which the Toda religion now seems to be suffering.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

PREFACE.

114 In the course of a furlough I took in the year 1870
115 to the Madras sanatarium of Utacamand, in the Nila-
121 giri mountains,[1] I heard much of an 'aboriginal race' living in the neighbourhood; which, infanticidal and polyandrous, was said to be fast dying out.

I had long been curious to understand the mysterious process by which, as appears inevitable, savage tribes melt away when forced into prolonged contact with a superior civilisation. But, ignorant of all the languages of South India, I should have relinquished attempt to study the Todas, had I not the great good fortune to make the acquaintance of the Reverend Friedrich Metz, of the Basel Missionary Society, who had spent upwards of twenty years in labours amongst the primitive tribes forming the inhabitants of the Nilagiris; and who, in addition to being skilled in several Drâvidian dialects, was exceptionally practised in High Kanarese and Tamil. Above all, he was the only European able to speak the obscure Toda tongue.

Mr. Metz most readily agreed to co-operate with me in strict enquiry into the condition of the Todas, and

[1] Commonly called 'Ootacamund, in the Nilgherry hills'; it being the peculiar Anglo-Indian custom to style all mountains, hills. Thus the Himalayas are only hills, whilst in England, Ben Nevis and Snowdon are mountains.

114 henceforth became my sole associate in all expeditions
115 amongst them—save one or two.

121 It is the more proper and just that I should in this place render Mr. METZ the warmest acknowledgment of the very disinterested and important share he had in the undertaking, that there is so little in what I have written in these pages to recall his name. It was not only that his knowledge of Toda dialect was invaluable for minute and truthful investigation, but the personal respect in which he was held by the people, and the confidence they placed in his fidelity to them, obtained for us a more friendly welcome and complete exposure of their minds than would have been accorded had we been mere strangers. I must state, however, that my friend is not, even in the slightest degree, responsible for any opinions I have expressed.

A small Vocabulary, compiled and carefully revised by Mr. METZ, will be found as the groundwork of the last Chapter. It may be said, more entirely to consist of actual Toda words than any other existing.

121 Our operations began with a census of a portion of
124 the tribe, combined with an examination of each of the families that came before us. But in proportion as our work advanced, so did interest in the subject develop, until the scheme was entertained of enlarging the topic from its original design, so as to embrace 'a study of the manners and customs of a primitive race of man.'

With this evolution grew also the desire so to describe what I had seen, as to enable readers who could never have an opportunity of witnessing life amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

untutored races, to realise justly and without exaggeration, what it really is, and—by analogy—what it must have been in the pre-historic era, long ere 'Adam delved and Eve spun,' *before man had much developed in manly qualities.* 121 124

I have actually witnessed most of the scenes here described. Such of the remainder as are not otherwise authorised, I have compiled from direct narrative of the most reliable Todas.

Whilst hoping, though not without some misgivings, that the ugly statistics collected with so much care, and the speculations advanced to account physiologically for the origin of obscure customs, may have some slight value, even to the savant, I am sanguine that the antique practices now brought to light, and the illustrations I have attempted of every-day life, may render the book acceptable to the general reader. I may say, that great and especial pains have been taken to render as large a portion of the work as the subject permits, attractive, and suited for ladies' reading. 128

A few words of explanation are perhaps called for; to account for my having devoted an entire chapter to the description of some of the first principles of phrenology—a subject which is fully treated in standard works by acknowledged authorities. I wished primarily, to show the premises forming the basis for many conjectures which otherwise would have borne too much the appearance of dogmatism, or that might have been misunderstood. Secondly, I desired to show for phrenology, a marked practical value for ethnological purposes: and no single work containing, with clearness 121

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

121 and brevity combined, so much information calculated to be serviceable to enquirers disposed to pursue the phrenologic mode of enquiry into the nature of barbarous races, which I have here faintly attempted; I trusted that the chapter might be useful, in some sort, as a manual for ethnographers so circumstanced.

But in this matter, as indeed throughout the book, I must trust very much to the lenient judgment of my readers; if, as a solitary Indian, far away from contact with men of science, but fresh from the actual and impressive presence of 'nature's children,' in attempting to work out for myself some of the vastly interesting unsolved problems of our day, I air some seemingly quaint ideas. *The public is concerned simply in their truth.*

128 The publication of these results of investigations made two years ago, has been delayed through the impossibility of finding in a very hot climate, and in the intervals of official duties, leisure sufficient for completing a subject demanding much thought and care.

I beg to invite especial attention to the important contributions made by the eminent philologist and great Tamil scholar, the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., at present Head Master of the 'Bishop Cotton' School at Bangalore. These will be found both in the form of foot-notes throughout this little work, and forming a distinct chapter at the end. The interesting and often most valuable derivations of Toda words given in these notes, have enabled me, in the absence of other evidence, to explain several customs and to work out some speculations that otherwise seemed quite incomprehensible.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60Toda
AW60

ART. II.—THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE NILGIRI HILLS.*

By Major W. Ross KING, F.R.G.S., F.S.A.S., etc.

121 THE tribes which I am about to describe are doubtless not altogether unknown by report to various members of this Society, and I do not claim for myself the credit of bringing forward many new facts concerning them. My simple object is to promote attention to the subject in hopes of ultimately eliciting some more certain information than we possess as to the origin of races whose early history is shrouded in mystery and doubt.

114 All personal experiences, however slight, are of value as contributions to the general fund of information, and I have, there-

* Read before the Anthropological Society of London, the 3rd May, 1870.

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

114 121 IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

616 618 A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toɪrðas and töüviɭj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tɪɪmod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoɪɭ, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toɪrðas are reckoned to have ten mod, the töüviɭj 618 five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined 842 by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called pɯsɯṭṭ, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

582 601 618 Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are poɭjoɪɭ. Membership in a group of people known as poɭjoɪɭ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the poɭjoɪɭ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

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[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319–23.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilised indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *t*, *θ*, *x* should be read for *v*, *δ*, *γ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

114 the care of which forms a very complex ritual, and containing within itself such an unusual feature as polyandry, this culture was bound to attract attention as a thing *sui generis* in the field of knowledge of anthropologists. Work on the language of the tribe in 1935–7 has given me an opportunity to study the culture as well. The present paper attempts to assess the amount and nature [121] of such changes as the culture has suffered in the thirty-five years since Rivers' visit.

197 In 1901–2, the Todas were already exposed to outside influences of several different kinds. Leaving aside their immemorial connexion with the Kotas and the Kurumbas, these three tribes regarding themselves as being the aboriginal inhabitants of the hills and as having been created there together, and their more recent but still ancient connexion with the immigrant Badagas, two other strong influences had been in a position to affect Toda culture from the time that the Nilgiris became accessible early in the 19th century. The English, who created three hill-stations, Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagiri, and a military station Wellington, provided one of these influences, and their Indian servants, minor officials, and tradespeople, an even stronger influence. Since Rivers' time conditions in the hills have changed so that outside influences have become potentially much stronger. A railway now connects Ootacamund and Coonoor with the Tamilian plains to the south and motorbuses connect the whole area with the Mysore plains. The possibilities of the Nilgiris as a suitable ground for growing vegetable produce and tea have been exploited to a high degree. Their attractions as holiday grounds for Europeans and a place of retirement at the end of official life have been certainly not more widely appreciated, but perhaps more widely used by Europeans from all parts of India. The climax of this tendency of the English to invade the Nilgiris

113 *id.*, *Personal names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, April 1938.

id., *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*, Journal of the American Oriental Society (not yet published).

Census of India, *1931*, vol. 14 (Madras), part 1 (report by M. W. M. Yeatts), 387–392.

[M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, American Anthropologist 39, 103–112. This completes the list of my papers on the Todas up to date, but is not referred to in this paper.]

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By
M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 798 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [962] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [798] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [796] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

TIBET AJ1
TODA AW60
2186

Ti 595 587

is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

To 131 161 114

The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

To [161] 595 618 [121]

Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, *i.e.*, a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars,

To 836 interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, 734 so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to 154 marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle 618 would die." When asked what would 123 happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154 I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595 Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 595 wTi 595 As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanation

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

To 829 595 121 182 would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Ti 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL FORMS: A STUDY OF TODA KINSHIP TERMS AND DUAL DESCENT

By M. B. EMENEAU

121 THAT THE DATA obtained by linguistic investigation of any community is of indispensable value for the ethnographer studying that community has long been axiomatic for the anthropological school of which Sapir was a brilliant member. His statement of the point in *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* deserves to be quoted:

> Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. In a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society. Some day the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labors of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which he is describing.[1]

To go a little further and say that the culminating item of value that the linguistic student can give to ethnology is the study of a community's most highly verbalized cultural manifestations would be what Sapir would and undoubtedly did hold. It is here, in their verbal art-forms, stories, songs, oratory, or the like, that the members of the culture give the most overt and self-conscious expression to the patterns which they follow or profess to follow in their life. Linguistic study, if it is confined to its primary object of recording and analyzing the forms of utterances and never goes beyond that, can offer little to ethnology. It must, with that analysis as a basis, go on to a strict philological analysis of well-recorded and fully guaranteed texts in the forms most highly esteemed by the culture, and the results of such study should provide then "the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines [of a culture gained through sheer observation] significant and intelligible."

121 The following study presents the kinship system of the Todas of the Nilgiris in South
128 India. In a previous paper on *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, the existence was re-
614 ported of a complete division of the Todas into matrilineal sibs alongside of the previously known complete division into patrilineal sibs. In this paper I present, following on the kin-
[114] ship system, the material on the functions of the two sib-systems as against one another. In these sections an attempt has been made to use the evidence provided by the Toda art-form of highest prestige, the songs. Discussion based on this evidence is found on pp. 160–161 on the use of "friend" terms beside kinship terms, on p. 165 on the special kinship term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father, and throughout the Appendix, which presents the kinship terms; and again on pp. 169–172, where the data on the

[1] Edward Sapir, *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* (Language, Vol. 5, pp. 207–14, 1929), p. 209.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[2] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[3] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in ego's generation based on age relative to that of ego.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to ego. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of ego's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, onoi in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okoi in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ŭwr-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endoi in address. En-ŭwr-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nwn-ŭwr-fed "your younger sibling," an-ŭwr-fed (or an-dan-ŭwr-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ŭwr-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ŭwr-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nwm-ŭwr-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or aŭam-ŭwr-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xuix (=kuix) a female.[5]

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[3] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–22, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 207–23, 1938), p. 207 fn. 1. In this paper I use š, ž for palatalized alveolar sibilants, c, ǰ for post-dental affricates and č, ǧ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ŭ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1937–38 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[4] Pp. 482 bottom, 483, and passim.

[5] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom ego would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

101 gods, are very close indeed; so close in fact that to know them really
648 well it would be necessary to make a special study of them from the
point of view of each of the five communities in turn. As others who
121 have worked solely on the Todas before me, I am, however, only
acquainted with these relations from the Toda viewpoint, and consequently can only briefly account for them here as described to me from that angle.

648 Of the four, the Badaga community is the largest. It is said, too, that it is the latest to have arrived in the Blue Mountains, but even so, this must have been quite a long time ago, as there are Portuguese descriptions of it going back for more than three centuries. The Todas
[186] consider the Badagas as practically their equals, and their name for them is *Mav*. They depend on them for much of their livelihood, as
[439] they are the agriculturists who supply them with grain, and all relations with the outer world are conducted to a large extent for the Todas through their intermediary. They pay a specified grain tribute called *kur* (Rivers' *gudu*) to the Todas, and the priests of the latter's most important temples may eat only Badaga grain (which includes rice) and none other. Furthermore a Badaga from the village of Tuneri is by right a member of the Toda tribal council, when it decides questions of inter-tribal importance, and at certain ceremonies in the principal temples, a Badaga, known as a *tikelvmav* has to be in attendance.

[186] The Kotas, called *Kuv* by the Todas, are looked down upon by them
[439] and considered low-caste. They are the artisans who supply metalware and pottery to their neighbours, and, as is often the case with smiths in India, also music at festive occasions. They are indispensable at Toda funerals, where they have very distinct duties such as providing a band, giving cloth, grain, ceremonial bows and arrows, money etc. for the proper disposal of the corpse, besides taking away the sacrificed buffaloes which they eat.

The Kurumbas and Irulas are slight, dwarf-like aborigines who inhabit the forest-clad, malarial southern and western slopes of the Nil-
[186] giris. They are known respectively as *Kurub* and *Erl* by the Todas, who fear them greatly as sorcerers and magicians. It is on them, and
[439] principally the Kurumbas, that the tribe is dependent for its supply of bamboo vessels, of a certain long pole, the *tari*, used at funerals, and more especially of medicine, which appellation includes poison. The Todas make habitual use of the latter when they want to fight each other in personal or inter-clan feuds. In Toda mythology, the two last named of their neighbours as well as the Kotas, but not the Badagas, are mentioned.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in
621 number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

121 128 however, no scruples on this score, partly because I wished my readers thoroughly to grasp the nature of the material on which my account is based, but still more, because details which may seem insignificant or trivial are often of great importance in the comparative study of custom and belief.

I have not attempted such a comparative study of Toda institutions. It was often very tempting to suggest resemblances with the practices of other peoples of the present or the past, but the result would have been to swell the book to unwieldy dimensions, and perhaps to have obscured the description of the life of the people. In giving parallels for Toda custom I have therefore limited myself to examples from other parts of India, and even here I have only dealt with a few resemblances which illustrate certain suggestions made in the final chapter on the origin and affinities of the Toda people.

122 In conclusion, I am very glad to express my gratitude for help received from many sources. The researches on which the book is based were undertaken in consequence of the award to myself of the income of the Gunning Fund of the Royal Society for the years 1901–2, and my work was also assisted by a grant from the British Association. In India I received every assistance from those whose official positions gave them the means of helping me, and my thanks are especially due to Mr. Edgar Thurston, whose kind interest and assistance I cannot sufficiently acknowledge. I owe much to the care and attention with which my two interpreters, P. Samuel and Albert Urrilla, performed their duties, and I am greatly indebted to the managers of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society at Ootacamund for the services of the former, and to Mr. C. M. Mullaly and Mr. Hadfield for giving the latter leave from his forest duties in order that he might help me.

128 Of friends in England I am especially indebted to Dr. C. S. Myers, who kindly read nearly the whole of the book in proof; to Syed Ali Bilgrami for information on various points connected with Indian custom; to Don M. da Zilva

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, f, θ, x should be read for v, δ, γ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

THE CHRISTIAN TODAS *

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(Communicated by Franklin Edgerton)

ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianised communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling [1] and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Down in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, ?1933). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

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TODA CULTURE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER: AN ACCULTURATION STUDY [1]

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The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in South India have long been 114
an object of interest to anthropologists. They became known to Europeans early in the 19th century when the hills were visited by Sullivan (1813), and since then they have been written about by many officials as well as by more casual visitors. Finally, in 1901–2 a close study was made of their institutions by W. H. R. Rivers, and his treatise *The Todas*, published in 1906, has been since then an anthropological classic, describing as it does a tribe of pastoralists with a culture very aberrant as compared with that of the rest of India. Centred upon the buffalo,

[1] My work on the Todas was done with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–7. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has read over the paper and given me the benefit of his suggestions and criticisms. [122]

Bibliographical details of the publications referred to in the paper are: 113

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id., *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, Journal of the American Oriental Society 57, 277–289.

(*Continued on next page*)

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By
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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri- [614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The res- 778 triction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty- [361] five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [778] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [776] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[3] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[3] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in 200's generation based on age relative to that of 200.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to 200.[5] An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of 200's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, onɑ:ı in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okɑ:ı in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ʊɯɾ-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endɑ:ı in address. En-ʊɯɾ-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nɯm-ʊɯɾ-fed "your younger sibling," ɑn-ʊɯɾ-fed (or ɑn-dən-ʊɯɾ-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ʊɯɾ-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ʊɯɾ-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nɯm-ʊɯɾ-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or ɑθɑm-ʊɯɾ-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xʊɪx (= kʊɪx) a female.[6]

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[4] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 207–23, 1938), p. 207 fn. 1. In this paper I use ɨ, ɨ for palatalized alveolar affricates, c, ɟ for post-dental affricates and ĉ, ĝ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ʊ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1935–36 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[5] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and passim.

[6] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom one would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
Toda AW60

was able to park my caravan in the compound of the factory, and from there to conduct my work in the surrounding villages, both in the Walluvanad taluk and in north Cochin. I am greatly indebted to the then Collector of Malabar, Sri Prasad, for the assistance rendered to me during my stay in Kerala, for without this help it would not have been possible to gather so much information in so short a time. K 122

Thanks are also due to Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent of the Government Museum, Egmore, Madras, my fellow-student at the London School of Economics where we both attended the seminars and lectures of the late Professor Br. Malinowski. Through Dr. Aiyappan's never failing advice and active interest I saved considerable time and effort in going straight to that part of Kerala most propitious for the study of polyandry.

While working in the Nilgiris, both before and after World War II, it would have been good to have been able to speak Toda. It would have enabled me to gather information direct, which would have been an incomparable asset during my long period of research in that area. From the wider point of view, it did not seem worth while, however, to go to the trouble of learning Toda. It is spoken by only a very small number of individuals who, being themselves illiterate, have no literature at all. It is besides a Dravidian tongue, and therefore difficult for Europeans to master quickly. I felt that I would prefer to concentrate later on acquiring Tibetan, something which would be of far wider use to me in very many fields other than the relatively narrow study of polyandry. TO 122

I therefore turned down the idea of learning the language and, because of this, was obliged to work through an interpreter. In the choice of the latter, I was exceptionally fortunate. Very early, during the first months of my stay in the Nilgiris, in the summer of 1939, thanks to the help of Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission, I got to know Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, a Christian Toda convert, who had previously served Dr. M. B. Emeneau, of the University of California at Berkeley, in a like capacity, for three years, and who was to prove just as excellent an assistant to me as he had been to this predecessor of mine among the Todas. TO 115 [124]

Kanvarsathi, although belonging to the little colony of Christian Todas described by Emeneau (*The Christian Todas*, see Bibliography), was far from having developed an aversion for his heathen fellows. What was more, he was liked and accepted to a remarkable degree by the latter, a most happy state of affairs when it came to making use of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 A review of the literature, however, showed me that there were certain subjects about which our information was of the scantiest. This was especially the case in matters connected with the social organisation. Little was known of the system of kinship, and it was not known whether there was any definite system of exogamy. The Todas furnish one of the best existing examples of the custom of polyandry, but scarcely anything was known about the various social regulations which must be associated with such a practice.

114 121 I had not worked long among the Todas before I discovered the existence of many customs and ceremonies previously undescribed, and I was able to obtain much more detailed accounts of others which had already been repeatedly recorded. I found that there was so much to be done that I gave up an intention of working with several different tribes, and devoted the whole of my time to the Todas.

This book is not intended to be a complete account of all that is known about the Toda people. Their physical anthropology has been so ably dealt with by Mr. Edgar Thurston that I leave this subject almost untouched, and I omit all but a brief mention of my own psychological observations which I have published in detail elsewhere.[1] The book deals almost exclusively with the religion and sociology of the people. Even here, however, the account will be far from complete. After several months' work among a people about whom "we knew all there was to be known," I came away knowing that there were subjects of which I had barely touched the fringe, and many others on which my information could have been made far more complete with greater opportunity. About certain subjects the Todas are extremely reticent, and my information is in consequence very defective. There are many points on which I know my information to be far from complete, and doubtless there are far more numerous examples of deficiency of which I am not aware.

123 Some deficiencies of the record are due to certain untoward events which occurred during my visit. After I had been working among the Todas for about four months, various misfortunes befell some of those who had

[1] See *British Journal of Psychology*, 1905, vol. i., p. 321.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

been my chief guides to Toda lore. One man who had pointed out to me certain sacred places fell ill and made up his mind that he was going to die. Another man lost his wife a few days after he had shown me the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies. A third man who had revealed to me the details of the ceremonial of the most sacred Toda dairy, suffered the loss of his own village dairy by fire. 123

The Todas consulted their diviners, who ascribed these events to the anger of the gods because their secrets had been revealed to the stranger. In consequence my sources of information ran dry to a large extent, and the difficulties in the way of the investigation of the more sacred topics were greatly increased. By the time it was settled that I was to blame I was nearly at the end of my visit, but it was in the last two or three weeks that I had hoped to overcome the scruples of the people and to obtain information on many doubtful points about which I had to come away unsatisfied.

One of the subjects on which my material is defective is the folk-lore. I have a number of tales, but they are only a small part of the store of Toda legend. I regret especially the incompleteness of my work in this respect because I believe that the Todas are rapidly forgetting their folk-tales and the legends of their gods, while their ceremonial remains to a large extent intact, and seems likely to continue so for some time. 114 173 538 796

I was especially struck by this because, in previous anthropological experience in the islands of Torres Straits with Dr. Haddon, we had found the exact opposite to be the case. In these islands, the ceremonial had disappeared, and the only record of it to be obtained was that derived from the memories of the oldest inhabitants. Nevertheless in Torres Straits the store of legend was still ample, and the agreement of the stories obtained from different individuals was so great that it was evident that the people had preserved their folk-lore with fidelity.

The difference between the two communities is easily explained. In Torres Straits missionary influence is strong, and missionary effort is always directed to break down the practices 000

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

stay during the dry season, stopping about three months or longer, according to the nature of the weather. It is often not until May is reached that the buffaloes return to Mòdr and stay there till August, when they cross the Paikara river to the two dairies, Òdrtho and Kudreiil, on the opposite bank. The *tiir* stay at Òdrtho and the *warsir* at Kudreiil for a month and then both return to Mòdr.

234[4] 233 221 796

In 1902 this plan[1] was very much disturbed. In order to go from Mòdr to Òdrtho and Kudreiil the herds and their attendants have to cross the river, and under no circumstances is the *palol* allowed to cross by the bridge. He usually watches his opportunity till the river is low enough at a certain ford to allow him to cross, but the summer of 1902 was unusually wet and the river was never sufficiently low to allow the passage, and in consequence Òdrtho and Kudreiil were not visited in that year.

[123]

Later it was arranged that the migration to Anto should take place on November 2nd. I was told that I might accompany the procession for part of the way, and was looking forward greatly to the occasion, as it was evident that it was my only chance of seeing and photographing the contents of the dairy. As the day approached, the migration was postponed because Teitnir, who was celebrating the funeral ceremonies of his wife and was therefore *ichchil*, had crossed the way by which the procession would have to pass. The ceremony was next arranged for November 23rd, but was then further postponed till the 30th. This was the last Sunday before the day on which I intended to leave the hills, and again I made arrangements to see the proceedings. No sooner had I done so than I was told that the procession was postponed for a week and was to take place on the day after I had left Ootacamund. I at once altered my plans and arranged to see the procession on December 7th. A new obstacle at once intervened, and I was told that the journey to Anto was deferred indefinitely, and, as I learnt afterwards from Samuel, the buffaloes did not go to Anto at all that year, but went direct from Mòdr to Majòdr on Wednesday, January 7th. All this occurred after the misfortunes had happened to

[1] [of buffalo migration — Analyst]

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were
234x believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—
221 and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements
233 and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due
796 to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certainly vanish.

234x As we have seen, the migration to the relatively un-
221 important dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday,
796 but when going to the more important places a Sunday must be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the
177 new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XIII

SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS

782 In this chapter various ceremonies will be described which may all be regarded as examples of propitiation of the higher powers by sacrifices or offerings. We shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies buffaloes are killed, but it is clear that there is no idea of propitiation or atonement connected with this slaughter, the animals being killed so that they may go to the next world for the service of the dead.

The Erkumptthpimi Ceremony

123 In this ceremony a young male calf is killed and eaten.
124 The ordinary name is *erkumptthpimi* (" male buffalo we kill ") or
782 *erkumptthiti*, but at the *ti* the ceremony is called *ernudrtipimi*.
796 I met with great obstacles in obtaining a satisfactory account, the men who had told me all the details of the dairy ceremonial denying at first all knowledge of any ceremony among the Todas in which a calf was killed or eaten. As soon as they found that I knew positively of the existence of the ceremony, they acknowledged that they killed a calf, but said they could not tell me anything about it. I succeeded at last in obtaining a record of the ceremony from Teitnir, and when I was endeavouring to identify the various parts into which the sacrificial animal is divided, we met with such difficulties[1] that Teitnir agreed to allow me to see the ceremony on the condition that I would provide the cost of the calf.

[1] Our final difficulty, the laughter over which seemed to overcome Teitnir's scruples, was in the identification of the spleen, which was described as "a little tongue."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumptthpimi* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself. 123 124 761 782 796

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village. 782 796 621 234

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etudmad*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—*i.e.*, as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo. 782 234

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

Irnörtiti to the Ti

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *teuol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310). 234 782 688 [23]

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become 234 431 782

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 673 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
193 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
796 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
618 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of
777 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *tererstki* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnŏrtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

[1] According to a later finding of the *tonol*, the death of Tersvell was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
688 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pil* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

124 not had my pedigrees as a guide. An account of a Toda
173 funeral, for instance, with its many *dramatis personæ* would probably have baffled my powers of comprehension if I had
601 not had my book of genealogies for reference.

I always worked with this book by my side whenever I was investigating any ceremonial in which the social side of life was concerned. I asked for a description of some ceremony recently performed of which the memories were fresh. The chief actors in the ceremony were always mentioned by name; and whenever a name occurred, I looked up the clan and family of the person in question and noticed his relationship to other persons who had taken part in the ceremony. The actors in the ceremony were thus real people to me as well as to my informants, and the account of the ceremony proceeded with the maximum of interest and the minimum of fatigue both to myself and to my informants.

The method had the further advantage that it afforded me the means of checking the accounts which I was given. An informant inclined to be careless soon found that I had the means of checking his narrative on many points; and some of the people, not knowing the source of my information, credited me with more knowledge than I really possessed, and were in consequence extremely careful not to wander from the truth, or perhaps I should rather say, not to tell me anything of which they were not absolutely certain. I have already stated my belief that the Todas are very truthful and that they err far more often from carelessness than intention, but the fact that I had a fund of knowledge of which the source was somewhat mysterious probably saved me from having much of my time wasted by careless or inaccurate information.

123 I think that my familiarity with the names and circum-
124 stances of the people helped me to acquire their confidence. Among the more simple people of Torres Straits, I used sometimes to let a man know, much to his astonishment, that I was acquainted with some of the affairs of his family. Among the more reticent Todas, it seemed to me unwise to do this, but, on meeting for the first time a man with whom I was already acquainted through the genealogies, I often referred to something I knew he had done, perhaps to the skilful

way he had caught the buffalo at such and such a funeral, 123
and the fact that I knew something of him and his doings
often helped to put us at once on friendly terms, and at 124
the same time put him on his mettle to give me the best of the knowledge at his command.

The Trustworthiness of the Genealogies

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Before using the genealogical record as a means of studying the details of the social organisation, it may be well to consider what guarantee we have that the genealogies form a truthful record of the past. In Torres Straits, where I gained my first experience in these matters, I was so incredulous of the accuracy of the record that I obtained almost every particle of information from two or three different and independent sources, and it was only when I had finished that I found the whole mass of material to furnish a record so consistent in itself that it could hardly have been other than veracious.

Further, on investigating kinship and the regulation of marriage, both on the basis of the genealogical record, it was found that the results of one investigation closely corroborated the results of the other, and that the combined investigations gave so consistent and coherent a result that it was incredible that the genealogies on which the investigations were based should have been other than faithful and accurate records.

The Toda community is considerably larger than either 124
of those with which I worked in the islands of Torres Straits, 128
and when I found that the memories of the people extended
back as far or nearly as far as in those islands, it became 173
obvious that I was confronted with a task of considerable 601
magnitude, and the question arose whether it was necessary to obtain separate accounts of every family from independent witnesses, as I had done previously, or whether I might not rely on the account of a family given by one witness and only seek corroboration occasionally. I began by following the same procedure as in Torres Straits, but soon found that the accounts obtained independently showed a close

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76	◆◆◆◆◆◆
77	◆
78	◆
79	◆
80	
81	◆

A thing of exceeding joy to the Todas was my Salter's hand-dynamometer, the fame of which spread from mand to mand, and which was circulated among the crowd at funerals. Great was the disgust of the assembled males, on a certain day, when the record of hand-grip for the morning (73 lbs.) was carried off by a big-boned female, who became the unlovely heroine of the moment. The largest English feminine hand-grip, recorded in my laboratory note-book, is only 66 lbs. One Toda man, of fine physique, not satisfied with his grip of 98 lbs., went into training, and fed himself up for a few days. Thus prepared, he returned to accomplish 103 lbs., the result of more skilful manipulation of the machine rather than of a liberal dietary of butter-milk. 123 141

The routine Toda dietary is said to be made up of the following articles, to which must be added strong drinks purchased at the toddy shops :— 262

(*a*) Rice boiled in whey.

(*b*) Rice and jaggery (crude sugar) boiled in water.

(*c*) Broth or curry made of vegetables purchased in the bazar, wild vegetables and pot-herbs, which, together with ground orchids, the Todas may often be seen rooting up with a sharp-pointed digging-stick on [443]

* Average 73.

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about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkūlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkūli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

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Tarthāl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthāl woman visits at a Tērthāl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in butter-milk. The restrictions which are imposed on Tērthāl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Tērthāl woman, on a visit at a Tarthāl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkūli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthāls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Tērthāl women. 564 574 [252]

According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dēvalyāl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol." 564 621 [193] 564 614

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikāra bungalow. 881 [123]

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order 595

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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764. 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhuthina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

To 595 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

To 836 784 154 618 123 interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154 I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595 Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 595 wTi 595 As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

K 131 595 596 428 591 Tiya Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

Ti 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

Ti 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 122 To 595 122 Ti 595 122 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

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428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the
[123] sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded
[766] to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

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578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [682] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured [648] method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 682 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away [754] with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of [115] the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [123] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his [757] case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

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the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die. 578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed. 595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above). [115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursiitpimi* was, however, performed for 595 614 595 587 595

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601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
●123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
[843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
[164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
[578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
[682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliöl* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was
[595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

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[Melgarsh Village]

159 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the
621 house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly,
[754] nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children,
[735] whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to
[123] me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund
[464] Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress
[291] in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that
[124] I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

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(11) PERSHRÖRSHWUTN, abbreviated to PERSHRÖRSH: The eldest boy of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is noticeably proud. He likes to go out to other munds, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mad*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman. 159 621 233

(12) NARJILKHWUTN, abbreviated to NARJILKH: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Munbokwutn, his youngest father.

(13) Pengelam: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friendly. She is gay and playful, and is nearby always in the company of Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris. 159 621 [123]

(14) SODUP: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exceptionally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop. [855]

(15) Sodam: She is as dull and backward as Sodup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) PETEROZN: Called after me (*Rozn* being Toda for Raja = Prince) who am his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived [123] [551]

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the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*. 425 428 [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512 [123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (under-clothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514] [296] [233] [234] [264] [291] [356] [515]

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

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264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

512 In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would [234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond [264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position, [606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and [278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back to the *ertülkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.

845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

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complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by asking me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not accede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even being tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

[123] [273] [431] [846] [847]

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mutnarsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

595 [865]

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The Todas*, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

846 796

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was unusual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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864 them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health
[861] by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer
[824] *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Incidentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed
[861] were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in
[828] the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult
[839] son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

836 Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but
[835] within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are considered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

845 Three days after the family had entered the *pazharsh*, I went to see
123 them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

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still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins. 845 123 [847]

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine. [743] [648] [757]

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind. 845 763 [614] [847]

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 764 588 614 775

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764 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-
588 world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground,
614 with a further display of grief and lamentation.
775

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance,
123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was
855 interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex-
159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con-
857 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Nārshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

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not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peranganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr. 101 103 131 162

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information. 121 124

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I 124

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minimised the danger by arranging that every man who came to me for work should receive a definite stipulated sum as a recompense for his time and trouble. I paid, not for the information, but for the trouble taken in giving a day or half a day to my service. As a general rule, anything like payment by results was carefully avoided. The sum paid was for coming to me, and if anyone was reluctant to talk about one subject, we passed on to another. Only at the end of my visit did I depart from this rule on a few occasions, and offered rewards to one or two individuals for certain items of information; but by this time I was in a position to judge the value of the information I received, and I only employed this procedure in cases where I knew the degree of trustworthiness of my informant.

Definite methods for the verification of the evidence obtained were the more necessary in my work among the Todas, in that I was obliged throughout to depend on interpreters. I was, however, very fortunate in my assistants. I first worked with a forest ranger, Albert Urrilla, who knew the Todas very well, though he had no special knowledge of their customs. He translated faithfully, and, owing to his wide knowledge of the hills, he was extremely useful in helping me to become familiar with the names and positions of the many Toda villages. After about six weeks' work, Albert had to return to his forest duties, and, except for a week towards the end of my visit, the interpreter for the rest of my work was P. Samuel, a catechist who had been endeavouring for ten years to convert the Todas to Christianity, under the auspices of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. When he began to work with me, Samuel had a very limited acquaintance with Toda ceremonies, but he was very familiar with the general life of the people, and was especially acquainted with the actual working of many of their social customs. Some of the Todas at first objected strongly to his helping me, probably on account of his missionary efforts, but he soon overcame this initial difficulty and gained the general confidence of the people. He was well acquainted with the Toda language, and soon became a very careful inquirer into customs and beliefs, and I owe much to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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his help. He often obtained independent information about customs, and I was put by him on the track of much that might otherwise have escaped me. I had hoped that he would have continued to make inquiries for me after I had left the hills, and soon after my departure, he forwarded to me a very valuable account of a ceremony which I had not been able to witness and other important material. While with me he had discovered, however, how little progress he had made with the people during his ten years' work among them, and how little he had known of their beliefs, and, soon after my departure, he asked to be given a new sphere of work and was removed to the Wainad, so that I have not had the opportunity for which I hoped, of making further inquiries into the many doubtful points which always arise in working up the notes of anthropological investigation.

One of the chief dangers arising from the use of interpreters is that they will often transmit, not what they are told, but their own versions of what they are told. They interpret the meaning as well as the words of the informants. I think I can be certain that this danger was avoided with both my interpreters, and that they gave me as accurate an account as possible of what the Todas told them. We always used the Toda names for all specific objects, individuals, and places, so that the information transmitted to me by the interpreters was often in such a form that nearly every noun was Toda in a setting of English verbs, adverbs, and pronouns. Thus, referring to one of my notebooks at random, I find the following: "After cleansing the *poh* in this manner, each *palol* puts salt in the *ponmukeri*, and takes it and the *karpun* to the *upunkudi*, taking also five pieces of *tudrpiil*, five sprigs of *puthimul*, and a bundle of *taf*." In fact, we habitually used so many Toda words that the Todas sometimes obviously knew the general drift of my questions before they were interpreted to them, and, similarly, I could often understand the general drift of the answer.

The first principle of my investigation was to obtain independent accounts from different people; I then compared these independent accounts and cross-examined into any discrepancies. The general result of this method was highly

124 satisfactory from the point of view of Toda veracity. The
184 general agreement of the accounts obtained from different individuals was very striking, and, whenever discrepancies occurred, it was nearly always found that they were due either to misunderstanding or to differences in the practices of different sections of the Toda people. These differences are so great that in many cases it made a rigorous application of the method of direct corroboration impossible. There are distinct differences in the ceremonial and social customs of the two chief divisions of the Todas and some differences in the practices of different clans. In the investigation of the dairy ritual, there were found to be great differences in the practices of different dairies, and, for the practice of any one dairy, I had sometimes to be content with the information of one native only; but I did not content myself with such independent accounts till I had satisfied myself of the trustworthiness of the witness, and had learnt enough of the customs in question to be in a position to weigh the evidence. As regards the differences in the customs of different sections of the community, many of my informants were able to describe the practices not only of their own section but also of others.

124 After a time I managed to put myself on such terms with my chief informants that they were always ready to confess any deficiencies in their knowledge and would refer me to others whose special experience would make them more satisfactory informants. Occasionally, however, they carried this a little too far and pleaded ignorance of a subject when they were really only reluctant to reveal the more esoteric knowledge.

Still more important than this method of direct corroboration of independent accounts is what I may call the method of indirect corroboration. By this I mean the method of obtaining the same information in different ways. Often this indirect corroboration occurred accidentally. The whole of Toda ceremonial and social life forms such an intricate web of closely related practices that I rarely set out to investigate some one aspect of the life of the people without obtaining information bearing on many other wholly different

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

aspects, and the information so gained often afforded 124
valuable corroboration of what I had been told on other occasions and by other individuals. Thus, in obtaining a prayer, various matters would arise which would confirm the accuracy of a legend obtained weeks earlier, or the investigation of a funeral custom would lead to the indirect corroboration of evidence concerning the regulation of marriage.

The most important way in which this method of indirect corroboration may be intentionally applied is by obtaining the same information first in an abstract form and then by means of a number of concrete instances. As an example of what I mean I may cite the method by which I inquired into the laws of inheritance of property. I first obtained an account of what was done in the abstract—of the laws governing the inheritance of houses, the division of the buffaloes and other property among the children, &c. Next I gave a number of hypothetical concrete instances; I took cases of men with so many children and so many buffaloes, and repeating the cases I found that my informant gave answers which were consistent not only with one another but also with the abstract regulations previously given. Finally I took real persons and inquired into what had actually happened when A or B died, and again obtained a body of information consistent in itself and agreeing with that already obtained.

By far my most valuable instrument of inquiry was that 124
provided by the genealogical method.[1] The Todas preserve 173
in their memories the names of all their ancestors and rela- 601
tives extending back for several generations. In the tables given at the end of this book, I have recorded the pedigrees of seventy-two families, including the whole of the Toda community. Whenever the name of a man was mentioned in connexion with ceremony or social custom, his name was found in the genealogical record and the relation was ascertained in which he stood towards others participating in the ceremony or custom. By this means a concrete element was brought into the work which greatly facilitated inquiry.

[1] See chapter XX and *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1900, vol. xxx., p. 74.

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Customs and rites were investigated by means of concrete examples in which the people taking part were real people to me as well as to my informants. In a later chapter I shall consider more fully the *rôle* of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. I mention them here to give a preliminary indication of the extensive part they played in my investigations. In order to give my readers the opportunity of following my method in some measure for themselves, I have given after the name of any individual mentioned in the book the number of the genealogical table in which his name occurs; thus "Kòdrner (7)" means that Kòdrner is a member of the family of which the pedigree is recorded in Table 7.

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I have already referred to the trustworthiness of the evidence given by the Todas. I must now speak of the great differences in this respect shown by different individuals. Some would give full and elaborate accounts of ceremonial which close investigation showed to be, so far as one could tell, thoroughly accurate. Others gave careless and slovenly accounts, full of omissions and inaccuracies of detail, though they rarely said anything which was distinctly untrue.

After some experience had been gained, one day's work was usually sufficient to enable me to make up my mind whether a man was a careful witness, and if he did not seem to be so, he was not again called upon for help. Different men were known to have especial acquaintance with certain branches of knowledge, and I always endeavoured to obtain such people. In the case of the religious ritual, it was not practicable to make use, to any great extent, of men actually holding any of the sacred offices, but I always had recourse to people who had held these offices and were personally familiar with the ceremonial.

Among the many aspects of social life and religion, I soon found that there were some about which there was no reticence, and these could be discussed in public with men, women, or children standing by and perhaps taking part. There were others which were of a more sacred nature, and, if they were approached in public, it was immediately obvious

that the people were ill at ease and their answers became hesitating and unsatisfactory. After a short time I adopted the practice of devoting the mornings to my psychological work and to the discussion of affairs of a non-sacred character. In the afternoons I had private interviews with one individual at a time, or occasionally two. If I approached any dangerous topic during the morning, my guide made me a sign and I changed the subject, to return to it at an afternoon sitting. 124

In the investigation of all the more sacred ceremonies, it was found to be best that the narrator should be alone. He knew that he was telling what should not be told and was embarrassed if any other Todas were there to hear him.

One of the difficulties of anthropological inquiry is that the good and trustworthy narrators are often the most reticent. They are trustworthy because they are honest and pious members of their community, and are therefore naturally reluctant to offend against the sanctity of their religious customs by talking of them to a stranger. Some of my best informants were such men, who were gradually led on to tell me far more than they had ever intended, and then, having told me so much about a given subject, they would sometimes throw reticence to the winds and tell me all. It was very instructive in such a case to start a fresh topic which I knew to be forbidden ground and observe the complete change of attitude. One old man who had entirely lost his scruples in our absorption in the details of dairy ritual absolutely refused to speak a word when I turned to the subject of animal sacrifice, and for this and some other topics I had to be content with less scrupulous but at the same time less trustworthy witnesses.

I only found one Toda who was deliberately untruthful, and yet he was so much less reticent and less scrupulous than others that I often had to have recourse to his services. After I had been able to convict him more than once of having given unsatisfactory evidence, he was more accurate, but I was especially careful to check and obtain independent accounts of everything he told me, and I have only

124 made use of so much of his evidence as I believe to be trustworthy. His knowledge was not deep or accurate, but he often told me enough to enable me to extract the full account from others, who, seeing I knew something, thought they might as well tell me all. On one or two subjects, the whole of my information is derived from this man, but whenever this is the case I mention the fact, so that my readers may know the doubtful nature of the evidence. I only give such information, however, when I believe it to be correct. The informant in question was one of the cleverest of the Todas, and his usual fault was not that he deliberately deceived, but that he supplied the lacunæ in his knowledge by having recourse to his imagination. In the matter of folk-tales, where the difficulties of checking an account are especially great, I was obliged wholly to reject his assistance.

[115] An altogether different type of witness was my constant attendant, Kòdrner. His special business was to bring me people as the subjects for my psychological work and to act as my guide in visiting various parts of the hills. He did not profess to any wide knowledge of custom or ceremonial, and was always diffident about the information he gave; but he was a good observer, and could give an excellent account of any ceremony which he had witnessed or of any procedure in which he had been involved.

Except in a few cases the Todas were quite unable to give any explanations of their customs, the answer to nearly every inquiry being that the custom in question was ordained by the goddess Teikirzi. In the few cases in which an explanation was forthcoming, it seemed to me that it was usually a recent invention. The explanations of customs given in this book are therefore almost invariably those arrived at by myself from the study of the available evidence.

114 While I was working I had by me the books or
127 papers of Harkness, Marshall, Breeks, and Thurston, the chief previous writers on the Todas, and I inquired into most of the details mentioned by them; but I have not

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184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

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The dairy of a *ti* is always called *pok*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

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The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pül*, and there is a special part of the *pül* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

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At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Mòdr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mukadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tulk-kadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

234x Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
778 Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
783 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
796 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a
621 month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

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234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
221 from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
796 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

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of this nature, and still less does it follow that the performances of all the *teuol* are of this kind. Nothing struck me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of Midjkudr and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongudrvan, his fellow diviner. 787 791 158

In the case I have described the necessity for the intervention of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously. [764]

SORCERY

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite certain that there were men called *pilintpol* (sorcery praying people), or *pilikòren*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *pilintvichi* or *pilintiti*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he professed total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *pilintpol*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false. 124 754 791

One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

124 It was not until my last week on the Nilgiris that I was
754 told of some of the magical rites by Teitnir, who had previously denied all knowledge, though he was said by others to be a
791 sorcerer, and he knew that I was aware of his reputation. He was not a trustworthy informant, but his account was consistent in itself and was in agreement with fragments which I had picked up elsewhere, and I believe it is correct, though I cannot guarantee its accuracy with the same degree of confidence which I feel in regard to most of my information.

754 The following men were said by various people to be
791 *pilikòren* :—

Kaners, Kudrievan, and Teikudr (63), Ishkievan (60), Keinkursi (54), Puthion (64), and Teitnir (52), among the Teivaliol ; Keitan (6), Mudrigeidi (1), Kiunervan and Usheidi (14), and Karseidi (8), among the Tartharol. Pushteidi, the elder brother of Keitan, was a noted sorcerer who paid for the belief in his magical powers with his life. It will be noted that magical powers appear to be fairly evenly distributed between the two divisions and do not greatly predominate in one as in the case of divination.

[868] The power of sorcery was said to belong to certain families, and I was told that it was inherited. It seemed probable that a sorcerer only communicated his methods to his sons, and usually only to one of his sons, or if he communicated his knowledge to all, it was often one of them only who obtained the credit for magical powers.

754 We have already seen that when a man sustains a mis-
787 fortune of any kind, he consults the diviners, and they find whether the misfortune is due to a fault committed by the
791 sufferer or whether it is the result of sorcery. In the latter case, they say by whose magic the misfortune has been produced, and the sorcerer is then propitiated and removes the spell, the nature and details of the process varying according to the method of sorcery used and the offence which had led the sorcerer to exert his powers. Thus when Pirsners (9) fell ill, he consulted Midjkudr, who said that Kudrievan had bewitched him. Pirsners went to Kudrievan and gave him food, and asked him to remove the spell, and Pirsners became well soon after.

754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *nedrvol* as in
539 the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
791 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer. When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpudithti* to the sorcerer, and the spell is removed with the following words:—

ten udâsnûdr, an nôdr udâsnûdr; taned peu mâ; term ai peu mâ[1]; *moth*
son

madrik an kûdûpel elmk; in mel en mans elm tûlsvînem
children to his family all to; this after my mind all cleared from guilt

in uli agi âmâ; nûv put, nudri put peu mâ.
(as I) this well be may; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
754 removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
578 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide. In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mani kudupel*; "it is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffer misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death. 124 754 578

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain. 177 754 787

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs (6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account. 177 754

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes 234 787 754

234 that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I
787 have no information, however, as to the method which the
754 sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any one who has offended him.

124 The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came
754 to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

177 The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than
754 that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub*= Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied.
[721] If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XIII

SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS

782 IN this chapter various ceremonies will be described which may all be regarded as examples of propitiation of the higher powers by sacrifices or offerings. We shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies buffaloes are killed, but it is clear that there is no idea of propitiation or atonement connected with this slaughter, the animals being killed so that they may go to the next world for the service of the dead.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI CEREMONY

123 In this ceremony a young male calf is killed and eaten.
124 The ordinary name is *erkumptthpimi* ("male buffalo we kill") or
782 *erkumptthiti*, but at the *ti* the ceremony is called *ernudrtipimi*.
786 I met with great obstacles in obtaining a satisfactory account, the men who had told me all the details of the dairy ceremonial denying at first all knowledge of any ceremony among the Todas in which a calf was killed or eaten. As soon as they found that I knew positively of the existence of the ceremony, they acknowledged that they killed a calf, but said they could not tell me anything about it. I succeeded at last in obtaining a record of the ceremony from Teitnir, and when I was endeavouring to identify the various parts into which the sacrificial animal is divided, we met with such difficulties[1] that Teitnir agreed to allow me to see the ceremony on the condition that I would provide the cost of the calf.

[1] Our final difficulty, the laughter over which seemed to overcome Teitnir's scruples, was in the identification of the spleen, which was described as "a little tongue."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumptthpini* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself. 123 124 761 782 796

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village. 782 796 621 234

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etudwad*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same com-
173 pleteness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.

601 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to
551 whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they
784 had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead. 124 173 601

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure. 551 784 [616]

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect. 124 173 601

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres* 128 601

[1] [pp. 749-788]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Value of the Genealogical Record

In the succeeding chapters I shall show the value of the genealogies in working out the nature of the system of kinship and in providing statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The greater part of my work on the social aspect of the life of the Todas is based on material derived from the genealogies; or perhaps I should rather say that most of the information I give has been checked, if not entirely obtained, by means of the genealogies. 124 173 601

I wish, however, to draw attention here to a far wider use of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. They bring a concrete element into anthropological work which greatly facilitates inquiry. The lower one goes in the social or intellectual scale in mankind, the greater difficulty is there in dealing with abstractions. The savage mind is almost wholly occupied with the concrete. Discuss his laws of inheritance with him, and you probably soon become hopelessly entangled in misunderstanding. Take a number of concrete cases, and his memory will enable him to heap instance upon instance showing how property was inherited in given cases. Similarly, in ceremonies, ask the savage to give an account of a given ceremony, and he probably omits many essential points, not because he forgets them, but because they are so familiar to him that he thinks you, like himself, take them for granted. Ask him to tell you exactly what A and B did when they performed a given ceremony, and he forms a mental picture of A and B going through the ceremony, and tells you exactly what they did and how they did it. When another individual comes into the ceremony, he too comes in as a concrete personage, and his sayings and doings are faithfully recorded.

The Todas are so intelligent that the genealogies were not so essential an instrument of investigation as was the case in Torres Straits, but they were nevertheless of enormous value in giving concreteness to the accounts of the Toda ceremonies. The Todas certainly gave fuller and more faithful accounts of their ceremonies when they described actual events, but such descriptions would have been of little value to me if I had

124 not had my pedigrees as a guide. An account of a Toda
173 funeral, for instance, with its many *dramatis personæ* would
601 probably have baffled my powers of comprehension if I had not had my book of genealogies for reference.

I always worked with this book by my side whenever I was investigating any ceremonial in which the social side of life was concerned. I asked for a description of some ceremony recently performed of which the memories were fresh. The chief actors in the ceremony were always mentioned by name; and whenever a name occurred, I looked up the clan and family of the person in question and noticed his relationship to other persons who had taken part in the ceremony. The actors in the ceremony were thus real people to me as well as to my informants, and the account of the ceremony proceeded with the maximum of interest and the minimum of fatigue both to myself and to my informants.

The method had the further advantage that it afforded me the means of checking the accounts which I was given. An informant inclined to be careless soon found that I had the means of checking his narrative on many points; and some of the people, not knowing the source of my information, credited me with more knowledge than I really possessed, and were in consequence extremely careful not to wander from the truth, or perhaps I should rather say, not to tell me anything of which they were not absolutely certain. I have already stated my belief that the Todas are very truthful and that they err far more often from carelessness than intention, but the fact that I had a fund of knowledge of which the source was somewhat mysterious probably saved me from having much of my time wasted by careless or inaccurate information.

123 I think that my familiarity with the names and circum-
124 stances of the people helped me to acquire their confidence. Among the more simple people of Torres Straits, I used sometimes to let a man know, much to his astonishment, that I was acquainted with some of the affairs of his family. Among the more reticent Todas, it seemed to me unwise to do this, but, on meeting for the first time a man with whom I was already acquainted through the genealogies, I often referred to something I knew he had done, perhaps to the skilful

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

way he had caught the buffalo at such and such a funeral, 123
and the fact that I knew something of him and his doings 124
often helped to put us at once on friendly terms, and at the same time put him on his mettle to give me the best of the knowledge at his command.

The Trustworthiness of the Genealogies

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Before using the genealogical record as a means of studying the details of the social organisation, it may be well to consider what guarantee we have that the genealogies form a truthful record of the past. In Torres Straits, where I gained my first experience in these matters, I was so incredulous of the accuracy of the record that I obtained almost every particle of information from two or three different and independent sources, and it was only when I had finished that I found the whole mass of material to furnish a record so consistent in itself that it could hardly have been other than veracious.

Further, on investigating kinship and the regulation of marriage, both on the basis of the genealogical record, it was found that the results of one investigation closely corroborated the results of the other, and that the combined investigations gave so consistent and coherent a result that it was incredible that the genealogies on which the investigations were based should have been other than faithful and accurate records.

The Toda community is considerably larger than either 124
of those with which I worked in the islands of Torres Straits, 128
and when I found that the memories of the people extended back as far or nearly as far as in those islands, it became 173
obvious that I was confronted with a task of considerable 601
magnitude, and the question arose whether it was necessary to obtain separate accounts of every family from independent witnesses, as I had done previously, or whether I might not rely on the account of a family given by one witness and only seek corroboration occasionally. I began by following the same procedure as in Torres Straits, but soon found that the accounts obtained independently showed a close

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

124 agreement, and I therefore contented myself in my later
128 work with one account, though every now and again I went
over a piece of a pedigree with a second witness. When
173 I had finished, the consistency of all the parts of the record
601 with one another seemed to afford conclusive evidence that I
had obtained what is, on the whole, a veracious record.

Of course, in so large a mass of material there are mistakes.[1] In one family no doubt a child has been omitted, especially when it died young and had no posterity to make its name important; in another case perhaps a child has been added to a family who was really the offspring of another mother. That there are such mistakes is certain, but they are probably few in number, and I have no doubt that, with one exception to be presently considered, such mistakes as have crept in do not appreciably impair the value of the genealogies as a record of the working of social regulations.

128 There is one deficiency of the record, however, of the
173 existence of which I have little doubt—a deficiency entirely
due to my own carelessness. To me the chief interest of the
601 genealogies is that they are a record of the past—a record of the working of social regulations which at the present time may be already affected by the new influences coming into the lives of primitive people all over the world. In my absorption in the records of the past, I have often neglected the present and have omitted to ascertain carefully the children of families at present in process of growth. In several cases I have failed to obtain the names of children of people now living, and I have very little doubt that I have in several or many cases omitted the names of other children of growing families. I had one excuse for this in the fact already mentioned, that I had to obtain my information about a given family from people of some other family. A man would often know all about the members of the given family in the past, but, living perhaps at some distance from the family in question, he was often hazy as to the exact number and names of the children recently born, and it is the record of

[1] For a few cases in which an individual is entered as the child of a man who is known not to be his real father, see p. 534. In such a case I have assigned the child to the parent who is regarded as the legal father by the Todas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

125 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the
128 community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the
173 value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of
601 the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

Buffalo Pedigrees

124 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees
173 of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my
234 next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

which they were reticent, but I am inclined to think that I was 124
told all there was to tell. 173

To a certain extent it is correct to say that the pedigrees of the buffaloes are preserved, and in the female line only. 234 If any given buffalo were taken as the starting-point, the owner could usually tell me the names of the mother of the buffalo and of the mother's mother, and occasionally I obtained the names of the immediate ancestors in the female line for four generations. Thus, Nertiners of Taradr (24) had a buffalo named Kârstum who was the daughter of Idrsh. Idrsh was the daughter of Persud, who was the daughter of Nerûv, who was the daughter of Kiûd. Another of his buffaloes, Keien, was descended from Koisi, Nerûv, and Kâsimi in the order named.

I could not ascertain that the Todas kept any record of 173
the collateral lines of descent, nor was there, so far as I could 234
find, any idea of kinship between buffaloes descended from the same recent ancestor. Two buffaloes born of the same mother would be known, of course, to be sisters, but no importance seemed to be attached to the relationship.

An obvious reason for the limitation of the pedigrees of the buffaloes to the female line is the fact that only female buffaloes are named, so that there are no means of recording male parentage. We shall see later that among themselves the Todas attach little importance to paternity, and the same indifference is found in their attitude towards their buffaloes. The essential reason for the nature of the record of buffalo-descent is the complete absence of desire to maintain the purity of the breed, even of the most sacred herds, and the complete lack of attention to ties of consanguinity between buffaloes mated together.

The Toda Population

The chapters on kinship and marriage will furnish object- 000
lessons on the method of application of the knowledge derived from the genealogies to the study of social regulations. In the remainder of this chapter I propose to consider various problems connected with population, of biological as well as

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

114 henceforth became my sole associate in all expeditions
115 amongst them—save one or two.

121 It is the more proper and just that I should in this place render Mr. METZ the warmest acknowledgment of the very disinterested and important share he had in the undertaking, that there is so little in what I have written in these pages to recall his name. It was not only that his knowledge of Toda dialect was invaluable for minute and truthful investigation, but the personal respect in which he was held by the people, and the confidence they placed in his fidelity to them, obtained for us a more friendly welcome and complete exposure of their minds than would have been accorded had we been mere strangers. I must state, however, that my friend is not, even in the slightest degree, responsible for any opinions I have expressed.

A small Vocabulary, compiled and carefully revised by Mr. METZ, will be found as the groundwork of the last Chapter. It may be said, more entirely to consist of actual Toda words than any other existing.

121 Our operations began with a census of a portion of
124 the tribe, combined with an examination of each of the families that came before us. But in proportion as our work advanced, so did interest in the subject develop, until the scheme was entertained of enlarging the topic from its original design, so as to embrace 'a study of the manners and customs of a primitive race of man.'

With this evolution grew also the desire so to describe what I had seen, as to enable readers who could never have an opportunity of witnessing life amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

untutored races, to realise justly and without exaggeration, what it really is, and—by analogy—what it must have been in the pre-historic era, long ere 'Adam delved and Eve spun,' *before man had much developed in manly qualities.* 121 124

I have actually witnessed most of the scenes here described. Such of the remainder as are not otherwise authorised, I have compiled from direct narrative of the most reliable Todas.

Whilst hoping, though not without some misgivings, that the ugly statistics collected with so much care, and the speculations advanced to account physiologically for the origin of obscure customs, may have some slight value, even to the savant, I am sanguine that the antique practices now brought to light, and the illustrations I have attempted of every-day life, may render the book acceptable to the general reader. I may say, that great and especial pains have been taken to render as large a portion of the work as the subject permits, attractive, and suited for ladies' reading. 128

A few words of explanation are perhaps called for; to account for my having devoted an entire chapter to the description of some of the first principles of phrenology—a subject which is fully treated in standard works by acknowledged authorities. I wished primarily, to show the premises forming the basis for many conjectures which otherwise would have borne too much the appearance of dogmatism, or that might have been misunderstood. Secondly, I desired to show for phrenology, a marked practical value for ethnological purposes: and no single work containing, with clearness 121

CHAP. IV. Toda blood may ever arise to influence the tribe, yet what they do know, they know well. They are intelligent within limits. Although they take contracted views of things, yet they work and act within the circumscribed limits of their mental vision with great steadiness, intelligence, and some sense.

I am indebted to the quick-wittedness and patience of both men and women, for the accuracy and definition of the information on the manners and customs of the tribe which I have been able to afford. I cannot present a stronger tribute to their frank and obliging communicativeness, than in stating that we made a habit of very close cross-questioning in tiny villages for three and four hours together. One woman well earned the title of Munshi, by telling us at a sitting the Toda words for the long list of relations given in Chapter VII. Notwithstanding the questions were often repeated, and many of them puzzling, she kept her head quite clear throughout, dexterously speaking with slowness and marked intonation, showing pointedly with tongue and teeth, how the syllables of the difficult words should be pronounced.

Though their brains became fatigued sooner than ours did, I doubt if they tired more quickly than would those of illiterate peasants in other parts of the world.

Travellers have affirmed that the Todas stain their skin by the use of a blue colour; but I have ascertained, both by personal inspection and by direct enquiry, that this statement is incorrect. Dark races are apt to have the skin in some portions of the body naturally of three or even four shades darker tint than in others, indeed often so strikingly dark as to give the impression that those parts had been stained. This peculiarity is nowhere more remarkable than in the nape of the neck. I have often observed it amongst the Sikhs, and it is quite apart from freckling or the effects of exposure. I noticed it so very much the case in one young woman, that I asked her if she had coloured it. The reply convinced me

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER X.

CENSUS.

Mode of taking Census—Census Table—Todas hide nothing but Number of Cattle—Review of the Table—Crowding—Number of Todas—Vital Statistics—Does the Tribe increase, or is it dying out?

CHAP. X.

'AMONG the various objects of Political Economy, one of the most important and interesting,' wrote Dugald Stewart, 'has been always understood to be the augmentation of the numbers of the people.'[1]

I am about to lay before my readers the *bonâ fide* results of a detailed census (Table No. 3), taken by me in the year 1870, of a considerable portion of the Toda tribe. It will be found to well repay close scrutiny; for more precise information as regards actual domestic custom and the social condition of very primitive races can be deduced from what at first sight will appear to be a mere collection of dry facts and figures, than from a far larger amount of written description of events.

A second sheet, termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' recorded at the time of taking the census, will be found in Table No. 4.

Both of these tables were compiled with as much scrupulous care and accuracy as could probably have well been bestowed on them. The process of collecting information was as follows;—Arriving at each village, every soul, male and female, old and young, would be summoned before us. The

[1] Dugald Stewart, 'Lectures on Political Economy.'

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women would invariably be placed in front; as it would be from them we should obtain information of the nature we required for census purposes; experience telling us that on points of mere family lore, they, without fail, are more reliable and intelligent than the men. It is they especially who know of the births, deaths, and marriages, and who can compare the dates of those interesting family events, by the heights, or comparative ages of individuals in the group standing before them.

At first we found the people in front of us, an apprehensive little assembly. The women, squatting on the ground, would close up together, looking shyly at us from the corners of the eye. The men, seated about on the surrounding-wall, were surly and suspicious. Breathless boys, who, hearing of the gentlemen's arrival at their Mand, had run in from buffalo-tending, stood open-mouthed, leaning on their sticks. The girls would stroll about, nursing the babies, now and then crouching in to the houses, to look after the fire which their mothers had been invited to leave. After a general explanation of our object in paying their retired home this very unexpected visit—most carefully avoiding all allusion to the subject of infanticide—and following on a judicious distribution of small coin, made amongst the infants, in order to open the mothers' hearts, we would commence our examination.

One woman at a time. She points out her husbands, her boys, her girls: accounts for the absent; one tending cattle, one the dairyman, two gone to collect kutu: and describes her relationship to the other males and females in the Mand.

What chance had such a simple people of eluding us, when enquiry took the form of a series of most unimportant questions? Not the most suspicious would object to tell if their parents were alive or dead: and what relation the members of the group were to one another. When was your daughter married, my good woman, and how many

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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boys and how many girls have you? So sorry to hear you lost two daughters and a son. How old were they? And so on, and so on we went, examining one woman after another, and village after village. Had they shown, at any time, a desire to deceive—which, as regards human population, they never did—we could have readily detected the attempt, and outwitted them. A striking characteristic of the Todas is their inability to avoid giving an answer; but as the reply will, however, not always be true, leading questions should be avoided as much as possible. If you wish to ascertain a fact; undermine it, stalk it down, follow up enquiries with others that test it. Their only recipe to avoid answering a disagreeable query, is to tell a lie; a lie as palpable as that of a child.

My belief is, that, with the exception of the number of their cattle, they have nothing to hide. Now as there is no way of stalking down such a subject, and they will not, or cannot, tell you truly how many head there are in the village herd: and the Mands are situated wide apart over the hills: and the cattle are not driven home till evening; I was unable to count the buffalos myself, or to form any test of the numbers which they told me. I have therefore left that subject an open question. The food supply is one that I have not been able to determine, even approximately.

To some minds this may appear to be an imperfect census; both because the inhabitants of all villages were not taken on the same day, and because every soul was not actually present. Practically speaking, it is as accurate as could be obtained, and nearly as perfect as could be desired; for the people are very primitive and the Mands are very small—containing from two to five houses or rooms—the inhabitants have few pursuits to lead them away from home, and on cloudy cold days they rarely go abroad. Above all, ignorance of the fact that they were being numbered, robbed them of object in deceit.

two are almost extinct. The remaining three clans, being nearly of equal number, must contain about 200 members of all ages each. But one of them—the Peiki clan—marries solely within itself. Hence, this small body of 200 people have intermarried from time immemorial. And the intercourse must have become very promiscuous. I do not attribute disparity between the sexes to this close intercourse; but it is interesting to review the primitive practice, as a custom connected with the paucity of numbers arising from infanticide, and with the polyandrous habit which is found in junction with it.

In future chapters we shall see that the practice of infanticide as observed by the Todas, was the habitual destruction of all daughters in every family, except one or sometimes two. And we know that the average size of Toda families is 6 children born to each woman.

Now let us for the purpose of illustration take three families as representing an average of the entire tribe; say that one mother gives birth to 6 daughters and no sons: a second mother has 6 sons only, whilst the third mother has 3 sons and 3 daughters. The first mother—following the tribal custom—destroys 4 daughters and preserves 2. The second retains her 6 sons. The third kills 2 daughters and keeps 1, as also her 3 sons. We have then, from the three families, 9 sons and 3 daughters with which to continue the breed. But whilst the males belong to families in which the tendency to produce sons is great, the females are of those of a converse inclination. Thus the bias strengthens with each generation, until, as we find, families grow to have habitually more sons than daughters. This habitude *outlasting the depraved practice which caused it*, indurates more or less, into a fixed characteristic of the people: and *a male-producing variety of man is formed.*

In presenting Table No. 4, containing what I have termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' to the indulgence of my readers,

it is advisable to mention, that although as much patient care was taken to collect the evidence it contains, with the same accuracy as that bestowed on the Census, yet there are reasons why it could not be attained. For the latter purpose the people were nearly all present; whereas in the process of collecting statistics, dependence had, in the main, to be placed on the statement of uneducated people describing births and deaths, many of which took place long years before. Supposing even they remembered in all cases the number of each sex that died, they would still have to represent their own notions of the ages at which they did so, and the period that had elapsed since those events happened. All, therefore, that can with confidence be asserted, is, that the best was done in the face of these inevitable difficulties to eliminate error. 124 162

For instance—and one will suffice—if it was required to ascertain the particulars of a child who had died. The mother was present; the husband also sat close by. Some relation, also present, had a wife, or husband, or child, as the case might be, who had been a playfellow of the departed. Or the child was said by its mother to have been either so much older or so much younger than one standing before us.

For the sake of those who wish to utilise the statistics, Table No. 5 has been compiled from Table No. 4[1] which will render it easy to extract the most valuable points of information. 126 163

In order to obtain reliable data on which to base deductions as to Toda nature and Toda progress, it seems a matter sufficiently important, to record with all the exactness that available information admits of, certain averages relative to the size of families, and the ages at which their women commence and also leave off child-bearing. The details of these points of information, collated from Tables No. 4 or 5, will, therefore, be found tabulated in Nos. 6 and 7 Tables. A point has been made, not to omit any of the instances of Table 4 or 5, that might prove of value; only the women in child-marriages, or those who having lately married, have not yet given birth to progeny, have been left out.

1 [Table No 4 appears on pp. 112-113 Category 116 or 162 --Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIV.

TIRIÊRI PRIESTS.

The PÂLÂL—The KÂVILÂL—The PÂLÂL is a God—The Peiki Clan termed 'Sons of God'—Duties of the PÂLÂL—No mysteries—Sacred nature of Priests—The PÂLÂL becomes man again—Purification for holy orders—The Tûde tree; its botanical name and distribution—The use of the Tûde, an ancient practice—The PÂLÂL enters on his duties.

CHAP. XIV.

EACH tiriêri, with its drove of cattle, is in the charge of an ascetic milkman or priest, styled pâlâl,[1] and an equally ascetic, though not equally holy, herdsman or kâvilâl.[2] And according as the herd may be small or large, there are found from one to two of the former, and from one to three of the latter, attached to the tiriêris.

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The pâlâl, whose personal acquaintance I had made in the course of taking information on the interesting subject of the bell-god, was a man of about thirty-five years of age, who had spent some fifteen of them in holy orders, vacating his post in favour of a brother. The effect of that lengthy period of ascetic and solitary life on his personal appearance, was somewhat striking. It was perhaps *de rigueur* for one who had so long been in sacred office to wear his hair dishevelled, and to neglect the cleanliness of his person: but the more than usually motionless eyebrow, the gloomy solemnity of his look and his

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[1] PÂLÂL, pâl, is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; âl = *person*.
[2] KÂVILÂL, kâval = *guard*; âl = *person*.
The former is a Turkish word. Yet kâ is the Drâvidian root for *protect, guard*. In Tamil we have a kind of reduplication of it; thus, pâtu kâ. The Sanskrit corresponding root is pâ. [POPE.]

CHAP. IV. fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

793 But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, 124 he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

463 Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode 554 of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be 793 selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

210 No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl 788 being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor 793 will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

000 The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive 234 the existence of any very mystic rites among them. What- 788 ever is done in these tirièris, is known to every intelligent

234 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The
778 pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

554 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

234 778 124

Having ascertained that the tiriêri, with its sacred herd and its mani dêr, was indeed the mainspring of the entire religious faith and social system of the Todas, it became a matter of great moment to ascertain by personal inspection the secrets of its penetralia. Our *ex*-pâlâl had indeed with great apparent sincerity divulged the whole of the hidden mysteries, even to the extent of naming the Gods of his forefathers; names held in great veneration: when spoken, only pronounced in an under-tone: and which no European, and probably no native beyond the tribe, had ever previously been allowed to hear. Here would be the test of his veracity both on this subject and in other cognate matters on which we had consulted him.

We must see the inside of a tiriêri: we must view the relics, the Gods. Such was the programme: and money would of course perform the work of the magic words 'open sesame.' Calling therefore at our friend's Mand, we readily induced him to accompany us to view his old tiriêri. 'But you must not go close to the dairy' he said. Oh no!

We strolled along the pretty slopes of the verdant hills together, and he guided us over the squashy bogs, and through the ever-silent woods: and again out on the green wild, and through further nestling woods, with the cheery spring sun overhead; all in the direction of his tiriêri.

No one to overhear us out on this prairie! Now is the time! 'Bültaben'—such was his mundane name—'we want to go into the dairy of the tiriêri. You are an old pâlâl. Here is money.' 'Just to peep in at the door from a distance?' he asked. 'No, but to look at the relics in the inner room.' He stopped short, tucked his stick under one arm, and pressing the tips of all his fingers to his eyes, exclaimed, 'May both my eyes drop from their sockets, but I cannot do such a thing.' After a pause, 'The Gods would vacate the tiriêri Mand if anyone unsanctified entered it, and its pâlâl would be ruined.'

This was awkward. Another suggestion: Let us see the relics. Let the pâlâl bring them outside that we may view

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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them. We won't go near.' Ah! that is feasible! The bargain is struck forthwith.

234 On we went again, much refreshed by our success, cross-
778 questioning our guide on points of religion till he was fuddled.
124

'On he fares and to the border comes.'

Rising to the ridge of a prolonged knoll, he stopped and pointed below: 'There!'

Down we go into the sacred hollow. The solemn Toda, still more grave, some enthusiasm kindling his dark eye as he looks across at the place where for half a lifetime he had been a God. Over some little burns, past a group of sacred calves, looking in their dirt and stolid impudence, anything but reverential towards the *ex*-pâlâl—they were of this year's growth, and did not recognise him—up again out of the hollow: when, as we near the rounded crest of a long hillock, we find ourselves opposite two neat, but undersized houses, with a dilapidated buffalo pen. 'The tirièri Mand! Don't go near!' So, like shying horses we circle round the spot, till we reach the ridge.

We are at the sanctuary, and in the middle of the holy domain. The pâlâls and kâvilâls are out. We will sit down and note the place till they return.

600 A pure green cameo of wide extent! the edge formed by an amphitheatre of hill, crowning

'with her enclosure green
As with a rural mound, the champain head.'

The arena filled with ceaseless undulations of grazing land; winding through which, a noble stream, and a score of sparkling rivulets cascading down the distant hills. A long tongue of grass land projects from one side of the hilly margin into the weald. At the root of the tongue, a wood; on the margin of which the sanctuary, near which we sit, 'taking notes.'

Wood, water, herbage, in combination with a seclusion so complete, as to include a deep sense of perpetuity. Surprising rest and peaceful beauty!

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Except the single notes of birds, rich-sounding in the vibrations of the deep wood: the distant nervous warble of the lark overhead, and the hum of the busy bee in its hurry, not a single sound is to be heard over the whole wide expanse. The tirièri cattle are browsing far away in the surrounding hollows: or like specks, may be seen dotting the sides of the distant hills.

The vertical sun is omnipresent. The holy men, I have said, were away.

Out on the extreme west is the single Makurti Peak,[3] 'where the sun goes down.' Beyond is amnôr.

How near simple appositeness approaches to taste, where the country is lovely and the subject purely bucolic! Do I confuse the sense, with taste for scenery, or have I hitherto done the Toda intellect an injustice? Such are my reflections as I note this perfectly selected site. When I now remember that the funeral-Mands—of which we shall shortly read—which I have seen, are certainly free from marked beauty, I must at least acknowledge their appreciation in the advantage and suitability of locality to be a perfect talent. Had the Toda really a love for the beautiful apart from utility, would he not have some words in his language, or a flower about his house to express the taste?

Looking at the superb glow with which the sun lights up equatorial landscapes, one ceases to wonder at, but indeed admires the instinct which leads those born and bred under its influence, to worship *light*.

Pâlâls have not returned. No occupation then but to bully our Toda. This is done till he tries to escape questions by feigning sleepiness. Keep him in motion! 'Who erected those two stones?' 'The pâlâls, who tired of their solitude, raised them to while away time.' Never! The man is sleepy! Todas bring two large rocks about four feet long each, up a steep hill, without an object! Never! Practical, lazy, Toda!

[3] See note 2 of Chapter V.

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778 Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

124 'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us. 793 Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are ap- 778 proaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline, and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!' 234 shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls remain behind, and you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[8] had come up to about [481] ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the maṇi from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

778 Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

[8] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

An axe, a sort of hatchet-knife, and a small knife. These latter certainly did not appear old; they were kept tolerably bright, and did not look worn, either by use or from the effects of polishing. The two last had wooden handles. 'These be your Gods'! 778

In reply to the enquiry, if the bells had clappers, the answer was instantaneous, energetic and simultaneous; that they had not clappers: if they had, they would have been cattle-bells—konku—but these were Gods—Dêr. The question must have been asked before. 124 778 793

No. 19.

RELIC GODS—MAṢI DÊR.

'Gods of our Fathers.'

. . . . Of thee
Therefore entreat I, Father, to declare
If I may gain such favour, as to gaze
Upon thine image by no covering veil'd.

DANTE, *Paradise.*

It should be remarked that the Toda name for a bell, is konku—deep-sounding—whilst that of the common cow-bell of the district, now worn by village cattle on certain occasions, is called getti—a small tinkling thing. Hence I deduce from the sounds and sizes, that these holy bells are really national relics.

'Now,' they said, 'the Gods must not be kept out any

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124 778 783

longer;' which being interpreted, meant that the kâvilâls would be coming. So, having taken a sketch of them, we threw some money to the pâlâls.

'Don't tell the kâvilâls when you pass them, that you have paid us money.' I promised; at which they chuckled. 'And don't tell any one you have seen the relics.' Phew!!

CHAP. XX.

In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad. 124

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life. 763 292

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way. 763

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man. 593 764 842

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into 764

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

attending the census, and the personal care bestowed on it, to obtain genuine results, I have every reason to think that the record of those *alive*, is as nearly correct as possible: but I have not the same confidence as regards those who had died. I attribute much of this inaccuracy to the imperfect memory of the people, in describing events long past—a person once dead, being rarely talked about—but very largely also to their habit of ignoring the gentler sex.

That such a habit should really exist, was suggested to my mind, on observing how much girls were left out of count when they described the numbers in families, and of how great importance the birth of a son was esteemed. If a Toda is asked how many children—kinmokh—he has, his reply will almost invariably be, so many sons—mokh:[9] and if further information is desired as to his daughters, one has to specify tûjmokh. On one occasion a father replied to the usual enquiry, 'I have five sons.' 'Where are they?' 'There—1, 2, 3, 4, 5.' I could only see four. Two or three times the numbers were gone over, each time the man gravely counting five, I finding only four. So, pointing to each in succession, I enumerated 1—2—3—4. Where is the fifth? 'There,' he said, pointing to his *wife*, who quietly nodded approval. It seems that the good woman had not yet given birth to the child which both parents had agreed to consider a *son*!

Viewing human action, ever as the resultant of many forces —passions, necessities, emotions, habits—pulling in divers directions, with various degrees of strength; we find that the Todas very early in the world's history, practically solved the difficult physical problem of finding the condition of equilibrium of those especial forces which affected them; how, in fact, to *stand still* in a world, the law of whose nature is that of perpetual change—a remarkable example of the

[9] Mr. Metz asserts positively that the word mokh is used by the Todas for *son*, and not for *child*. In other Drâvidian dialects it may have expanded in its application so as to mean children, both male and female.

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning 773 of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kinisven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his 533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there 538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he 173 enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought 773 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us, 776 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pālchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute emuneration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,** *and Nātanēri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kinisven's information piecemeal, but afterwards, finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became com- 539 municative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda, 773 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mūttinād mund, near the top of the Segūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Ootacamund road.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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55 614 very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tōɪn, a son of piljog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because [237] honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kuɪrūuṭoɪl, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tōɪn) has just been analyzed, and one, piljaɪr, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the tōūfiljoɪl moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toɪroɪroɪl sib, belonging to the toɪrθaɪroɪl moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toɪrθaɪroɪl sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kuɪrūuṭoɪl and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piɪṭoɪl have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the tōūfiljoɪl moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any [124] definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association [533] with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

55 193 §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress. 177 778 791

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies ; the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution. 782 114 [124] [262] [564] [177]

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known; 177 [771]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was [837] that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of [684] his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would [623] next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority [115] (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

881 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, 616 two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by 616 a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by some- 833 body from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked 604 upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has 124 been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about [114] Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 621 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] [754] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly, nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children, whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to [735] [123] me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund [464] Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress [291] in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that [124] I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

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846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite un-
[865] orthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[789] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quick-
[793] est way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poli*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

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[Melqarsh Village]

not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
Toda AW60
Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4

[p. 584]

APPENDIX 2

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In all four fields of my ethnographical research, Ceylon, Kerala, the Nilgiris and the Himalayas, I was obliged to make use of informants and interpreters in order to carry out the work. Only in Kalimpong, when I had set up my headquarters there from 1950 to 1956, did I eventually do without interpreters, having learnt Tibetan sufficiently well towards 1952 to be able to dispense with assistance of this kind. Nevertheless, I remained, of course, dependent on informants.

To all these helpers in the field I am extremely grateful, because without their aid it would have been impossible to carry out the ethnographic study. Except for Kerala, where I have been expressly asked not to make any specific mentions, I would like to thank each and every one personally by name. In the case of the interpreter with whom I worked among the Todas, I would also like to give a short synopsis of his personality and life-history, because it appears to me essential that it is realized fully through what human medium the necessary information was gathered and contact with the tribe established.

In Ceylon, concerning Mr. G. H. Ellawala with whom I worked in Ratnapura, I cannot sufficiently express how great is my debt towards him. Not only did he take time off to accompany me to the dwellings of some of his poorest and most humble tenants (and all those of my readers who know the Orient will appreciate what this means), but he also acted as interpreter himself during our visits and supplied me with much honest and outspoken information in explanation of the material that I was gathering. Long after I had left Ceylon, he furthermore very willingly wrote to me additional data of which I was in need, replying promptly and fully to the, sometimes for him, obscure questions which I put to him about marriage rules and the patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups in the Kandyan provinces.

In Kerala, thanks to the kindness and hospitality of the managing director of the Metal Industries Ltd., Shoranur, Sri A. N. Poduval, I

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
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was able to park my caravan in the compound of the factory, and from there to conduct my work in the surrounding villages, both in the Walluvanad taluk and in north Cochin. I am greatly indebted to the then Collector of Malabar, Sri Prasad, for the assistance rendered to me during my stay in Kerala, for without this help it would not have been possible to gather so much information in so short a time. K 122

Thanks are also due to Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent of the Government Museum, Egmore, Madras, my fellow-student at the London School of Economics where we both attended the seminars and lectures of the late Professor Br. Malinowski. Through Dr. Aiyappan's never failing advice and active interest I saved considerable time and effort in going straight to that part of Kerala most propitious for the study of polyandry.

While working in the Nilgiris, both before and after World War II, it would have been good to have been able to speak Toda. It would have enabled me to gather information direct, which would have been an incomparable asset during my long period of research in that area. From the wider point of view, it did not seem worth while, however, to go to the trouble of learning Toda. It is spoken by only a very small number of individuals who, being themselves illiterate, have no literature at all. It is besides a Dravidian tongue, and therefore difficult for Europeans to master quickly. I felt that I would prefer to concentrate later on acquiring Tibetan, something which would be of far wider use to me in very many fields other than the relatively narrow study of polyandry. TO 122

I therefore turned down the idea of learning the language and, because of this, was obliged to work through an interpreter. In the choice of the latter, I was exceptionally fortunate. Very early, during the first months of my stay in the Nilgiris, in the summer of 1939, thanks to the help of Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission, I got to know Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, a Christian Toda convert, who had previously served Dr. M. B. Emeneau, of the University of California at Berkeley, in a like capacity, for three years, and who was to prove just as excellent an assistant to me as he had been to this predecessor of mine among the Todas. TO 115 [124]

Kanvarsathi, although belonging to the little colony of Christian Todas described by Emeneau (*The Christian Todas*, see Bibliography), was far from having developed an aversion for his heathen fellows. What was more, he was liked and accepted to a remarkable degree by the latter, a most happy state of affairs when it came to making use of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda—

children under five years of age which I know to be deficient. 128 173

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females. 601 161 162

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 ,,	4	7
56—60 ,,	19	9
51—55 ,,	20	17
46—50 ,,	26	21
41—45 ,,	26	18
36—40 ,,	26	27
31—35 ,,	40	25
26—30 ,,	40	33
21—25 ,,	38	28
16—20 ,,	32	31
11—15 ,,	41	20
6—10 ,,	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour- 125 128

125 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the
128 community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the
173 value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of
601 the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

Buffalo Pedigrees

124 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees
173 of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my
234 next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

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No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more
776 fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen
[125] such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

159 Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh*, *wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be-
[836] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konorj.

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Wickramasinghe for reading Chapter xxv, dealing with the language; and to Mr. H. N. Webber for help, especially in the revision of the genealogical tables. 128

Most of the illustrations in the book are from photographs taken under my direction by Messrs. Wiele and Klein of Madras, and I am indebted to H.M. India Office for permission to make use of illustrations from the late Colonel Marshall's work *Travels Amongst the Todas.* 126

W. H. R. R.

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PHONETIC SYSTEM

THE following is the phonetic system which has been used in this book. The use of many of the signs is more fully described in Chapter XXV. 126

Vowels.

â, the a of father.
a, the u of hut.
ä, the a of hat.
ê, the ei of their.
e, the e of met.
î, the ee of meet.
i, the i of hit.
ô, the o of post.
o, the o of pot.
ö, the o of word.
ô, the aw of law.
û, the oo of moon.
u, the u of full.
ü, the German vowel.
ai, the i of bite.
au, the ou of house.
ei, the a of date.
eu, the French diphthong.
oi, the oy of boy.

Consonants.

b, as in English.
ch, the ch of church.
d, used in the text for the English sound and also for the lingual consonant *ḍ*.[1]
f, as in English.
g, the g of sing.
gg, the g of finger.
gh, the ch of ich.
h, used for a sound of doubtful nature (see p. 611).
j, as in English.
k, as in English.
kh, the ch of auch.
l, used in the text for the English sound and for the lingual consonant *ḷ*.

[1] One of the most frequent consonantal sounds in the Toda language is *dr* which in the text always stands for *ḍr*; when *d* comes before *sh*, it also represents the lingual sound. In both cases the *ḍ* was hardly appreciated by my ear, and the European will perhaps most nearly imitate the Toda sound if he pronounces *dr* and *dsh* as *r* and *sh*.

b

1: Rivers E-B (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

126

m,	as in English.	*t*,	as in English and also for the lingual *ṭ*.
n,	as in English.	*th*	the th both of though and throw.
ñ,	a nasal n, as in French.	*v*, *w*,	as in English.
p, *r*,	as in English.	*z*,	the z of zeal.
s,	a sound resembling the English s.	*zh*,	the si of occasion.
sh,	as in English.		

Sounds represented by *ch*, *s*, *sh*, and *th*, very frequently inserted euphonically in Toda words, have usually been omitted. I have also omitted the signs showing the long vowels whenever a word occurs frequently throughout the book, and the glossary should be consulted to ascertain the correct method of pronouncing such words. Similarly, Appendices III and IV should be consulted to ascertain the proper pronunciation of the names of places and plants.

I do not use the plurals of Toda words, either in the English form or in that proper to the Toda language; thus, I write "the two *palol*" and not "the two *palols*" or "the two *palolam*."

MAP.

102 The names printed in the same type as KÂrs are those of Toda villages; the names in italics, as *Nanjanad* are those of Badaga villages; the names in small black type, as Ootacamund are those of towns with a general population, or of *dâk* bungalows.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the true Toda language than anyone who has written since, and he ascribed two-thirds of the Toda vocabulary to Tamil and was unable to trace the remaining third to any other language. Caldwell[1] believed the language of the Todas to be most closely allied to Tamil. According to Pope[2] the language was originally old Canarese with the addition of a few Tamil forms, but he has included in his vocabulary words which have probably been borrowed from the Badagas. 114 197

The linguistic material which I have collected is far more extensive than that which was available at the time Pope wrote his sketch, and though the material is in one way less satisfactory since it has been collected after thirty more years of Toda intercourse with the outside world, it is in another way more satisfactory than any previous material in that by far the larger part of it is derived from the formulæ used in the religious ceremonies and in magic. It is, of course, well known that an ancient language may linger on in religious and magical formulæ long after it has disappeared from ordinary speech, and when I discovered how many of these formulæ were preserved by the Todas, I made a point of collecting as many as possible in the hope that they might preserve relics of the ancient speech of the Todas.

In collecting this material I suffered under grave disadvantages; firstly in not being a phonologist, and secondly, in my ignorance of any Dravidian language. I had had, however, a fairly large experience in taking down unwritten languages phonetically, and, whatever the errors into which I have fallen, I hope that they are consistent throughout my record. As a matter of fact, I find my spelling to be fairly constant, words taken down from different individuals and on different occasions being written in the same way. 114 126

From one point of view my ignorance of Dravidian languages is not an unmixed evil. When anyone hears a language which is allied to one he knows, it is almost impossible to avoid being influenced by this knowledge. This

[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 557.

[2] *Outlines of the Toda Grammar* appended to Marshall's *Phrenologist among the Todas*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

themselves. I have already pointed out that the great majority of the names of Toda places and institutions which have been recorded by previous writers are the Badaga names and not the Toda names, and, as might have been expected, many Badaga words have found their way into previously published Toda vocabularies. 191! 192

In my own work my procedure was to take down a sentence first through the interpreter, then to go through the words of the sentence one by one asking the Toda to say each word carefully, and often he had to repeat it many times before I could satisfy myself about the nature of the sounds. Often I would get a second or third Toda to say the word, and I have frequently spent many minutes over one word, and have perhaps then been baffled in my attempts to write the word satisfactorily. 126 194

I noticed continually that the Toda words as pronounced by my interpreters were quite different in sound from those which came from the mouths of the Todas themselves. This was especially the case with the vowels, and in the addition of the initial *y*, so well known in the Tamil pronunciation of English. So far as I could detect, there was no trace of this initial *y* in Toda, although it occurs occasionally in some of the previously recorded Toda vocabularies.

These differences between the pronunciation of my interpreter and that of the Todas may often be the source of inconsistencies in my record, for on some occasions, owing to lack of time, I was unable to listen carefully to the Todas themselves, and had to content myself with the words given to me by the interpreter.

PHONETICS

In order to indicate the sounds of the Toda language, I have kept as closely as possible to the generally recognised system in use in India, but have been obliged to adopt many more signs than those usually employed.

The vowel sounds which I distinguished were very numerous. The following vowels and diphthongs certainly occurred:

126 194 *â, a, ä, ê, e, ê, i, ô, o, ö, ò, û, u, ü, ai, au, ei, eu, oi.*[1] I am doubtful, however, whether in some cases a distinction between two sounds was not due to individual differences of pronunciation or to dialectical differences. This is almost certainly the case with the distinction between *ai* and *oi*. Some other cases which are more complex may be considered in detail.

A, *ò*, and *o*. The first two sounds are often interchanged with one another. There is no doubt that the usual *â* of some Dravidian languages becomes *ò* in Toda, as in the change from *nâd̤* to *nòd̤r*, and most previous writers have regarded this change as constant, and have used the sign *â* for the sound which the Todas undoubtedly pronounce like the *aw* of the English word 'law.' I should much have liked to follow their example, and by so doing could have avoided the introduction of a new sign for the Toda sound, a sound for which there appears to be no generally recognised symbol in the phonetic systems used by anthropologists. I could not do so, however, because the Todas sometimes use the true *â* sound. There are certain words which are always pronounced with exactly the same sound as in the English word 'father,' and I never heard these words pronounced otherwise. In some cases there is a definite reason why this should be so. Thus the Toda word for 'again' is *mâr*, and I never heard this word uttered otherwise than as I have written it. If it had undergone the common transformation it would have become *mòr*, the *ti* word for buttermilk, and in one case at least there would have been occasion for misunderstanding, for one of the salt-giving ceremonies is called *mârup* or 'again salt,' while another is called *mòrup* or 'buttermilk salt.' The syllable also occurs in the words *pâtatmâr* and *ertatmâr*, and is never pronounced in these words otherwise than as I have written it. On the other hand, there are certain words in which the sound is always that of *ò*, and in other cases the two sounds are undoubtedly interchanged, and in the latter case I have usually adopted the spelling in *â*. A good example of this is *pârs* or *pòrs*, milk, for which

[1] For equivalents of these signs in English words see the Phonetic System at the beginning of the book.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

I have throughout adopted the former spelling, though it is quite as often called *pòrs*. 126 194

The *ò* is often shortened into *o*, and this is especially the case with the word for 'man.' The general Dravidian form of this word is *ôḷ*, but in Toda it becomes *òḷ* or *oḷ* (which I write as *ol*), and in compound words, such as *palol* and *wursol*, it is always, or nearly always, pronounced so as to be indistinguishable from the *o* of the English word 'olive.' The long *ô* is not a very frequent sound in Toda.

A and ä. The sign *a* is used, in accordance with the general Indian practice, for the sound of the English word 'hut,' one of the commonest of Toda sounds. It is undoubtedly interchanged sometimes with the sound of the English word 'hat,' for which I use the sign *ä*. In such cases of interchange, I use the sign *a* in preference, but when I always heard the *ä* sound, I have used it. It seemed to me that this sound was especially frequent in proper names, as in that of the village Päm and in such words as Kän.

Ô and u. These are used for the sounds of the words 'moon' and 'full,' and both are of frequent occurrence. The short form seems occasionally to be changed into *a*; thus, the word *mun* means 'maternal uncle,' but the word for 'sister's son' is *manmokh*. This is a good instance of the value of vowel sounds in Toda; the *mankugh* is the sister's daughter, but the *munkugh* is the name of the daughter of a maternal uncle. The two words which resemble one another so closely have two very different meanings, those of niece and cousin.

Ê and ei. I use *ê* for the sound of the *ei* in the English word 'their.' *Ei* is the sign which I use for the long *ä* of the English word 'date.' A sound for which I often use this sign is one which gave me a great deal of trouble. In it the vowel sound is prolonged so as to form almost a dissyllable, and in my earlier records I wrote it *êe*, the first *ê* having the sound of the *ei* in 'their.' I decided later to use *ei*, though I acknowledge it is not at all a satisfactory representation of the sound I heard.

Î. The only point on which I have to remark about this sound is that it is sometimes prolonged so as to become a dissyllable as in the example already mentioned. In one

126 194 case, the word *mtis*, used in the *erkumptthpimi*, ceremony, this prolongation of the sound is so marked and so constant that I have preserved a record of it in the spelling, but in most cases I have been content to indicate it by *t* only.

Eu and ö. I use the former sign for a sound which seemed to me very much like the French *eu*. It often resembled very closely the German *ö*, and in some cases, as in that of the word for the numeral *7*, I was doubtful which was the right sign. The sound for which I use *eu* is, however, more prolonged, and approaches a dissyllable. It occurs in the most definite form in the word for god, *teu*. This is undoubtedly derived from the Sanscrit '*deva*' in general use in Southern India, and it is therefore very interesting that this word, which has become '*Dieu*' in French, should have become the very similar *teu* in the Toda language.

U, *ü*, and *i*. The *ü* sound, almost exactly like that of the German language, was common, though in many cases I was doubtful whether to write *u*, *ü*, or *i*. Thus it was difficult to say whether the word for bow was *purs*, *pürs*, or *pirs*; the last named would bring it in line with general Dravidian orthography, but the first seemed to me the most frequent, and I have therefore adopted it.

Ai and *oi*. The sound *ai* is not very frequent in Toda, and when it occurs is often on the way to *oi*. Thus the *naim* or council was often *noim*, and *mogai* and *mogoi* were said indifferently.

I had very much difficulty in writing the consonants, being especially troubled by my lack of familiarity with linguals. The following were those which I heard:—*b*, *ch*, *d*, *ḍ*, *f*, *g*, *gg*, *gh*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *kh*, *l* and *ḷ*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *sh*, *t*, *th*, *v*, *w*, *z*, *zh*.

In the text of the book I have not attempted to distinguish the lingual consonants, and I have also omitted the very common euphonic insertions, especially of *ch*, *sh*, and *th*.

B, *p*, *v*, *w*, and *f*. The sound expressed by *b* was heard very rarely, and I am doubtful whether it really occurs in true Toda. It is a common letter in Badaga, but when a Badaga word is pronounced by the Todas, the letter usually becomes *p*. In a few words I had much difficulty in making up my mind whether a given sound was *b* or *p*, and this was especially

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the case with the word *kudupel* or *kudubel*, which is probably a Badaga word. 126 194

One of the most frequent consonants in Toda is *p*, which often changes into *v*, especially when *p* is the initial letter of the latter part of a compound word; thus the word *pet* or wand in *pôkpet* became *pôhvet*, *kugpali* became *kugvali*, and *nedrpol*, *nedrvol*. Occasionally *p* would become a distinct *w*, as in the name of the flower *kargwûv* for *kargpûv*.

The letter *f* undoubtedly occurs in Toda, though not very frequently. It is sometimes changed into *v*, but in some cases, as in the name of the ancient village Kusharf, I never heard any sound other than a distinct *f*. I did not hear *f* and *p* interchanged.

As already mentioned, the letter *w* may occasionally occur as a variant of *p* or *v*, but it also occurs in words where it is never interchanged with either of these letters. The most frequent example of the occurrence of the letter is in the word *wursol*, and here the sound was so elusive that for a long time I hesitated whether to write the word as *wursol* or *ursol*. Breeks wrote this word *varzhol*, and we may take it that he distinctly recognised the initial letter as allied to *v* and *p*.

D, *d*, *t*, *th*. I have used the sign *d* for two sounds in the text. One I could not distinguish from the English sound expressed by this letter. It is sometimes the representative of *nd* of Badaga, *mand* or village becoming *mad* in Toda,[1] while the Badaga form of Pidati is Benduti. The *d* of other Dravidian languages often becomes *t* in Toda, thus *pandava* becomes *pateva*, and the Teivaliol almost certainly derive their name from some form of the word *deva*.

More frequently, however, *d* is used for the lingual consonant *ḍ*, which is one of the commonest sounds in Toda. Very often this letter is immediately followed by the letter *r*, and the combination *ḍr* (which in the text of the book I have written *dr*) is an extremely frequent sound. Often to my ear it was quite indistinguishable from the simple *r*, and usually I had to refer to my interpreter to know whether a given sound was *ḍr* or *r*. Neither of my interpreters

[1] *Mad*, or more usually *madth*, is also the Toda word for churn, and this word is probably derived indirectly from the Sanscrit *mantha*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

126 194 seemed ever to be in any doubt, and they were so consistent on this point that wherever this spelling occurs it is probably correct. So far as I can tell the *ḍr* is the representative of *ḍ* in other Dravidian languages; thus, *nâd* of Canarese becomes *nòḍr*, and the *kêdu* of Badaga becomes *kêḍr*. On reference to the list of Badaga and Toda names of villages given in Appendix III. it will be seen that the *ḍr* of the Todas is usually the equivalent of the Badaga *ḍ*, Telkodu becoming Telkudr, and Kudimal becoming Kudrmas.

The sound which I express by *dr* has been very variously spelt by previous writers; thus, the Toda future world has been written *Humanorr* or *Omnorr* by Harkness, *Amunâd* by Breeks, *Amnôr* by Marshall and Pope, and *Amnor* by Thurston, and the sacred plant *tudr* has been written *tûd*, *tûde*, *tiurr*, *tûre* and *tûr*.

When the sound *ḍ* occurs before letters other than *r*, I am afraid I may have often omitted it. Thus till nearly the end of my visit I wrote the word *teḍshk* as *teshk*, and the name of the village *Teḍshteiri* as *Teshteiri*, and I have little doubt that this letter, the presence of which I had so much difficulty in recognising, may have been omitted in other cases.

There seems to be no doubt that *ḍr* and *t* might sometimes be interchangeable. Thus the termination of personal names, *kûtan* seemed to be the same word as *kûḍr*. A horn is *kûḍr* and imitation-horns are *kûter*. An assembly is *kût*, and the corresponding verb is *kûḍriti* (3rd person singular). Sometimes *ḍr* becomes *rt*; thus the word *kêḍr* becomes *kêrt* in the compound word *kêrtnòdr*, and the names of the clans Kuuḍr and Pieḍr often become Kuurt and Piert in the words Kuurtol and Piertol.

I failed to distinguish between *t* and *ṭ*, and it is probable that my *t* includes both letters. My interpreters used the sign *th* for *ṭ*, as is common in the transliteration of missionaries and others in India, and I am afraid that in a few cases my *th* should stand for the lingual *ṭ*. It is very unfortunate that *th* should be used for *ṭ*, for the true *th* not only occurs among the Todas but is a very frequent consonant. It is frequently inserted euphonically in words which are at other times pro-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

nounced without it, and this is especially the case in connexion with the letter *l*. The consonant *th* also occurs frequently apart from any other consonant, in such words as *pûthi*, *pathanmul*, &c. 126 194

I think it probable that under the sign *th* I have included two sounds, that of the English word 'though' and that of 'throw,' but I could not make up my mind whether the two sounds were definitely distinguished. The softer sound is undoubtedly the more common, and often it seemed to me to be even softer than this sound is ever heard in English.

K, *kw*, *g*, *kh*, *gh*, *h*. Perhaps the commonest Toda consonant is *k*, which often becomes *kw*, and it seemed to me that the two were sometimes interchanged, *kûḍr* becoming *kwûḍr*, &c.

The consonant *g* is less frequently heard, but *kûḍr*, especially as the termination of the names of men and places, is often pronounced *gûḍr*, and it seemed to me that this pronunciation is somewhat more common among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The sound *g* occurs very definitely, sometimes at the ends of words as in the names of villages, as in Kwirg and Perg, and in the word *kug*, and in these cases there is no doubt that it is a true Toda consonant.

The sounds which I have expressed by *kh* and *gh* are fairly common, though I do not feel quite confident that the two sounds are definitely distinguished from one another. I heard them very frequently in the words *mokh* and *kûgh*, and it certainly seemed to me that the final sound of the latter was always softer than that of the word *mokh*. When one or other of these sounds occurs at the end of a word, it is probable that I have in some cases omitted to notice it. A man named Perpakh was called by me Perpa till nearly the end of my visit, and it is probable that I made similar errors which were not detected. Similarly *kh* in the middle of a word may easily escape attention, and this has probably happened in some cases.

I also had much trouble about a sound occurring at the end of a word for which I have used the sign *h*. Its chief

126 194 occurrence is in the word *pôh*, and the same or a closely similar sound sometimes occurs in the middle of the word *pali*. The word *pôh* has usually been written *boath*, following Marshall, or *boa* (Breeks). The word certainly often sounded like a dissyllable, but I was doubtful whether this was anything more than the prolongation of vowels to which I have already referred in the case of *ei* and *i*. There is some kind of consonantal sound at the end of the word, but it is certainly not the ordinary *th* nor is it *kh*, and I have adopted *h* as the nearest equivalent though I recognise that it is not the right sign.

R, l. I have already considered the letter *r* in connexion with *d*, but it also occurs frequently by itself. At the end of a word it is sometimes distinctly rolled. When used after a short vowel, as in such a word as *persin*, it was sometimes not easy for me to detect its presence, and occasionally it is possible that I have omitted it from words in which it should occur.

The letter *l* is of fairly frequent occurrence, but has certainly often been lost in Toda in words which contain it in other Dravidian languages; thus the word *kīl*, lower. inferior, becomes *kī* in Toda, though the *l* has been retained in *meil* or *mel*, meaning upper or superior.

There are almost certainly two different *l* sounds in Toda which I failed to distinguish definitely. I have written the word for dairy *pali*, but the second consonant of the word is certainly a different sound from that of the *l* in *meil*, and is probably the representative of the *l* of Tamil. It is in connexion with this letter that the euphonic *th* is so often inserted, and I believe that the proper name for a Toda dairy is *paṭhḷi*. When this *l* occurs at the end of a word, it is sometimes hardly audible, and to my ear bears a very close resemblance to the French *l*. The end of the word Kudreiil seemed to me to be pronounced almost exactly like the end of Auteuil.

It appears that *r* and *l* may sometimes pass into one another; thus, the name of the bow and arrow ceremony is *pursütpimi*, but the buffalo given on this occasion is called *pulkwadr*.

M and n. The letters *m* and *n*, indistinguishable to my

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ear from the corresponding English letters, are of frequent occurrence. They are, however, often omitted in the Toda forms of Tamil or Canarese words; thus, as we have already seen, the word *mand*, village, becomes the Toda *mad*; the Tamil *ambu*, arrow, becomes *ab*; and the Toda form of Kurumba is *Kûrub*. 126 194

The *n* may also disappear from the Toda names of villages when it exists in their Badaga names; thus Tarnard becomes Taradr and Korangu, Kwirg. The omission of the letter *n* and other changes which words undergo in Toda are very well shown in the word *padjpateva*, which is the Toda form of the *Panchpandavas*. Although my ear failed to separate the *n* of the Todas from the English *n*, it is probably different and represents the *ṇ* of Tamil.

In addition to the ordinary *n* the Todas have another consonant which is extremely like the final French *n* for which I have used the sign *ñ*. The sound only occurs in certain exclamations or greetings; the *Oñ* which occurs so frequently in the dairy ritual is pronounced in this way, and so is *bañ*, which is uttered by the *palol* as a greeting to the Tartharol. The sound also occurs in the various kinship greetings. The commonest of these, *tioñ*, offered to an elder brother, is a corruption of *itian*, but I never heard the nasal pronunciation when the word *an* or *anna* was uttered in the ordinary way. In this case the sound I have expressed by *n* is undoubtedly the letter *ṇ* of Tamil, this word being *aṇṇa* in that language.

S, sh, z, zh, dz, j. The sound for which I have used the letter *s* is a somewhat harsh sound, harsher, I think, than is heard in English, but much like the sound which I have heard in English words pronounced by Scottish Highlanders. Breeks wrote *zh* for this sound, but I have used this sign for a different sound which was exactly like the *si* in the English word 'occasion.' It occurs not uncommonly in Toda in such words as *puzh*, earth, and in the verbal form *kaishvat*.

The sound *z* occurs frequently. I was often doubtful whether to write *dz* or *z*, especially at the ends of personal names, and in other cases what was obviously the same termination was pronounced more like *dj*; thus I was often

126 doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as
194 Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

Sacred Language

192 There are three varieties of sacred language in use among the Todas. There is the *kwarzam*, the word or clause used
198 in prayer and other sacred formulæ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwarzam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwarzam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwarzam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwarzam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwarzam* of the Tarthar clans:—

The Nòdrsol, *Nòdrstharkûtthars*; the Karsol, *Kârstharkunnadrpêdr*; the Panol, *Pandârpeshdthvaimokh*; the Taradrol, *Pülkudutharpeithar*; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdrkûtan*; the Kanòdrsol, *Munantharpinnantho*; the Kwòdrdoniol, *Adutharathiars*; the Pämol, *Pämûtharkathar*; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwarzam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XI.

it is advisable to mention, that although as much patient care was taken to collect the evidence it contains, with the same accuracy as that bestowed on the Census, yet there are reasons why it could not be attained. For the latter purpose the people were nearly all present; whereas in the process of collecting statistics, dependence had, in the main, to be placed on the statement of uneducated people describing births and deaths, many of which took place long years before. Supposing even they remembered in all cases the number of each sex that died, they would still have to represent their own notions of the ages at which they did so, and the period that had elapsed since those events happened. All, therefore, that can with confidence be asserted, is, that the best was done in the face of these inevitable difficulties to eliminate error. 124 162

For instance—and one will suffice—if it was required to ascertain the particulars of a child who had died. The mother was present; the husband also sat close by. Some relation, also present, had a wife, or husband, or child, as the case might be, who had been a playfellow of the departed. Or the child was said by its mother to have been either so much older or so much younger than one standing before us.

For the sake of those who wish to utilise the statistics, Table No. 5 has been compiled from Table No. 4 which will render it easy to extract the most valuable points of information. 126 163

In order to obtain reliable data on which to base deductions as to Toda nature and Toda progress, it seems a matter sufficiently important, to record with all the exactness that available information admits of, certain averages relative to the size of families, and the ages at which their women commence and also leave off child-bearing. The details of these points of information, collated from Tables No. 4 or 5, will, therefore, be found tabulated in Nos. 6 and 7 Tables. A point has been made, not to omit any of the instances of Table 4 or 5, that might prove of value; only the women in child-marriages, or those who having lately married, have not yet given birth to progeny, have been left out.

[Table No 4 appears on pp. 112-113 Category 116 or 162 --Analyst]

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

601 561 114 [576]

Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as ɐoo. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as ɐoo. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɪ̯ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɪ̯ or en-goɪ̯ "my friend" (in address -ɛɪ is added), nun-goɪ̯ "your friend," an-goɪ̯ or tan-goɪ̯ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193]

When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocɛoɪ̯ɲɪ, eningoɪ̯ɲɪ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[114] [126]

[601] [561]

in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister forms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as ɐoo the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496–98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of ɐoo is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

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[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper The Songs of the Todas (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343–60, 1937), especially pp. 349–50.

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526–29.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song piʼjuɪr (Piliar, 52) and merṇuɪs (Mudriners, 57) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another sindʉrp (Sintharap), wife of kʉɪuɪsjoʃf (Kuriolv, 52), and koɪsɛr (Kosar, 57) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: tæɾθjxæm, son of sirjuɪr (Siriar, 20), and tʉʉʉɪ, son of toɪkos (Tokaa) and puṇuɪr (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter ejuɪ "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ego's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ego's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., mon-mox "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ego" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and mon-guɪx "daughter, etc." may be replaced by en-okng-fæɹdfoj-mox "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," en-ʉɪr-fed-mosk-fæɹdfoj-xuɪx "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

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There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference močiṇj "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (en-in-močiṇj "my father's cross-cousin," en-af-močiṇj "my mother's cross-

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melqarsh Village]

not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a gesture of his uplifted hand.

[126] The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam [854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her [276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said 776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting [125] on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and 159 even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some [868] day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh, wursol* and even *kalmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be- [836] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while [614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konorj.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

124 made use of so much of his evidence as I believe to be trustworthy. His knowledge was not deep or accurate, but he often told me enough to enable me to extract the full account from others, who, seeing I knew something, thought they might as well tell me all. On one or two subjects, the whole of my information is derived from this man, but whenever this is the case I mention the fact, so that my readers may know the doubtful nature of the evidence. I only give such information, however, when I believe it to be correct. The informant in question was one of the cleverest of the Todas, and his usual fault was not that he deliberately deceived, but that he supplied the lacunæ in his knowledge by having recourse to his imagination. In the matter of folk-tales, where the difficulties of checking an account are especially great, I was obliged wholly to reject his assistance.

[115] An altogether different type of witness was my constant attendant, Kòdrner. His special business was to bring me people as the subjects for my psychological work and to act as my guide in visiting various parts of the hills. He did not profess to any wide knowledge of custom or ceremonial, and was always diffident about the information he gave; but he was a good observer, and could give an excellent account of any ceremony which he had witnessed or of any procedure in which he had been involved.

Except in a few cases the Todas were quite unable to give any explanations of their customs, the answer to nearly every inquiry being that the custom in question was ordained by the goddess Teikirzi. In the few cases in which an explanation was forthcoming, it seemed to me that it was usually a recent invention. The explanations of customs given in this book are therefore almost invariably those arrived at by myself from the study of the available evidence.

114 While I was working I had by me the books or
●127 papers of Harkness, Marshall, Breeks, and Thurston, the chief previous writers on the Todas, and I inquired into most of the details mentioned by them; but I have not

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation. 114 127

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people. 114 177 192

The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of 103 114 191

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

But for the linguist, I trust Chapter XXIX. will have especial attractions.

To the Honorable Sir A. ARBUTHNOT, C.S., K.C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of Madras, I am greatly indebted, for having placed at my disposal, the records existing in the Revenue Department, on the subject of Toda infanticide.

I am beholden to the skill of the distinguished artists, Messrs. BOURNE and SHEPHERD, of Simla, and to Messrs. NICHOLAS and CURTHS, of Madras, for the photographs which decorate the book. These have been printed in carbon, by the Autotype Fine Art Company, 36 Rathbone Place, London.

W. E. MARSHALL.

FAIZABAD:
2nd October, 1872.

[p. x is blank]

 A perusal of the column in Table No. 3[2] which affords

CHAP. X.

particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

6. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[P. 240]

CHAPTER 3

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

114 It has often been said that the Todas are the best known aboriginal community in the world. Every general treatise on anthropology is supposed to make at least a passing reference to them, and it is certainly true that data concerning them in very widely quoted in ethnological literature the world over. This, to a large extent, is due to the excellent work done among them by that distinguished British anthropologist, the late Dr W. H. R. Rivers. His book, *The Todas* (see Bibliography), is a classic on the subject, and its voluminous contents cover to a remarkable degree all those aspects of their culture which it was possible to investigate with the contemporary ethnographical means at the disposal of the author. Since then, much progress has been made in this field, and, as I was able to note when with the Todas, the store of information which they can offer is still very far from being exhausted. From this point of view, as from many others, they are truly a most remarkable people, worthy of continued anthropological attention.

[127] During my first visit to the Nilgiris, my time was mostly taken up with making the acquaintance of the tribe. I read Rivers on the spot and looked into the polyandry of the people in a general fashion. I also got to know the neighbouring inhabitants, without a knowledge of whom it is difficult to acquite a proper functional picture of Toda culture, so closely is the latter bound up with that of others, especially in ceremonial and economic matters. On my return, ten years later, I delved more deeply into polyandry, and, in order to get a thorough working knowledge of this form of the marriage institution as practised by the Nilgiri tribe, made a specialized study of one single family, in which two successive generations of men had had quite a considerable number of children born in this type of wedlock.

[128] In this chapter, on the polyandry of the Todas of the Nilgiris, I shall deal first with the general study which I made in 1939, and follow on

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

PREFACE

121 It has been my object in writing this book to make it, not merely a record of the customs and beliefs of a people, but also a demonstration of anthropological method. The great need of anthropology at the present time is for more exact method, not only in collecting material, but also in recording it, so that readers may be able to assign its proper value to each fact, and may be provided with definite evidence which will enable them to estimate the probable veraciousness and thoroughness of the record.

With this idea in my mind I have tried to describe as fully as possible the way in which my account has been built up, and have been careful to point out the different degrees of trustworthiness of different portions of my story. Perhaps I have been so anxious to make it clear when my record is of doubtful value that sometimes I may have laid undue stress on its uncertainties and deficiencies.

121 I have tried to make a clear distinction between my
128 description of Toda custom and belief, and any theoretical conclusions drawn by myself, and have kept the latter for sections at the ends of chapters or for special chapters, of which those numbered xi, xix, xxix and xxx are the most important.

It may be thought by some that the book is unduly loaded with minute detail, and I am myself aware that I have often complicated, perhaps even obscured, the story I am telling by the mass of detail with which it is accompanied. I have had,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

121 128 however, no scruples on this score, partly because I wished my readers thoroughly to grasp the nature of the material on which my account is based, but still more, because details which may seem insignificant or trivial are often of great importance in the comparative study of custom and belief.

I have not attempted such a comparative study of Toda institutions. It was often very tempting to suggest resemblances with the practices of other peoples of the present or the past, but the result would have been to swell the book to unwieldy dimensions, and perhaps to have obscured the description of the life of the people. In giving parallels for Toda custom I have therefore limited myself to examples from other parts of India, and even here I have only dealt with a few resemblances which illustrate certain suggestions made in the final chapter on the origin and affinities of the Toda people.

122 In conclusion, I am very glad to express my gratitude for help received from many sources. The researches on which the book is based were undertaken in consequence of the award to myself of the income of the Gunning Fund of the Royal Society for the years 1901–2, and my work was also assisted by a grant from the British Association. In India I received every assistance from those whose official positions gave them the means of helping me, and my thanks are especially due to Mr. Edgar Thurston, whose kind interest and assistance I cannot sufficiently acknowledge. I owe much to the care and attention with which my two interpreters, P. Samuel and Albert Urrilla, performed their duties, and I am greatly indebted to the managers of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society at Ootacamund for the services of the former, and to Mr. C. M. Mullaly and Mr. Hadfield for giving the latter leave from his forest duties in order that he might help me.

128 Of friends in England I am especially indebted to Dr. C. S. Myers, who kindly read nearly the whole of the book in proof; to Syed Ali Bilgrami for information on various points connected with Indian custom; to Don M. da Zilva

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Wickramasinghe for reading Chapter xxv, dealing with the language; and to Mr. H. N. Webber for help, especially in the revision of the genealogical tables.

128

Most of the illustrations in the book are from photographs taken under my direction by Messrs. Wiele and Klein of Madras, and I am indebted to H.M. India Office for permission to make use of illustrations from the late Colonel Marshall's work *Travels Amongst the Todas.*

126

W. H. R. R.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the Todas, and similarly with the names of institutions such as clans, dairies, or ceremonies. The practice of giving Badaga names in their intercourse with Europeans has become so engrained that a Toda invariably uses these names when speaking to a European. During the first few weeks of my work, I received exclusively Badaga names, and to the end of my visit, whenever I visited a new district, the Badaga names would crop up till the people found that I wanted Toda and not Badaga. Kiunievan, who was the chief informant of Mr. Breeks in 1872, is still alive, and when I asked him why he gave Mr. Breeks the Badaga names in every case, he answered "He did not seem to want anything else," and this answer seems to me to give the clue to much of the error which has found its way into many of the accounts which have been given of the Todas.

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One of the most serious errors which has arisen in this way is one connected with the Toda clans. Every account which has been given of the clan-system of the Todas is that of a system which is current among the Badagas as the Toda system, but has only a limited correspondence with the actual system as it is in use among the Todas themselves. Every Toda, if asked by a European to what clan or division he belongs, will promptly give his division according to the Badaga classification, and this has led to the incorporation of this classification in all the accounts of the Todas which deal with their social organisation.

128

Some words are necessary about the general plan of the book. I should have preferred to begin with the social organisation, and to approach the religious aspect of the life of the Todas through the ceremonies accompanying the chief incidents of life, including birth, marriage, and death. The ideas borrowed from the ritual of the dairy, however, so pervade the whole of Toda ceremonial, that I have been obliged to consider the ritual of the dairy at an early stage. After a preliminary chapter sketching the general character and life of the people, I have therefore given a full description of the elaborate ceremonial which centres round the dairy; and on this follow the accounts of other ceremonies and sacred institutions and a general discussion of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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religion of the people. I then turn to the social aspect of life, and consider kinship, marriage, and the various factors upon which the social organisation depends. Then, after some chapters on diverse topics, I describe the relations of the Todas with the other tribes of the Nilgiris, and in the final chapters discuss certain special problems, including the origin and affinities of the Toda people.

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead. 124 173 601

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure. 551 784 [616]

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kodrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect. 124 173 601

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres* 128 601

[1] [pp. 749-788]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

128 *Straits Expedition*, with the modifications rendered necessary
601 by the presence of polyandry and infant marriage among the Todas. In any one table the descendants in the male line only are given, descendants in the female line being recorded in the genealogies of the husbands. Thus, if one wishes to ascertain the descendants of Pilivurch in Table 1, it is necessary to turn to Table 20 recording the genealogy of Teithi, the husband of this woman. The names of males are in capital letters, those of females in ordinary type, and the name of a wife always follows the name of her husband or husbands. Under the name of each individual is placed, in italics, the name of the clan to which the individual belongs, or, in the case of a married woman, of the clan to which she had belonged before marriage. The names of those now living are given in Clarendon type, of which Mudrigeidi and Savdur in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviation i.m. stands for "infant marriage." The abbreviations d.y. and d.n.n. stand for "died young" and "died before being named" respectively. The latter implies that the child died within a few weeks of birth.

When the names of men are enclosed in square brackets, polyandry, and when the names of women are so enclosed, polygyny, is indicated.

000 In the *Torres Straits Reports* I have shown that there are definite reasons why the people should have preserved their pedigrees so fully. The pedigrees are not preserved for amusement nor out of idle interest in the doings of ancestors or neighbours. In Torres Straits the complex and far-reaching nature of the marriage regulations form the chief motive for the preservation of the pedigrees, while the transmission of property is perhaps of almost equal importance.

182 Among the Todas we shall see that the marriage regulations
423 are far simpler than among the Papuans of Torres Straits, and in their case the chief motive is probably connected with the inheritance of buffaloes, the only form of property in which the Toda takes much interest. In the succeeding chapters we shall find several examples of social transactions in which the knowledge derived from the genealogical record has determined the issue.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

way he had caught the buffalo at such and such a funeral, 123
and the fact that I knew something of him and his doings 124
often helped to put us at once on friendly terms, and at the same time put him on his mettle to give me the best of the knowledge at his command.

The Trustworthiness of the Genealogies

000

Before using the genealogical record as a means of studying the details of the social organisation, it may be well to consider what guarantee we have that the genealogies form a truthful record of the past. In Torres Straits, where I gained my first experience in these matters, I was so incredulous of the accuracy of the record that I obtained almost every particle of information from two or three different and independent sources, and it was only when I had finished that I found the whole mass of material to furnish a record so consistent in itself that it could hardly have been other than veracious.

Further, on investigating kinship and the regulation of marriage, both on the basis of the genealogical record, it was found that the results of one investigation closely corroborated the results of the other, and that the combined investigations gave so consistent and coherent a result that it was incredible that the genealogies on which the investigations were based should have been other than faithful and accurate records.

The Toda community is considerably larger than either 124
of those with which I worked in the islands of Torres Straits, 128
and when I found that the memories of the people extended
back as far or nearly as far as in those islands, it became 173
obvious that I was confronted with a task of considerable 601
magnitude, and the question arose whether it was necessary to obtain separate accounts of every family from independent witnesses, as I had done previously, or whether I might not rely on the account of a family given by one witness and only seek corroboration occasionally. I began by following the same procedure as in Torres Straits, but soon found that the accounts obtained independently showed a close

124 agreement, and I therefore contented myself in my later
128 work with one account, though every now and again I went
173 over a piece of a pedigree with a second witness. When
601 I had finished, the consistency of all the parts of the record with one another seemed to afford conclusive evidence that I had obtained what is, on the whole, a veracious record.

Of course, in so large a mass of material there are mistakes.[1] In one family no doubt a child has been omitted, especially when it died young and had no posterity to make its name important; in another case perhaps a child has been added to a family who was really the offspring of another mother. That there are such mistakes is certain, but they are probably few in number, and I have no doubt that, with one exception to be presently considered, such mistakes as have crept in do not appreciably impair the value of the genealogies as a record of the working of social regulations.

128 There is one deficiency of the record, however, of the
173 existence of which I have little doubt—a deficiency entirely due to my own carelessness. To me the chief interest of the
601 genealogies is that they are a record of the past—a record of the working of social regulations which at the present time may be already affected by the new influences coming into the lives of primitive people all over the world. In my absorption in the records of the past, I have often neglected the present and have omitted to ascertain carefully the children of families at present in process of growth. In several cases I have failed to obtain the names of children of people now living, and I have very little doubt that I have in several or many cases omitted the names of other children of growing families. I had one excuse for this in the fact already mentioned, that I had to obtain my information about a given family from people of some other family. A man would often know all about the members of the given family in the past, but, living perhaps at some distance from the family in question, he was often hazy as to the exact number and names of the children recently born, and it is the record of

[1] For a few cases in which an individual is entered as the child of a man who is known not to be his real father, see p. 534. In such a case I have assigned the child to the parent who is regarded as the legal father by the Todas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

children under five years of age which I know to be deficient. 128 173

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females. 601 161 162

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 ,,	4	7
56—60 ,,	19	9
51—55 ,,	20	17
46—50 ,,	26	21
41—45 ,,	26	18
36—40 ,,	26	27
31—35 ,,	40	25
26—30 ,,	40	33
21—25 ,,	58	28
16—20 ,,	32	31
11—15 ,,	41	20
6—10 ,,	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour- 125 128

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

125 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the
128 community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the
173 value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of
601 the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Pām, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

Buffalo Pedigrees

124 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees
173 of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my
234 next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 seems at present to exist may be due, wholly or in part, to
847 the diminution of infanticide.

There is one indication that female infanticide has almost
163 entirely ceased during the last five years, and even that there may now be an excess of female births. In the table of ages given on page 469, it will be seen that the pedigrees record more girls than boys of five years and under. There is no reason why my record of such young children should have been more defective for one sex than for the other, and the proportion here may be approximately correct.

Twins

845 Twins are called *ömumokh*, and it is the custom to kill one
847 of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or, at any rate, would have been killed in the past.

There is one case of twins in the genealogies. Iraveli, the wife of Kwötuli and Nudriki (8), gave birth to twins about twelve years ago. Both were boys, and I was first told that one had died shortly after birth, but later inquiries made it almost certain that the boy had been killed. Some time after the birth of the twins, one of the buffaloes of Kwötuli and Nudriki is said to have had a calf with one body, two heads, and four legs. The buffalo died before the calf was born, and the monstrosity was found by the Kotas, to whom the body was given. It was generally expected that something would happen to Kwötuli or Nudriki, but they have since been very prosperous.

The Determination of Age

805 This is a suitable place to say a word about the method I
128 adopted to ascertain the ages of the Todas. Like all people at a low stage of culture, the Todas are very uncertain about their ages, though their knowledge is more accurate than that of many peoples. Every Toda knows, however, whether he is older or younger than another, this fact determining the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

names and salutations they give to one another, as we shall see in the next chapter. A few of the younger men seemed to have accurate knowledge of their ages, and building up on this basis, and with a knowledge of the relative ages of the different members of the community, it became possible to arrive at estimates which probably do not deviate very widely from the correct ages; even in the case of the older people, I do not believe that my estimated ages are likely to be more than five years out in any case. As already mentioned (see p. 416), the Todas make use, in the estimation of age, of their belief in the eighteen-year period of a flower, and the ages so estimated in a few cases agreed fairly with those arrived at in other ways.

Among those now alive, it seemed that the usual time which separates the birth of two children of the same mother is about three years, and I have taken this time as the rule in estimating the ages of all those whose names are included in the genealogies. Similarly, so far as I could tell, women begin to bear children when about eighteen to twenty years of age.

The ages of the four groups given in the table on p. 474 were calculated on the assumptions that a woman had her first child when twenty years old, and that the interval between the births of two children was three years.

The oldest Toda now living is Kiugi (57). He looks an extremely old man, and is said by the Todas to be nearly a hundred years of age. There is evidence which makes it probable that he is at least eighty or ninety. Kòrs, the father of Kiugi, performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony before the birth of Teitchi (52) (see p. 564). Teitchi's grandson, Kuriolv, is now about fifty-four years of age. When Kòrs gave the bow and arrow he may have been only a young boy, and if we assume that he was fifteen years old, that Teitchi and Pareivan had their first children when twenty years old, and that the interval between the birth of Pilzink and that of Pareivan was six years, it would make the age of Kòrs, if he were still alive, 115. If Kiugi was born when his father was twenty years old, it would make his age ninety-five. If, on the other hand, we assume that Kòrs gave the bow and arrow when

128 only ten years of age, and that he did not have his first
165 child till he was thirty, it would make Kiugi's age eighty. Kiugi's eldest child, if alive, would now probably be about sixty, and this supports the view that the lowest possible estimate of Kiugi's age is eighty, and he is not improbably a good deal older.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

untutored races, to realise justly and without exaggeration, what it really is, and—by analogy—what it must have been in the pre-historic era, long ere 'Adam delved and Eve spun,' *before man had much developed in manly qualities.* 121 124

I have actually witnessed most of the scenes here described. Such of the remainder as are not otherwise authorised, I have compiled from direct narrative of the most reliable Todas.

Whilst hoping, though not without some misgivings, that the ugly statistics collected with so much care, and the speculations advanced to account physiologically for the origin of obscure customs, may have some slight value, even to the savant, I am sanguine that the antique practices now brought to light, and the illustrations I have attempted of every-day life, may render the book acceptable to the general reader. I may say, that great and especial pains have been taken to render as large a portion of the work as the subject permits, attractive, and suited for ladies' reading. 128

A few words of explanation are perhaps called for; to account for my having devoted an entire chapter to the description of some of the first principles of phrenology—a subject which is fully treated in standard works by acknowledged authorities. I wished primarily, to show the premises forming the basis for many conjectures which otherwise would have borne too much the appearance of dogmatism, or that might have been misunderstood. Secondly, I desired to show for phrenology, a marked practical value for ethnological purposes: and no single work containing, with clearness 121

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

121 and brevity combined, so much information calculated to be serviceable to enquirers disposed to pursue the phrenologic mode of enquiry into the nature of barbarous races, which I have here faintly attempted; I trusted that the chapter might be useful, in some sort, as a manual for ethnographers so circumstanced.

But in this matter, as indeed throughout the book, I must trust very much to the lenient judgment of my readers; if, as a solitary Indian, far away from contact with men of science, but fresh from the actual and impressive presence of 'nature's children,' in attempting to work out for myself some of the vastly interesting unsolved problems of our day, I air some seemingly quaint ideas. *The public is concerned simply in their truth.*

● 128 The publication of these results of investigations made two years ago, has been delayed through the impossibility of finding in a very hot climate, and in the intervals of official duties, leisure sufficient for completing a subject demanding much thought and care.

I beg to invite especial attention to the important contributions made by the eminent philologist and great Tamil scholar, the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., at present Head Master of the 'Bishop Cotton' School at Bangalore. These will be found both in the form of foot-notes throughout this little work, and forming a distinct chapter at the end. The interesting and often most valuable derivations of Toda words given in these notes, have enabled me, in the absence of other evidence, to explain several customs and to work out some speculations that otherwise seemed quite incomprehensible.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

for short or longer periods has however been passed and with 177
changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations: whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area.

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an 177
attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on 128
the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments.

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has 177
felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on 233
which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A 262
great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and 262
of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills 648
were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, 437
and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL FORMS: A STUDY OF TODA KINSHIP TERMS AND DUAL DESCENT

By M. B. EMENEAU

121 THAT THE DATA obtained by linguistic investigation of any community is of indispensable value for the ethnographer studying that community has long been axiomatic for the anthropological school of which Sapir was a brilliant member. His statement of the point in *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* deserves to be quoted:

> Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. In a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society. Some day the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labors of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which he is describing.[1]

To go a little further and say that the culminating item of value that the linguistic student can give to ethnology is the study of a community's most highly verbalized cultural manifestations would be what Sapir would and undoubtedly did hold. It is here, in their verbal art-forms, stories, songs, oratory, or the like, that the members of the culture give the most overt and self-conscious expression to the patterns which they follow or profess to follow in their life. Linguistic study, if it is confined to its primary object of recording and analyzing the forms of utterances and never goes beyond that, can offer little to ethnology. It must, with that analysis as a basis, go on to a strict philological analysis of well-recorded and fully guaranteed texts in the forms most highly esteemed by the culture, and the results of such study should provide then "the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines [of a culture gained through sheer observation] significant and intelligible."

121 The following study presents the kinship system of the Todas of the Nilgiris in South
● 128 India. In a previous paper on *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, the existence was re-
614 ported of a complete division of the Todas into matrilineal sibs alongside of the previously
[114] known complete division into patrilineal sibs. In this paper I present, following on the kinship system, the material on the functions of the two sib-systems as against one another. In these sections an attempt has been made to use the evidence provided by the Toda art-form of highest prestige, the songs. Discussion based on this evidence is found on pp. 160–161 on the use of "friend" terms beside kinship terms, on p. 165 on the special kinship term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father, and throughout the Appendix, which presents the kinship terms; and again on pp. 169–172, where the data on the

[1] Edward Sapir, *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* (Language, Vol. 5, pp. 207–14, 1929), p. 209.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[2] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[3] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in ego's generation based on age relative to that of ego.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to ego. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of ego's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, onoi in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okoi in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ŭwŋ-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endoi in address. En-ŭwŋ-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nwn-ŭwŋ-fed "your younger sibling," on-ŭwŋ-fed (or on-don-ŭwŋ-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ŭwŋ-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ŭwŋ-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nwm-ŭwŋ-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or oθo m-ŭwŋ-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xu ix (= ku ix) a female.[5]

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[3] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 205–23, 1938), p. 205 fn. 1. In this paper I use š, ž for palatalized alveolar sibilants, c, ǰ for post-dental affricates and č, ǰ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ŭ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1935–36 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[4] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and *passim*.

[5] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom ego would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[P. 240]

CHAPTER 3

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

114 It has often been said that the Todas are the best known aboriginal community in the world. Every general treatise on anthropology is supposed to make at least a passing reference to them, and it is certainly true that data concerning them in very widely quoted in ethnological literature the world over. This, to a large extent, is due to the excellent work done among them by that distinguished British anthropologist, the late Dr W. H. R. Rivers. His book, *The Todas* (see Bibliography), is a classic on the subject, and its voluminous contents cover to a remarkable degree all those aspects of their culture which it was possible to investigate with the contemporary ethnographical means at the disposal of the author. Since then, much progress has been made in this field, and, as I was able to note when with the Todas, the store of information which they can offer is still very far from being exhausted. From this point of view, as from many others, they are truly a most remarkable people, worthy of continued anthropological attention.

[127] During my first visit to the Nilgiris, my time was mostly taken up with making the acquaintance of the tribe. I read Rivers on the spot and looked into the polyandry of the people in a general fashion. I also got to know the neighbouring inhabitants, without a knowledge of whom it is difficult to acquite a proper functional picture of Toda culture, so closely is the latter bound up with that of others, especially in ceremonial and economic matters. On my return, ten years later, I delved more deeply into polyandry, and, in order to get a thorough working knowledge of this form of the marriage institution as practised by the Nilgiri tribe, made a specialized study of one single family, in which two successive generations of men had had quite a considerable number of children born in this type of wedlock.

[128] In this chapter, on the polyandry of the Todas of the Nilgiris, I shall deal first with the general study which I made in 1939, and follow on

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

with the special study that is the result of my second visit to south India in 1949. 114 128

A. GENERAL STUDY: THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

A general study of the culture of the Todas of the Nilgiris has been presented so well by Dr W. H. R. Rivers in his book that it is quite unnecessary to repeat it here. Readers who are interested in getting to know these people thoroughly are referred to the work, which they will find quite absorbing reading.

In the following paragraphs I propose to give only an outline of the principal traits of Tota culture so that what follows should be intelligible. Some of the Toda institutions are so unique, or as we would say anthropologically, aberrant, that it is absolutely essential to have at least some idea of what they are like in order to understand the nature of the whole. 128

I will, therefore, first give this outline of Toda culture with a brief description of the habitat and social organisation of the tribe, and go on next, in a second paragraph to describe those customs of the Todas which, in my opinion, have a direct bearing on their institution of polyandrous marriage. Being by inclination functionalist in anthropological outlook, I can quite see that their marriage customs are linked to the entirety of their culture, and even, to some extent, to those of their immediate neighbours, with whom their ties are very close. But it would be too long and too complex to attempt to give so vast a picture of the whole intricate and inter-related pattern, and I would ask my readers to content themselves with the choice of those items of culture which I consider relevant in this connection. [182]

A third paragraph, before we go on to the special study of one Toda polyandrous family, which I reserve for Part B of this section, will deal more closely with Toda polyandry, treating in a general description, all those aspects of it which I was able to gather during my first stay in the Nilgiris in 1939.

1. DESCRIPTIVE OUTLINE

The mountainous district of the Nilgiris is part of the State of Madras, in south India. The name, which means "Blue Mountains" in Sanskrit, is derived from the fact that, seen from the plains, the nearly 9,000 133

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 not been complete, and that the hills have been invaded by strangers, especially from the side of the Wainad; but the isolation has probably been considerable, and, for long periods, it may have been complete.

101 177 In their isolation from the world in general, however, the Todas have not been alone. Two other tribes, the Kotas and the Badagas, occupy the plateau with them, and the peculiar relations between the three tribes are among the most interesting features of the social life of the Nilgiris. The Todas are a purely pastoral people, limiting their activities almost entirely to the care of their buffaloes and to the complicated ritual which has grown up in association with these animals. The Badagas are chiefly agriculturists; the Kotas are artisans and mechanics; and both supply the Todas with part of their produce. There is here a well-marked instance of division of labour, in which the labour of the Todas is reduced to a minimum. Their privileged position is usually held to be due to the tradition that they are the "lords of the soil," and the produce which the Todas receive from the other tribes is supposed to be of the nature of tribute.

The jungle on the slopes of the hills is inhabited by two wild, dwarfish tribes, the Kurumbas and Irulas, who have a general resemblance to the many other jungle tribes of Southern India. These people are much feared by the tribes of the plateau for their supposed magical powers, but they have little to do with the complex social life of the others.

101 131 177 The district in which the three tribes live is not extensive. The extreme length of the plateau, from east to west, is about forty-two miles, and its average breadth, from north to south, about ten miles, the maximum breadth being fifteen miles in the centre of the district. The total area of the plateau is less than 500 square miles. In this district there live about 800 Todas, 1,200 Kotas, and 34,000 Badagas. In addition, there are now extensive European settlements, the largest of which is Ootacamund, the seat of the Madras Government for six months of the year. The other large European settlements are Coonoor and Kotagiri, while Wellington, near Coonoor, is a military station.

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peranganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr. 101 103 131 162

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information. 121 124

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I 124

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

remain in their pristine barbarous state; innocent even of written characters; and there are said to be several other minor dialects or corruptions belonging to small sylvan families holding unimportant geographical positions in the Drâvidian area. 102 197

Remnants of the ejected Kôls are shown on the eastern limits, and Âryanised peoples are closed in on the entire northern boundary.

The Rev. Dr. Pope, in his contribution to this book,[12] gives it as his opinion that the Toda language was originally old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. He thinks that the language has dwindled to a mere skeleton, as a result of isolation and consequent degeneration of the people. 197

The early Indian history of the Todas has been as completely lost as that of the long protracted period which preceded their migration to the Dekkan. 173

We know, indeed, with a tolerable degree of certainty, both from their own legends and from those of neighbouring tribes, that until the last few hundred years they inhabited a jungle tract of inferior hills situated between the Kanarese and Tamilian districts, in the direction of Hâsanûr; which, on E. longitude 77° 20′ and N. latitude 11° 45′ form portion of the Eastern Ghats. And that they then divided into two or more parts, of which one settled in a northerly direction, near Kôlegâll, and the other migrated or was driven in the direction of the Nilagiri Mountain;[13] the greater number 101 131 173

[12] Vide Chapter XXIX., 'Outlines of the Tuḍa Grammar.'

At the time of recording this opinion, Dr. Pope had not had opportunity of perusing any portion of my descriptions of Toda life. Had he done so, it is possible he might have modified his views. I, who judge the Todas physically and through their antique customs and practices, fail to discover any degeneracy in the people; rather regarding them as not only without evidence of having been better, but with little appearance of having been materially different from what they now are, within any period whose length may be fixed or even approximated.

[13] Mr. Metz, who obtained this information from the Todas, is my authority for this paragraph.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. I.

settling on its very topmost plateau, where we now find them, whilst a small remnant, winding behind its north-western slopes, remained on one of the lower plateaus, called the Wynâd.

This modern place of Toda residence is an isolated mountain, upwards of seven thousand feet above sea level, upreared on E. longitude 76° 45′ and N. latitude 11° 20′, amidst the plains of South India—the gigantic and sudden culmination of the minor mountain-chain system, called the Eastern and Western Ghats, which there meet.

These, their last movements, having been very small and of minor importance, I have included their past and their present places of residence in one area, marked VI. on the map.

Not only the summit of the Nilagiris, but the tops of the minor rounded eminences thereon, are studded with kairns, raised for the reception of ashes of the dead, by a race whose history has been so completely lost that not a tradition even of it remains. On the same plateau are also a few kromlechs, also many deserted circles of stones, situated near streams of running water; some manifestly constructed for pounding cattle, others, with equal certainty, not made for that purpose —being in exposed situations and having rocky beds.

These erections undoubtedly do not belong to the Todas, who not only do not regard them with reverence, but assert that they were of a people antecedent to themselves on the mountain. Moreover they are found in many parts of the Indian peninsula and of Western India. But I may do service in drawing attention to points in which the cremation customs of this unknown race are those of the Todas, and to those in which they differ from them.

In brief, we find, from relics exhumed from kairns, that their owners made use of the horse: that they practised agriculture, holding the buffalo in high esteem, and burying its bell with the manes of the deceased. We learn that they were acquainted with the use of the spear, bow and arrow:

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

p. 1

THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF THE NĪLAGIRIS.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE NĪLAGIRIS—ALTITUDE AND GENERAL CHARACTER—SCENERY.—CLIMATE.—RAINFALL.—RECOGNISED GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.—FIVE NATIVE TRIBES.—THE BADAGAS NOT ONE OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES.

● 181
133

The Nīlagiris* are a lofty range of mountains in Southern India situated between 11° 10′ and 11° 32′ North latitude and 76° 59′ and 77° 31′ East longitude.

They may be said to form an abutment on the great belt of mountains, which, under the name of the Western Ghâts, runs down the western side of the Peninsula, from the River Tapti to Cape Comorin. They are bounded on the north, partly by the territory of the native kingdom of Mysore, partly by Wainâd, the upland division of the Madras

113

* Nīlagiris means blue mountains, from nīla, blue, and giri, a mountain or hill; the common, but corrupt, spelling is Neilgherries. Accounts of these mountains and their inhabitants will be found in the following works:—

1826. *Letter to the Calcutta Herbaria, by Rev. James Hough.*
1827. *General and Medical Topography of the Neilgherries, by Dr. Young.*
1832. *The Todas, by Captain Harkness.*
1834. *Notes through Malabar and among the Neilgherries, by Captain Migeon.*
" *Falls of Cauvery and Neilgherries, by Lieutenant Jervis.*
" *Neilgherries, by Dr. Baikie.*
1835. *Geological Sketch of the Neilgherries, by Dr. P. M. Benza.*
1838. *Topographical Report of the Neilgherries, by Dr. De Burgh Birch.*
1844. *Antiquities of Neilgherries, by Captain Congreve. Vol. XIV., Madras Journal of Literature and Science.*
1847. *Memoir of the Neilgherries, by Captain J. Ouchterlony. Vol. XV., Part II., Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1848.
1851. *Goa and the Blue Mountains, by Lieutenant Burton.*
" *Neilgherry Letters, by Captain Sir Francis Ford.*
1864. *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, by Rev. F. Metz.*
1868. *An Account of the Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherries, by J. Shortt, Esq., M.D.; also Hill Ranges of Southern India, Part I.*
1870. *The Aboriginal Tribes of the Neilgherry Hills, by Lieut.-Colonel W. Ross King. Journal of Anthropology, No. 1, July* 1870.

Besides the above, notices may be found in different Literary and Scientific Journals.

Colonel W. Marshall has just published a book called *A Phrenologist among the Todas.*—ED.

131 district of Malabar; on the east by the district of Coimbatore; on the south partly by Coimbatore, and partly by Malabar; and on the west by Malabar.

133 The Nîlagiri plateau is from thirty to forty miles in length, and from ten to twenty-four in breadth. It contains several lofty peaks, the highest of which, Doddabett, is 8,642* feet above the sea.

The altitude of Coonoor is 5,886 feet; that of Ootacamund† 7,416 feet.

133 The mountains rise very abruptly to two-thirds of their total height, presenting from the plains below almost the aspect of a wall, unbroken by any lower ridges. Their base is covered with a belt of dense jungle, rising to a height of from 2500 to 3500 feet. This is succeeded by an open grassy space, one or two miles wide, nearly destitute of trees. Above this the vegetation is entirely different from that of the jungle below, and the forests assume more the appearance of those found in temperate climates. Along the edge the plateau is, in parts, especially on the western side, very precipitous, broken by wooded ravines, and exceedingly picturesque. The interior of the plateau consists chiefly of grassy undulating hills, divided by narrow valleys, which invariably contain a stream or a swamp. In the hollows of the hillsides nestle small beautiful woods, locally known as *sholas*.‡

It is seldom that so much variety of beauty is found in so small a compass. From the bleak heights of the Kûndahs, with their storm-beaten moss-hung woods and rank coarse grass, to the springy turf and many-coloured *sholas* of Ootacamund, and the tropical vegetation of the western slopes, every five or ten miles brings the traveller to a new climate, and new scenery. Even on the summit of the plateau the rainfall varies with each different aspect, and ranging from about 30 inches to 150 or more, produces a corresponding range of vegetation. It is, however, the views over the edges of the table land that are most singular and striking, from the extreme abruptness of the descent. Let a visitor take a short ride in almost any direction from almost any part of the plateau, and, passing along shady English-looking lanes, sheltered by thickets of blackberry and wild rose; across bare breezy downs, sometimes dotted with twisted, crimson-flowering rhododendron trees, and intersected by swampy valleys, where buffaloes wade and wallow; through dense woods carpeted with rare beautiful ferns and gorgeous in spring tints, beside which the colouring of an English autumn is faint and dull; by native villages, with their patches of cultivation and their magnificent single trees; he will find himself on some ridge or promontory, looking straight down from 4000 to 6000 feet, on a scene that changes like the figures in a kaleidoscope. In the morning a sea of clouds lies at his feet, and gradually rises round him. In the afternoon this has cleared away, and reveals, perhaps, a vast crimson plain, veined by dark lines

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* According to a recent observation made by Colonel Saxton of the Trigonometrical Survey Department.

† Ootacamund, properly Utakamand, is the principal European settlement on the Nîlagiris; the others are Coonoor and Kotagherry. There is also a military sanatorium at Wellington. Of late years, Europeans have established themselves in various parts of the district, and opened out plantations of tea, coffee, and cinchona.

The names of the settlements above referred to are spelt according to the mode which long usage has assigned to them. The same course has been pursued in the case of other well-known names, such as Mysore, Coimbatore, &c. According to the system of spelling adopted in the vocabulary, Appendix A., Utakamand, Kûnur, and Kotagiri, would be substituted for Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagherry.

‡ From the Kanarese *shôla*, a wood or forest.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW68 Toda AW60 Badaga AW50

fore, not hesitated to comply with the request made to me, that I would communicate such particulars concerning the hill-tribes of the Nilgiris as came under my own observation during a three years' sojourn on those hills, otherwise known as the Blue Mountains of the Deccan. T 114

It is not necessary here to describe that well-known range further than to observe, for better understanding the situation of the tribes by whom it is inhabited, that it occupies a nearly isolated position, has a superficial extent calculated at between six and seven hundred square miles, and an extreme central altitude of 8,760 feet. Approaching them through the flat parched district of Coimbatoor, the great abruptness with which these mountains rise from the plain adds to their apparent height, and at a distance of many miles the grandeur of the lofty blue line elicits the admiration of the traveller. Arrived at the stifling village of Metapollium, at their base, and near the forest entrance of the ascent by the Coonoor Pass, gazing upwards on their hanging forests, rhododendron-sprinkled heights, and precipitous grey crags, towering almost perpendicularly to a height of 7,000 feet, one may fancy oneself enjoying a glimpse of another world. Notwithstanding the temptation which its lofty verdant summits must have offered to Europeans dwelling on the burning plains below, this range remained, chiefly on account of the then almost impenetrable belt of jungle, abounding in tigers and elephants, and surrounding its base on every side, unexplored till the year 1819, and it was not till two years later that any road was opened up to the summit. T 131 T 133

Strange and unknown tribes were then found in possession of this favoured region, a region of green hills and sheltered hollows, of sparkling streams and tracts of primeval forest, with abundant vegetation and delightful climate. Todas and Khotas occupied the higher ranges, while Erulas and Kurumbas clustered here and there in the lower belts on the mountain sides. T 101

These tribes I shall notice in order. Before, however, proceeding to do so, I may render my account plainer by briefly noticing another people who are located on the same ground, and in constant intercourse with the more immediate subjects of our notice, viz., the Vadacas or Badaghas, commonly called Burghers. B 177

Though generally classed among the hill-tribes, they have, comparatively speaking, but recently come among them, having 166

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

Map III. The Nilgiris. For the Toda *mads*, readers are referred to Rivers, *The Todas* (see Bibliography).

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is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

To ● 131 161 114

The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

To [161] 595 618 [121]

Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, *i.e.*, a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

more than the rest above the general level of the plateau, which ranges from 6,000 to 7,500 feet above the sea, and the loftiest of these hills reaches the height of 8,760 feet. The plateau is so high that, though it is situated only about eleven degrees from the equator, the thermometer rarely rises above 70° F., and in the nights of the cold season may touch the freezing point. 133 [132]

In every direction the sides of the hills leading up to the plateau are steep and often precipitous. To the south-east, east, and north-east there is a rapid fall of about 5,000 feet to the plains of the Coimbatore district, though to the south this plain only forms a gap about twenty miles in breadth between the Nilgiri and the Anaimalai Hills. On the north-west the slope is more gradual and is broken by the Wainad district about 3,000 feet above the sea. To the north there is a steep fall, but only for about 4,000 feet, to the plateau of Mysore, which is about 3,000 feet above the sea.

The south-western part of the hills is known as the Kundahs and may be regarded as a range separate from the greater part of the plateau, from which it is divided by a wide valley, the Avalanche Valley. From the Kundahs there is an extremely precipitous fall to the Malabar district.

The steep sides leading up to the plateau on which the Todas live are clothed with thick, almost impenetrable jungle, which is extremely malarious, so that a night spent on the way to the summit is very likely to produce fever.

The hills appear to have been for long an object of reverence to Hindus on account of their height and inaccessibility. Dubois states that "as it is very difficult to reach the top of this mountain, a view of the summit alone (and it is visible a long way off) is considered sufficient to remove the burden of sin from the conscience of any person who looks at it."[1]

When the hills were first visited by Europeans, their use as a sanatorium was long delayed owing to the difficulty of making roads, and it was not till after many years that the hills became a regular resort of the European population. We shall see later that the isolation of the Todas has certainly 177

[1] *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, part ii., chap. v.

C

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

prairie. The hills as accessible as those of Malvern; the prairie land as ceaseless, in its long undulations, as the billows of an ocean. Short coarse grass, clothes the whole, save where the deep forest holds possession of the damp secluded valleys, or the cool little woods moss the banks of the prolonged gulleys, through which the trickling streams or dashing bourns course down the silent hill-sides: then collect, and, through successive vigorous rapids and tumultuous cataracts—where from behind the clouds of spray and mist, noise roars its prolonged approval—precipitate themselves into the plains below. Wherever, in fact, rich soil and a perennial supply of moisture may be found, there are the ever silent woods; for the periods of annual drought are long: the monsoon rain flows quickly off the hard surface of the exposed hills, and the scorched grass containing the young saplings is yearly fired.

These woods and forests, and lovely glades, whose perfect quiet is broken only by the calls of wild animals and birds, or by the rustic sounds of Toda cattle—almost equally wild—herding in the open, form pre-eminently the characteristic features of the scenery; adding emphasis to the singularly peaceful beauty of the view.

The grass, in spots where the buffalo has not grazed it short, and where moisture favours growth, is crowded with wild flowers. Climbers, in great variety of grace and form, swing in festoons from the limbs of the gnarled old forest trees, bearded with hoary lichen, or ornamented with varieties of flowering orchids, which cling to the branches of the moss-covered timber. In the dank secluded shades a great variety of ferns; from the tree-fern to those of the smallest size, grace the gloom:—

> 'O, might I here
> In solitude live savage, in some glade
> Obscured, where highest woods, impenetrable
> To star or sunlight, spread their umbrage broad.'

All round the circle of this high-perched green plateau, one unbroken sweep of low flat country, dotted with hills.

CHAP. V.

unbroken sweep of low flat country, dotted with hills. Picture it an island in a tropical archipelago; storm, cloud, and driving mist intervening between periods of brilliant sunshine. Try to realise the equatorial sun acting through this ever-changing sky and rarified atmosphere, both on the sweet inland prospect, and as you turn to take an eagle's view outwards, over the grand panorama of the long horizon. Both are unique and lovely.

There is one view, on the precipitous western ridge of the plateau, below Makurti Peak—

'The last hill that parleys with the setting sun,'

which seems to unite all the *possible* beauties of such a land. Such a mixture of the lovely properties which a landscape may derive from the presence of stupendous depths, brilliantly transparent and buoyant atmosphere, delicate distances, changing tints, and wonderful shadows, I have not seen combined, even in the Himalayas; and, I believe, few spots in the world can exhibit.[1]

Had the Toda made this spot the entrance to his heaven—Amnôr (of which, more in its proper place), he would at one step have placed himself on a pinnacle of good taste, from which it would not have been easy to dislodge him. But to have omitted all notice of these extraordinary beauties, marks him as the tasteless man he is.[2]

Let me here describe an *inland* scene; which, though casually witnessed by myself, must often be surveyed by the

[1] The artist in search of a study of aërial effects, could nowhere find them so complete and satisfying as in this view. Owing to monsoon rains, clear days in which to watch it cannot often be got before the month of October. To be seen to perfection, both sunrise and sunset should be witnessed.

[2] In Chapter I. I have quoted a Toda legend, that the souls of men and cattle leap from Makurti on their journey to Amnôr; but in the expression of this belief there appears to be no appreciation of the beauty in the scene;—merely that Makurti is the highest and westernmost hill, nearest the setting sun (See Chapter XII.), and therefore the *most suitable locality* for the purpose.

to do so, simply in order by change of pasture, to obtain a sufficiency of food for the cattle, on whose milk they almost entirely subsist. CHAP. VI. 221

I make free to assert that no tribe of people, having the organ of Concentrativeness so largely and so uniformly developed as it is with the Todas, will ever be found to be habitual wanderers. Whether it be, that in the early days of the human race, circumstances having forced a family of man to become nomadic, the form of its skull gradually changed in the course of many generations, so as to adapt the man's disposition to his necessities; or if, on the contrary, the wandering habit be largely the result of defective size of that faculty; certain it is, that practice and corresponding cranial form are now in harmony, and that a small development of Concentrativeness will be found ever accompanied by a centrifugal tendency; attachment to a settled home being strong in proportion to the organ's volume, strong even to the extent of producing nostalgia when thwarted, if associated with remembrances of home and landscape. 231 000

Toda families reside in permanent villages—Mand or Madd—having each a certain tract of grazing ground surrounding it. Each minor division of the family has a house —Ársh—in the Mand, and a share of the village land. 621 361 221 132

Nearly every Mand, however, has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire body of the inhabitants migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of situations which become exposed to the west-monsoon rain and wind.

These storms drive at times with such intense severity over the wilds, that although at the time, the actual thermal state may be far from low, yet the evaporation induced by the extreme violence of the rain is known to lower the temperature of the body so as frequently to cause death to man and beast. Wild animals cower during these storms under 000

133 of wood, dotted with isolated hummocks like giant ant-hills, and terminating in faint blue lines of mountains the furthest of which seems to hang half-way up the sky; perhaps on a tumbled mass of hills and valleys, a perfect dissolving view, for the eye has hardly traced the outline of some rocky ridge, glowing red in the sunlight, before a blue cloud-shadow blots it out, and a fresh series of crests and ravines starts into sight beyond. Broken peaks, hung with woods, frame the picture, and on all lies tropical sunlight, intensified by the keen thin mountain air.

132 The climate is temperate and equable. At Ootacamund, according to a series of observations, extending over seven years, the mean maximum temperature ranges from 60·06° in December to 68·76° in May. The hottest months of the year are April and May, the coldest, December and January. The hottest hours of the day in summer and winter do not vary more than nine degrees, and the extreme variation of temperature throughout the year is only 21·25°.

The climate of Coonoor and Kotagherry is warmer; no observations have been recorded for the Kūndahs. The average rainfall at Ootacamund is about 45 inches, but it is much greater on the Kūndahs, and generally on the western side of the plateau, which feels the full force of the S.W. monsoon.

Early in June this monsoon breaks with great violence on the western face of the mountains, but diminishes in violence as it extends eastward. At Ootacamund it is much milder than on the Kūndahs, and at Coonoor and Kotagherry it is but slightly felt. It lasts until about the middle of September. The north-east monsoon, which commences in the middle or end of October, bursts heavily on the north-east corner of the plateau, and the first fall usually extends over the whole of it. At Ootacamund, from December to May, the weather is dry and very bright; the winter nights bring sharp frosts in the swampy valleys, but on higher ground these are little felt, and English garden and greenhouse flowers may be had in profusion all the year round. The average number of days on which rain falls at Ootacamund in the course of the year is said to be 100, of cloudy days without rain 28, and of clear fine days 237.

101 The Nīlagiris are divided into four *nâds* or divisions, named respectively—

Todanâd.
Mekanâd.
Peranganâd.
Kūndanâd.

They are inhabited by five native tribes, viz.:—

Badagas.
Todas.
Kotas.
Kurumbas.
Irulas.

Of these, the Badagas, although far the most numerous, not being an aboriginal or jungle race, do not come within the scope of the following pages, which will be devoted to an account of the four primitive tribes, and of the rude stone monuments, of uncertain origin, which are found in various parts of the plateau.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

000 associated with belief. The ceremonial in Torres Straits had been swept away, while the stories of the legendary heroes were almost all that remained to the people of the old life and were in consequence still cherished.

177 Among the Todas missionary influence, whether of Christian or Hindu, has had little effect, and the ritual of the Todas in 538 some parts of the hills is almost, if not quite, untouched by 797 outside influences.[1] The effect of intercourse with other peoples seems to be showing itself largely in the form of loss of interest in the stories of the past.

171 One of the most striking aspects of the customs and ceremonies of the Todas is that these have in many cases no exact parallels in other places. Perhaps the most definite result which modern research in anthropology has brought out is the extraordinary similarity of custom throughout the world. Customs apparently identical are found in races so widely separated geographically and so diverse ethnologically that it seems certain the customs must have developed in total independence of one another. There seems to be an identity of idea actuating custom in peoples very different from one another in their surroundings and conditions of life.

The nearest parallels to Toda custom and ceremonial are undoubtedly to be found in the Indian peninsula, but even here, though there is often a general resemblance, this breaks down on going into detail. Even when the resemblance is so close as to suggest a common origin, the differences in detail are often very great.[2]

177 One clue to this exceptional nature of Toda custom and belief is to be found in the geographical position of the people, which has to a large extent isolated them from the world in general.

● 133 The plateau on which they live, broken by numerous hills and valleys, is the top of a scarp formed by the meeting of the Eastern and Western Ghats. Some of the hills project

[1] As we shall see later, this is only true of some parts of the hills and some institutions.

[2] With more exact knowledge of Indian customs and ceremonies which have lingered on side by side with, though often obscured by Brahmanism, it is possible that these differences would be found to be much slighter than the evidence at present available suggests.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

more than the rest above the general level of the plateau, which ranges from 6,000 to 7,500 feet above the sea, and the loftiest of these hills reaches the height of 8,760 feet. The plateau is so high that, though it is situated only about eleven degrees from the equator, the thermometer rarely rises above 70° F., and in the nights of the cold season may touch the freezing point. 133 [132]

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When the hills were first visited by Europeans, their use as a sanatorium was long delayed owing to the difficulty of making roads, and it was not till after many years that the hills became a regular resort of the European population. We shall see later that the isolation of the Todas has certainly 177

[1] *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, part ii., chap. v.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

Z: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda
opp. p. 51
●/33

No. 10

REDUCED FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MESSRS BOURNE & SHEPHERD SIMLA.

THE LAND HE LIVES IN.

CHAP. V.

from combinations of negative qualities, and the contrast they present to all the activities we have been accustomed to.

181 It is humanising, however, to recognise in them—ignorant, dirty, and unkempt—the likeness to ourselves, inheritors of many centuries of civilisation. Their children laugh and play as ours do. Their tricks are the tricks of our own boyhood. Their women display, with direct simplicity, many of the exact same characteristics of ours; even the most refined, even the debased. And they are repositories of family lore—staunch conservatives. The men rule their households on principles of worldly policy as we do, and without any striking point of dissimilarity; and, as I have already noted, are treated somewhat arbitrarily by their wives too, as we are apt to be also. Their natural language is precisely the same as ours; not a sign, not a demonstration of the feelings, not a movement, but may be understood at a glance as well as if we had all been brought up from infancy together.

The customs of the people strangely seem to suggest the germs of many that even now exist among us. Indeed, nothing in their ways surprised me more than to see them act so much as we do; to an extent, even, that deprived them of much interest in my eyes.

● 133 The country in which we find the Todas, though not by many moves perhaps the seat of his origin, is worthy of notice; for thus we shall better realise how man lived in days when he had advanced scarce more than one step from the period of his rude simplicity; in what style of place he gradually acquired forms and social habits, that he never forsook entirely; and how he multiplied unobserved, until his country could no longer contain his progeny—then migrated and founded nations.

Picture an abrupt-edged table-land, on the apex of a solitary mountain—a very Laputa in its complete isolation of some 7,000 ft. in altitude—whose evergreen surface is one continued intermixture of rounded hills, with tracts of rolling

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prairie. The hills as accessible as those of Malvern; the prairie land as ceaseless, in its long undulations, as the billows of an ocean. Short coarse grass, clothes the whole, save where the deep forest holds possession of the damp secluded valleys, or the cool little woods moss the banks of the prolonged gulleys, through which the trickling streams or dashing bourns course down the silent hill-sides: then collect, and, through successive vigorous rapids and tumultuous cataracts—where from behind the clouds of spray and mist, noise roars its prolonged approval—precipitate themselves into the plains below. Wherever, in fact, rich soil and a perennial supply of moisture may be found, there are the ever silent woods; for the periods of annual drought are long: the monsoon rain flows quickly off the hard surface of the exposed hills, and the scorched grass containing the young saplings is yearly fired. [132]

These woods and forests, and lovely glades, whose perfect quiet is broken only by the calls of wild animals and birds, or by the rustic sounds of Toda cattle—almost equally wild—herding in the open, form pre-eminently the characteristic features of the scenery; adding emphasis to the singularly peaceful beauty of the view.

The grass, in spots where the buffalo has not grazed it short, and where moisture favours growth, is crowded with wild flowers. Climbers, in great variety of grace and form, swing in festoons from the limbs of the gnarled old forest trees, bearded with hoary lichen, or ornamented with varieties of flowering orchids, which cling to the branches of the moss-covered timber. In the dank secluded shades a great variety of ferns; from the tree-fern to those of the smallest size, grace the gloom:— 137

> 'O, might I here
> In solitude live savage, in some glade
> Obscured, where highest woods, impenetrable
> To star or sunlight, spread their umbrage broad.'

All round the circle of this high-perched green plateau, one unbroken sweep of low flat country, dotted with hills.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

p. 1

THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF THE NĪLAGIRIS.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE NĪLAGIRIS—ALTITUDE AND GENERAL CHARACTER—SCENERY.—CLIMATE.—RAINFALL.—RECOGNISED GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.—FIVE NATIVE TRIBES.—THE BADAGAS NOT ONE OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES.

131
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The Nīlagiris* are a lofty range of mountains in Southern India situated between 11° 10′ and 11° 32′ North latitude and 76° 59′ and 77° 31′ East longitude.

They may be said to form an abutment on the great belt of mountains, which, under the name of the Western Ghâts, runs down the western side of the Peninsula, from the River Tapti to Cape Comorin. They are bounded on the north, partly by the territory of the native kingdom of Mysore, partly by Wainâd, the upland division of the Madras

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* Nīlagiris means blue mountains, from *nīla*, blue, and *giri*, a mountain or hill; the common, but corrupt, spelling is Neilgherries. Accounts of these mountains and their inhabitants will be found in the following works:—

1826. *Letter to the Calcutta Harkaru, by Rev. James Hough.*
1827. *General and Medical Topography of the Neilgherries, by Dr. Young.*
1832. *The Todas, by Captain Harkness.*
1834. *Notes through Malabar and among the Neilgherries, by Captain Mignon.*
" *Falls of Cauvery and Neilgherries, by Lieutenant Jervis.*
" *Neilgherries, by Dr. Baikie.*
1835. *Geological Sketch of the Neilgherries, by Dr. P. M. Benza.*
1838. *Topographical Report of the Neilgherries, by Dr. De Burgh Birch.*
1844. *Antiquities of Neilgherries, by Captain Congreve. Vol. XIV., Madras Journal of Literature and Science.*
1847. *Memoir of the Neilgherries, by Captain J. Ouchterlony. Vol. XV., Part II., Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1848.
1851. *Goa and the Blue Mountains, by Lieutenant Burton.*
" *Neilgherry Letters, by Captain Sir Francis Ford.*
1864. *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, by Rev. F. Metz.*
1868. *An Account of the Tribes inhabiting the Nellgherries, by J. Shortt, Esq., M.D.; also Hill Ranges of Southern India, Part I.*
1870. *The Aboriginal Tribes of the Neilgherry Hills, by Lieut.-Colonel W. Ross King. Journal of Anthropology, No. 1, July* 1870.

Besides the above, notices may be found in different Literary and Scientific Journals.

Colonel W. Marshall has just published a book called *A Phrenologist among the Todas.*—ED.

131 district of Malabar; on the east by the district of Coimbatore; on the south partly by Coimbatore, and partly by Malabar; and on the west by Malabar.

132 The Nīlagiri plateau is from thirty to forty miles in length, and from ten to twenty-four in breadth. It contains several lofty peaks, the highest of which, Doddabett, is 8,642* feet above the sea.

The altitude of Coonoor is 5,886 feet; that of Ootacamund† 7,416 feet.

133 The mountains rise very abruptly to two-thirds of their total height, presenting from the plains below almost the aspect of a wall, unbroken by any lower ridges. Their base is covered with a belt of dense jungle, rising to a height of from 2500 to 3500 feet. This is succeeded by an open grassy space, one or two miles wide, nearly destitute of trees. Above this the vegetation is entirely different from that of the jungle below, and the forests assume more the appearance of those found in temperate climates. Along the edge the plateau is, in parts, especially on the western side, very precipitous, broken by wooded ravines, and exceedingly picturesque. The interior of the plateau consists chiefly of grassy undulating hills, divided by narrow valleys, which invariably contain a stream or a swamp. In the hollows of the hillsides nestle small beautiful woods, locally known as *sholas*.‡

It is seldom that so much variety of beauty is found in so small a compass. From the bleak heights of the Kūndahs, with their storm-beaten moss-hung woods and rank coarse grass, to the springy turf and many-coloured *sholas* of Ootacamund, and the tropical vegetation of the western slopes, every five or ten miles brings the traveller to a new climate, and new scenery. Even on the summit of the plateau the rainfall varies with each different aspect, and ranging from about 30 inches to 150 or more, produces a corresponding range of vegetation. It is, however, the views over the edges of the table land that are most singular and striking, from the extreme abruptness of the descent. Let a visitor take a short ride in almost any direction from almost any part of the plateau, and, passing along shady English-looking lanes, sheltered by thickets of blackberry and wild rose; across bare breezy downs, sometimes dotted with twisted, crimson-flowering rhododendron trees, and intersected by swampy valleys, where buffaloes wade and wallow; through dense woods carpeted with rare beautiful ferns and gorgeous in spring tints, beside which the colouring of an English autumn is faint and dull; by native villages, with their patches of cultivation and their magnificent single trees; he will find himself on some ridge or promontory, looking straight down from 4000 to 6000 feet, on a scene that changes like the figures in a kaleidoscope. In the morning a sea of clouds lies at his feet, and gradually rises round him. In the afternoon this has cleared away, and reveals, perhaps, a vast crimson plain, veined by dark lines

* According to a recent observation made by Colonel Saxton of the Trigonometrical Survey Department.

† Ootacamund, properly Utakamund, is the principal European settlement on the Nīlagiris; the others are Coonoor and Kotagherry. There is also a military sanatorium at Wellington. Of late years, Europeans have established themselves in various parts of the district, and opened out plantations of tea, coffee, and cinchona.

The names of the settlements above referred to are spelt according to the mode which long usage has assigned to them. The same course has been pursued in the case of other well-known names, such as Mysore, Coimbatore, &c. According to the system of spelling adopted in the vocabulary, Appendix A., Utakamund, Kānur, and Kotagiri, would be substituted for Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagherry.

‡ From the Kanarese *shōla*, a wood or forest.

133 of wood, dotted with isolated hummocks like giant ant-hills, and terminating in faint blue lines of mountains the furthest of which seems to hang half-way up the sky; perhaps on a tumbled mass of hills and valleys, a perfect dissolving view, for the eye has hardly traced the outline of some rocky ridge, glowing red in the sunlight, before a blue cloud-shadow blots it out, and a fresh series of crests and ravines starts into sight beyond. Broken peaks, hung with woods, frame the picture, and on all lies tropical sunlight, intensified by the keen thin mountain air.

132 The climate is temperate and equable. At Ootacamund, according to a series of observations, extending over seven years, the mean maximum temperature ranges from 60·06° in December to 68·76° in May. The hottest months of the year are April and May, the coldest, December and January. The hottest hours of the day in summer and winter do not vary more than nine degrees, and the extreme variation of temperature throughout the year is only 21·25°.

The climate of Coonoor and Kotagherry is warmer; no observations have been recorded for the Kūndahs. The average rainfall at Ootacamund is about 45 inches, but it is much greater on the Kūndahs, and generally on the western side of the plateau, which feels the full force of the S.W. monsoon.

Early in June this monsoon breaks with great violence on the western face of the mountains, but diminishes in violence as it extends eastward. At Ootacamund it is much milder than on the Kūndahs, and at Coonoor and Kotagherry it is but slightly felt. It lasts until about the middle of September. The north-east monsoon, which commences in the middle or end of October, bursts heavily on the north-east corner of the plateau, and the first fall usually extends over the whole of it. At Ootacamund, from December to May, the weather is dry and very bright; the winter nights bring sharp frosts in the swampy valleys, but on higher ground these are little felt, and English garden and greenhouse flowers may be had in profusion all the year round. The average number of days on which rain falls at Ootacamund in the course of the year is said to be 100, of cloudy days without rain 28, and of clear fine days 237.

101 The Nīlagiris are divided into four *nāds* or divisions, named respectively—

Todanād.
Mekanād.
Peranganād.
Kūndanād.

They are inhabited by five native tribes, viz.:—

Badagas.
Todas.
Kotas.
Kurumbas.
Irulas.

Of these, the Badagas, although far the most numerous, not being an aboriginal or jungle race, do not come within the scope of the following pages, which will be devoted to an account of the four primitive tribes, and of the rude stone monuments, of uncertain origin, which are found in various parts of the plateau.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW65 Toda AW60 Badaga AW50

fore, not hesitated to comply with the request made to me, that I would communicate such particulars concerning the hill-tribes of the Nilgiris as came under my own observation during a three years' sojourn on those hills, otherwise known as the Blue Mountains of the Deccan. T 114

It is not necessary here to describe that well-known range further than to observe, for better understanding the situation of the tribes by whom it is inhabited, that it occupies a nearly isolated position, has a superficial extent calculated at between six and seven hundred square miles, and an extreme central altitude of 8,760 feet. Approaching them through the flat parched district of Coimbatoor, the great abruptness with which these mountains rise from the plain adds to their apparent height, and at a distance of many miles the grandeur of the lofty blue line elicits the admiration of the traveller. Arrived at the stifling village of Metapollium, at their base, and near the forest entrance of the ascent by the Coonoor Pass, gazing upwards on their hanging forests, rhododendron-sprinkled heights, and precipitous grey crags, towering almost perpendicularly to a height of 7,000 feet, one may fancy oneself enjoying a glimpse of another world. Notwithstanding the temptation which its lofty verdant summits must have offered to Europeans dwelling on the burning plains below, this range remained, chiefly on account of the then almost impenetrable belt of jungle, abounding in tigers and elephants, and surrounding its base on every side, unexplored till the year 1819, and it was not till two years later that any road was opened up to the summit. T 131 T 133

Strange and unknown tribes were then found in possession of this favoured region, a region of green hills and sheltered hollows, of sparkling streams and tracts of primeval forest, with abundant vegetation and delightful climate. Todas and Khotas occupied the higher ranges, while Erulas and Kurumbas clustered here and there in the lower belts on the mountain sides. T 101

These tribes I shall notice in order. Before, however, proceeding to do so, I may render my account plainer by briefly noticing another people who are located on the same ground, and in constant intercourse with the more immediate subjects of our notice, viz., the Vadacas or Badaghas, commonly called Burghers. B 177

Though generally classed among the hill-tribes, they have, comparatively speaking, but recently come among them, having 166

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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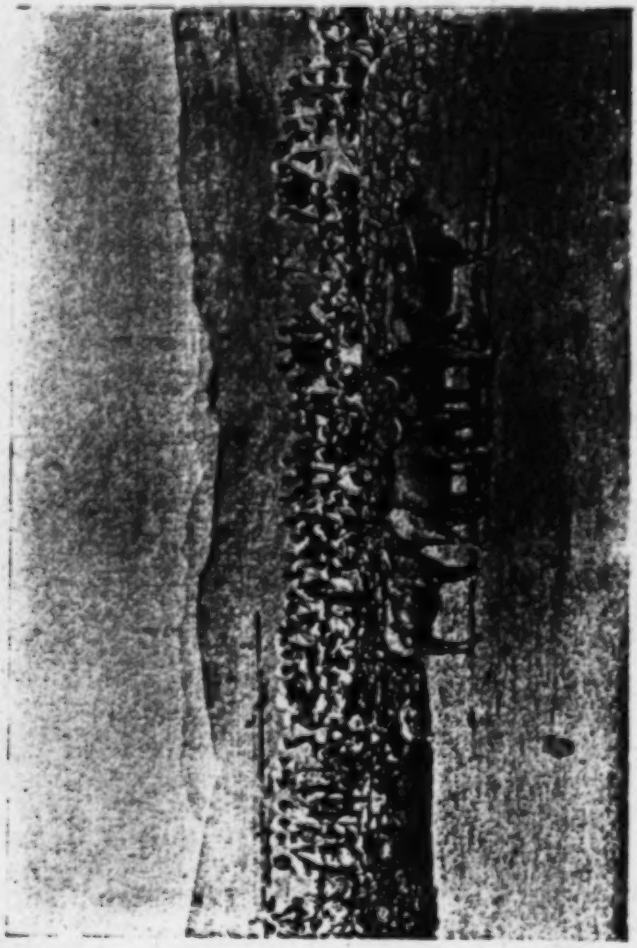

TODA BUFFALOES IN KRAAL

[facing p. 117]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342
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291
302
516

TODA HUT.

[facing p. 127]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

with the special study that is the result of my second visit to south India in 1949. 114 128

A. GENERAL STUDY: THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

A general study of the culture of the Todas of the Nilgiris has been presented so well by Dr W. H. R. Rivers in his book that it is quite unnecessary to repeat it here. Readers who are interested in getting to know these people thoroughly are referred to the work, which they will find quite absorbing reading.

In the following paragraphs I propose to give only an outline of the principal traits of Tota culture so that what follows should be intelligible. Some of the Toda institutions are so unique, or as we would say anthropologically, aberrant, that it is absolutely essential to have at least some idea of what they are like in order to understand the nature of the whole. 128

I will, therefore, first give this outline of Toda culture with a brief description of the habitat and social organisation of the tribe, and go on next, in a second paragraph to describe those customs of the Todas which, in my opinion, have a direct bearing on their institution of polyandrous marriage. Being by inclination functionalist in anthropological outlook, I can quite see that their marriage customs are linked to the entirety of their culture, and even, to some extent, to those of their immediate neighbours, with whom their ties are very close. But it would be too long and too complex to attempt to give so vast a picture of the whole intricate and inter-related pattern, and I would ask my readers to content themselves with the choice of those items of culture which I consider relevant in this connection. [182]

A third paragraph, before we go on to the special study of one Toda polyandrous family, which I reserve for Part B of this section, will deal more closely with Toda polyandry, treating in a general description, all those aspects of it which I was able to gather during my first stay in the Nilgiris in 1939.

1. DESCRIPTIVE OUTLINE

The mountainous district of the Nilgiris is part of the State of Madras, in south India. The name, which means "Blue Mountains" in Sanskrit, is derived from the fact that, seen from the plains, the nearly 9,000 133

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" 648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out [491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced [137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, 361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something 000 like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ä = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot		z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ö = word	u = blue	ù = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	ù = cook	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
			r = rot	ü = French	

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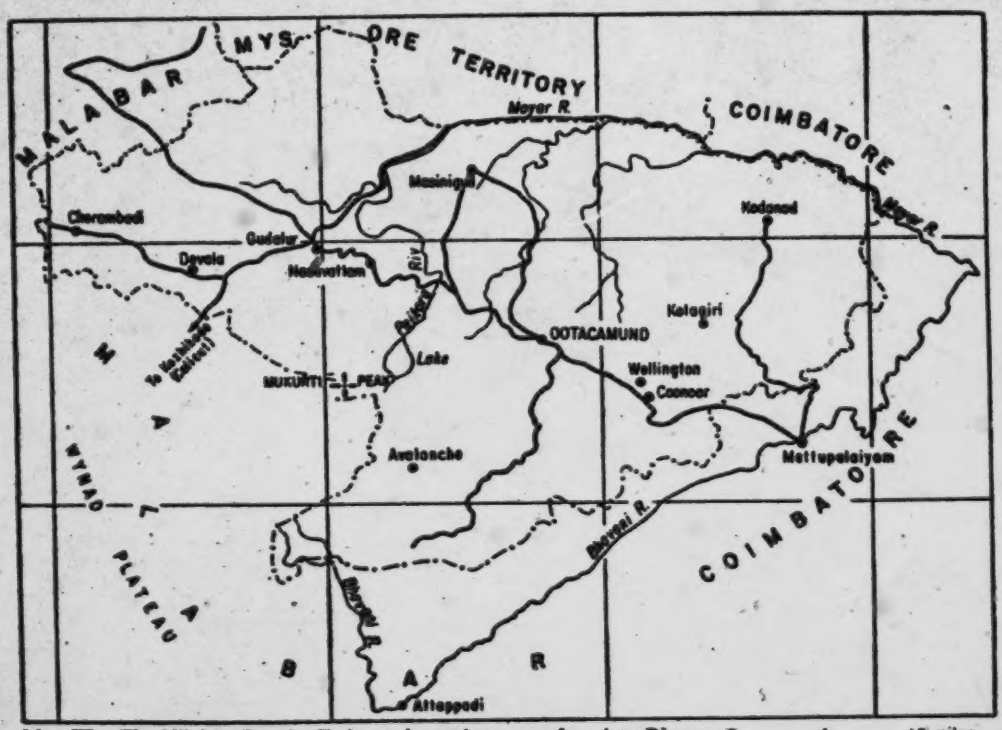

Map III. The Nilgiris. For the Toda *mads*, readers are referred to Rivers, *The Todas* (see Bibliography).

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	ù = cook	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
			r = rot	ü = French	

To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

silent yet speaking, quiet and secluded, forms the *beau idéal* of a breeding-place and nursery for infant races. CHAP. V.

The Toda buffalo has roamed over this land for centuries, and his master, calling his orders to the cattle he leisurely tends, has witnessed the many beauties of nature which I have merely suggested. But I do not find, by his language, religion, or tastes, that they have had any effect on him. He sees the grass. Ha! He sees the dew. Ha! He sees the forest. Ha! But apparently it is only so much cattle's food with water on it, and fuel in the distance. Ha! The sun is shining on it, and the water will soon dry; then the cattle will grow thirsty!

The prevalent idea is that primitive man, uneducated man, working man, is so engrossed in cares and in the occupation of providing himself with food, that he has no leisure for contemplating nature's beauties. The phrenologist knows better; and you, reader, will shortly agree that the Toda has unlimited leisure, as I now show that he has endless opportunity of noting the beautiful.

These hills are covered with good soil—indeed in the moist hollows it is pre-eminently rich and productive, and the land is very accessible to the plough. There is excellent clay for pottery. A laborious, acquisitive race, conserving the glorious water supply, would render this land a paradise. But the Toda scheme is simpler far. He has cattle who afford him all he wants; why should he work? Why should he plough? And from the lazy man's point of view, perhaps he is right.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

his dairy the *palol* always turns to the left, so that he faces north-east as he goes towards his buffaloes. In a few dairies the door faces directly west, and, according to Breeks, this is the case at the conical dairy of Anto.

THE TODA BUFFALO

The Toda buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo, but the life on the hills seems to have produced a much finer animal than that of the plains. Although thoroughly under the control of the Todas, the buffaloes are semi-wild and often attack people of a different race from their owners, and Europeans have frequently been severely injured by the onslaught of these animals.

The Toda name for the male buffalo is *er*, and for the female *ir*, but either term may be used when the people speak of buffaloes collectively. Calves have different designations at different ages. A young calf is *kar*, one from one to two years of age is *pol*, and a three-year-old calf is *nakh*.

Defective buffaloes, and especially those with only one horn, are called *kwadrir*, and those whose horns bend downwards are *kughir*. Barren buffaloes are called *maiir*.

There are considerable differences of colour among the buffaloes. Those much lighter than the rest are called *nerir* or *pushtir*, and there is a legend about the origin of these buffaloes, which, however, I failed to obtain. The only obvious way in which the animals differ from one another in marking is that some have a black stripe running down either side of the neck very much in the position which would be occupied by the chain suspending a bell.

There do not seem to be any physical differences between the buffaloes of different classes, and, as we shall see shortly, the nature of the breeding of the Toda buffaloes is such as would have entirely destroyed any distinctions of the kind if they had ever existed.

Every adult female buffalo has an individual name, which is usually given when her first calf is born. The number of buffalo names is limited, so that many buffaloes bear the same name.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swâmi! Swâmi![7] then places it on the ground as a present to bhumi tai[8] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors. 264 788

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonised the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[9]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffalos, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere striplings armed with light wands; knowing that the amimals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe. 136 233 857 411

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of 411 224

[7] Swâmi = *lord.*

[8] Bhumi tai = *earth mother.* It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[9] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog.* May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (one)*?

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Aw60 Toda Aw60

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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APPENDIX IV

137 In the following list I give the botanical names of the plants or kinds of wood used by the Todas in their ordinary life or in their ceremonial. I owe these names to the kindness of Mr. Thurston and Mr. K. Rangachari.

Ámmul	Rubus moluccanus, L.
Ávelashki	Hedyotis stylosa, Br.
Kabádri	Euphorbia Rothiana, Sprengl.
Kadak or *kadakmul*	Rosa Leschenaultiana, W and A.
Kábér	Eragrostica nigra, Nees.
Kákkádri	Dregea volubilis, Benth.
Kábbádri	Gardneria ovata, Wall.
Kákád	Mappia foetida, Miers.
Kárkaki	Rhamnus Wightii, W and A.
Karneizi	Acronychia laurifolia, Bl.
Kérs	Eugenia Arnottiana, Wight.
Kíts	Litsaea Wightiana, Benth. and Hk. f.
Kíd	Probably Olea robusta.
Kíri or *Kírzi*	Amaranthus (speciosus ?).
Kudi	Hydrocotyle asiatica, L.
Kárérs	Eugenia calophyllifolia, Wight.
Kurzhat	Strobilanthes, ? species.
Kuadiki or *kuadriki*	Myrsine capitellata, Wall. var. lanceolata.
Kuagal	Polygonum rude, Meisn. and P. chinense, L.
Kuatinali	Coriandrum sativum, L.
Main	Cinnamomum Wightii, Meisn.
Melkádri	Piper sp.
Mérs	Michelia nilagirica, Zenk.
Nárk	Andropogon schoenanthus, L.
Pérs (wood)	? Sideroxylon.
Pérs (leaves)	Pentapanax Leschenaultii, Seem.
Purzhuti	Eleagnus latifolia, L.
Pisér	Dodonaea viscosa, L.
Pathammul	Solanum indicum, L.
Patm	Panicum miliare, Lamk.
Pelkhedithmul	Rubus ellipticus, Sm.
Pezhtainmul	? Phyllochlamys sp.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Pökzul	Pavetta creniflora, DC.
Pöthr	Anaphalis oblonga, DC.
Pöl	Ilex Wightiana, Wall.
Pürz	Rhododendron arboreum, Sm. and Elaeagnus latifolia.
Pökimul	Rubus lasiocarpus, Sm.
Pöv or *pöf*	Sophora glauca, Lesch.
Pöokat	Strobilanthes, ? species.
Takmul	Berberis aristata, DC.
Tuvat	Rhodomyrtus tomentosus, Wight.
Tsinhödri	Senecio corymbosus, Wall.
Tö	Leucas zeylanica, Br., and L. aspera, Sprengl.
Tirparihat	Strobilanthes, ? species.
Tisori	Atylosa candollei, W and A.
Tördsmitch	Diospyros sp.
Töri or *töriwul*	Berberis nepalensis, Sprengl.
Tödr	Meliosma pungens, Wall. and M. Wightii, Planch.
Tundri	Girardinia heterophylla DC.
Wödr	Ochlandra sp.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

prairie. The hills as accessible as those of Malvern; the prairie land as ceaseless, in its long undulations, as the billows of an ocean. Short coarse grass, clothes the whole, save where the deep forest holds possession of the damp secluded valleys, or the cool little woods moss the banks of the prolonged gulleys, through which the trickling streams or dashing bourns course down the silent hill-sides: then collect, and, through successive vigorous rapids and tumultuous cataracts—where from behind the clouds of spray and mist, noise roars its prolonged approval—precipitate themselves into the plains below. Wherever, in fact, rich soil and a perennial supply of moisture may be found, there are the ever silent woods; for the periods of annual drought are long: the monsoon rain flows quickly off the hard surface of the exposed hills, and the scorched grass containing the young saplings is yearly fired.

These woods and forests, and lovely glades, whose perfect quiet is broken only by the calls of wild animals and birds, or by the rustic sounds of Toda cattle—almost equally wild—herding in the open, form pre-eminently the characteristic features of the scenery; adding emphasis to the singularly peaceful beauty of the view.

The grass, in spots where the buffalo has not grazed it short, and where moisture favours growth, is crowded with wild flowers. Climbers, in great variety of grace and form, swing in festoons from the limbs of the gnarled old forest trees, bearded with hoary lichen, or ornamented with varieties of flowering orchids, which cling to the branches of the moss-covered timber. In the dank secluded shades a great variety of ferns; from the tree-fern to those of the smallest size, grace the gloom:—

> 'O, might I here
> In solitude live savage, in some glade
> Obscured, where highest woods, impenetrable
> To star or sunlight, spread their umbrage broad.'

All round the circle of this high-perched green plateau, one

unbroken sweep of low flat country, dotted with hills.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VIII.

The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots. 137 They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is 262 known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula —a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit —pôm—and herbs of sorts.

177 Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these 273 people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is 276 still a luxury.

262 Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general 862 habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

252 As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

564 The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; these Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

264 Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook —are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

137 778 824 Though the proper meaning of the word tûde, is simply a bush; yet taken in connection with its use for sanctifying purposes, it may be held to imply that it is *the* bush above all others. It is a very common little tree on these hills, fragile, and by all accounts, possessing no remarkable properties in flower, seed, or sap. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel Beddome, Conservator of Forests, for its botanic names, viz., *Meliosma simplicifolia*, alias *Millingtonia*.

Dr. Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, has obliged me with the following valuable information as to the diffusion of the tree; a point on which I have been desirous to obtain the most reliable account, hoping that the localities might form geographical links by which the Todas might be traced to other tribes within or beyond the boundaries of Hindustan. 'The distribution of the plant,' Dr. Hooker is so good as to write, 'is Western and Eastern Himalaya, from Simla eastward. Khassia, Silhet, and Mishmi hills in Assam. From the Concan to Courtallam in the western Peninsula. It certainly does not inhabit Persia, the Caucasus, or South Russia, and probably not even Beluchistan.'

174 783 824 778 It was important to establish, if the race of which the Todas form a tribe, brought with them from Western Asia the use of the tûde, the *Millingtonia*. It would now seem probable that they brought with them, merely, the already established practice of self-purification with a sacred plant, and not finding in the country of their adoption that which they had been accustomed to use when in their own land, they elected the tûde in its place. If the views expressed in the last chapter, as to the antiquity of the rules of cattle inheritance—making the bell-cow a descendant by the female line from some remote ancestor—be considered of value, then some degree of support is also afforded to show the collateral practice of purification by the use of a sacred plant, to be also very ancient.

000 It would be interesting to know if other broken tribes of the pre-Âryan—Drâvidian—race, now living in various tracts

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

refer, had we not been accompanied, or rather introduced, by the Moravian missionary, Mr. Metz, whom I have already mentioned as being so much esteemed by the tribe. 000

Our ride to Kapilla, the scene of these interesting rites, lay for some miles over a fine open undulating table-land dotted with enormous rhododendrons, which were loaded with clusters of dark crimson flowers. Gradually we got into higher ground, now pressing our hill-ponies up steep acclivities, now skirting the edge of great forest belts stretching downwards for many a mile into the sultry valleys at our feet, till, guided by the appearance of a few distant natives wending their way towards an isolated wood on one of the surrounding mist-covered peaks, we at length came within hearing of the shrill and very peculiar sound of Khota hautboys. 766 137

Leaving our ponies, we entered a deep shadowy wood of moss-grown trees, whose gnarled and twisted stems and branches were also completely covered overhead and down to the ground with ferns, orchids, long pendent tufts of grey lichen, and parasitical plants, one with dark glossy leaves and an orange flower being especially beautiful.

In an open space, near the centre of this shady grove, and lit up by the bright rays of the midday sun, was a surging crowd of white-robed Todas, and half-naked Khotas with wild and excited looks, whose unmusical pipes drowned all other sounds. Outside the wood, on an open green space, stood a Toda temple, having its gable-ends of polished wood thickly studded over with silver coins of various sizes, fixed in perpendicular rows on each alternate plank. Near at hand was a small temporary shed, or ridge-shaped tent, made of pieces of native cloth, whilst at a little distance off was a large circular *tooel*, or cattle kraal, with a wall both higher and thicker and altogether much more substantial than usual. It was constructed of stones and sun-baked clay, the entrance being barred with stout poles. 766 346

Within this enclosure stood ten splendid buffaloes, their clean bright skins and polished horns indicating that some pains had been taken to improve their naturally fine appearance. 766

Crowds of women and children stood or sat about the temple, in which a party of the former had just placed the deceased's robe and ornaments, together with two bags containing his ashes. With the exception of the younger children, who were naked

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER II

THE TODA PEOPLE

[113] I DO not propose to describe at any length the physical characters of the Todas.[1] It must be sufficient to say here
141 that the people differ remarkably in general appearance, and perhaps still more remarkably in general bearing, from the other inhabitants of Southern India. The average height of the men is about 5 ft. 7 in., and that of the women 5 ft. 1 in.; both are well-proportioned, and the men robustly built. Their heads are distinctly dolichocephalic, the cephalic index of the men being 73·3. The shaved heads of the children show very well the great length, and probably owing to the special method of shaving (see Figs. 63 and 64), this feature is in them exaggerated so as to seem almost abnormal.

The nose is usually well-formed and not especially broad, the nasal index being 74·9. It is often distinctly rounded in
142 profile. The skin is of a rich brown colour, distinctly lighter than that of most of the Dravidian inhabitants of Southern India. The skins of the women are lighter than those of the men. There is much hair on the bodies of the men, who usually grow thick beards, and the hair of the head is
147 luxuriant in both men and women. The men are strong and very agile; the agility being most in evidence when they have to catch their infuriated buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies. They stand fatigue well, and often travel great distances. One day I met an old man about seventy years of age going to the market at Gudalur for a supply

[1] Those who wish for information on this point should consult the articles by Mr. Edgar Thurston in the *Bulletins* of the Madras Museum, vol. i., pp. 148 and 207, and vol. iv., p. 2.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

this district.[1] In considering this matter, we may anticipate that even if the Todas and any of the tribes or castes of Malabar had the same origin, marked differences would have been produced by the long sojourn of the former on the Nilgiri plateau. How long the Todas have been on the Nilgiri Hills no one can say, but we may safely conclude that a very long time must have been necessary to produce the wide divergence in custom and belief which is found to separate them even from those other inhabitants of India whom they most closely resemble. If the Todas came from Malabar, they came from a country differing enormously in temperature and in general physical and climatic characters from the Nilgiri plateau. Life on the hills must almost certainly have altered the physical characters of the people, and it is perhaps now hopeless to expect that any exact resemblance would be found with the existing races of Malabar even if the Todas are an offshoot of one of them. Nevertheless, in comparing the physical measurements of the Todas, which we owe to Mr. Thurston, with those of various Malabar races taken by Mr. Fawcett, it would seem that the differences are not very great, and in the measurements to which anthropologists attach most importance, those of the head and nose, they are very slight.

144 174 141 144 174

In the table on the following page I give the chief measurements in centimeters for Todas, Nairs, and Nambutiris.

The average dimensions of the heads and noses of the Todas correspond very closely with those of the Nairs, and the differences from the Nambutiris are nowhere great. It must be remembered that the measurements on the Todas were taken by one observer, and those on the Nairs and Nambutiris by another,[2] and this may partly account for

[1] In a paper which I have only seen since the above was written (*C. R. de la Soc. de Biol.*, 1905, t. lix, p. 123) M. Louis Lapicque has called attention to the resemblance between Todas and Nairs. He regards the Todas as pure or almost pure examples of one of the two races of which he believes the Dravidian population of India to be composed, the Nairs being more mixed with the negroid element, which forms the other component of the population according to M. Lapicque.

[2] It must also be borne in mind that the figures of the Nambutiris and those of some of the Todas are based on the measurement of twenty-five individuals only in each case.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

141 the large divergence in the case of the maxillo-zygomatic
144 index, which is calculated from the bigoniac and bizygomatic measurements, in both of which there is considerable scope
174 for differences between different observers. The only other measurements which show any decided divergence are the stature and the length from the middle finger to the patella, and the greater stature of the Todas may well be the result of their more healthy environment. The cubit of the Todas also differs very decidedly from that of the Nambutiris, though little longer than this dimension of the Nairs.

	Todas.[1]	186 Nairs.	25 Nambutiris.
Stature	169·8	165·6	162·3
Span	175·9	175·1	170·0
Chest	82·0	80·6	83·7
Middle finger to patella	12·0	10·1	10·5
Shoulders	39·3	40·0	40·7
Left cubit	47·0	46·2	44·2
Left hand, length	18·8	18·5	18·0
,, ,, width	8·1	8·3	7·8
Hips	25·7	26·0	26·2
Left foot, length	25·0	25·4	24·5
,, ,, width	9·2	8·8	
Cephalic length	19·4	19·2	19·2
,, width	14·2	14·1	14·6
,, index	73·3	73·1	76·3
Bigoniac	9·6	10·4	10·6
Bizygomatic	12·7	13·1	13·2
Maxillo-zygomatic index	75·7	80·1	80·4
Nasal height	4·7	4·8	4·9
,, width	3·6	3·6	3·7
,, index	76·6	76·8	75·5

We do not know the probable errors of these different groups of measurements, but the agreement between the Todas and the two castes of Malabar is so close as to suggest strongly a racial affinity between the three.[2]

142 The hairiness of the Toda is perhaps the feature in which
144 he differs most obviously from the races of Malabar, while the robustness of his physique and general bearing are perhaps
174 almost as striking. The latter qualities may be entirely due

[1] Some of these measurements are based on the examination of eighty-two men, others are derived from twenty-five men only.

[2] The relations existing between Nair women and Nambutiri men must have brought about an approximation of the two Malabar castes in physical characters, even if they were originally of different ethnical origin.

TABLE II.

Sizes of Heads in both Sexes of the Todas, as obtained by Calliper Measurements.

Position of Callipers		Average size		Sizes of Individuals, in inches																	
				Males										Females							
From	To	M	F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Occipital spine .	Individuality .	7·39	7·14	7¼	7⅛	7⅛	7¼	7½	7¼	7¼	7½	7½	7⅜	7¼	6⅞	7½	7¼	7	6¾	7¼	7½
Occipital spine .	Hole of ear .	4·67	4·70	4¾	4¾	5	4½	4½	4	4½	4¾	5	4⅞	4¾	4¾	4½	4¾	5¼	4¼	4¾	5
Individuality ..	Hole of ear .	4·94	4·50	5	4¾	5	5	4⅞	5	4¾	5¼	5	4¾	4½	4⅜	4½	4½	4½	4½	4½	4¾
Firmness . .	Hole of ear .	5·75	5·78	5¾	6	5½	5¼	5¾	5¾	6	5¾	5¾	6	6	5¼	6	6	5¾	5½	5¾	6
Destructiveness .	Destructiveness	5·41	5·17	5¼	5¼	5¼	5½	5¾	5¾	5	5½	5½	5½	5¼	5⅛	5¼	5¼	5	5¼	5	5¼
Cautiousness .	Cautiousness .	5·44	5·17	5¼	5½	5¼	5½	5½	5½	5½	5½	5¼	5⅜	5¼	5⅛	5½	5¼	5	5	5	5¼
Ideality . .	Ideality .	4·39	4·37	4¼	4	4½	4½	4⅜	4½	4¾	4¼	4¼	4½	4¼	4⅛	4⅛	4½	4¼	4½	4½	4¼
Constructiveness	Constructiveness	4·91	4·66	4¾	4¾	5	5	4⅞	5	4¾	4¾	5¼	5	4½	4¾	4¾	4¾	4¾	4½	4½	4¾
Circumference of head through Concentrativeness and Eventuality		22·21	21·37	22	22	—	—	21½	—	22	22¼	22	22¾	21¾	20½	22	21½	20¾	—	22	—

NOTE.—The heads are not in the same succession as those in Table No. 1.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. III.

33 in. Photograph No. 7 is the picture of one of the most sturdy men of the tribe.

142 Height. Of men, from 5 ft. 4 in. to 6 ft. 1 in.; average about 141 5 ft. 8 in. Of women, from 4 ft. 10 in. to 5 ft. 4½ in.; average about 5 ft. 1 in. There are no very short people.

Weight. Of men from about 110 to 155 lbs. There are reasons why the weight of women cannot be accurately ascertained; but it is believed to vary between 90 and 130 lbs.

142 Shoulders. Angular, never sloping, generally with a flat back.

Muscles. Never large; hard rather than full; some decidedly below the average.

The general mass of the tribe are fairly, often well grown; straight and lank, without deformity, but without any really fine people.

The men's carriage is erect, free and unconstrained, without 157 being either bold or athletic. Their manners and tone of voice are self-possessed, suave, quiet, and solemn: the women substituting a pleasing cheerfulness for solemnity. When quiescent, their expression and carriage has much oriental repose in it.

The temperament of such a people as has just been described would in the main be fibrous, with some of the sanguine or the nervous in individuals; especially so in the female sex, many of whom I noticed show a considerable amount of the nervous with advancing years. Such a national temperament is more suited to the display of qualities requiring muscular energy for their support, than of those in which the subtilty of intellect would take part.

141 We find the cranium, taken as a whole, to be of an average size; comprising certain very strong, and certain equally and lamentably weak, points of form. The singular uniformity in contour of all the heads has already been observed upon.

000 In order to form a correct, and therefore complete judgment of a man's character, it is not sufficient to take a

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

and his infant progeny have perished by neglect. That the Toda skull is remarkably well developed in all the domestic organs, and in the necessary perceptive—practical—faculties, a glance at the photographs in this book will show to everyone.

Next. In the dark prehistoric age, whose duration appears unlimited, but through which all families of man have passed, *that race which possessed the greatest capacity for overcoming obstacles*—taken in the very widest sense—must, *cæteris paribus*, inevitably have remained the survivor in struggles with the weaker, and therefore, by laws of progression, more primitive race. Now *these active qualities are invariably accompanied by large size in the groups of organs, which, situated at the sides of the cranium, form, when well developed, the brachycephalic head.*

The Toda tribe is entirely, and without individual exception, narrow-long-headed—dolichocephalic—every person in it, of both sexes, being deficient in every organ at the sides of the skull; and, as I have before stated, having the perceptive organs over the eyebrow (group I[2]), and the Domestic group at the back of the head, large. If we add to these indications, the deficiency in moral and in superior mental organisation which appears to be an universal attribute of almost entirely undeveloped peoples, we can, I think, make up our minds without hesitation, as to what form of skull is the most primitive of those of which we have yet discovered remains.

In races which, though still dolichocephalic, are seemingly *growing*—advancing towards brachycephaly—we find the *sides of the skull in stages of development*, varying in directions and degrees of growth, with each different race. This phenomenon is capable of explanation:—We might anticipate that so long as the marriage practice of a tribe is what Mr. M'Lennan has termed[3] endogamous, the form in skull of that tribe—as the Todas—from every individual being affected by

[3] M'Lennan, 'Primitive Marriage.'

The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Mekanâd in 1835 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz.:—

1. Dêvalyâl.
2. Tarserzhâl.

The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis est apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

"ETHNOLOGY.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
" possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
" with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
" self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
" at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
" Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
" darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
" the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
" the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
" strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
" features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
" *forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2¼ inches from the root of the nose
" to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
" moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
" colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
" in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
" measuring from root to tip 2⅜ inches, and height from base of ala to ridge 1½ inches,
" breadth of ala from side to side 1½ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
" full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1835.
Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 20th August 1836, says:—
" This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
" total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
" Captain Harkness counted 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
" girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Broca' Table, No. 28.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Broca' Tables.

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
" white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
142 " fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 12·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
302 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
" readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
609 " been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
302 distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
157 at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to
609 consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing
sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-humour.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

304 2. Aged 28. Tattooed with a single dot on chin;
[531] rings and dots on chest, outer side of upper arms, back of left hand, below calves, above ankles, and across dorsum of feet. Wears thread armlet ornamented with young cowries on right forearm; thread armlet and two
[301] heavy ornamental brass armlets on left upper arm; ornamental brass bangle and glass bead bracelet on left wrist; brass ring on left little finger; two steel rings on left ring finger; bead necklet ornamented with cowries.

3. Aged 35. Tattooed like the preceding, with
[531] the addition of an elaborate device of rings and dots on the back.

4. Aged 35. Linen bound round elbow joint, to
[301] prevent chafing of heavy brass armlets. Cicatrices of sores in front of elbow joint, produced by armlets.

5. Aged 23. Has one child. Tattooed only below calves, and above ankles.

141 The following are the more important physical measurements of the Toda men, whom I have examined:—

	Av.	Max.	Min.
	CM.	CM.	CM.
Stature	169·8	186·8	157·6
Cephalic length ...	19·4	20·4	18·2
Do. breadth ...	14·2	15·2	13·3
Do. index ...	73·3	81·3	68·7
Nasal height ...	4·7	4·9	4·6
Do. breadth ...	3·6	3·8	3·4
Do. index ...	74·9	79·9	70·

Allowing that the cephalic index is a good criterion of racial or tribal purity, the following analysis of the Toda indices is very striking:—

69 ◆◆
70 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
71 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

141 ●

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72 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
73 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
74 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆}*
75 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
76 ◆◆◆◆◆◆
77 ◆
78 ◆
79 ◆
80
81 ◆
```

A thing of exceeding joy to the Todas was my Salter's hand-dynamometer, the fame of which spread from mand to mand, and which was circulated among the crowd at funerals. Great was the disgust of the assembled males, on a certain day, when the record of hand-grip for the morning (73 lbs.) was carried off by a big-boned female, who became the unlovely heroine of the moment. The largest English feminine hand-grip, recorded in my laboratory note-book, is only 66 lbs. One Toda man, of fine physique, not satisfied with his grip of 98 lbs., went into training, and fed himself up for a few days. Thus prepared, he returned to accomplish 103 lbs., the result of more skilful manipulation of the machine rather than of a liberal dietary of butter-milk. 123 141

The routine Toda dietary is said to be made up of the following articles, to which must be added strong drinks purchased at the toddy shops :— 262

(*a*) Rice boiled in whey.

(*b*) Rice and jaggery (crude sugar) boiled in water.

(*c*) Broth or curry made of vegetables purchased in the bazar, wild vegetables and pot-herbs, which, together with ground orchids, the Todas may often be seen rooting up with a sharp-pointed digging-stick on [443]

* Average 73.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" 648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out [491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced [137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, 361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something 000 like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ä = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot		z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ö = word	u = blue	è = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	ù = cook	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
			r = rot	ü = French	

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
18

CHAPTER II

THE TODA PEOPLE

[113] 141 I DO not propose to describe at any length the physical characters of the Todas.[1] It must be sufficient to say here that the people differ remarkably in general appearance, and perhaps still more remarkably in general bearing, from the other inhabitants of Southern India. The average height of the men is about 5 ft. 7 in., and that of the women 5 ft. 1 in.; both are well-proportioned, and the men robustly built. Their heads are distinctly dolichocephalic, the cephalic index of the men being 73·3. The shaved heads of the children show very well the great length, and probably owing to the special method of shaving (see Figs. 63 and 64), this feature is in them exaggerated so as to seem almost abnormal.

The nose is usually well-formed and not especially broad, the nasal index being 74·9. It is often distinctly rounded in 142 profile. The skin is of a rich brown colour, distinctly lighter than that of most of the Dravidian inhabitants of Southern India. The skins of the women are lighter than those of the men. There is much hair on the bodies of the men, who usually grow thick beards, and the hair of the head is 147 luxuriant in both men and women. The men are strong and very agile; the agility being most in evidence when they have to catch their infuriated buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies. They stand fatigue well, and often travel great distances. One day I met an old man about seventy years of age going to the market at Gudalur for a supply

[1] Those who wish for information on this point should consult the articles by Mr. Edgar Thurston in the *Bulletins* of the Madras Museum, vol. i., pp. 148 and 207, and vol. iv., p. 2.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of grain, and in the evening I met him on his return carrying a large and heavy bag. He had travelled over thirty miles, had gone down and again come up some 3,000 feet, and most of his journey had been in a climate much warmer than that of his native hills. 147

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FIG. 1.—TODA MAN. FULL FACE.

My guide at the end of the day would sometimes go a distance of eight or ten miles and back to arrange for my supply of men for the next day's work, and I have seen him on these occasions running at a steady pace which he would keep up for miles. In going from one part of the hills to another, a Toda always travels as nearly as possible in 147 481

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

147 a straight line, ignoring altogether the influence of gravity,
461 and mounting the steepest hills with no apparent effort.

153 In all my work with the men, it seemed to me that they were extremely intelligent. They grasped readily the points of any inquiry upon which I entered, and often showed a

[142]

FIG. 2.—TODA MAN. SIDE FACE.

marked appreciation of complicated questions. They were interested in the customs of other parts of the world, and appeared to grasp readily the essential differences between their own ways and those of other peoples. It is very difficult to estimate general intelligence, and to compare definitely the intelligence of different individuals, still more of people of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

153 different races. I can only record my impression, after several months' close intercourse with the Todas, that they were just as intelligent as one would have found any average body of educated Europeans. There were marked individual differences, just as there are among the more civilised, and it is probable that I saw chiefly the more intelligent members of the community.

[142]

FIG. 3.—TODA WOMAN. FULL FACE.

151 My time was largely devoted to experimental work, espe-
153 cially on the nature of the sensory and perceptual processes. The people entered readily into this work, quickly grasped the nature of the methods employed, and showed the same power of close attention and careful observation which, as I have found in other races, enable even more definite and con-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Irulas. Badagas. Todas. Kotas. Kurumbas.

FIG. 68 (FROM BREEKS).—THE FIVE TRIBES OF THE NILGIRI HILLS.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful
184 kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
616 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning
775 the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by
621 their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
616 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

141 the large divergence in the case of the maxillo-zygomatic
144 index, which is calculated from the bigoniac and bizygomatic measurements, in both of which there is considerable scope
174 for differences between different observers. The only other measurements which show any decided divergence are the stature and the length from the middle finger to the patella, and the greater stature of the Todas may well be the result of their more healthy environment. The cubit of the Todas also differs very decidedly from that of the Nambutiris, though little longer than this dimension of the Nairs.

	Todas.[1]	186 Nairs.	25 Nambutiris.
Stature	169·8	165·6	162·3
Span	175·9	175·1	170·0
Chest	82·0	80·6	83·7
Middle finger to patella	12·0	10·1	10·5
Shoulders	39·3	40·0	40·7
Left cubit	47·0	46·2	44·2
Left hand, length	18·8	18·5	18·0
,, ,, width	8·1	8·3	7·8
Hips	25·7	26·0	26·2
Left foot, length	25·0	25·4	24·5
,, ,, width	9·2	8·8	
Cephalic length	19·4	19·2	19·2
,, width	14·2	14·1	14·6
,, index	73·3	73·1	76·3
Bigoniac	9·6	10·4	10·6
Bizygomatic	12·7	13·1	13·2
Maxillo-zygomatic index	75·7	80·1	80·4
Nasal height	4·7	4·8	4·9
,, width	3·6	3·6	3·7
,, index	76·6	76·8	75·5

We do not know the probable errors of these different groups of measurements, but the agreement between the Todas and the two castes of Malabar is so close as to suggest strongly a racial affinity between the three.[2]

142 The hairiness of the Toda is perhaps the feature in which
144 he differs most obviously from the races of Malabar, while the robustness of his physique and general bearing are perhaps
174 almost as striking. The latter qualities may be entirely due

[1] Some of these measurements are based on the examination of eighty-two men, others are derived from twenty-five men only.

[2] The relations existing between Nair women and Nambutiri men must have brought about an approximation of the two Malabar castes in physical characters, even if they were originally of different ethnical origin.

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to his environment, to his free life in the comparatively bracing climate of the Nilgiris, and, so far as we know, the development of hair may have a similar cause. Of all the castes or tribes of Malabar, the Nambutiris perhaps shows the greatest number of resemblances to the customs of the Todas,[1] and it is therefore interesting to note that Mr. Fawcett describes these people as the hairiest of all the races of Malabar and especially notes that one individual he examined was like a Toda.

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I am not competent to express a decided opinion on the amount of importance which is to be attached to the resemblance which is shown by the figures on p. 708, but it seems to me that the facts before us give no grounds[2] for separating the Todas racially from the two chief castes of Malabar.

The identification of the Todas with Nairs or Nambutiris would still leave their racial affinities somewhat indeterminate. The Nambutiris are often supposed to be Aryan invaders of Malabar, and, owing to the cause already mentioned, the Nairs are so largely of Nambutiri blood that, if the Nambutiris are Aryan, the Nairs must also be strongly Aryanised even if they were originally of pure Dravidian descent.

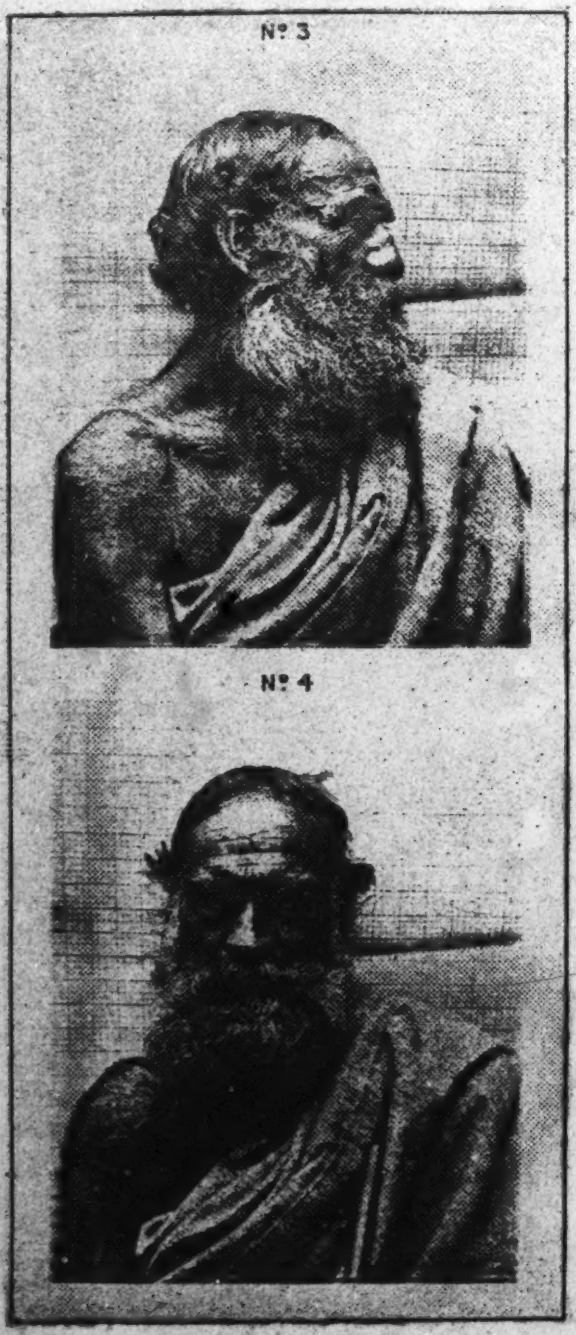
If future research should show that the Todas are an offshoot of one of the races now existing in Malabar, and if any definite conclusion can be drawn as to the time during which they have been on the Nilgiri Hills, physical anthropologists will be provided with a most interesting example of the influence of environment on the physical characters of a race. Few greater contrasts of environment could be found in a country than that existing between Malabar and the Nilgiris, and it is possible that the Todas may furnish a striking example of the influence of environment on physical characters.

[1] It is worth noting that they practise male descent, while the Nairs follow the Marumakkattayam system of inheritance.

[2] I should much like to know the ratios between the lengths of different limb bones, such as those shown by the radio-humeral or tibio-femoral indices. The observations on the cubit and the distance from the middle-finger to the patella suggest that considerable differences might be found between the Todas and the Malabar castes in these ratios, which do not seem to me to have yet received from the physical anthropologist the attention they deserve.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

142



opp. p. 32-A

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

142

Opp. p. 32-8

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. III. 000

ever find themselves, could have had an impression so great as to have left this permanent stamp on the Toda forehead.

The following description of the physical appearance of the Todas will, I trust, prove of some value. 142

Eyebrows. Horizontal, straight and of medium length; never short, sometimes long; approach each other. Sometimes fine—willow leaf—generally somewhat bushy, with hairs close and, amongst the women, soft like a beaver's.

Nose. Generally *narrow* and of medium height at the base; nasal bones broad at the lower end; long; superciliary ridge in both sexes often very strongly marked; sometimes aquiline, often nearly so, never *retroussé*. Rather fleshy; nostrils rather dilated, but sometimes long and fine. The nose rarely appears at perfection before mid-age.

Mouth. Somewhat fleshy; rather short upper lip, and rather protruding and pendant lower lip—often strikingly so, becoming more evident with advancing years.

Gums. Generally purple, but often of a bright, highly oxygenated red colour.

Teeth. Sometimes short and broad, in others long; nearly all are even, yellowish, but bright, with rounded edges, set in roomy but not large jaws. With some the teeth are set at intervals, spreading outwards like a fan. In a few cases they were found cramped and crushed together; in one or two instances the eye-teeth were prominent. The teeth last till old age.

Ears. Generally flat to the head, never standing out; long, and with a large fleshy lobe. The orifice is nearly on a line with the eyebrow.

142 302 Hair of head. In both sexes black and heavy; in some cases close and tolerably fine, in others as much separate as in a wig, and coarse; wavy rather than curly. Both men and women habitually cut their hair, the former to about the level of the nose, and the latter at the shoulder. There are two or three nearly bald men in the tribe, but no bald women.

Beard and whiskers. As a general rule very thick and coarse, wavy rather than curly, extending to the eyes. A few delicate men are deficient in hair.

Hair on body. At about the age of thirty often covers the entire body, as appears on the full-length photograph, especially over abdomen, chest and shoulders. Boys of fourteen are often covered with down. Women have sometimes fine hair between the shoulder-blades.

Eyes. Of medium size, a few rather large; somewhat long, though some are nearly round; horizontal; in varying shades of brown, from hazel to snaky or beady, never blue or bluish; whites rather yellow. General expression of full average intelligence, some very soft and even sad; doggish; almost all have a great power of lighting up, in some to a wonderful extent, flashing, when under even slight excitement, like brilliants.

Eyelash. Rather straight, and of moderate length and closeness, never short, but sometimes long.

Face. Rather long, oval, of pleasant contour, without anything harsh or unusual in it, but, on the contrary, often refined; a few instances of rather high cheek-bones. The jaw is sometimes, but very rarely, a little prognathous.

Nails of hand. Sometimes short and square, but more generally long and oval; convex, strong.

Nails of feet. Are more flat, probably from walking barefooted on the wet grass.

Fingers. Some square; more often rather taper.

Feet. Of medium breadth. In strong people thick, but among the weakly, thin. The instep is rarely above an average in height, often very low; the heel of ordinary shape, and rather small.

Skin. Of medium texture, brown, much the colour of the Sikhs, often warm and copperish, a few fairer.

Abdomen. Small; a paunch is never to be seen.

Thorax. Moderate; the largest girth does not exceed

CHAP. III.

33 in. Photograph No. 7 is the picture of one of the most sturdy men of the tribe.

142 Height. Of men, from 5 ft. 4 in. to 6 ft. 1 in.; average about
141 5 ft. 8 in. Of women, from 4 ft. 10 in. to 5 ft. 4½ in.; average about 5 ft. 1 in. There are no very short people.

Weight. Of men from about 110 to 155 lbs. There are reasons why the weight of women cannot be accurately ascertained; but it is believed to vary between 90 and 130 lbs.

142 Shoulders. Angular, never sloping, generally with a flat back.

Muscles. Never large; hard rather than full; some decidedly below the average.

The general mass of the tribe are fairly, often well grown; straight and lank, without deformity, but without any really fine people.

The men's carriage is erect, free and unconstrained, without
157 being either bold or athletic. Their manners and tone of voice are self-possessed, suave, quiet, and solemn: the women substituting a pleasing cheerfulness for solemnity. When quiescent, their expression and carriage has much oriental repose in it.

The temperament of such a people as has just been described would in the main be fibrous, with some of the sanguine or the nervous in individuals; especially so in the female sex, many of whom I noticed show a considerable amount of the nervous with advancing years. Such a national temperament is more suited to the display of qualities requiring muscular energy for their support, than of those in which the subtilty of intellect would take part.

141 We find the cranium, taken as a whole, to be of an average size; comprising certain very strong, and certain equally and lamentably weak, points of form. The singular uniformity in contour of all the heads has already been observed upon.

000 In order to form a correct, and therefore complete judgment of a man's character, it is not sufficient to take a

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº7

142

opp. p. 38

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 129

No 14

142

CHILDREN TENDING CATTLE.

Z: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

No. 16
opp. p. 136

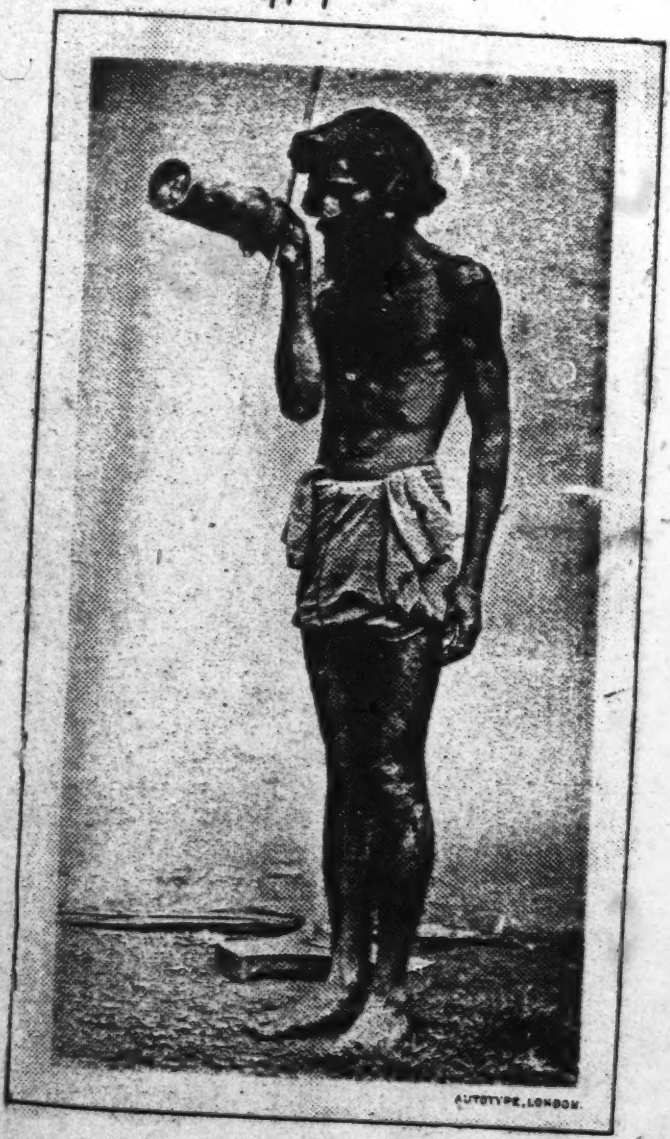
142
793

ADAM AND EVE
ÂL-ÂD-ÂD'M-MAN. AVV-MOTHER.
OF THE PEIKI CLAN – DÊR MOKH OR SONS OF GOD.
GENESIS VI. 2.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 142

142
788
793



THE PÂLÂL SALUTES THE SACRED CATTLE.

Z: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 23
opp. p. 184

142

AUTOTYPE, LONDON

MY INFORMANT.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 24

opp. p. 207

142

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

PENTIREM

A MAIDEN OF 14 YEARS.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 25

opp. p. 214

142

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

NASTUFI

"THE LITTLE SAVAGE"

A MARRIED GIRL OF 15 YEARS.

Z: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 26
opp. p. 215

142

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

BELIANI

The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Mekanâd in 1835 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are div[illegible]d into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz.:—

1. Dêvalyâl.
2. Tarserhâl.

The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarserhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

"Ethnology.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
"possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
"with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
"self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
"at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
"Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
"darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
"the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
"the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
"strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
"features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
"*forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2¼ inches from the root of the nose
"to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
"moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
"colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
"in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
"measuring from root to tip 2½ inches, and height from base of alæ to ridge 1½ inches,
"breadth of alæ from side to side 1¼ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
"full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1836.
Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 20th August 1836, says:—
"This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
"total of 336 for the whole Hill; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
"Captain Harkness counted 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
"girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Breeks' Table, No. 29.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Breeks' Tables.

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
142 " white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
" fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 12·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe.*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
302 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
609 " readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
" been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
302 distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
157 peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
609 at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to
consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing
sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-
humour.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Plate III

142

TODA MEN AND WOMAN.

3t. Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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PLATE IV.

TODA WOMEN.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE V.

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TODA MAN.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE VA.

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TODA WOMAN.

S: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE VI.

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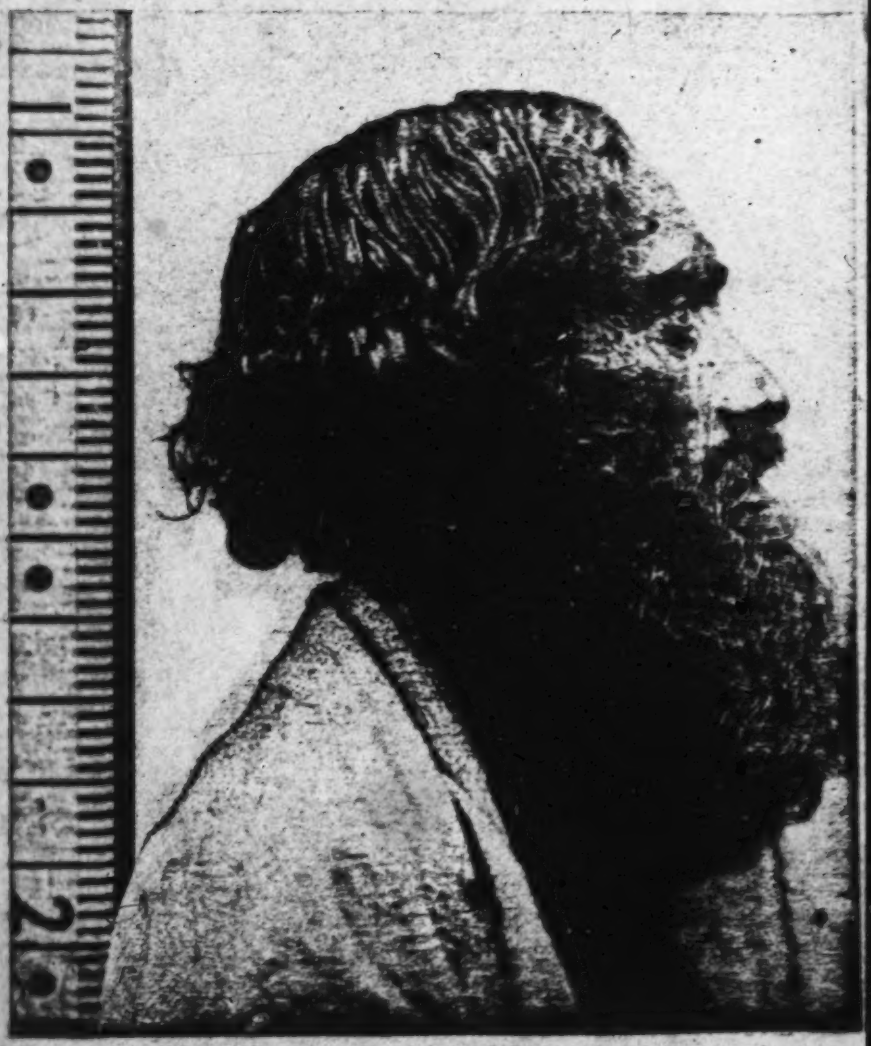

TODA MAN'S HEAD.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE VII.

42

TODA MAN'S HEAD.

3q Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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TODAS WITH CLUBS &c.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWGO Toda AWGO

142 The men are large in frame, tall and remarkably well-proportioned, with muscular, massive, and very hairy limbs and broad chests; a physique totally opposite in every respect to that of the dwellers in the plains. Their countenances are manly, open, and handsome, the features being unusually regular. They have luxuriant black beards, and, wearing no turban or covering on the head, display to full advantage their clustering bushy hair, the European look of which is increased by their practice of wearing it parted down the centre. In colour they are nearer brown than black; their lips are full rather than large, and their cheek-bones marked but not high. The eyes are large and intelligent, and the nose is elevated and arched. It is doubtless this combination of the distinguishing features of the white race, with an almost black complexion that gives them in part their peculiar aspect. Many of them have a very Jewish expression, but the general contour of the head and cast of countenance are rather such as we are accustomed to associate with the ancient Romans. This similitude is also enhanced by their stately carriage and flowing robe, the loose folds of which give them an appearance
291 best described by the term classic. This garment, in which the Toda envelopes himself, is of a thick coarse cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back and forward under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again, leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the lower part of the
293 person down to the knees. When herding their buffaloes, the men carry a thin straight rod or wand, about six feet in length, and this is the only approach to implement or weapon that they ever use.

142 The women are much lighter in hue than the men, the body being of a *café-au-lait* tint, and the face a shade darker. They are as a rule very pleasing in expression, and the young women, from fifteen to twenty, generally exceedingly good-looking. They are above the middle height, large in frame and well developed, though the hands and feet are very small. Their features are regular, the mouth not large, lips often thin, and the teeth even and beautifully white; the nose is straight, whilst the eyes are dark
302 and expressive. The most striking peculiarity about them is the arrangement of their fine glossy black hair, which is dressed in

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

ringlets precisely such as ladies in this country wore about 302
twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and the long ringlets hang on either side of the oval face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life; the hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. The female dress on ordinary occasions consists 291
simply of a single robe similar to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand. This, as one very soon learns, generally constitutes the sole garment of the wearer, for the Toda women have a habit, even in the presence of strangers, of throwing open the mantle to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting it on the shoulders. Some of them indeed hardly take the trouble to hold it together in front at all, and this was especially the case at a *mund*, near Coonoor, which, as I was quartered in the immediate vicinity, I had frequently to pass. I 202
used to notice that the men watching their herds on the opposite heights, separated by a wide glen from where I was, would announce my coming by shouting across to the women at home, who were accordingly always on the *qui vive* at the roadside prepared to greet me with their usual begging cry *Enam Kurroo*, "give me a present." The way that these men carry on conversations with one another across wide intervening valleys, and apparently without effort, reminded me of the Kaffir herdsmen, every word of whose voices I have heard from hill-tops at distances that seemed incredible.

I have on occasions of ceremony seen the women with under- 292
clothing fastened round the middle in addition to the above 531
everyday costume. I may observe that they often embroider the corners of these robes with blue thread, and shew very considerable taste in the devices.

Neither slippers nor sandals are ever seen among them, men, 291
women, and children alike, going barefooted. The young children are generally pleasing in their appearance. I noticed that the 142
boys up to eight or ten years old are of the same light colour as the girls, the dark hue of later life being gradually developed with each year's exposure to the sun and mountain air until the age of manhood. It is to be noted, however, of the females that, though equally exposed to climatic influences, their complexions remain nearly the same all through life.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

•142 The lineaments and characteristics of the Telingan race, as described by Pickering, seem to apply to this people in all points save one, but that a very important one, namely, the nature of the hair. According to the above author, the Telingans have "straight fine hair", but, as the hair of the Toda men is clustering, partially curled, and rather inclined to coarseness, the classification of this tribe under that head seems out of the question.

301 The most noticeable of the ornaments, generally valuable and always pleasing to the eye, worn by the Toda women, are their massive and very handsome necklaces of solid gold and silver, which, though of course varying in size and detail of design, are all of the same typical character, resembling some of the ancient [435] necklaces found in our own country. These ornaments they value very highly, and regard as heirlooms not to be parted with on any consideration, so that to procure a specimen was a matter of extreme difficulty. The one now exhibited I managed after much trouble to obtain through the medium of a friendly Moravian missionary, from a female whose interest in dress and ornament was, like herself, somewhat on the wane. Mr. Metz, the missionary in question, in the course of a residence of many years among these people, had gained their trust and confidence to an almost unlimited extent; nevertheless, it required, in addition to his oral arguments, several successive handfuls of small silver coin, finally amounting to thirty-five rupees to induce her to sell it. Even this sum (which was about equivalent to £3 : 10 : 0, in shillings and sixpences) the owner consented to accept only on condition that nothing should be said to any of her tribe regarding the transaction. This ornament is the work of the Khotas, one of the tribes that will be presently described, and its weight is nearly eight ounces of the purest silver. Nearly all the adult women have similar necklaces, many of them being much larger and more massive than the present specimen, and mostly having bunches and rosettes of cowrie shells on blue cords affixed, which hang down the back of the neck.

Their other ornaments are silver ear-rings and bracelets; gold, silver, and brass rings on the fingers, a couple of very large brass armlets above the elbows, and a brass or sometimes silver belt worn round the middle, and next to the skin. The use of the latter I fancy may be the suspension of the underclothing when worn.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

opp. p. 32

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TODA WOMAN.

7: Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

142
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TODA.

[facing p. 121]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

The typical Toda man is above medium height, well 142
proportioned and stalwart, with leptorhine nose, regular features, and perfect teeth. The nose is, as noted by Dr. Rivers, sometimes distinctly rounded in profile. An attempt has been made to connect the Todas with the lost tribes; and, amid a crowd of them collected together at a funeral, there is no difficulty in picking out individuals, whose features would find for them a ready place as actors on the Ober Ammergau stage, either in leading or subordinate parts. The principal characteristic, which at once distinguishes the Toda from the other tribes of the Nilgiris, is the development of the pilous (hairy) system. The following is a typical case, extracted from my notes. Beard luxuriant, hair of head parted in middle, and hanging in curls over forehead and back of neck. Hair thickly developed on chest and abdomen, with median strip of dense hairs on the latter. Hair thick over upper and lower ends of shoulder-blades, thinner over rest of back; well developed on extensor surface of upper arms, and both surfaces of forearms; very thick on extensor surfaces of the latter. Hair abundant on both surfaces of legs; thickest on outer side of thighs and round knee-cap. Dense beard-like mass of hair beneath gluteal region (buttocks). Superciliary brow ridges very prominent. Eyebrows united across middle line by thick tuft of hairs. A dense growth of long straight hairs directed outwards on helix of both ears, bearing a striking resemblance to the hairy development on the helix of the South Indian bonnet monkey (*Macacus sinicus*). The profuse hairy development is by some [826]
Todas attributed to their drinking "too much milk."

Nearly all the men have one or more raised cicatrices, 304
forming nodulous growths (keloids) on the right shoulder. These scars are produced by burning the skin

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by
the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are
made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age
he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month
of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself,
or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag
rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the
carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.
142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and
the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a
café-au-lait tint. The skin of the female children and
young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in
glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly
good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into
uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous
women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the
fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery
worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after
our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had
accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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TODA WOMAN.

[facing p. 123]

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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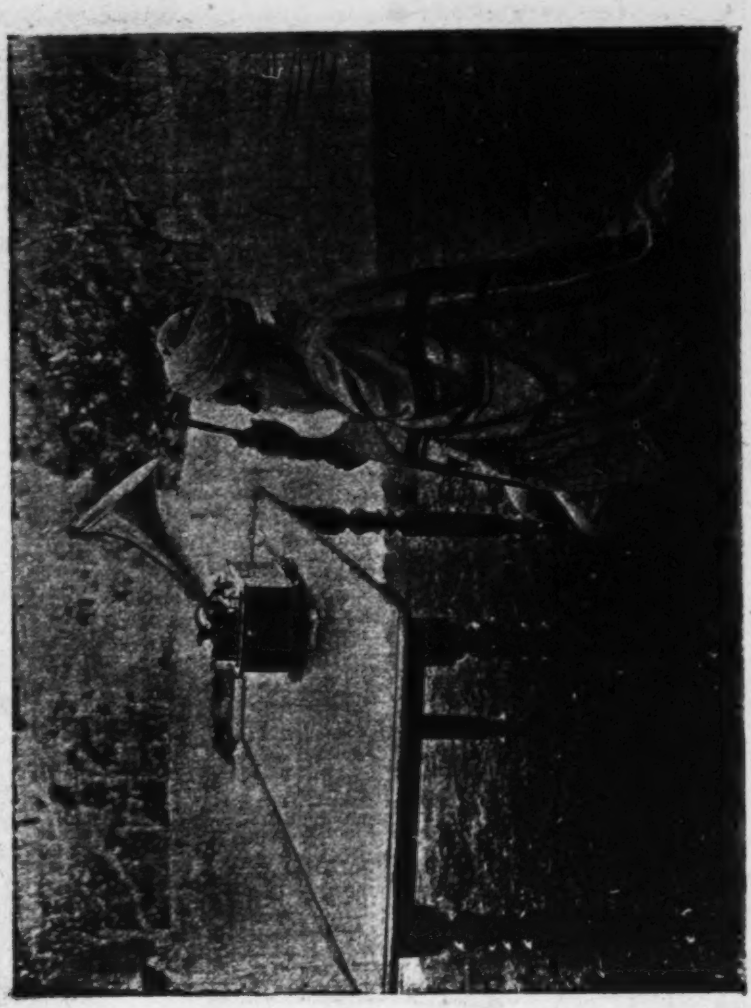

TODA AND PHONOGRAPH

[facing p. 145]

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Fig. 24. Karnoz.

Fig. 25. Nalsirwuf.

[P 300-B]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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Fig. 26. Pads.

Fig. 27. Silidz.

[P300-C]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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Fig. 28. Erzigwuf with Peterozn, Mutnarsh and the twins, Sodup and Sodam.

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Fig. 29. Kuddhue.

[p 300-D]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

Fig. 30. Munbokwutn.

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Fig. 31. Narjilkwutn.

[p. 300-E]

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Fig. 32. Pengelam.

Fig. 33. Mutmali, Nalsirwuf and Närshmali.

[P 300-F]

To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

181 Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,[1] a reason why polyandry
831 is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

[177] The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

[144] That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

143 By means of the genealogical record I was able to work
831 out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

[1] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

seems to show that colour-blind men, or rather males of colour-blind families, had colour-blind descendants more often than perhaps might have been expected if the Todas are in practice quite as promiscuous as their social regulations allow them to be. The record of the affinity of the colour-blind suggests that in spite of the theoretical promiscuity, the husbands are, in practice, very often the fathers of their children. 143 831

A few histories of individuals may be given as examples of the various marriage customs which have been described in this chapter. One of the most married of Toda women is Puvizveli of Kusharf (65). She was married in infancy to Singudr (55), of the same clan as Sinkòrs, the mother of Puvizveli, and the two were probably the *matchuni* of one another, though only in a distant way. Puvizveli was taken from Singudr by Madsu and Koboners (58), who gave for her three buffaloes. From them she was transferred to Kangudr of Piedr (62), it being arranged that he should pay eleven buffaloes. Soon after joining Kangudr, Puvizveli became ill, and since there is a prohibition of marriages between the clans of Piedr and Kusharf, it was agreed that the pair should separate, and the woman was taken by Tütners and Etamudri (58). The eleven buffaloes had never been paid by Kangudr, so Tütners and his brother gave their buffaloes directly to Madsu and Koboners, but only four instead of eleven. All these transactions took place while Puvizveli was still young, but by her new husbands she had a son who died soon after birth. During her second pregnancy, she was taken by Perpakh and Tebkudr (68), who gave six buffaloes. The transference took place before the *pursütpimi* ceremony had been performed. Perpakh gave the bow and arrow, and the daughter since born is regarded as the child of Perpakh and Tebkudr. Puvizveli has also a Tarthar *mokhthodvaiol.* 159 851 58

Edjog of Kuudr (56) was married in infancy to Nargudr (62), the son of her mother's brothers, and therefore her *matchuni* in the nearest sense. From him Kiudners (70) and his two brothers took her for five buffaloes. Kiudners died

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment. [764]

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *ün* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366). 837 764 [301]

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough". 648 837 [834] [684] [143]

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

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831 is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 the leaf-stalk of the same plant is used. In Coorg the imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of the newly born child, but this custom is not widely removed from that of the Todas in which the bow and arrow is put into the hand of the mother shortly before the child is born.

[173] The Todas know the people of Coorg, which they call Kwûrg, and have a tradition of an invasion of their hills by these people, but it is very improbable that there has been any direct borrowing, and it seems more likely that some of the customs of the Todas and Coorgs have had a common source.

171 The resemblance with the customs of Coorg are perhaps more striking than with those of Mysore, and the former 174 region is much more likely to have been influenced by Malabar than the latter. The links with Coorg do not weaken, and perhaps even strengthen, the conclusion that the Todas owe much to Malabar.

144 If we accept provisionally the view that the Todas migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar, we are next 174 confronted with the problem as to whether they are directly derived from any of the races now living in that district. The most diverse views have been held by those who have considered the racial affinities of the Todas. Leaving on one side the conjectures of those who have supposed them to be Scythians, Druids, Romans, or Jews, we find that the Todas have been supposed by several writers to be of Aryan or Caucasic origin. De Quatrefages[1] grouped the Todas with the Ainus of Northern Japan and Keane[2] follows him in putting the two peoples together, and regards both as witnesses to the widespread diffusion of Caucasic races in Asia. Deniker[3] suggests that they belong to the Indo-Afghan race, with perhaps an admixture of the Assyroid race.

Previous writers have found no special reason to link the customs of the Todas with those of Malabar, and, so far as I am aware, no one has considered how far the Todas may be of the same race as any of the inhabitants of

[1] *Histoire générale des Races Humaines*, Paris, 1889, Introduction, p. 469.
[2] *Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 418.
[3] *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 412.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

this district.[1] In considering this matter, we may anticipate that even if the Todas and any of the tribes or castes of Malabar had the same origin, marked differences would have been produced by the long sojourn of the former on the Nilgiri plateau. How long the Todas have been on the Nilgiri Hills no one can say, but we may safely conclude that a very long time must have been necessary to produce the wide divergence in custom and belief which is found to separate them even from those other inhabitants of India whom they most closely resemble. If the Todas came from Malabar, they came from a country differing enormously in temperature and in general physical and climatic characters from the Nilgiri plateau. Life on the hills must almost certainly have altered the physical characters of the people, and it is perhaps now hopeless to expect that any exact resemblance would be found with the existing races of Malabar even if the Todas are an offshoot of one of them. Nevertheless, in comparing the physical measurements of the Todas, which we owe to Mr. Thurston, with those of various Malabar races taken by Mr. Fawcett, it would seem that the differences are not very great, and in the measurements to which anthropologists attach most importance, those of the head and nose, they are very slight.

144 174 141 144 174

In the table on the following page I give the chief measurements in centimeters for Todas, Nairs, and Nambutiris.

The average dimensions of the heads and noses of the Todas correspond very closely with those of the Nairs, and the differences from the Nambutiris are nowhere great. It must be remembered that the measurements on the Todas were taken by one observer, and those on the Nairs and Nambutiris by another,[2] and this may partly account for

[1] In a paper which I have only seen since the above was written (*C. R. de la Soc. de Biol.*, 1905, t. lix, p. 123) M. Louis Lapicque has called attention to the resemblance between Todas and Nairs. He regards the Todas as pure or almost pure examples of one of the two races of which he believes the Dravidian population of India to be composed, the Nairs being more mixed with the negroid element, which forms the other component of the population according to M. Lapicque.

[2] It must also be borne in mind that the figures of the Nambutiris and those of some of the Todas are based on the measurement of twenty-five individuals only in each case.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

141 the large divergence in the case of the maxillo-zygomatic
144 index, which is calculated from the bigoniac and bizygomatic
174 measurements, in both of which there is considerable scope for differences between different observers. The only other measurements which show any decided divergence are the stature and the length from the middle finger to the patella, and the greater stature of the Todas may well be the result of their more healthy environment. The cubit of the Todas also differs very decidedly from that of the Nambutiris, though little longer than this dimension of the Nairs.

	Todas.[1]	186 Nairs.	25 Nambutiris.
Stature	169·8	165·6	162·3
Span	175·9	175·1	170·0
Chest	82·0	80·6	83·7
Middle finger to patella	12·0	10·1	10·5
Shoulders	39·3	40·0	40·7
Left cubit	47·0	46·2	44·2
Left hand, length	18·8	18·5	18·0
,, ,, width	8·1	8·3	7·8
Hips	25·7	26·0	26·2
Left foot, length	25·0	25·4	24·5
,, ,, width	9·2	8·8	
Cephalic length	19·4	19·2	19·2
,, width	14·2	14·1	14·6
,, index	73·3	73·1	76·3
Bigoniac	9·6	10·4	10·6
Bizygomatic	12·7	13·1	13·2
Maxillo-zygomatic index	75·7	80·1	80·4
Nasal height	4·7	4·8	4·9
,, width	3·6	3·6	3·7
,, index	76·6	76·8	75·5

We do not know the probable errors of these different groups of measurements, but the agreement between the Todas and the two castes of Malabar is so close as to suggest strongly a racial affinity between the three.[2]

142 The hairiness of the Toda is perhaps the feature in which
144 he differs most obviously from the races of Malabar, while the robustness of his physique and general bearing are perhaps
174 almost as striking. The latter qualities may be entirely due

[1] Some of these measurements are based on the examination of eighty-two men, others are derived from twenty-five men only.

[2] The relations existing between Nair women and Nambutiri men must have brought about an approximation of the two Malabar castes in physical characters, even if they were originally of different ethnical origin.

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to his environment, to his free life in the comparatively bracing climate of the Nilgiris, and, so far as we know, the development of hair may have a similar cause. Of all the castes or tribes of Malabar, the Nambutiris perhaps shows the greatest number of resemblances to the customs of the Todas,[1] and it is therefore interesting to note that Mr. Fawcett describes these people as the hairiest of all the races of Malabar and especially notes that one individual he examined was like a Toda.

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I am not competent to express a decided opinion on the amount of importance which is to be attached to the resemblance which is shown by the figures on p. 708, but it seems to me that the facts before us give no grounds[2] for separating the Todas racially from the two chief castes of Malabar.

The identification of the Todas with Nairs or Nambutiris would still leave their racial affinities somewhat indeterminate. The Nambutiris are often supposed to be Aryan invaders of Malabar, and, owing to the cause already mentioned, the Nairs are so largely of Nambutiri blood that, if the Nambutiris are Aryan, the Nairs must also be strongly Aryanised even if they were originally of pure Dravidian descent.

If future research should show that the Todas are an offshoot of one of the races now existing in Malabar, and if any definite conclusion can be drawn as to the time during which they have been on the Nilgiri Hills, physical anthropologists will be provided with a most interesting example of the influence of environment on the physical characters of a race. Few greater contrasts of environment could be found in a country than that existing between Malabar and the Nilgiris, and it is possible that the Todas may furnish a striking example of the influence of environment on physical characters.

[1] It is worth noting that they practise male descent, while the Nairs follow the Marumakkattayam system of inheritance.

[2] I should much like to know the ratios between the lengths of different limb bones, such as those shown by the radio-humeral or tibio-femoral indices. The observations on the cubit and the distance from the middle finger to the patella suggest that considerable differences might be found between the Todas and the Malabar castes in these ratios, which do not seem to me to have yet received from the physical anthropologist the attention they deserve.

CHAP. XXVI.

were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9. 589 183 582

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation. 582 595 181

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety. 181

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe. 144

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

I 764 earthen floor. The opening into this hole is covered over with the trunks of young trees laid close together, side by side, with a mound of earth raised over them. This is removed for the reception of each fresh corpse, which is flung in headlong like that of a dog, without any ceremony or preparation whatever.

I 585 616 Like the Kurumbas, they[1] have no notion of marriage, but live promiscuously one with the other, save that the two classes keep th.. mselves to themselves.

000 Both these unfortunate races have doubtless retrograded, mentally and physically, under their long continued endurance of hardship, and are, probably, in a lower and more debased condition at the present day, than ages ago, on their first arrival in the locality.

T 144 105 In conclusion, it is difficult to believe that any of the tribes I have thus endeavoured to describe (excepting, of course, the Vadacas) can be in any way allied to the inhabitants of the plains; whilst it appears almost impossible as regards the Todas, a tribe as distinct from all its various surrounding neighbours as an oasis in the desert. Superior in physique, countenance, and character, free from the inherent thirst for blood so universal among all wild races, and yet brave and courageous, by moral influence alone exercising dominion over larger tribes, exclusively pastoral practising polyandry, speaking an unknown tongue, believing in an invisible deity,—they stand totally isolated in the very midst of an enormous population of civilised and progressing people, of an utterly different religion; and after, it may be, thousands of years, still retain unchanged their primitive character, and the observance of religious rites and customs practised in prehistoric times.

T 144 174 Ko 144 174 Ku 144 174 I 144 174 There is no doubt that all these hill-tribes are aborigines of the peninsula of India, the whole area of which was probably once occupied by them. Some have thought it possible that they may all have been originally of one race; and others, in like manner, have argued that, even in the extreme instances of the Toda and the Kurumba, the difference in physical character may be attributed to the nature of the regions they respectively inhabit. This is allowing extraordinary power to such influences, and is, moreover, entirely contradicted by actual fact in the case of the Khotas. That tribe, occupying precisely the same regions as the Todas, is as opposite to them in physical character as is

[1] [The Erulas -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

T 144 174 KO 144 174 Ku 144 174 I 144 174

the Kurumba. Why, unless originally different, should one tribe have short clustering hair, with bushy beards, while another in the same district has long straight locks, with little or no beard? why should the one tribe be brown, with women fair, and the other have both sexes perfectly black? and what influence of climate could convert a Kurumba's nose into a Roman one?

It is very probable that the two most degraded of these tribes —namely, the Erulas and Kurumbas—were originally one, and that the slight physical differences existing between them may have resulted from the nature of their respective situations and consequent modes of life. The Todas and Khotas, however, can never have been one people; and the characterising differences of the present day must have always been equally marked. The preservation of their respective characteristics may be due to the fact of these tribes having escaped pursuit, or even observation, at the hands of the successive subjugators of the country, owing to the lofty and inaccessible retreat which they selected for themselves in the Nilgiri mountains. The Todas might, indeed, have been located there in earlier ages, not only previous to the irruption of the Hindoos across the Indus and through the plains of the Deccan, but anterior to the nations that preceded them, and possibly from the earliest ages. The Erulas and Kurumbas, flying thither for refuge, and finding the summit already in possession of a superior people, would naturally shelter themselves in the untenanted solitudes lower down, hiding in the dense forest of the mountain sides as at the present day. Their partial inoculation with the religion and language of neighbouring races seems also to confirm the theory of isolation in respect to the other, and further removed, tribes. In the Todas, therefore, is it not possible that we may have a remnant of one of the earliest races that inhabited Asia whose rites and customs, if not introduced into Europe by a westward migration, were doubtless analogous to those of the Celts of Britain? May they not be a living link connecting the present with ages of which we still know next to nothing, and in their singular social customs, religious rites, and even personal appearance may we not picture to ourselves, probably with a very near approach to accuracy, the scenes and people of an era coeval with, or even prior to, the stone monuments which on

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

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144 their mountains, as in this land, have so long excited our interest
174 and speculation?
KO The Todas have been, in turn, considered as outcast Jews,
144 Roman colonists, and Celto-Scythians; one writer asks if they
174 could be Aryans, or might not rather be Turanians, and another
KU propounds their affinity to the Tasmanians. I do not pre-
144 sume to advance an opinion on so difficult a subject as this, but
174 have thought it interesting to point out the striking analogy that
I exists between their rites, customs, and monuments, and those of
144 the Celts of Early Britain, an analogy not unknown to antiquarians.
174 On the other hand, I have drawn attention to the many points of resemblance existing between them and the Kaffirs. The number of these I might have added to, for I have left unnoticed here some with which I was much struck at the time. I have also glanced at the few points they have in common with the Jews of old, and also with the ancient Romans, whose coins have, by the way, been found plentifully in the Deccan.

Though I do not deduce any theory of origin from the above resemblances, they are equally entitled to notice with the former, and may possibly qualify the soundness of conclusions that have been drawn from Celtic analogy.

The real origin of the Todas and Khotas is a question which, if ever to be elucidated, we are not, as yet perhaps, sufficiently acquainted with their language satisfactorily to determine, and I would earnestly recommend the subject to this Society as one worthy of its investigation. There is, in fact, hardly any more inviting field for the anthropologist than that of Hindostan, almost every quarter of which furnishes wild tribes of whose history little is known. There were two others of these which interested me very much, namely, the Brinjarries and the Niadis.

000 The former are the gypsies of India, a nomadic tribe roaming the Deccan with large herds of bullocks. The lineaments of the white race are plainly visible in their sable countenances. Their dress, too, is a partial approach to that of the European, though the tall handsome women wear very singular armlets, bangles, and necklaces. One of the latter which I procured, will be found worth the inspection of those acquainted with other eastern ornaments of that nature.

The other tribe, that of the Niadis, is of a totally opposite character. They are a wretched people scattered over the low hills and waste districts of Malabar. They are nearly naked, but

To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To 291 ●144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

 They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises

CHAP. IV.

515 from circumstances somewhat beyond their control; such as crowded establishments and poverty. They bathe their bodies in the running brook, and even sometimes use hot-water for the same purpose. Yet I do not remember to have seen a Putkuli fresh from a wash.

302 A pretty sight, that rewarded one of my expeditions, was a group of women and girls just returned from the stream, sitting, clean and bright, curling one another's hair. The locks were separated neatly, and the partings made accurately with the finger-nail. Each lock having been dressed straight, either with the fingers or a forked stick, is twisted and twisted until it has formed a tight coil, when the end is tucked in among the roots. The *well developed* female back-head looks remarkably pleasing under this treatment—unadorned, adorned the most. The curls are opened out in the morning.

The eyebrows are sometimes touched up with a charred stick from the fire-place; the fancy being to join them over the bridge of the nose.

If they would only not grease the hair with butter, I could close this description of the toilette without unpleasant reminiscences of some phrenologising experiences.

145 The mouth and teeth are often kept in wonderful order up
515 to a late age. But they take care of them; using daily a little wood ash—not charcoal—and the forefinger, for dental purposes. I have seen people of all ages with teeth as bright, and mouths as fresh-looking as an infant's—or a dog's.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
• [145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. X. 164

man afflicted with that dreadful malady, was not amongst the 196 people of the census, the case cannot be used in these calculations.

146 147 As regards the general appearance of the people; a large proportion of both sexes and of all ages are doubtless in excellent health. Up to the age of fourteen, the children are certainly, and almost universally, hale and hearty. The young women look well, too: but the young men are often bottle-nosed, with a general appearance of deficient circulation, insufficient food, and of athletic exercise. Nature seems to make competent arrangements, by means of which the female sex is able to bear children during the extra period that young men require for the purpose of completing their growth. It is probably a consequence or a portion of this design, that renders girls as a general rule more easy to rear than boys. Be that as it may, these rather weedy youths fill out in course of time, and complete their features with mature age—the large nose is rarely, or perhaps never, apparent in the young; and seems not to attain its climax till near the age of thirty—the women in advanced years are often draggled in appearance, from poverty and child-bearing. The full-grown men look strong and well.

Now for our examination into the augmentation of the numbers of the people.

165 If we allow, that out of the 3 people recorded in paragraph (x) to be in a state of health unfavourable to prolonged existence, 2 die in the course of the year. And suppose that another 2 die in the same period from other causes—a high rate for those who, living a pastoral and quiet life in a healthy climate, are exposed to few vicissitudes—we have then 4 deaths amongst 196 people, in the course of twelve months; or 2 per cent. per annum, as the extreme death-rate for *all ages*.

000 In the years between 1838 and 1861, the average ratio of mortality in Great Britain—a country in which high civilisa-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER II

THE TODA PEOPLE

[113] 141 I DO not propose to describe at any length the physical characters of the Todas.[1] It must be sufficient to say here that the people differ remarkably in general appearance, and perhaps still more remarkably in general bearing, from the other inhabitants of Southern India. The average height of the men is about 5 ft. 7 in., and that of the women 5 ft. 1 in.; both are well-proportioned, and the men robustly built. Their heads are distinctly dolichocephalic, the cephalic index of the men being 73·3. The shaved heads of the children show very well the great length, and probably owing to the special method of shaving (see Figs. 63 and 64), this feature is in them exaggerated so as to seem almost abnormal.

The nose is usually well-formed and not especially broad, the nasal index being 74·9. It is often distinctly rounded in 142 profile. The skin is of a rich brown colour, distinctly lighter than that of most of the Dravidian inhabitants of Southern India. The skins of the women are lighter than those of the men. There is much hair on the bodies of the men, who usually grow thick beards, and the hair of the head is ●147 luxuriant in both men and women. The men are strong and very agile; the agility being most in evidence when they have to catch their infuriated buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies. They stand fatigue well, and often travel great distances. One day I met an old man about seventy years of age going to the market at Gudalur for a supply

[1] Those who wish for information on this point should consult the articles by Mr. Edgar Thurston in the *Bulletins* of the Madras Museum, vol. i., pp. 148 and 207, and vol. iv., p. 2.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of grain, and in the evening I met him on his return carrying a large and heavy bag. He had travelled over thirty miles, had gone down and again come up some 3,000 feet, and most of his journey had been in a climate much warmer than that of his native hills. 147

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FIG. 1.—TODA MAN. FULL FACE.

My guide at the end of the day would sometimes go a distance of eight or ten miles and back to arrange for my supply of men for the next day's work, and I have seen him on these occasions running at a steady pace which he would keep up for miles. In going from one part of the hills to another, a Toda always travels as nearly as possible in 147
481

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

147 481 a straight line, ignoring altogether the influence of gravity, and mounting the steepest hills with no apparent effort.

153 In all my work with the men, it seemed to me that they were extremely intelligent. They grasped readily the points of any inquiry upon which I entered, and often showed a

[142]

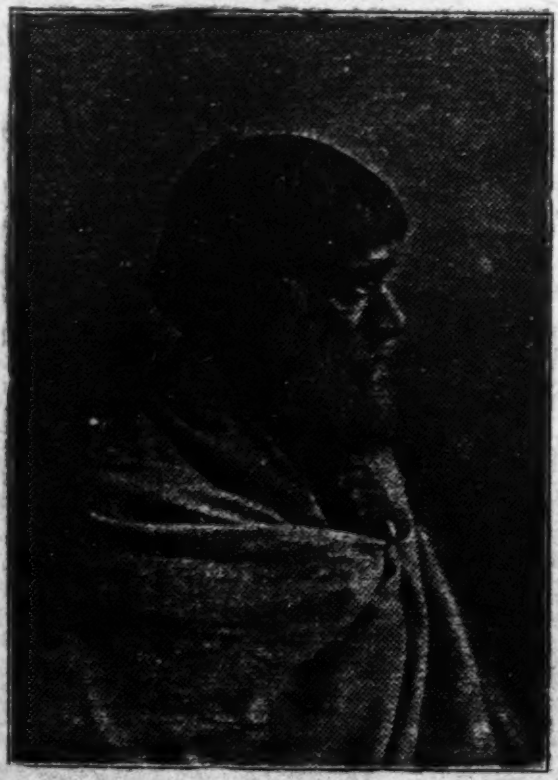

FIG. 2.—TODA MAN. SIDE FACE.

marked appreciation of complicated questions. They were interested in the customs of other parts of the world, and appeared to grasp readily the essential differences between their own ways and those of other peoples. It is very difficult to estimate general intelligence, and to compare definitely the intelligence of different individuals, still more of people of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good performance. 526

At many villages there is a large globular stone called *tukitthkars* (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukitthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings. 147 526 778

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream called Kavageir, winning eighteen *nakh* (three-year-old 517 526 211 525 177

CHAP. X.

The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider 161
them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 162
males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in 621
the prime of life.

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should 161
be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study.

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist 162
of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate.

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I 732
ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye.

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend 165
to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon 147
drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health.

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheu- 757
matism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not 164
uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the

1 [See p. 102, Category 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

CHAP. X. 164 man afflicted with that dreadful malady, was not amongst the 196 people of the census, the case cannot be used in these calculations.

146 As regards the general appearance of the people; a large 147 proportion of both sexes and of all ages are doubtless in excellent health. Up to the age of fourteen, the children are certainly, and almost universally, hale and hearty. The young women look well, too: but the young men are often bottle-nosed, with a general appearance of deficient circulation, insufficient food, and of athletic exercise. Nature seems to make competent arrangements, by means of which the female sex is able to bear children during the extra period that young men require for the purpose of completing their growth. It is probably a consequence or a portion of this design, that renders girls as a general rule more easy to rear than boys. Be that as it may, these rather weedy youths fill out in course of time, and complete their features with mature age—the large nose is rarely, or perhaps never, apparent in the young; and seems not to attain its climax till near the age of thirty—the women in advanced years are often draggled in appearance, from poverty and child-bearing. The full-grown men look strong and well.

Now for our examination into the augmentation of the numbers of the people.

165 If we allow, that out of the 3 people recorded in paragraph (x) to be in a state of health unfavourable to prolonged existence, 2 die in the course of the year. And suppose that another 2 die in the same period from other causes—a high rate for those who, living a pastoral and quiet life in a healthy climate, are exposed to few vicissitudes—we have then 4 deaths amongst 196 people, in the course of twelve months; or 2 per cent. per annum, as the extreme death-rate for *all ages*.

080 In the years between 1838 and 1861, the average ratio of mortality in Great Britain—a country in which high civilisa-

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Ao60 Toda Aw60

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkûli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
● 147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda
elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-
gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr.
Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their
appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the
absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the
ground that they were too poor to afford the expense
of the operation, or that they were always suckling or
pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation
would not be free from danger. The dots and circles,
of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked
out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the
spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and
decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in
the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells
on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with
cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger;
silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes
of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

While the funeral game was in progress, the men showed off their prowess at a game (eln),* corresponding to the English tip-cat, which is epidemic at a certain season in the London bye-streets. It is played with a bat like a broomstick, and a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. The latter is propped up against a stone, and struck with the bat. As it flies off the stone, it is hit to a distance with the bat, and caught (or missed) by the out fields. 526

At the Muttanād mand, we were treated to a further exhibition of games. In one of these, called narthpimi, a flat slab of stone is supported horizontally on two other slabs fixed perpendicularly in the ground so as to form a narrow tunnel, through which a man can just manage to wriggle his body with difficulty. Two men take part in the game, one stationing himself at a distance of about thirty yards, the other about sixty yards from the tunnel. The front man, throwing off his mantle, runs as hard as he can to the tunnel, pursued by the 'scratch' man, whose object is to touch the other man's feet before he has squeezed himself through the tunnel. Another sport, which we witnessed, consists of trial of strength with a heavy globular stone, the object being to raise it up to the shoulder; but a strong, well-built-man—he who was entrusted with slaying the funeral buffalo—failed to raise it higher than the pit of the stomach, though straining his muscles in the attempt. A splendidly made veteran assured me that, when young and lusty, he was able to accomplish the feat, and spoke sadly of degeneration in the physique of the younger members of the tribe. [149]

Mr. Breeks mentions that the Todas play a game resembling puss-in-the-corner, called kāriālapimi, which 524

* Called by Breeks ilsta, [which, Dr. Rivers suggests, is a Badaga name.

153 different races. I can only record my impression, after several months' close intercourse with the Todas, that they were just as intelligent as one would have found any average body of educated Europeans. There were marked individual differences, just as there are among the more civilised, and it is probable that I saw chiefly the more intelligent members of the community.

[142]

FIG. 3.—TODA WOMAN. FULL FACE.

151 My time was largely devoted to experimental work, especially on the nature of the sensory and perceptual processes. 153 The people entered readily into this work, quickly grasped the nature of the methods employed, and showed the same power of close attention and careful observation which, as I have found in other races, enable even more definite and con-

[151] 153 sistent results to be obtained from uncultured races than from most classes of a civilised community.

I had slighter opportunities of estimating the intelligence of the women than that of the men, but, as a general rule, it seemed to me that there was a very marked difference between the

FIG. 4.—TODA WOMAN. SIDE FACE.

two sexes. Some of the younger women, when examined by various tests, showed as ready a grasp of the methods as any of the men, but most of the elder women gave me the impression of being extremely stupid. It was often obvious that they were not attending and were thinking far more of their personal appearance and of the effect it was having on the men of the party than of the task they were being set, but even when a liberal discount was made for this, it seemed

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

Suicide

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

The Monegar

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Ådabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Ådabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
593 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of Ådabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

766 knee, touched it with her forehead. Both parties then seated themselves on the ground close to and facing each other, and bringing their foreheads together remained in that attitude, with their hands placed either on each other's knees or shoulders, the woman weeping aloud, and having her mantle drawn closely over the head. In a few minutes the man would rise, and with a plaintive ejaculation, go to another to perform again the same ceremony, invariably offering first his foot, which was always saluted with the forehead.

[152] All this weeping and wailing, divided as it was between the buffaloes and the dead man, had a most striking effect. So unfeigned did their grief appear that I could not but feel that our presence was an intrusion. This scene continued until the mourners, who formed only a portion of those present, had all gone through the ceremony one with the other, when the priest, standing by the deceased's ashes and robe, laid on them a handful of what appeared to me, as far as I could see, to be some kind of seed or grain, and then, accompanied by the under priest, bore it back again with great reverence to the temple, the crowd falling back to permit the passage of the priests and their charge.

With this seemed to terminate the first part of the obsequies, and a sudden change came over the whole scene. The dead buffaloes were removed by noisy parties of Khotas, who had either bought them, or earned them by their services just concluded; and the crowd of Todas again assumed their every-day deportment, as they prepared for a general meal or feast.

We found that the rites would not be resumed till dark, when the robe and ornaments were to be burned; but, as we had no shelter to go to for the intervening seven hours, and no food for either ourselves or our ponies, which were, moreover, shivering from the cold of this elevated position, we were obliged to forego the gratification of witnessing the conclusion, but were shown the spot where it was to take place. This was within a circle of stones, exhibiting signs of many former burnings, and occupying a retired situation at the edge of the grove.

In the centre of this ring, on a pile of dry wood, the priests place the mantle, bags of ashes, ornaments, and wand of the deceased, together with gourds and grass-baskets of grain, for his sustenance in the other world, and the whole are ignited as the mourners stand round, the women with their heads still covered

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

147 481 a straight line, ignoring altogether the influence of gravity, and mounting the steepest hills with no apparent effort.

153 In all my work with the men, it seemed to me that they were extremely intelligent. They grasped readily the points of any inquiry upon which I entered, and often showed a

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FIG. 2.—TODA MAN. SIDE FACE.

marked appreciation of complicated questions. They were interested in the customs of other parts of the world, and appeared to grasp readily the essential differences between their own ways and those of other peoples. It is very difficult to estimate general intelligence, and to compare definitely the intelligence of different individuals, still more of people of

153 different races. I can only record my impression, after several months' close intercourse with the Todas, that they were just as intelligent as one would have found any average body of educated Europeans. There were marked individual differences, just as there are among the more civilised, and it is probable that I saw chiefly the more intelligent members of the community.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[591] While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands 618 had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she 766 should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

CHAP. IV.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful, seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of oppositiveness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

[1] The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike persistency; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

CHAP. IV.

153 Toda blood may ever arise to influence the tribe, yet what they do know, they know well. They are intelligent within limits. Although they take contracted views of things, yet they work and act within the circumscribed limits of their mental vision with great steadiness, intelligence, and some sense.

124 153 I am indebted to the quick-wittedness and patience of both men and women, for the accuracy and definition of the information on the manners and customs of the tribe which I have been able to afford. I cannot present a stronger tribute to their frank and obliging communicativeness, than in stating that we made a habit of very close cross-questioning in tiny villages for three and four hours together. One woman well earned the title of Munshi, by telling us at a sitting the Toda words for the long list of relations given in Chapter VII. Notwithstanding the questions were often repeated, and many of them puzzling, she kept her head quite clear throughout, dexterously speaking with slowness and marked intonation, showing pointedly with tongue and teeth, how the syllables of the difficult words should be pronounced.

153 Though their brains became fatigued sooner than ours did, I doubt if they tired more quickly than would those of illiterate peasants in other parts of the world.

302 Travellers have affirmed that the Todas stain their skin by the use of a blue colour; but I have ascertained, both by personal inspection and by direct enquiry, that this statement is incorrect. Dark races are apt to have the skin in some portions of the body naturally of three or even four shades darker tint than in others, indeed often so strikingly dark as to give the impression that those parts had been stained. This peculiarity is nowhere more remarkable than in the nape of the neck. I have often observed it amongst the Sikhs, and it is quite apart from freckling or the effects of exposure. I noticed it so very much the case in one young woman, that I asked her if she had coloured it. The reply convinced me

To 595 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

To 836 784 154 618 123

interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154

I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595

Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 595 wTi 595

As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[391] While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands 618 had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she 766 should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

K 931 595 596 428 591 Tiya Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

Ti 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

Ti 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 182 To 595 182 Ti 595 182 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

421 himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the
428 buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known,
however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of
611 Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become
671 extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and
183 Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

[601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

●157 The history is also very interesting in showing that a
184 century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. III.

33 in. Photograph No. 7 is the picture of one of the most sturdy men of the tribe.

142 Height. Of men, from 5 ft. 4 in. to 6 ft. 1 in.; average about 5 ft. 8 in. Of women, from 4 ft. 10 in. to 5 ft. 4½ in.; average about 5 ft. 1 in. There are no very short people.

141

Weight. Of men from about 110 to 155 lbs. There are reasons why the weight of women cannot be accurately ascertained; but it is believed to vary between 90 and 130 lbs.

142 Shoulders. Angular, never sloping, generally with a flat back.

Muscles. Never large; hard rather than full; some decidedly below the average.

The general mass of the tribe are fairly, often well grown; straight and lank, without deformity, but without any really fine people.

The men's carriage is erect, free and unconstrained, without being either bold or athletic. Their manners and tone of voice are self-possessed, suave, quiet, and solemn: the women substituting a pleasing cheerfulness for solemnity. When quiescent, their expression and carriage has much oriental repose in it.

157

The temperament of such a people as has just been described would in the main be fibrous, with some of the sanguine or the nervous in individuals; especially so in the female sex, many of whom I noticed show a considerable amount of the nervous with advancing years. Such a national temperament is more suited to the display of qualities requiring muscular energy for their support, than of those in which the subtilty of intellect would take part.

141 We find the cranium, taken as a whole, to be of an average size; comprising certain very strong, and certain equally and lamentably weak, points of form. The singular uniformity in contour of all the heads has already been observed upon.

000 In order to form a correct, and therefore complete judgment of a man's character, it is not sufficient to take a

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTERISTICS.

Talking Voices—Modes of Salutation—Home Life—Frank and obliging Natures—Colour of the Skin—Tattoo Marks—Ornaments—Boys distinguished from Girls—Apparel—Toilette.

CHAP. IV.

THE Toda talking voice is peculiar; particularly so that of the women. Whilst on the part of the men it is strikingly grave and sedate, spoken almost *sotto voce*: the women's voice, on the contrary, is rather high, appearing to come altogether from the region at the back of the ear—the 'mastoid process.' In both sexes, but particularly with the female, the sound of the voice is somewhat musical and refined, though fatiguing to listen to from its monotonous tone. Indeed, it is somewhat astonishing that some harsh syllables of their language should come so softly from such mouths. The refinement arises doubtless, from the gentleness of their dispositions—void of asperity; its friendliness, accompanied by desire to please. Not from any innate sense of tune, for they have no more ear for music than so many crows.

Their amiability shows itself also in their observance of courteous customs. The salaam of the East, performed amongst the Todas by raising the thumb-edge of the right hand vertically to the nose and forehead, is a respectful form of address; used in addressing superiors, and on approach to sacred places, and other like occasions. When asked by what name they styled that form of salute, they replied: 'Itvâ eshken, swâmi eshken,' or, 'I say, come! I say, Lord!'

That mode of salutation which is most employed amongst

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Âdabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Âdabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
583 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of Âdabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

CHAP. blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

581 462 The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

157 181 583 It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of [58] grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

CHAP. IV.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful, seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of opposiveness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

157 181 177 426 674

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

183

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

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[1] The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike persistency; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

CHAP. VII.

553 intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

838 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred
562 places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given
846 about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—
551 porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure
463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda,
551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
" white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
142 " fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 12·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe.*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
302 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
" readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
609 " been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
302 distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
157 peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to
609 consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing
sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-humour.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it. 197

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to everyday life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thoughtful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agriculture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers

157 262 241 181

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

648 464 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it 461 [241] beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda 562 512 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described [157] [171] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans 177 609 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even [735] the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, 114 177 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, 164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

787 or of any of his family; sickness or death of a buffalo;
791 failure of milk in a buffalo and persistent kicking of its calf; failure to make a buffalo go to the spot at which it is to be killed during a funeral ceremony; failure of milk to coagulate; burning down of a dairy; disappearance of the bells of a dairy; loss of a *tukitthkars* or lifting stone. In this last instance the stone at the village of Nidrsi was carried away some years ago by a party of English people who came to picnic near the village while the people were away. They carried the stone for some miles and then threw it down. The Nidrsi people could not find it, and consulted Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, who were able to reveal where the stone was to be found, and it was restored to the village, where it can now be seen.

[754] The diviners usually work in pairs, though occasionally it would seem that one only may be consulted. If they are asked for an explanation of some misfortune which has befallen a man, the *teuol* usually find either that the sufferer has committed an offence against the dairy or that he is the subject of spells cast on him by a sorcerer. In the former case, they prescribe the ceremony which must be performed in order to expiate the offence. In the latter case, they name the sorcerer so that the sufferer may know with whom to make his peace.

I have already said that towards the close of my visit a number of misfortunes befell the Todas; one man fell ill, the wife of another died, and the dairy of a third was burnt down, and these events kept the diviners busy, but probably because I was implicated I was not allowed the chance of observing the diviners at work.

787 The only occasion on which I saw the process of divining
791 was at a funeral. The buffalo which was to be killed had been caught at some distance from the place appointed
158 for its slaughter. The animal was unusually refractory and at length lay down and all the natural efforts of the Todas failed to make it move. Midjkudr and Mongudrvan were then called upon to discover the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo. Mongudrvan first began to dance slowly to and fro, away from and towards the buffalo. He had

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

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taken off his cloak and was only wearing the *tadrp*. As I already knew the man, I was able to observe that his general appearance was unaltered and that he did not appear to be in any abnormal mental condition. He was soon joined by Midjkudr, who danced up and down much more wildly (Fig. 36). His general appearance was very different to that usually presented by a Toda man. His hair seemed to stand out from his head, although it shook with each of

FIG. 36.—MIDJKUDR AND MONGUDRVAN DIVINING AT A FUNERAL.

his violent movements; his eyes were abnormally bright and his face gave every appearance of great mental excitement. I had not previously known the man, but when he came to see me a few days later I could hardly believe that the quiet, self-possessed man whom I saw before me was the same individual whom I had seen dancing at the funeral. It was obvious that he had been in a distinctly abnormal condition of frenzy during the divining process. After dancing for a time Midjkudr began to utter broken sentences in a loud and almost chanting voice, while Mon-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

787 gudrvan remained silent throughout. After Midjkudr had
791 in these sentences given the reason for the obstinacy of
158 the buffalo, and had prescribed what was to be done, he took a red cloth and dancing more violently than ever waved the cloth before the buffalo and pushed against the body of the animal. Then after the people had dragged the buffalo a little way, it rose and went quietly to the place where it was to be killed.

I had much difficulty in finding out exactly what Midjkudr had said. When he came to see me a few days later he stated that he did not know at the time what he was saying, and that his only knowledge was derived from those who had heard him, and I am inclined to believe that he was speaking the truth. His appearance during the divining was remarkably different from that of ordinary days, and strongly suggested a semi-hypnotic state, during which he might well have had no knowledge, or only a very vague knowledge, of anything he said.[1] In his ordinary condition he professed to be ignorant of Malayalam, the language which he was said to use in his frenzied condition.

My ignorance of Malayalam, and the obvious difficulties of the investigation, make me hesitate before expressing any decided opinion as to the real nature of Midjkudr's condition when divining, but I have a very strong leaning towards the idea that the man was in a genuinely abnormal condition, allied to the hypnotic state, and I am disposed to accept the statement of the Todas that he was speaking in a language of which he had only a very vague knowledge when in a normal condition. It is, of course, quite possible that the abnormal appearance of Midjkudr was merely due to the exercise of dancing and to mental excitement, and that he knew perfectly well what he was doing and saying. I can but record my impression that there was something more, and I only commit myself to this extent in regard to the special occasion on which I saw Midjkudr divining; even if I saw a genuine hypnotic or semi-hypnotic phenomenon, it does not follow that all Midjkudr's performances are wholly, or even partly,

[1] For an account of what Midjkudr seems to have said and the consequent proceedings, see p. 392.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of this nature, and still less does it follow that the performances of all the *teuol* are of this kind. Nothing struck me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of Midjkudr and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongudrvan, his fellow diviner. 787 791 158

In the case I have described the necessity for the intervention of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously. [764]

Sorcery

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite certain that there were men called *piliutpol* (sorcery praying people), or *pilikòren*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *piliutvichi* or *piliutiti*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he professed total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *piliutpol*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false. 124 754 791

One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all.

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[623] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, virilóid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

●158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was
828 through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangur, son of Piliar (52), however, was a case

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

seems to show that colour-blind men, or rather males of colour-blind families, had colour-blind descendants more often than perhaps might have been expected if the Todas are in practice quite as promiscuous as their social regulations allow them to be. The record of the affinity of the colour-blind suggests that in spite of the theoretical promiscuity, the husbands are, in practice, very often the fathers of their children. 143 831

A few histories of individuals may be given as examples of the various marriage customs which have been described in this chapter. One of the most married of Toda women is Puvizveli of Kusharf (65). She was married in infancy to Singudr (55), of the same clan as Sinkòrs, the mother of Puvizveli, and the two were probably the *matchuni* of one another, though only in a distant way. Puvizveli was taken from Singudr by Madsu and Koboners (58), who gave for her three buffaloes. From them she was transferred to Kangudr of Piedr (62), it being arranged that he should pay eleven buffaloes. Soon after joining Kangudr, Puvizveli became ill, and since there is a prohibition of marriages between the clans of Piedr and Kusharf, it was agreed that the pair should separate, and the woman was taken by Tütners and Etamudri (58). The eleven buffaloes had never been paid by Kangudr, so Tütners and his brother gave their buffaloes directly to Madsu and Koboners, but only four instead of eleven. All these transactions took place while Puvizveli was still young, but by her new husbands she had a son who died soon after birth. During her second pregnancy, she was taken by Perpakh and Tebkudr (68), who gave six buffaloes. The transference took place before the *pursiütpimi* ceremony had been performed. Perpakh gave the bow and arrow, and the daughter since born is regarded as the child of Perpakh and Tebkudr. Puvizveli has also a Tarthar *mokhthodvaiol.* 159 851 58

Edjog of Kuudr (56) was married in infancy to Nargudr (62), the son of her mother's brothers, and therefore her *matchuni* in the nearest sense. From him Kiudners (70) and his two brothers took her for five buffaloes. Kiudners died

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before the buffaloes had been paid, and Edjog was taken by Mavòdriners (65), who arranged to pay the five buffaloes to Nargudr. He did not do so, but after having a son by Edjog, he sent her back to the father, paying a *kwadr* of one buffalo. So far, Nargudr had not received his five buffaloes, but he now obtained them from Kaners and Kudrievan (63), who took the woman although she was the granddaughter of their sister Narskuti. The marriage met with disapproval among the Todas on this account, though there does not appear to be any definite regulation against such a marriage; and at the time of my visit Edjog, a young woman of about twenty-seven, was still the wife of the two old men, aged about seventy and sixty-seven respectively.

Kuriolv of Kuudr (52) first married Punaveli (65), by whom he had two children. He then took to live with him Pilimurg (7), a Tarthar woman, giving to Pepners (44), the husband of the woman, fifteen buffaloes. Though Pilimurg is only legally his *sedvaitazmokh*, Kuriolv treats her as a wife. She lives at one of the Kuudr villages, while Punaveli lives at another. Pilimurg has had one son, Meilitars, since she has been living with Kuriolv, and Kuriolv always speaks of the boy as his son, though legally he is the son of Pepners, and his name will be found in the genealogies among the children of this man.

Recently Kuriolv has also married Sintharap (68), sharing her with Ònadj (57), of the same clan as Kuriolv, but belonging to a different family. Sintharap has had three children, for the first of whom Kuriolv performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and since no one has performed this ceremony for the succeeding children, they are also regarded as the children of Kuriolv. One of these children was Sinerani, whose funeral ceremonies have been described.

Kuriolv's son, Kulpakh (52), married Toridz (65), sharing her with Kiladrvan (60), of the same clan as Kulpakh, but of a different family. At the first pregnancy Kulpakh gave the bow and arrow, and was regarded as the father of that child and of two succeeding children who were born while Kulpakh was alive. After the birth of the third child Kulpakh died,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and Toridz has since continued to live with Kiladrvan and has had two more children. Kuriolv, the father of the dead man, succeeded in preventing Kiladrvan from performing the *pursiitpimi* ceremony before the birth of either of these children, and consequently they are regarded as the children of the dead Kulpakh and belong to Kuriolv's division (*pòlm*) of the clan and not to that of Kiladrvan. Here, by virtue of the *pursiitpimi* ceremony, a dead man is the legal father of two children who are known to be really the sons of his fellow-husband.

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In the preceding cases the people belong to the Teivaliol. Among the Tartharol there are similar histories.

Pupidz of Kwòdrdoni (35) was married in infancy to two brothers, Kalgeners and Kinagudr, belonging to the same clan as the mother of Pupidz, so that she would probably have called them *matchuni*, though they were not nearly related. From these boys Pupidz was taken by Patser (26), who gave for her three buffaloes. From Patser she was taken by Siriar (20) for five buffaloes. Some time later Pepob (44) wished to marry Pupidz, but both she and Siriar were unwilling to be separated. Pepob, however, persuaded the council to arrange that he should have the woman for three buffaloes, and soon after five or six men carried off the woman by force, entering Siriar's hut at night. Two of the men held Siriar while the others carried off his wife, who became pregnant by Pepob, but Siriar, who had been trying to get back his wife, succeeded when she was about at the sixth month. The hand-burning ceremony had already been performed, but Siriar gave the bow and arrow, and is therefore the legal father of the boy born afterwards, although Pepob is known to have been the real father. Siriar had to give Pepob eleven buffaloes, though he had only received three, and had given five to the previous husband.

Nanbarvan of Kars (7) first married Pothenir (47), by whom he had one son. Nanbarvan went to England with a party of Todas, and Pothenir then married Kutadri, Nanbarvan's first cousin. On his return from England, Nanbarvan married Sindod (38), by whom he had a second son. Then he fell ill, and in consequence sent Sindod away,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
58 no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
627 on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it
851 appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
58 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners, the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pödri*, nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing purposes. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and *pödri* were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45). She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners from infancy, and after having three children, who died young, she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3), while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
595 married life, I add one taken from the book published by Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by
851 myself.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The History of Pinpurz Kutan

"I was not seven years old, when my father, taking a child's garment, in value about a quarter of a rupee, and selecting one of the best of our herd, desired me to accompany him to the morrt[1] of Kinōri. This Kinōri had, a month or two before, a daughter born to him. Soon after we had arrived at the morrt, it being understood that Kinōri gladly consented to the propositions which had been made by my father, I was directed to bow myself down, and in the presence of the whole family to ask his foot. This I did; and touching it with my forehead, the buffalo and the garment were presented him, and I was considered to be affianced to his daughter. We remained there for some days, during which period it was agreed upon, what number of kine I was to receive in dower, on my intended spouse coming of age, and we again set out to return to our own morrt. I had no brothers, or they also would have been affianced to my intended, as this was part of the agreement, in case of my father having any more sons born to him. In this case Kinōri's daughter would have been wife to us in succession as we arrived at manhood, and we should have formed one united family—the supreme authority, however, still resting with me. The next year, my father presented to my intended bride a garment, double in value to the first which he had presented, and in each succeeding year, one proportionately increasing in value. We also sacrificed a buffalo, and presented a kutch[2] on every occasion of a death among any of the relations of my intended's family, and one also at their obsequies. In case of any accident of the kind in our family, we expected the same to be observed towards us, except the presenting of the kutch, from which my bride's father was exempted on account of the dower he had to give with her, which would greatly exceed in amount any expense which I could be

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[1] This is evidently the same word as *marth*, which occurs in Chapter XIV as a word for village.

[2] This is the *kach*. Harkness states that it was generally a piece of dyed or printed cotton as at present.

159 to my father. My father died, and when I had attained
584 man's estate, I was not pleased with my betrothed; and
presenting her father with three kine, the contract was by
595 mutual consent dissolved. Had the reverse been the case,
851 and the bride or her father had declined to allow of consummation, I could have claimed of the latter a fine equal to fifty kine, and till this fine was paid the former could not marry any other. Freed from my contract with my first bride, I sought to affiance myself in a manner more to my own inclinations, and wishing to be connected with the family of my present wife, Pilluvāni, who was then only six years of age, I spoke to her father, and, obtaining his consent, presented her with a garment in value, according to her age, of about a rupee and a half, and a milch buffalo. I continued to present her with a garment every succeeding year; and on the occurrence of a death among any of the relations of her family, and at the obsequies, I always sacrificed a buffalo, and presented the kutch. Pilluvāni was afterwards betrothed to two others, Khakhood and Tūmbŭt. When she had arrived at a certain age, and had for eight days been living with one of her female friends in a dwelling separate from those of the family,[1] intimation was sent to me, and I went to her father's morrt, that is, Kerjwan's, her second father, the first one being dead. I was feasted and bedded; and after a few days, Kerjwan, laying on his hands, gave us his blessing, and I returned with my wife to my own morrt, receiving with her in dower four buffalo kine; her father also presented to her on this occasion a pair of ear-rings, a pair of armlets, a necklace, a brazen salver, and five rupees.

159 "Now, according to our customs, Pilluvāni was to pass the
first month with me, the second with Khakhood, and the third
595 with Tūmbŭt; and the two latter, waiting in succession on
851 the father-in-law, were to ask his blessing and claim their privilege in right. I was to give her raiment the first year, Khakhood the second, and Tūmbŭt the third. I had the option of claiming the first three children, Khakhood the second three, and Tūmbŭt the third three; when the option again revolved to me. It was my place to go to her father

[1] This is a custom of which I failed to obtain any account.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

two or three months prior to the birth of a child, and, delivering to him a small piece of wood, which we call a billu,[1] to claim the forthcoming infant, whether male or female, and acknowledge before him and his relations that I would protect and nourish it; and that, whatever might happen, I allowed this to be in satisfaction of one of my claims. On this occasion, also, I was to present him either five or ten rupees, and in return he was to allow me to select, if I presented him five rupees, three; if ten rupees, six of the best kine of his herd. If the child proved a boy he would have to present me with a heifer, and another one also on the birth of each son, but not on the birth of a daughter, as it is supposed that she will soon be betrothed, and that a fortune will accrue to her in that way.

159 595 851

"After the third birth the same observance and privilege would have fallen to Khakhood and Tūmbŭt successively, or if I chose to give up any of my rights the two latter would successively have had choice of adoption, &c., &c. We all three should have been equally bound to protect the whole of the children, to marry, and to give them in marriage; but the superior authority would always have rested with me.

"The case of Pilluvāni and myself, however, was at variance with this custom. We were very fond of one another and determined not to separate. I offered to pay the usual fines, but the other party would not accept of them. I had been unfortunate. A murrain had attacked my herd; the greater part of Korrorr,[2] and which belonged to my fathers, had been forsaken by the Marvs and Cūvs,[3] from the oppression of some of their rulers, and from being a leading man among my own people I was now reduced, but principally by the oppressions of my wife's relations, to comparative poverty."

[1] This is evidently due to misunderstanding of the *purrāpini* ceremony. The Tamil word for 'bow' is *vil*.

[2] Probably Kersdr.

[3] Badagas and Kotas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kuriolv, they are too old or infirm to serve. Kuriolv is still on the *naim*, and his influence is entirely predominant, and it appears that he has been instrumental in altering the constitution of the council very largely. The number of representatives has been increased, and the following were the members in 1902:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52) of Kuudr, Perner and Tebner (68), of Keadr, Parkeidi (21), Paners (23) and Siriar (20) of Taradr and Pidrvan (9) of Kars. Thus several members of the Kuudrol and Taradrol are serving, while there appears to be no representative of the Nòdrsol; and I was told by several Todas that Perner and Tebner are on the council because they are friends of Kuriolv, though, as members of the Keadr clan, they have no right whatever to the position. 623

On the slopes below the hill called Mirson, near Paikara, there are the remains of ruined walls marking a place where the *naim* used to meet. This place is called Idrgûdipem, and seems to have been at one time the chief meeting-place.

At the present time the *naim* meets anywhere. I have seen the council sitting in the compound of the bungalow at Paikara and on one occasion, when I was working in a bungalow at the Ooty Club, the *naim* sat in the grounds of the club. In general, they now meet at the places which happen to be most convenient for the chief members.

The members usually sit in a semicircular row. If they are considering a dispute between two parties, representatives of the parties take part in the sitting, and in these cases the members of the *naim* sit in the middle of the row while the representatives sit on either wing. 623 627 578

During my visit the council was chiefly occupied with the various complicated transactions which are always arising out of the custom of transferring wives from one man to another. This custom is the chief source of disputes among the Todas, and at times the *naim* may sit for several days before one case is settled.

I am doubtful whether the *naim* should have a definite head, but at the present time it certainly has such in the person of Kuriolv of Kuudr. He is the senior representative of the *manikudupel* of Kuudr, and is therefore the natural representative of this clan on the *naim*. He is highly intel- 623 159 555 176

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

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ligent, and gave me the impression that he might have risen to a high place in any community. He has the reputation among the Todas of being very eloquent and of having great persuasive powers. When persuasion fails, there is very little doubt that he resorts to intimidation of some kind, though I could not discover what his means of intimidation are.

FIG. 60.—KURIOLV AND PILIMURG.

On one occasion the *naim* spent a whole day discussing a marriage case in the compound at Paikara. On the following day they met in a distant part of the hills to continue the discussion of the case, and I was told that this was arranged by Kuriolv because he hoped to enforce his wishes in some secluded spot more effectively than in the publicity of Paikara where the evidences of the 'government' probably lent moral support to his opponents.

However Kuriolv effects his purpose, there is no doubt that

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he almost entirely dominated the Toda people at the time of my visit. We have already seen that he has succeeded in altering the constitution of the *naim*, and several examples are given in this book of his interference in the normal course of Toda affairs; interference usually in favour of his own family or friends. In at least one case (see Chap. XVI) during my visit he considered himself superior to ceremonial laws. 159 623 555 176

He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died.

I did not obtain a full account of the duties of the *naim* and of the affairs which come under its jurisdiction. There is no doubt, however, that it is largely concerned with the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families, and clans. As I have already mentioned, it seemed to me that it was almost exclusively engaged during my visit in the regulation of the disputes arising out of the *tererstht* custom. In one such case the question of funeral contributions was involved, and I have no doubt that the settlement of any dispute arising from this source would come within the province of the *naim*, and probably any doubtful point in the working of the social regulations would be submitted to it. 623 627

In addition to its functions in disputes between individuals, the *naim* has wide functions in connexion with Toda ceremonial. It decides when many ceremonies take place, and has the chief word in regulating the affairs of the *ti* dairies. Thus it appeared that the various arrangements and alterations of arrangements in connexion with the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* which were made during my visit were the work of the *naim*, or, at any rate, of its chief members.

CRIME

I have no knowledge about the power of the *naim* in criminal as opposed to civil matters. I never heard of inquiry by the *naim* into any criminal offence committed by one man against another or against the community. It is, however, [623] 674

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618 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen
621 females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Punmud*.

PÄM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234 The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Päm* was then
621 adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Päm was called *Palikûdrbeds* and the buffalo-pen, *Tûghdron*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*naskperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmokh*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kwatkash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

618 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of
159 this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English soldiers came to Päm and insulted the women and how Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at Wellington. 618 159

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Päm for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 177 618 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo. 234 618

There are two *mani*, called *Eshkiakudr* and *Eikudr*, each with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pinsipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvali*. [178]

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of these seems to be of any importance. 621

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in
621 number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 621 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] [754] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly, nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children, whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

[135] [123]

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

[464] [291]

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

[124]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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(6) Nalsirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pads. She is twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knowns it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife. 159 621

(7) Mutnarsh: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [464]

(8) Kuddhue: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mad*, in the tribe's *wursulis* for which he is very much sought after. [732] [793]

(9) Munbokwutn: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Erzigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mad* where he apparently likes to stay. [595]

(10) Erzigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda women who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so [842]

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159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elabo-
621 rated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Ürshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Ürshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn
[846] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda cus-
[587] tom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror. When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her
159 present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which
621 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then
[842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup
[777] and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf
159 had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus-
621 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur-
[837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

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(11) PERSHRÖRSHWUTN, abbreviated to PERSHRÖRSH: The eldest boy of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is noticeably proud. He likes to go out to other munds, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mad*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman. 159 621 233

(12) NARJILKHWUTN, abbreviated to NARJILKH: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Munbokwutn, his youngest father.

(13) Pengelam: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friendly. She is gay and playful, and is nearby always in the company of Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris. 159 621 [123]

(14) SODUP: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exceptionally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop. [855]

(15) Sodam: She is as dull and backward as Sodup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) PETEROZN: Called after me (*Rozn* being Toda for Raja = Prince) who am his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived [123] [551]

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159 621 in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative. [276] He takes snuff and rarely goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being reserved for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-shaven except for a short moustache. [464] He is a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from [291] Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda *putkuli* and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz, whom she helps a lot. [837] She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been accepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, handsome, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at the *mad*'s *tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies [233] the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

(23) PILKHLIVOWUTN: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early [464] twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding moustache.

(24) KIRSHARSWUTN: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershrörsh, and is a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 159 621

(25) Närshmali: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhlivowutn have to search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Närshmali had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershti* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them. [832] [837]

(26) Pufvkiaroz: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that surviving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also works as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [847] [797] [464]

(27) Mutmali: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns after some days, without Pufvkiaroz exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmali came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again. [832] [837]

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764 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-
588 world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground,
614 with a further display of grief and lamentation.
775

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance,
123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me
855 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex-
159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con-
857 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Närshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

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not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

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159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more
159 fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said
776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen
[125] such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
159 even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh*, *wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be-
[836] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konorj.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

children under five years of age which I know to be deficient. 128 173

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females. 601 161 162

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 ,,	4	7
56—60 ,,	19	9
51—55 ,,	20	17
46—50 ,,	26	21
41—45 ,,	26	18
36—40 ,,	26	27
31—35 ,,	40	25
26—30 ,,	40	33
21—25 ,,	38	28
16—20 ,,	32	31
11—15 ,,	41	20
6—10 ,,	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour- 125 128

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

000 of sociological interest. The data derived from the genealogies are here of distinct service, though, for reasons already considered, their value is not so great as in the investigation of social regulations.

161 Records of the numbers of the Todas have been taken at various times, beginning with what must have been a very rough estimate made by Keys[1] in 1812, in which the number of the Todas or Thothavurs was placed at 179. In 1821, Ward[2] estimated the numbers of men and women at 140 and 82 respectively, of whom the great majority lived in the Todanad district of the hills.

Hough[3] in 1825 found the population to consist of 145 men, 100 women, 45 boys, and 36 girls, altogether 326.

In 1838, Birch[4] gives the population as consisting of 294 men and 184 women, amounting to 478, but elsewhere in his paper he says that the number of the Todas was computed at about 800.

In 1847, Ouchterlony[5] found the number of the Todas to be 337, made up of 86 adult males, 87 male children, 70 adult females, and 94 female children. The proportion of males to females is only 173 to 164, showing a very much smaller preponderance of males than in any other estimate before or since.

In 1856, Grigg[6] gives 185 males and 131 females, altogether 316.

In 1866, Grigg gives the population as 704. If the estimates of this year and that of 1856 were correct, it would show that the population had more than doubled in ten years. It is evident that the census of 1866 is the first which gives anything approaching an accurate record of the Toda population. Even in this year there is one obvious source of error, for it would seem that those living at the foot of the hills, near Gudalur were not included, and probably twenty or thirty, if not more, would have to be added on this account.

[1] Grigg's *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, 1880, Appendix No. 17, p. xlviii.
[2] *Ibid.* App. No. 20, p. lx.
[3] *Letters on the Neilgherries*, London, 1829, p. 75.
[4] *Madras Journ. of Lit. and Science*, 1836, vol. viii, p. 86.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1848, vol. xv, p. 1.
[6] *Manual*, p. 27.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

161 For the census of 1871 the records are conflicting. On p. 29 of the *Manual*, Grigg gives the numbers as 693, 405 males and 288 females. On p. 187 he gives instead of these numbers 376 males and 263 females, making a total of 639. Breeks gives the latter numbers and also a revised result which brings out the total population as 683. This figure, or the earlier of Grigg's figures, evidently approximates to the correct population, which shows a slight falling off as compared with five years earlier.

In the census of 1881, the numbers would appear to have continued to diminish, the population being put at only 675; 382 males and 293 females.

In 1891, the number had risen to 736; 424 males and 312 females.

In the census of 1901, which was taken with especial care to record all the Todas, there were found to be 451 males and 354 females, making together 805.

The population as recorded in my genealogical tables compiled in 1902 was only 736; 419 males and 317 females. My numbers fall far short of those of the census taken a year previously. As I have already pointed out, my genealogies are untrustworthy as a record of the young children of the community now living, and it is possible also that I have omitted a certain number of women. The excess of men over women is distinctly greater in my figures than in the census of 1901, and this may be due to the fact that I failed to hear of a certain number of widows or unmarried women or girls. If so, it is probable that these defects are in the genealogies of the Teivaliol, and it is in them that the excess of men is greatest.

The earlier records of the population are certainly far below the mark. Captain Harkness, writing in 1832, estimates the attendance at a funeral at 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and girls. Those seen by Harkness may not have been all Todas, since Badagas and Kotas undoubtedly attend Toda funerals, but we may safely call this a total attendance of 500, which would show that the records of Hough in 1825 and of Birch in 1838 are far below the mark, and that Birch's rough estimate of 800 is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

●161 probably far more nearly correct, and may even have been too small.

The records have probably been fairly complete since 1866, and if so, they show a falling off in population from this date till the 1881 census. It is, however, possible that the gradual increase in numbers during recent censuses has been due to the greater care taken at each succeeding census. Unsatisfactory as the records are, they seem to point to a diminution of population about the middle of the last century, which ceased between 1880 and 1890, since which time the population has probably increased.

161 Mr. R. C. Punnett[1] has analysed the data furnished by my genealogical records to ascertain the average size of the Toda
162 family. He divided the families recorded in the genealogies into four groups: (A) those where the eldest child would in 1903 be over 90 years of age; (B) those where he would be between 60 and 90; (C) and (D) those where he would be between 30 and 60 and between 0 and 30 respectively. He has recorded the results for Tartharol and Teivaliol separately in the following table.

Group.	Tartharol.			Teivaliol.		
	No. of families.	Average size of family.	$\delta \times$ per cent φ s.	No. of families.	Average size of family.	$\delta \times$ per cent φ s.
A	9	3·0 [4·2]	237·3	4	4·3 [6·0]	200
B	49	4·1 [5·0]	199·7	21	3·8 [5·4]	259
C	87	3·3 [3·7]	131·4	40	3·8 [5·0]	202
D	104	2·3 [2·8]	129·2	45	2·3 [2·9]	171

The figures in square brackets give the average size of the family for each generation, making allowance for cases of female infanticide, which we shall see presently to be a Toda custom which is almost certainly diminishing in frequency.

The conclusion Mr. Punnett draws from this table is that there has been a marked decrease in fertility during the period covered by the genealogies.

The defects in my record as regards young children make

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

any conclusions about the last generation very inconclusive, 161
but since the record for very young children is certainly
defective, and since many families now existing will certainly 162
increase in size, it is probable that any progressive decrease in the size of a family has now been arrested, and the details of the genealogical record would therefore agree with the Census Reports in showing the presence of a distinct tendency of the Toda population to increase.

None of the previous records have given any indication of 162
the numbers of the two chief divisions of the Toda people. According to my genealogical records, there were living, in 1902, 528 Tartharol and 208 Teivaliol. The defects in my record are probably somewhat greater for the Teivaliol than for the Tartharol, but any difference there may be is certainly not great, and I think we may conclude that, though these figures are not accurate, they represent approximately the true proportion of the numbers of the two divisions. It is quite certain that the Tartharol are more than twice as numerous as the Teivaliol. Mr. Punnett's table does not show any great difference between the two divisions in the average size of the family, so that the proportion between the numbers of the two divisions has probably not altered during the period covered by the genealogical record. It is probable that the Teivaliol have always or for a very long time been the smaller division.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record then agree 161
in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the
middle of last century which has now ceased, the probability 177
being that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers. 164

There can be little doubt that any decrease in the Toda population about the middle of last century was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. The adverse influences which came into the lives of the Todas probably owe their origin to the large immigration of native servants and to the development of the bazaar. Though Europeans first began to come to the Nilgiri Hills about 1820, it was not till twenty or thirty years later that they arrived in any considerable numbers, so that it was probably the middle of the century

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

164 842 [273] The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 842 Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 177 842 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The chief village of the Kars clan is situated close to Ootacamund and has suffered greatly from its neighbours, but many of the villages of the clan are more remote, so that the clan may be put down as one partly influenced. The people of Päm and Nidrsi, on the other hand, are more influenced than any other of the Toda clans, as is shown by the alterations in their villages and the neglect of the ritual of their religion. The villages of the Pämol are, or were, near to Wellington Barracks, and it is certainly the most degenerated of all the Toda clans. The following table, taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, shows the average size of the family in each case, and though the figures are somewhat irregular, they bear out the view that sterility is greater the more the people have come into contact with Europeans and their followers.

Name of clan.	No. of families.	No. of offspring.	Average size of family.	Average size of family for group.
Nödrs (uninfluenced)	14	54	3·84	3·59
Pan (uninfluenced)	8	21	2·37	
Taradr (uninfluenced)	9	43	4·77	
Kanödrs (uninfluenced)	11	33	3·00	
Kars (partly influenced)	25	76	3·04	3·04
Päm (much influenced)	10	22	2·20	2·60
Nidrsi (much influenced)	10	30	3·00	

Proportion of the Sexes

The records of the Toda population in the past all show an excess of men over women, and with the exception of the record of Ouchterlony, which is certainly untrustworthy, the excess is considerable. In view of their untrustworthiness no importance can be attached to the records taken earlier than that of 1866, and in the report for that year I have been unable to ascertain the proportions of the sexes. In 1871 there were 140·6 men for every 100 women; in 1881, 130·4 for every 100; in 1891, 135·9, and in the census of 1901, 127·4 men for every 100 women. My figures, derived from the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative. 162 184

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk. 847

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children. 114 847 182

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which 161 847

[1] Pp. 194-5.

161 seems at present to exist may be due, wholly or in part, to
847 the diminution of infanticide.

There is one indication that female infanticide has almost
163 entirely ceased during the last five years, and even that there may now be an excess of female births. In the table of ages given on page 469, it will be seen that the pedigrees record more girls than boys of five years and under. There is no reason why my record of such young children should have been more defective for one sex than for the other, and the proportion here may be approximately correct.

Twins

845 Twins are called *ömumokh*, and it is the custom to kill one
847 of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or, at any rate, would have been killed in the past.

There is one case of twins in the genealogies. Iraveli, the wife of Kwötuli and Nudriki (8), gave birth to twins about twelve years ago. Both were boys, and I was first told that one had died shortly after birth, but later inquiries made it almost certain that the boy had been killed. Some time after the birth of the twins, one of the buffaloes of Kwötuli and Nudriki is said to have had a calf with one body, two heads, and four legs. The buffalo died before the calf was born, and the monstrosity was found by the Kotas, to whom the body was given. It was generally expected that something would happen to Kwötuli or Nudriki, but they have since been very prosperous.

The Determination of Age

805 This is a suitable place to say a word about the method I
128 adopted to ascertain the ages of the Todas. Like all people at a low stage of culture, the Todas are very uncertain about their ages, though their knowledge is more accurate than that of many peoples. Every Toda knows, however, whether he is older or younger than another, this fact determining the

 A perusal of the column in Table No. 3 which affords

CHAP. X.

particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

162 342 511 592

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

161 162 127

I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

162 621

6. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life. 161 162 621

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 2[illegible] years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study. 161

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate. 162

Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye. 732

Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health. 165 147

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the 757 164

[1] [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

CHAP. X.

including a proportion of the sterile—bear children for 20 years, at the rate of 6 children for each woman.

163 We know from paragraph (λ), that of 100 children born,
165 10·87 die before they attain to the age of 20.

The natural death-rate of *all ages* is allowed in paragraph (κ) to stand at 2 per cent. per annum; which rate is here taken for the proportion of *adults* only, who die—a very high figure. Hence 18·29 per cent. will give the number of deaths during the ten years which forms the *mean* period of child-bearing.

Calculation.

	77	Number of women who commence to bear children.
77−18·29=	58·71	Average number of women who bear children for 20 years.

Then

58·71 × 6=	352·26	Number of children born to those women at the expiration of 20 years.

Deduct

52·26÷10·87=	32·41	The number of children who die before attaining 20 years.
	319·85	The number of children who survive at the expiration of 20 years.

During these 20 years, the original 177 people have decreased by 2 per cent. per annum; or 33·21 per cent.=58·78.

Thus

177−58·78=118·22

438·07

161 We see therefore that in the course of 20 years, the 177 Todas have theoretically expanded to 438. Thus doubling in 16·2 years. 'In the back settlements of America, where

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

161

the inhabitants applied themselves solely to agriculture, and luxury was not known, the people were found to double themselves in 15 years.'[9] And it has been shown by Adam Smith, that 'when the means of subsistence are supplied in sufficient abundance, the principle of increase is powerful enough to cause population to advance in geometrical proportion, or in the ratio of the numbers 1. 2. 4. 8. 16.'[10]

It follows therefore, taking the present number of the Toda tribe at 713, and the term of doubling at 16·2 years, that

in the year	1886	they will	have become	1426
"	1902	"	"	2852
"	1918	"	"	5604

and so on; of which numbers, nearly one-third will be men in the prime of life.

[9] Malthus, 'Essay on the Principle of Population.'
[10] Adam Smith, 'The Wealth of Nations.'

CHAPTER II.

THE TODAS.

CENSUS.—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.—MODE OF LIFE.—RELIGION.—RITES AND CEREMONIES.—FUNERAL.—LANGUAGE.—HISTORY AND TRADITIONS.

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161 The Todas numbered 639 by the Census of the 15th November 1871. Considering the pains taken to ensure accuracy, we may accept this enumeration as approximately correct.

162 LIST* of Todá Population in the Nilagiri District according to the Final Census of 15th November 1871.

Village.	No. of Persons.			Mands occupied.	Mands unoccupied.
	Male.	Female.	Total.		
Todanád - -	319	212	531	30	38
Peranganád - -	55	49	104	5	3
Mókanád - -	2	2	4	1	—
Koondahs - -	—	—	—	—	2
Total - -	376	263	639	36	43

161 * The foregoing list was taken from the original returns of the population of the Mands. When the returns were revised and tabulated, it was found that thirty-eight Todas, counted in the Ootacamund population, had been omitted, and that there were other slight inaccuracies. The revised list is as follows :—

Todanád - - -	507
Peranganád - - -	105
Mókanád - - -	33
Ootacamund Town - -	38
Total - -	683

—*Editor.*

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
563 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced
651 by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

177 the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief
[171] in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing
[178] no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage
[582] customs attempted by kumaraj*f* and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and
[425] that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of
[426] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made
[657] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

161 There remains the important question of the effect of outside
177 influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems
[114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women
[831] by the polyandrous system combined with the manfoolij institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931.[1] The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901–11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918–9 and relapsing fever in 1923–4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about 8¼ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931–41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of the tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

[1] See *Census of India, 1931*, reference given in note 1.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, 304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the 291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *puikuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

●161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103 No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
162 1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
621 2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

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In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

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Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

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is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

To 131 •161 114

The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

To [161] 595 618 [121]

Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, *i.e.*, a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars,

4: Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
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carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[3]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[3] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peranganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr. 101 103 131 162

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information. 121 124

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I 124

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

children under five years of age which I know to be deficient. 128 173

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females. 601 161 162

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 ,,	4	7
56—60 ,,	19	9
51—55 ,,	20	17
46—50 ,,	26	21
41—45 ,,	26	18
36—40 ,,	26	27
31—35 ,,	40	25
26—30 ,,	40	33
21—25 ,,	38	28
16—20 ,,	32	31
11—15 ,,	41	20
6—10 ,,	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour- 125 128

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 probably far more nearly correct, and may even have been too small.

The records have probably been fairly complete since 1866, and if so, they show a falling off in population from this date till the 1881 census. It is, however, possible that the gradual increase in numbers during recent censuses has been due to the greater care taken at each succeeding census. Unsatisfactory as the records are, they seem to point to a diminution of population about the middle of the last century, which ceased between 1880 and 1890, since which time the population has probably increased.

161 Mr. R. C. Punnett[1] has analysed the data furnished by my
162 genealogical records to ascertain the average size of the Toda family. He divided the families recorded in the genealogies into four groups: (A) those where the eldest child would in 1903 be over 90 years of age; (B) those where he would be between 60 and 90; (C) and (D) those where he would be between 30 and 60 and between 0 and 30 respectively. He has recorded the results for Tartharol and Teivaliol separately in the following table.

Group.	Tartharol.			Teivaliol.		
	No. of families.	Average size of family.	♂ s per 100 ♀ s.	No. of families.	Average size of family.	♂ s per 100 ♀ s.
A	9	3·0 [4·2]	237·5	4	4·5 [6·0]	200
B	49	4·8 [5·0]	159·7	21	3·8 [5·4]	259
C	87	3·3 [3·7]	131·4	40	3·8 [5·0]	202
D	104	2·5 [2·8]	129·2	45	2·3 [2·9]	171

The figures in square brackets give the average size of the family for each generation, making allowance for cases of female infanticide, which we shall see presently to be a Toda custom which is almost certainly diminishing in frequency.

The conclusion Mr. Punnett draws from this table is that there has been a marked decrease in fertility during the period covered by the genealogies.

The defects in my record as regards young children make

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

any conclusions about the last generation very inconclusive, 161
but since the record for very young children is certainly
defective, and since many families now existing will certainly 162
increase in size, it is probable that any progressive decrease in the size of a family has now been arrested, and the details of the genealogical record would therefore agree with the Census Reports in showing the presence of a distinct tendency of the Toda population to increase.

None of the previous records have given any indication of 162
the numbers of the two chief divisions of the Toda people. According to my genealogical records, there were living, in 1902, 528 Tartharol and 208 Teivaliol. The defects in my record are probably somewhat greater for the Teivaliol than for the Tartharol, but any difference there may be is certainly not great, and I think we may conclude that, though these figures are not accurate, they represent approximately the true proportion of the numbers of the two divisions. It is quite certain that the Tartharol are more than twice as numerous as the Teivaliol. Mr. Punnett's table does not show any great difference between the two divisions in the average size of the family, so that the proportion between the numbers of the two divisions has probably not altered during the period covered by the genealogical record. It is probable that the Teivaliol have always or for a very long time been the smaller division.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record then agree 161
in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the
middle of last century which has now ceased, the probability 177
being that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers. 164

There can be little doubt that any decrease in the Toda population about the middle of last century was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. The adverse influences which came into the lives of the Todas probably owe their origin to the large immigration of native servants and to the development of the bazaar. Though Europeans first began to come to the Nilgiri Hills about 1820, it was not till twenty or thirty years later that they arrived in any considerable numbers, so that it was probably the middle of the century

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

164 The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably 842 been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the [273] influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall 842 have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in 177 those sections of the Toda community which have been most 842 subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The chief village of the Kars clan is situated close to Ootacamund and has suffered greatly from its neighbours, but many of the villages of the clan are more remote, so that the clan may be put down as one partly influenced. The people of Päm and Nidrsi, on the other hand, are more influenced than any other of the Toda clans, as is shown by the alterations in their villages and the neglect of the ritual of their religion. The villages of the Pämol are, or were, near to Wellington Barracks, and it is certainly the most degenerated of all the Toda clans. The following table, taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, shows the average size of the family in each case, and though the figures are somewhat irregular, they bear out the view that sterility is greater the more the people have come into contact with Europeans and their followers.

Name of clan.	No. of families.	No. of offspring.	Average size of family.	Average size of family for group.
Nödrs (uninfluenced)	14	54	3·84	3·59
Pan (uninfluenced)	8	21	2·37	
Taradr (uninfluenced)	9	43	4·77	
Kanödrs (uninfluenced)	11	33	3·00	
Kars (partly influenced)	25	76	3·04	3·04
Päm (much influenced)	10	22	2·20	2·60
Nidrsi (much influenced)	10	30	3·00	

Proportion of the Sexes

The records of the Toda population in the past all show an excess of men over women, and with the exception of the record of Ouchterlony, which is certainly untrustworthy, the excess is considerable. In view of their untrustworthiness no importance can be attached to the records taken earlier than that of 1866, and in the report for that year I have been unable to ascertain the proportions of the sexes. In 1871 there were 140·6 men for every 100 women; in 1881, 130·4 for every 100; in 1891, 135·9, and in the census of 1901, 127·4 men for every 100 women. My figures, derived from the

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative. 162 184

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk. 847

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children. 114 847 182

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which 161 847

[1] Pp. 194-5.

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TABLE No. III. *Census.*

Mands		Houses					Inhabitants											Particulars regarding Inhabitants	Remarks M = Mands I = Inhabitants
							Male					Female							
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Grand Total		
Diljâvenu	Karikall	3	3	2	2	6	—	3	3[1]	4	10	1[2]	2	—	6[3]	9	19	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairyman. 3. Two of 12 years of age.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakhodi	Kakhodi	2	2	1	1	4	—	3[1]	—	2	5	—	2[2]	—	—	2	7	1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married: hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north. I. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Beresthro	Karrathro	2	1	1	—	2	—	4[1]	—	3	7	—	4[2]	—	1	5	12	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.
Koana-koar	Koana-korrli	3	2	1	—	3	—	4	3[1]	3	10	—	4[2]	1[3]	1[4]	6	16	1. Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.
Elagodu	Elagodu	4	3	1	1	5	1[1]	4[2]	4[3]	3	12	1[4]	4[5]	—	6[6]	11	23	1. About 85 years. Admitted to this Mand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 16 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 73 years of age. 5. One is	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant

Dhaghdo	Dhaghdo	4	2	1	—	3	2[1]	4	2[2]	6	24	2[2]	4	—	4[2]	10	24	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 22, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	M. Much exposed, but well drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Karkk	Kandal	5	3	2	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	2	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Mhamadd	Mardini	3	3	1	1	5	1[1]	6[2]	1[2]	3	12	2[2]	6	—	4	12	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kuhkir	Kakheri	3	2	1	—	3	—	6[1]	1[2]	5	12	—	6[2]	—	3	9	21	2. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 15. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Poor. A girl squints. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Kinho	Kundetro	2	1	1	—	2	—	2	1[1]	2	5	1[2]	2	—	1[2]	4	9	1. A dairyman, 15 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south and east. I. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.
Hedkark	Manchokdli	4	3	1	—	4	1[1]	1	1[2]	1	6	—	3[2]	—	1[2]	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Dairyman aged 15. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and vigorous. Comfortable.
		35	25	13	4	42	5	49	22	36	112	7	47	1	29	84	196		

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Before proceeding further, I will review this Census Table, especially selecting those facts which may be useful to us hereafter.

α. We find that Toda males of *all ages*, bear the proportion to females of all ages, of 112 : 84, or of 100 : 75. In a census of the North-west Provinces of India, taken during the year 1866, the proportions between the sexes were found to be as 100 : 86·6. And in the Punjab as 100 : 81·8.[2] In Oudh, the census of 1868-69 taken in ten districts suspected of infanticide, gave 100 : 75·6 of all ages.[3]

β. The male *adults* are to the female adults, as 76 : 55, or as 100 : 72·4.

γ. The male *children* under fourteen years of age, bear to the female children of the same period—ages estimated from their personal appearance—the ratio of 36 : 29, or of 100 : 80·6.

Although, as we find, there is a somewhat larger proportion of females to males among children than amongst adults, I am disposed to attribute the discrepancy either to the score of the limited number of instances which the census contains : or to my having recorded as children, some who should have been acc[illegible] adult women.

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δ. There is 1 unmarried girl—a cripple from birth—out of 55 adult females, or 1·8 in 100.

ε. There are 22 young men who are said to be unmarried. If we deduct from these 22 adults, the 10 recorded as dairymen ; who, during the term of office, are compelled, through religious usage, to live *en garçon* : we have yet 12 men of marriageable age who are stated in the Table to be leading a single life. From actual knowledge of the people, I form the opinion that these 12 are Benedicts, *de facto*.

[2] Selections from the Records of the Government of India. Foreign Department. Dated 1867.

[3] Statistics deduced from a census of Oudh in 1868-69, relating to female infanticide among Rajput families.

7 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category III -- Analyse]

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ζ We find there to be 49 undoubtedly married men, and 47 married women. 162 596

If this ratio was strictly true, I should be in a position to announce that the practice of polyandry had become extinct. But if to these 49 men, we add the 12 who are married *de facto*, we get 61 husbands for the 47 wives, or the proportion of 100 : 77. Such, in my belief, is the existing state of polyandry in the tribe—formerly, the discrepancy was perhaps as much as 100 : 40.

η. The total of the Table[1] gives a return of 196 people; from whom, if we deduct the 10 dairymen who live apart, we find that 186 people, of both sexes and all ages, live in 35 rooms, the dimensions of which we know to be 8ft. by 8ft. each; or 5·3 persons, on an average, in each of such rooms. Such is the average domiciliary condition of the tribe. But in village Mênmadd, 23 are shown to be living in 3 rooms, or 8 in some rooms. 162 342 511

If such be the custom of the people when in a state of health, we can scarcely form a conception of their miserable plight when epidemics arise: but we can at once comprehend how fatal any form of contagious disease is too sure to become, if it obtains a footing in the homesteads of any primitive race. Let this essential condition of savage life make a deep impression on our minds, if we would realise any one of the numerous forms of suffering, hardship, or disaster, to which our forefathers must all, from time to time, have been exposed. Rapidly as intelligence spreads amongst civilised nations in these modern days, through the quick interchange of ideas; we may feel very confident, that in the retirement of mountains, swamps, and jungles, at an era when all mankind was young and inexperienced; isolated tribes each gaining their separate knowledge through means of the repeated hard knocks to which their own ignorance of the working of natural laws had rendered them liable, must have undergone the severest trials. 000

A perusal of the column in Table No. 3, which affords

1 [See pp 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

 A perusal of the column in Table No. 3[2] which affords

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162 342 511 592 particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

161 162 127 I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

162 621 8. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life.

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out.— With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study.

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate.

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the [illegible]s Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye.

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health.

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the

161 162 621 161 162 732 165 147 757 164

1 [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

In paragraph (a) of the last Chapter, I showed that the

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162 Toda males of all ages bear to the females, the proportion of 100 : 75; and the correctness of this statement is somewhat confirmed by the ratio in adults and in children, given in paragraphs (β) and (γ) bearing a similar discrepancy. This excess 947 of males is a very striking fact, and its truth may be accepted without doubt or mental reserve. I think we cannot quite account for the universal paucity of females without acknowledging, either that infanticide is, or has recently been practised to a very sensible extent: or that more boys are *born* than girls.

000 To what cause may we attribute this wide departure in nature, from those of her well-established laws; by the operations of which, equality between the sexes, is, within certain limits of divergence, known to be preserved, in all countries of whose population we have accurate knowledge? If we are disposed to describe the cause, in some general expression, as 'race peculiarity,' we still cannot be satisfied with less than the discovery of the physiologic reason for such eccentricity. We note the food and clothing, the mode of life, the climate; and fail to see sufficient reason for ascribing what we seek to any such origin. In fact, as regards the Todas, we can with certainty pronounce, that in only two respects can their surroundings be considered to differ widely in an important manner, from that of vast masses of mankind to whom great variation between the sexes has never been traced; viz., in their marriage system, and in the practice of infanticide.

162 582 We have learnt that relationship is, with the Todas, intimate far beyond that witnessed in any country approaching civilisation. Intimate to such a degree, that the whole tribe, where not parents and children, brothers and sisters, are all first-cousins, descended from lines of first-cousins prolonged for centuries. Let me show emphatically and distinctly that such is in truth the case. The tribe consists of about 713 persons, divided between 5 clans; of which

two are almost extinct. The remaining three clans, being nearly of equal number, must contain about 200 members of all ages each. But one of them—the Peiki clan—marries solely within itself. Hence, this small body of 200 people have intermarried from time immemorial. And the intercourse must have become very promiscuous. I do not attribute disparity between the sexes to this close intercourse; but it is interesting to review the primitive practice, as a custom connected with the paucity of numbers arising from infanticide, and with the polyandrous habit which is found in junction with it.

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In future chapters we shall see that the practice of infanticide as observed by the Todas, was the habitual destruction of all daughters in every family, except one or sometimes two. And we know that the average size of Toda families is 6 children born to each woman.

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Now let us for the purpose of illustration take three families as representing an average of the entire tribe; say that one mother gives birth to 6 daughters and no sons: a second mother has 6 sons only, whilst the third mother has 3 sons and 3 daughters. The first mother—following the tribal custom—destroys 4 daughters and preserves 2. The second retains her 6 sons. The third kills 2 daughters and keeps 1, as also her 3 sons. We have then, from the three families, 9 sons and 3 daughters with which to continue the breed. But whilst the males belong to families in which the tendency to produce sons is great, the females are of those of a converse inclination. Thus the bias strengthens with each generation, until, as we find, families grow to have habitually more sons than daughters. This habitude *outlasting the depraved practice which caused it*, indurates more or less, into a fixed characteristic of the people: and *a male-producing variety of man is formed.*

In presenting Table No. 4, containing what I have termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' to the indulgence of my readers,

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TABLE No. IV. *Statistics of Toda Families.*

No. on the List	Name of Mands	Wives			Husbands				Children						Remarks
		Clan	Apparent present age	Probable number of years since married	Clan	Apparent age of those alive	Probable age of those dead, and number of years since dead	Degree of relationship to one another	Apparent ages of those alive		Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead.				Notes.—No. 3 column has been determined either by reference to age of oldest child or where the period was manifestly short, from the woman's own statement. The remaining columns are the result of *viva voce* examination of parents, or of personal inspection.
									Males	Females	Males		Females		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
2	Different	Tôdi	27	13	Tôdi	28			Brothers	4 2	12 10	—	—	—	—	Child-marriage.
3		"	25	12	"	28	—	—		11	8 14	1	3	—	—	There is a fourth brother to these three husbands, aged 18; the village dairyman. Child-marriage.
3		"	40	16	"	D	27	6	Brothers	18 14 11	12 10	—	—	—	—	This woman was put away by her first husband, in order that he might marry his brother's widow. She was not living with her deceased husband's brothers, but with her own sons.
4	Different Mands	"	65	46	"	70	—	—	Brothers.	36 35	28 24	6 3	30 29	6 8	24 20	
5		"	60	43		48	—	—		42 35	22 18					
6		"	D	—	"	D	66	10		4 No.	—	—	—	8 6	22 12	
7		"	D	—	"	D	45	8		—	—	—	—	—	—	Mother died in first travail. Sex of child—which died—not known.

8	Kakkoll	Pelki	D	—	Pelki	D	57	20	Brothers	20	22	12	3	20	4	Twins. This woman died five years ago. On her death the two widowers married a woman (9) known to have been barren all her life: and therefore set aside. Having already a family, they married for the sake of having some one to cook.
9		"	30	5	"	D			Brothers	—	—	—	—	—	—	Barren.
10	Bowshe	"	18	25	"	D	30	8	Brothers	22	24	6	7	—	—	
11		"	24	4	"	25	—	—		—	8	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
12		"	18	2	"	22	—	—	Brothers	—	—	—	—	—	—	Pregnant.
13		"	16	1	"	19	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
14	Kuna Kaur	"	18	2	"	28	—	—		—	—	—	—	1	1	Pregnant. The husband has a brother aged 18; the village dairyman.
15		"	40	26	"	36	—	—		—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	One female child is a cripple from birth. The husband has no brother.
16		"	22	3	"	30	—	—		8	—	—	—	—	—	The husband has a brother, aged 24: the village dairyman.
17	Eppuk	"	75	61	"	D	75	4		[illegible]	22	30	6	32 34 72	18 12 23	This widow says she never had more than one husband.

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No. on the List	Name of Manda	Wives: Clan	Wives: Apparent present ages	Wives: Probable number of years since married	Husbands: Clan	Husbands: Apparent ages of those alive	Husbands: Probable ages of those dead, and number of years since dead		Degree of relationship to one another	Children: Apparent ages of those alive: Males	Children: Apparent ages of those alive: Females	Children: Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead: Males		Children: Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead: Females		Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
18	Elgodu	Peiki	35	17	Peiki	40	—	—	Brothers	16 10	14 12	—	—	4	12	
19		,,	30	11	,,	35	—	—		—	10 3 1½	—	—	—	—	These two husbands have a younger brother, aged 38; the village dairyman.
20		,,	19	2	,,	16	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. Child-marriage. Wife older than husband.
21	Bengadu	,,	30	34	,,	D	?	3		28 26	30	3	15	18	15	This man had three younger brothers, married and living in different mands.
22		,,	45	21	,,	D	?	2		16 14 13	20 18	1	7	2 2	8 9	This man had four brothers, who died; one as a child, three married separately.
23		,,	41	23	,,	30	—	—		22 14	12 3	1 1	7 5	—	—	This man has two brothers, widowers, living in the same mand.
24		,,	20	7	,,	28	—	—		1½	2	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. Child-marriage.
25		,,	18	1	,,	25	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
26		,,	28	10	,,	25	—	—		8½	—	—	—	—	—	This man has a brother, aged 23, married in another mand.

Notes.—No. 3 column has been determined either by reference to age of oldest child, or where the period was manifestly short, from the woman's own statement.

The remaining columns are the result of vivâ voce examination of parents, or of personal inspection.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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	These men have a third brother. The three brothers had two wives in common.	Pregnant.	Not pregnant.	Not pregnant. This man has three married brothers living in different souls.	The women is looked on by the people as barren. These husbands have a brother aged 20; the village dairymaids.	Not pregnant.	Not pregnant.	Not pregnant.	These husbands have a fifth brother, aged 10; the village dairymaids.	Child-marriage.	Not pregnant.	Child-marriage.

No. on the List	Name of Mands	Wives			Husbands					Children						Remarks
		Clan	Apparent present age	Probable number of years since married	Clan	Apparent ages of them alive	Probable ages of them dead, and number of years since dead		Degree of relationship to one another	Apparent ages of those alive		Probable ages of those dead, and the number of years since dead				
										Males	Females	Males		Females		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Notes.—No. 5 column has been determined either by reference to age of oldest child, or where the period was manifestly short, from the woman's own statement. The remaining columns are the result of vivâ voce examination of parents or of personal inspection.
40	Mmanâli	Pulki	25	11	Pulki	30	—	—	Brothers	4	1	—	—	6	4	
41		"	14	2	"	14	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Child-marriage.
42		"	30	31	"	D	?	—		18, 13, 12	14	—	—	—	—	
43		"	35	31	"	D	?	—		30, 18, 14	16	23, 4	5, 3	16, 14	10, 2	

44	Kenkir	Tôdi	40	29	Kenna	60	—	—		28 15 8	25 22	4 9	22 3	28	1	The daughter died in her first travail. Sex of child, which died, not known. The husband has a brother married in another mand. Child-marriage.
45		Kattan	45	30	"	35	—	—		12	—	20 22	9 6	—	—	This husband had three younger brothers who died in childhood.
46		"	30	13	"	30	—	—		12 9 6 1	11	—	—	—	—	This husband has a brother married in another mand.
47		Kenna	11	1	"	12	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Child-marriage.
48		"	12	3	"	13	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Child-marriage.
49	Kirdo	Tôdi	35	36	"	D	35	6		25 24 13	26	24	9	—	—	This man had a brother, who died young.
50		Kenna	24	10	"	28	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. Looked on by the people as barren.
51		"	26	12	"	26	—	—		8 4	10	—	7	—	—	Pregnant. Child-marriage.
52		Tôdi	20	6	"	35	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant.
53	Melkanak	"	65	43	Peiki	70	—	—		40 25	42 35	18 12 10 12 18	20 18 18 14 6	22	10	This husband had three brothers, who died young.
54		Peiki	42	26	"	26	—	—		—	25	—	—	—	—	Not pregnant. This husband has a brother married in another mand.
55		Kenna	20	10	"	26	—	—		1	—	—	—	—	—	Child-marriage. This husband has a brother married in another mand.

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it is advisable to mention, that although as much patient care was taken to collect the evidence it contains, with the same accuracy as that bestowed on the Census, yet there are reasons why it could not be attained. For the latter purpose the people were nearly all present; whereas in the process of collecting statistics, dependence had, in the main, to be placed on the statement of uneducated people describing births and deaths, many of which took place long years before. Supposing even they remembered in all cases the number of each sex that died, they would still have to represent their own notions of the ages at which they did so, and the period that had elapsed since those events happened. All, therefore, that can with confidence be asserted, is, that the best was done in the face of these inevitable difficulties to eliminate error.

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For instance—and one will suffice—if it was required to ascertain the particulars of a child who had died. The mother was present; the husband also sat close by. Some relation, also present, had a wife, or husband, or child, as the case might be, who had been a playfellow of the departed. Or the child was said by its mother to have been either so much older or so much younger than one standing before us.

For the sake of those who wish to utilise the statistics, Table No. 5 has been compiled from Table No. 4[7] which will render it easy to extract the most valuable points of information.

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In order to obtain reliable data on which to base deductions as to Toda nature and Toda progress, it seems a matter sufficiently important, to record with all the exactness that available information admits of, certain averages relative to the size of families, and the ages at which their women commence and also leave off child-bearing. The details of these points of information, collated from Tables No. 4 or 5, will, therefore, be found tabulated in Nos. 6 and 7 Tables. A point has been made, not to omit any of the instances of Table 4 or 5, that might prove of value; only the women in child-marriages, or those who having lately married, have not yet given birth to progeny, have been left out.

7 [Table No 4 appears on pp. 112-113 category 116 or 162 --Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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TABLE No. VIII.

Compiled from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' Table No. IV., *in order to ascertain the progress made towards checking Infanticide. Arranged according to the 'present ages of Wives.'*

Present Ages of Wives	No. in the List	Detail						Abstract									Remarks
		Progeny															
		Alive		Dead		Born		Alive		Dead		Born		Proportion of females to 100 males			
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	A.	D.	B.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
65	4	2	2	2	2	4	4										
65	53	2	2	5	1	7	3										
60	5	3	2	0	0	3	2	14	7	9	8	23	15	50	88·9	65·2	
60	6	4	0	0	2	4	2										
60	28	3	1	2	3	5	4										
55	27	1	2	3	0	4	2										
55	43	4	1	2	2	6	3										
55	49	3	1	1	0	4	1	17	9	9	5	26	14	52·9	55·6	53·8	
50	8	3	2	2	2	5	4										
50	21	2	1	1	1	3	2										
50	42	4	2	0	0	4	2										
45	22	3	2	1	2	4	4										
45	36	3	3	1	1	4	4										
45	37	3	3	2	1	5	4										
45	45	1	1	2	0	3	1										
42	23	2	2	2	0	4	2	18	20	12	5	30	25	111·1	41·7	83·3	
42	54	0	1	0	0	0	1										
40	3	3	2	0	0	3	2										
40	15	0	4	2	0	2	4										
40	44	3	2	2	1	5	3										
38	10	5	1	1	0	6	1										
35	18	2	2	0	1	2	3										
30	19	0	3	0	0	0	3										
30	46	4	1	0	0	4	1										
28	35	1	0	0	0	1	0										
28	20	2	0	0	0	2	0										
27	1	2	2	0	0	2	2										
26	51	2	1	0	0	2	1										
25	2	1	2	1	0	2	2	24	17	2	3	26	20	70·8	150	77	
25	38	1	1	0	0	1	1										
25	40	1	1	0	1	1	2										
24	11	0	1	0	0	0	1										
24	29	0	1	0	0	0	1										
22	16	1	0	0	0	1	0										
20	24	1	1	0	0	1	1										
20	55	1	0	0	0	1	0										
18	14	0	0	0	1	0	1										
		73	53	32	21	105	74							72·6	65·6	70·5	No families have been omitted, in extracting from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' except those whose returns appear to be doubtful, or are valueless to the subject under review.

CHAP. XXIII.

847 65 years down to the youngest married women, if we would trace the abatement of infanticide.

It is much to be regretted that the statistics of Table No. 8 162 do not afford a record so complete as could be desired; even 847 to the degree I had fondly calculated on their doing, in the 163 course of our careful enquiries in the field. The instances, though certainly few in number, should distinctly have pointed to the change that was being effected in the course of forty-eight years; by enabling us to trace some sort of declining scale in the contrast of the sexes. The disproportion between males and females is indeed great in the Table, but it neither increases nor lessens in any form of sequence.

I have allowed the Table a place in these pages, despite its acknowledged deficiencies, and notwithstanding that the statistics, taken by themselves, give every appearance of the venerable practice being in full vigour, whilst I am fully convinced by the circumstantial evidences which I have given, that such is not the truth. I have done so, because it thus obtains a value, in showing that *the practice of infanticide may be extinct, whilst statistics indicate its actual prevalence:* that, in fact, the strange numerical difference in the sexes, which the census shows to amount to 25 per cent., implies with certainty, only that infanticide has *lately* been practised. If the custom were in its fullest possible force, consistent with the preservation of the race, the sexual divergence would be as great as 100 to 33·3; a proportion which allows one girl on an average, to every family—with less than which allowance, the race could not survive.

My readers will have noticed in Chapter XI. the suggestion, that a curious result of long continued infanticide, has been to create a male-producing variety of the human race.

165 It will be observed that in the Table, the proportion of females who have died, to 100 males, is 65·6: whilst of those alive, it is 72·6. This discrepancy bears evidence to the inaccuracy of the statistics. Judging from the circumstances

[See p. 197, category 163 -- Analyst]

CHAPTER II.

THE TODAS.

CENSUS.—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.—MODE OF LIFE.—RELIGION.—RITES AND CEREMONIES.—FUNERAL.—LANGUAGE.—HISTORY AND TRADITIONS.

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161 The Todas numbered 639 by the Census of the 15th November 1871. Considering the pains taken to ensure accuracy, we may accept this enumeration as approximately correct.

162 LIST* of Todá Population in the Nilagiri District according to the Final Census of 15th November 1871.

Village.	No. of Persons.			Mands occupied.	Mands unoccupied.
	Male.	Female.	Total.		
Todanád - -	319	212	531	30	38
Peranganád - -	55	49	104	5	3
Mókanád - -	2	2	4	1	—
Koondahs - -	—	—	—	—	2
Total - -	376	263	639	36	43

161 * The foregoing list was taken from the original returns of the population of the Mands. When the returns were revised and tabulated, it was found that thirty-eight Todas, counted in the Ootacamund population, had been omitted, and that there were other slight inaccuracies. The revised list is as follows :—

Todanád - - -	507
Peranganád - - -	105
Mókanád - - -	33
Ootacamund Town - -	38
Total - -	683

—*Editor.*

The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanád and Mekanád in 1835 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are div[illegible] into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz. :—

1. Dêvalyâl.
2. Tarserzhâl.

The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pakkan, Kutten, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

"Ethnology.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
" possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
" with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
" self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
" at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
" Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
" darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
" the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
" the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
" strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
" features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
" *forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2½ inches from the root of the nose
" to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
" moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
" colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
" in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
" measuring from root to tip 2¼ inches, and height from base of alæ to ridge 1¼ inches,
" breadth of alæ from side to side 1½ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
" full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1835.
Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 20th August 1835, says:—
" This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
" total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
" Captain Harkness counted 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
" girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Breeks' Table, No. 28.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Breeks' Tables.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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595 among them. When the girl becomes the wife of a boy, it is usually understood that she becomes also the wife of his brothers. In nearly every case at the present time, and in recent generations, the husbands of a woman are own brothers. In a few cases, though not brothers, they are of the same clan. Very rarely do they belong to
595 different clans. One of the most interesting features of
851 Toda polyandry is the method by which it is arranged who shall be regarded as the father of a child. For all social and legal purposes, the father of a child is the man
[843] who performs a certain ceremony about the seventh month of pregnancy, in which an imitation bow and arrow are given to the woman. When the husbands are own brothers, the eldest brother usually gives the bow and arrow, and is the father of the child, though, so long as the brothers live together, the other brothers are also regarded as fathers. It is in the cases in which the husbands are not own brothers that the ceremony becomes of real social importance. In these cases, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall give the bow and arrow, and this man is the father, not only of the child born shortly afterwards, but also of all succeeding children, till another husband performs the essential ceremony. Fatherhood is determined so essentially by this ceremony that a man who has been dead for several years is regarded as the father of any children born by his widow, if no other man has given the bow and arrow.
595 There is no doubt that, in former times, the polyandry
[847] of the Todas was associated with female infanticide, and it is probable that the latter custom still exists to some extent, though strenuously denied. There is reason to
● [162] believe that women are now more plentiful than formerly, though they are still in a distinct minority. Any increase, however, in the number of women does not

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? 847
Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the open- 178
ing of the buffalo-pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were [732] sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth with a cloth thus—here pantomimic action. It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas for the deed." [465] The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance to a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not.* The Missionary Metz † bears out the statement that the Toda babies were killed by suffocation.

At the census, 1901, 453 male and 354 female [162] Todas were returned. In a note on the proportion of the sexes among the Todas, Mr. R. C. Punnett states ‡ that "all who have studied the Todas are agreed upon the frequency of the practice (of infanticide) in earlier times. Marshall, writing in 1872, refers to the large amount of female infanticide in former years, but expresses his conviction that the practice had by that time died out. Marshall's evidence is that of native assurance only. Dr. Rivers, who received the same assurance, is disinclined to place much confidence in

* Ellis. History of Madagascar.
† Tribes inhabiting the Nellgherry Hills. By a German missionary, 1856. [113]
‡ Proc. Cambridge Philosoph. Soc., XII, 1904.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kišker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low
797 status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime.
794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the aban-
[177] doned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the
[341] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the
[346] more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts
[182] themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final
[162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research
[113] Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small
[104] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ʂ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [š] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [c] and [ʒ] are affricates of ts and dz type respectively. [ə] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯti] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [i].

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuanom] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuisodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialise in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 397 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277-289.

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2239

K 595 182 Ti 595 182 To 595 182

stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

To 174 595 182 162 K 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [847]

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

To 114

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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To 114 — To 595 114 — T, 595 114 — K 114 595

reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

T, 162 792 — To 847 162

As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162

As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanation

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, 304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the 291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *put-kuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103 No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
●162 1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
621 2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

161 seems at present to exist may be due, wholly or in part, to
847 the diminution of infanticide.

There is one indication that female infanticide has almost
163 entirely ceased during the last five years, and even that there may now be an excess of female births. In the table of ages given on page 469, it will be seen that the pedigrees record more girls than boys of five years and under. There is no reason why my record of such young children should have been more defective for one sex than for the other, and the proportion here may be approximately correct.

Twins

845 Twins are called *ömumokh*, and it is the custom to kill one
847 of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or, at any rate, would have been killed in the past.

There is one case of twins in the genealogies. Iraveli, the wife of Kwötuli and Nudriki (8), gave birth to twins about twelve years ago. Both were boys, and I was first told that one had died shortly after birth, but later inquiries made it almost certain that the boy had been killed. Some time after the birth of the twins, one of the buffaloes of Kwötuli and Nudriki is said to have had a calf with one body, two heads, and four legs. The buffalo died before the calf was born, and the monstrosity was found by the Kotas, to whom the body was given. It was generally expected that something would happen to Kwötuli or Nudriki, but they have since been very prosperous.

The Determination of Age

805 This is a suitable place to say a word about the method I
128 adopted to ascertain the ages of the Todas. Like all people at a low stage of culture, the Todas are very uncertain about their ages, though their knowledge is more accurate than that of many peoples. Every Toda knows, however, whether he is older or younger than another, this fact determining the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

names and salutations they give to one another, as we shall see in the next chapter. A few of the younger men seemed to have accurate knowledge of their ages, and building up on this basis, and with a knowledge of the relative ages of the different members of the community, it became possible to arrive at estimates which probably do not deviate very widely from the correct ages; even in the case of the older people, I do not believe that my estimated ages are likely to be more than five years out in any case. As already mentioned (see p. 416), the Todas make use, in the estimation of age, of their belief in the eighteen-year period of a flower, and the ages so estimated in a few cases agreed fairly with those arrived at in other ways. 805 128

Among those now alive, it seemed that the usual time which separates the birth of two children of the same mother is about three years, and I have taken this time as the rule in estimating the ages of all those whose names are included in the genealogies. Similarly, so far as I could tell, women begin to bear children when about eighteen to twenty years of age. 163 128

The ages of the four groups given in the table on p. 474 were calculated on the assumptions that a woman had her first child when twenty years old, and that the interval between the births of two children was three years.

The oldest Toda now living is Kiugi (57). He looks an extremely old man, and is said by the Todas to be nearly a hundred years of age. There is evidence which makes it probable that he is at least eighty or ninety. Kòrs, the father of Kiugi, performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony before the birth of Teitchi (52) (see p. 564). Teitchi's grandson, Kuriolv, is now about fifty-four years of age. When Kòrs gave the bow and arrow he may have been only a young boy, and if we assume that he was fifteen years old, that Teitchi and Pareivan had their first children when twenty years old, and that the interval between the birth of Pilzink and that of Pareivan was six years, it would make the age of Kòrs, if he were still alive, 115. If Kiugi was born when his father was twenty years old, it would make his age ninety-five. If, on the other hand, we assume that Kòrs gave the bow and arrow when 128 165

tion and competition, expose its people to vicissitudes from which the Toda is entirely exempt—was 1 in 45, or 2·23 per cent. per annum.[6] CHAP. X. 000

λ. We shall find in a succeeding chapter on Infanticide, Table No. 7,[1] that of 26 M + 20 F, or 46 children, who—judging from the ages of the mothers—were of different ages, varying from 1 to 20 years, 5 died. In other words, 10·87 per cent. of children born, die of *youthful* maladies. 165

μ. If, from the same Table, we calculate the number of children, whose mothers being less than 27 years must themselves be under 10 years of age, we see that of 23 born, 3 died; or that 13 per cent. died of *infantile* disorders.

An average taken of the mortality of several countries in Europe, gives 38·3 per cent. of children who died in the year 1825, 'from birth to the age of 10.'[7] 000

Not to fatigue my readers with further preliminaries, I will now submit the brief calculation which is to show whether the Todas are dying out or increasing in numbers; and at what rate of progress. Mathematical accuracy cannot, with justice, be expected; for, even with the most perfect census possible, there are obvious reasons why exactness is unattainable. I will premise, in the words of Dugald Stewart, that 'the rate at which the multiplication of different races would go, seems to depend on the following particulars; (1) the age at which the parent becomes prolific; (2) the time that elapses in pregnancy; (3) the frequency of breeding; (4) the numbers of each brood; (5) the period during which the parent continues prolific.'[8]

Suppose then we begin our reckoning with 177 married Todas of both sexes. Paragraph (ζ) of this chapter informs us that of this 177, there will be 100 men and 77 women. 163 165

Tables Nos. 6 and 7[2] show that the average of women—

[6] Adam Smith, 'The Wealth of Nations.'
[7] Malthus, 'Essay on the Principle of Population.'
[8] Dugald Stewart, 'Lectures on Political Economy.'

1. [See p 120, Category 116 -- Analyst]
2. [See pp. 119 and 120, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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including a proportion of the sterile—bear children for 20 years, at the rate of 6 children for each woman.

163 We know from paragraph (λ), that of 100 children born, 10·87 die before they attain to the age of 20.

165 The natural death-rate of *all ages* is allowed in paragraph (κ) to stand at 2 per cent. per annum; which rate is here taken for the proportion of *adults* only, who die—a very high figure. Hence 18·29 per cent. will give the number of deaths during the ten years which forms the *mean* period of child-bearing.

Calculation.

	77	Number of women who commence to bear children.
77−18·29=	58·71	Average number of women who bear children for 20 years.

Then

58·71 × 6=	352·26	Number of children born to those women at the expiration of 20 years.

Deduct

52·26÷10·87=	32·41	The number of children who die before attaining 20 years.
	319·85	The number of children who survive at the expiration of 20 years.

During these 20 years, the original 177 people have decreased by 2 per cent. per annum; or 33·21 per cent.=58·78.

Thus

177−58·78=	118·22
	438·07

161 We see therefore that in the course of 20 years, the 177 Todas have theoretically expanded to 438. Thus doubling in 16·2 years. In the back settlements of America, where

TABLE No. V.

Information deduced from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' Table No. IV.

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No. on the List	Present ages of: Wives	Husbands—oldest	Child—oldest	Child—youngest	Calculated ages when: Wives married	Oldest Husbands married	Wives commenced child-bearing	Wives left off child-bearing	Children: Number alive	Number dead	Number born	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	27	28	12	2	14	15	15	—	4	0	4	Child-marriage.
2	25	28	12	2	13	16	14	—	3	1	4	Child-marriage.
3	40	73	25	20	14	47	15	30	5	0	5	
4	65	70	45	12	19	24	20	53	4	4	3	
5	60	63	42	20	17	22	18	40	5	0	8	
6	D	76							4	2	6	
7	D	52	0	0					0	0	0	
8	D	77	24	8					5	4	9	
9	50	68	0	0	45	63			0	0	0	Barren.
10	38	50	24	6	23	25	14	—	6	1	7	
11	24	25	2	2	20	21	20	—	1	0	1	
12	18	20	1	1	16	20	17	—	1	0	1	
13	18	19	0	0	17	18		—	0	0	0	
14	18	18	2	2	16	16	16	—	0	1	1	
15	40	58	25	8	14	32	15	32	4	2	6	
16	20	30	2	2	19	27	20	—	1	0	1	
17	75	79	27	25	14	18	15	40	6	4	10	
18	33	40	16	10	18	23	19	—	4	1	5	
19	30	35	10	2	19	24	20	—	3	0	3	
20	19	16	0	0	17	14	—	—	0	0	0	Child-marriage.
21	30	—	13	2	16	—	17	32	3	2	5	
22	45	—	20	8	24	—	25	37	5	3	8	
23	42	30	10	3	19	27	20	—	4	2	6	
24	20	18	3	2	13	21	17	—	2	0	2	Child-marriage.
25	18	25	0	0	17	24	—	—	0	0	0	
26	26	25	8	2	18	15	20	—	2	0	2	
27	55	70	40	14	14	29	15	41	3	3	6	
28	60	66	34	20	25	31	26	40	4	5	9	
29	24	28	6	6	16	20	18	—	1	0	1	
30	22	25	0	0	21	24	—	—	0	0	0	
31	18	24	0	0	17	23	—	—	0	0	0	
32	30	35	0	0	22	27	—	—	0	0	0	Barren.
33	19	30	0	0	16	27	—	—	0	0	0	
34	19	30	0	0	17	28	—	—	0	0	0	
35	28	40	3	3	23	35	25	—	1	0	1	
36	45	50	30	2	14	19	13	43	6	2	8	
37	45	45	28	9	16	16	17	36	6	3	9	
38	25	28	12	1	19	15	23	—	2	0	2	Child-marriage.
39	14	23	0	0	10	19	—	—	0	0	0	Child-marriage.
40	25	30	10	1	14	19	15	—	2	1	3	
41	14	14	0	0	12	12	—	—	0	0	0	Child-marriage.
42	30	—	30	14	19	—	20	36	6	0	6	
43	55	—	30	7	24	—	25	48	3	6	9	
44	40	60	28	5	11	31	12	35	5	3	8	Child-marriage.
45	45	55	29	12	15	25	16	33	2	2	4	
46	30	50	12	1	17	37	18	—	5	0	5	
47	11	12	0	0	10	11	—	—	0	0	0	Child-marriage.
48	12	15	0	0	9	12	—	—	0	0	0	Child-marriage.
49	55	61	35	15	19	25	20	40	4	1	5	
50	24	28	0	0	14	18	—	—	0	0	0	Barren.
51	26	26	10	4	14	14	16	—	3	0	3	Child-marriage.
52	20	35	0	0	14	19	—	—	0	0	0	
53	65	70	42	24	22	27	23	41	4	6	10	
54	42	56	25	25	16	32	17	27	1	0	1	
55	20	26	1	1	20	16	19	—	1	0	1	Child-marriage.

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TABLE No. VI.

To ascertain the 'ages at which Toda women commence and leave off Child-bearing.'

Compiled from Tables No. IV. *or* V.

Commenced Child-bearing					Left off Child-bearing				
No. on the List	Present age of Wife	Age of her eldest Child	Calculated age when she commenced Child-bearing	Remarks	No. on the List	Present age of Wife	Age of her youngest Child	Calculated age when she left off Child-bearing	Remarks
1	27	12	15	In the compilation of this abstract, the younger women have, as a rule, been taken, as conducive to accurate results.	3	40	10	30	In this abstract, only those women have been entered, who from their own age or from that of the youngest child, appear to have left off child-bearing.
2	25	11	14		4	65	12	53	
3	40	25	15		5	60	20	40	
10	38	24	14		15	40	8	32	
11	24	2	22		17	75	35	40	
12	18	0	18	P	21	50	18	32	
14	18	2	16		22	45	8	37	
15	40	25	15		27	55	14	41	
16	22	2	20		28	60	20	40	
19	30	10	20		36	45	2	43	
22	45	20	25		37	45	9	36	
23	42	22	20		42	50	14	36	
24	20	3	17		43	55	7	48	
26	28	8	20		44	40	5	35	
29	24	6	18		45	45	12	33	
35	28	3	25		49	55	15	40	
36	45	30	15		53	65	24	41	
37	45	28	17		54	42	25	17	
38	25	12	13						
40	25	10	15						
44	40	28	12						
45	45	29	16						
46	30	12	18						
51	26	10	16						
54	42	25	17						
55	20	1	19						
26			$\frac{452}{26}$ = 17·4	Average age at which the women commence child-bearing.	18			$\frac{674}{18}$ = 37·4	Average age at which the women leave off child-bearing.

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TABLE No. VII.

To ascertain the 'size of Toda Families:' the 'period during which the women bear children;' and the 'number of years intervening between the birth of children.'

Compiled from Tables No. IV. *or* V.

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No. on the List	Calculated age when commenced Child-bearing	Calculated age when left off Child-bearing	Total number of years in Child-bearing	Number of Children born	Remarks
Wives who have left off Child-bearing					
3	15	30	15	5	The total 'number of children born' divided by the 'total No. of wives on the list' gives the average 'size of Toda families'; or $\frac{114}{20} = 5{\cdot}7$. But if the barren women be excluded from the calculation, then $\frac{114}{17} = 6{\cdot}7$ is the average. The total 'number of years in child-bearing' divided by the 'No. of wives on the list,' gives the average 'period during which the women bear children'; or $\frac{500}{20} = 19{\cdot}6$.
5	18	40	22	5	
15	15	32	17	6	
17	15	40	25	10	
21	17	32	15	5	
22	25	37	12	8	
27	15	41	26	6	
28	26	38	12	9	
36	15	43	28	8	
37	17	36	19	9	
42	20	36	16	6	
43	25	48	23	9	
44	12	35	23	8	
45	16	33	17	4	
49	20	40	20	5	
53	23	41	18	10	
54	17	42	25	1	
17			333	114	
9			0	0	
32			0	0	
50			0	0	
20			333	114	

No. on the List	Calculated age when commenced Child-bearing	Apparent present age	Total number of years in Child-bearing	Number of Children born	Remarks
Wives continuing in Child-bearing					
			333	114	The total 'number of years in child-bearing' divided by the total 'number of children born' gives the average 'number of years intervening between the birth of each child'; or $\frac{500}{167} = 3$.
1	15	27	12	4	
2	14	25	11	4	
10	14	38	25	7	
11	22	24	2	1	
12	18	18	1	1	
14	16	18	2	1	
16	20	22	2	1	
18	19	35	16	5	
19	20	30	10	3	
23	20	42	22	6	
24	17	20	3	2	
26	20	28	8	2	
29	18	24	6	1	
33	25	28	3	1	
38	13	25	12	2	
40	15	25	10	3	
46	18	30	12	5	
51	16	26	10	3	
55	19	20	1	1	
			500	167	

NOTE.—The wives in child-marriages, and those who, having lately married, have not yet given birth to children, have been excluded from this Table.

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it is advisable to mention, that although as much patient care was taken to collect the evidence it contains, with the same accuracy as that bestowed on the Census, yet there are reasons why it could not be attained. For the latter purpose the people were nearly all present; whereas in the process of collecting statistics, dependence had, in the main, to be placed on the statement of uneducated people describing births and deaths, many of which took place long years before. Supposing even they remembered in all cases the number of each sex that died, they would still have to represent their own notions of the ages at which they did so, and the period that had elapsed since those events happened. All, therefore, that can with confidence be asserted, is, that the best was done in the face of these inevitable difficulties to eliminate error.

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For instance—and one will suffice—if it was required to ascertain the particulars of a child who had died. The mother was present; the husband also sat close by. Some relation, also present, had a wife, or husband, or child, as the case might be, who had been a playfellow of the departed. Or the child was said by its mother to have been either so much older or so much younger than one standing before us.

For the sake of those who wish to utilise the statistics, Table No. 5 has been compiled from Table No. 4 which will render it easy to extract the most valuable points of information.

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In order to obtain reliable data on which to base deductions as to Toda nature and Toda progress, it seems a matter sufficiently important, to record with all the exactness that available information admits of, certain averages relative to the size of families, and the ages at which their women commence and also leave off child-bearing. The details of these points of information, collated from Tables No. 4 or 5, will, therefore, be found tabulated in Nos. 6 and 7 Tables. A point has been made, not to omit any of the instances of Table 4 or 5, that might prove of value; only the women in child-marriages, or those who having lately married, have not yet given birth to progeny, have been left out.

[Table No 4 appears on pp. 112-113 Category 116 or 162 --Analyst]

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We see from these tables that,

I. The *earliest* age at which women commence child-bearing is about . .	14 years.
II. The *average* age at which women commence child-bearing is	17·4 years.
III. The average age at which women leave off child-bearing is	37·4 years.
IV. Women bear children during a period of	19·6 years.
V. The average interval between the birth of children is	3 years.
VI. Including barren women, the average size of families is	5·7 children.
VII. Exclusive of barren women, the average size of families is	6·7 children.

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TABLE No. VIII.

Compiled from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' Table No. IV., in order to ascertain the progress made towards checking Infanticide. Arranged according to the 'present ages of Wives.'

Present Ages of Wives	No. on the List	Detail						Abstract									Remarks
		Progeny															
		Alive		Dead		Born		Alive		Dead		Born		Proportion of females to 100 males			
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	A.	D.	B.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
65	4	2	2	2	2	4	4										No families have been omitted, in extracting from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' except those whose returns appear to be doubtful, or are valueless to the subject under review.
65	53	2	2	5	1	7	3										
60	5	3	2	0	0	3	2	14	7	9	8	23	15	50	88·9	65·2	
60	6	4	0	0	2	4	2										
60	28	3	1	2	3	5	4										
55	27	1	2	3	0	4	2										
55	43	4	1	2	2	6	3										
55	49	3	1	1	0	4	1	17	9	9	5	26	14	52·9	55·6	53·8	
50	8	3	2	2	2	5	4										
50	21	2	1	1	1	3	2										
50	42	4	2	0	0	4	2										
45	22	3	2	1	2	4	4										
45	36	3	3	1	1	4	4										
45	37	3	3	2	1	5	4										
45	45	1	1	2	0	3	1										
42	23	2	2	2	0	4	2	18	20	12	5	30	25	111·1	41·7	83·3	
42	54	0	1	0	0	0	1										
40	3	3	2	0	0	3	2										
40	15	0	4	2	0	2	4										
40	44	3	2	2	1	5	3										
38	10	5	1	1	0	6	1										
35	18	2	2	0	1	2	3										
30	19	0	3	0	0	0	3										
30	46	4	1	0	0	4	1										
28	35	1	0	0	0	1	0										
28	26	2	0	0	0	2	0										
27	1	2	2	0	0	2	2										
26	51	2	1	0	0	2	1										
25	2	1	2	1	0	2	2	24	17	2	3	26	20	70·8	150	77	
25	38	1	1	0	0	1	1										
25	40	1	1	0	1	1	1										
24	11	0	1	0	0	0	1										
24	29	0	1	0	0	0	1										
22	16	1	0	0	0	1	0										
20	24	1	1	0	0	1	1										
20	55	1	0	0	0	1	0										
18	14	0	0	0	1	0	1										
		73	53	32	21	105	74							72·6	65·6	70·5	

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847 65 years down to the youngest married women, if we would trace the abatement of infanticide.

162 847 163 It is much to be regretted that the statistics of Table No. 8 do not afford a record so complete as could be desired; even to the degree I had fondly calculated on their doing, in the course of our careful enquiries in the field. The instances, though certainly few in number, should distinctly have pointed to the change that was being effected in the course of forty-eight years; by enabling us to trace some sort of declining scale in the contrast of the sexes. The disproportion between males and females is indeed great in the Table, but it neither increases nor lessens in any form of sequence.

I have allowed the Table a place in these pages, despite its acknowledged deficiencies, and notwithstanding that the statistics, taken by themselves, give every appearance of the venerable practice being in full vigour, whilst I am fully convinced by the circumstantial evidences which I have given, that such is not the truth. I have done so, because it thus obtains a value, in showing that *the practice of infanticide may be extinct, whilst statistics indicate its actual prevalence:* that, in fact, the strange numerical difference in the sexes, which the census shows to amount to 25 per cent., implies with certainty, only that infanticide has *lately* been practised. If the custom were in its fullest possible force, consistent with the preservation of the race, the sexual divergence would be as great as 100 to 33·3; a proportion which allows one girl on an average, to every family—with less than which allowance, the race could not survive.

My readers will have noticed in Chapter XI. the suggestion, that a curious result of long continued infanticide, has been to create a male-producing variety of the human race.

165 It will be observed that in the Table, the proportion of females who have died, to 100 males, is 65·6: whilst of those alive, it is 72·6. This discrepancy bears evidence to the inaccuracy of the statistics. Judging from the circumstances

[See p. 197, Category 163 -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

any conclusions about the last generation very inconclusive, 161
but since the record for very young children is certainly
defective, and since many families now existing will certainly 162
increase in size, it is probable that any progressive decrease in the size of a family has now been arrested, and the details of the genealogical record would therefore agree with the Census Reports in showing the presence of a distinct tendency of the Toda population to increase.

None of the previous records have given any indication of 162
the numbers of the two chief divisions of the Toda people. According to my genealogical records, there were living, in 1902, 528 Tartharol and 208 Teivaliol. The defects in my record are probably somewhat greater for the Teivaliol than for the Tartharol, but any difference there may be is certainly not great, and I think we may conclude that, though these figures are not accurate, they represent approximately the true proportion of the numbers of the two divisions. It is quite certain that the Tartharol are more than twice as numerous as the Teivaliol. Mr. Punnett's table does not show any great difference between the two divisions in the average size of the family, so that the proportion between the numbers of the two divisions has probably not altered during the period covered by the genealogical record. It is probable that the Teivaliol have always or for a very long time been the smaller division.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record then agree 161
in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the
middle of last century which has now ceased, the probability 177
being that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers. 164

There can be little doubt that any decrease in the Toda population about the middle of last century was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. The adverse influences which came into the lives of the Todas probably owe their origin to the large immigration of native servants and to the development of the bazaar. Though Europeans first began to come to the Nilgiri Hills about 1820, it was not till twenty or thirty years later that they arrived in any considerable numbers, so that it was probably the middle of the century

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

164 842 [273] The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 842 Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 177 842 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

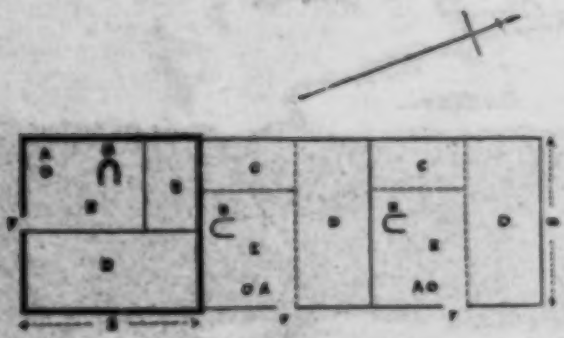
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation[1] is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces, by a low enclosure wall—Tûar[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Tûal. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Dravidian dialects *r* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tirl. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [Pope.]

1 [See p. 62 -- Analyst]

CHAP. X.

The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life. 161 162 621

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study. 161

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate. 162

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye. 732

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health. 165 147

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the 757 164

1 [See p. 108, category 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. X.

man afflicted with that dreadful malady, was not amongst the 196 people of the census, the case cannot be used in these calculations.

146 As regards the general appearance of the people; a large
147 proportion of both sexes and of all ages are doubtless in excellent health. Up to the age of fourteen, the children are certainly, and almost universally, hale and hearty. The young women look well, too: but the young men are often bottle-nosed, with a general appearance of deficient circulation, insufficient food, and of athletic exercise. Nature seems to make competent arrangements, by means of which the female sex is able to bear children during the extra period that young men require for the purpose of completing their growth. It is probably a consequence or a portion of this design, that renders girls as a general rule more easy to rear than boys. Be that as it may, these rather weedy youths fill out in course of time, and complete their features with mature age—the large nose is rarely, or perhaps never, apparent in the young; and seems not to attain its climax till near the age of thirty—the women in advanced years are often draggled in appearance, from poverty and child-bearing. The full-grown men look strong and well.

Now for our examination into the augmentation of the numbers of the people.

165 If we allow, that out of the 3 people recorded in paragraph (x) to be in a state of health unfavourable to prolonged existence, 2 die in the course of the year. And suppose that another 2 die in the same period from other causes—a high rate for those who, living a pastoral and quiet life in a healthy climate, are exposed to few vicissitudes—we have then 4 deaths amongst 196 people, in the course of twelve months; or 2 per cent. per annum, as the extreme death-rate for *all ages.*

000 In the years between 1838 and 1861, the average ratio of mortality in Great Britain—a country in which high civilisa-

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

648 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous
464 success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it
461 beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former
[241] Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda
562 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad
512 or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described
[159] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of
[171] the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand,
177 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monoto-
609 nous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām).
[735] Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868,
114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most
177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who,
164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which 177
at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it 164
undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked- [114]
eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an [834]
absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection 628
with the question of the morality of the Toda women, 577
Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other 177
members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to [554]
his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his fellow Tribesmen.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931.[1] The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901–11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918–9 and relapsing fever in 1923–4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about 8¼ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931–41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of the tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

[1] the *Census of India, 1931*, reference given in note 1.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
[843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
[164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
[578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
[682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was
[595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

names and salutations they give to one another, as we shall see in the next chapter. A few of the younger men seemed to have accurate knowledge of their ages, and building up on this basis, and with a knowledge of the relative ages of the different members of the community, it became possible to arrive at estimates which probably do not deviate very widely from the correct ages; even in the case of the older people, I do not believe that my estimated ages are likely to be more than five years out in any case. As already mentioned (see p. 416), the Todas make use, in the estimation of age, of their belief in the eighteen-year period of a flower, and the ages so estimated in a few cases agreed fairly with those arrived at in other ways. 805 128

Among those now alive, it seemed that the usual time which separates the birth of two children of the same mother is about three years, and I have taken this time as the rule in estimating the ages of all those whose names are included in the genealogies. Similarly, so far as I could tell, women begin to bear children when about eighteen to twenty years of age. 163 128

The ages of the four groups given in the table on p. 474 were calculated on the assumptions that a woman had her first child when twenty years old, and that the interval between the births of two children was three years.

The oldest Toda now living is Kiugi (57). He looks an extremely old man, and is said by the Todas to be nearly a hundred years of age. There is evidence which makes it probable that he is at least eighty or ninety. Kòrs, the father of Kiugi, performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony before the birth of Teitchi (52) (see p. 564). Teitchi's grandson, Kuriolv, is now about fifty-four years of age. When Kòrs gave the bow and arrow he may have been only a young boy, and if we assume that he was fifteen years old, that Teitchi and Pareivan had their first children when twenty years old, and that the interval between the birth of Pilzink and that of Pareivan was six years, it would make the age of Kòrs, if he were still alive, 115. If Kiugi was born when his father was twenty years old, it would make his age ninety-five. If, on the other hand, we assume that Kòrs gave the bow and arrow when 128 165

128 only ten years of age, and that he did not have his first
165 child till he was thirty, it would make Kiugi's age eighty. Kiugi's eldest child, if alive, would now probably be about sixty, and this supports the view that the lowest possible estimate of Kiugi's age is eighty, and he is not improbably a good deal older.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAMILY.

Parturition—Midwives—Confinements—Infanticidal Mother taken red-handed—Name this Child—Men's Names—Nicknames—Women's Names—How married people call to one another—List of Relationships.

CHAP. VII.
844
[165]

THE act of bringing forth children seems very generally to be considered an easy one. In the course of my enquiries into the causes of death amongst adult women, I was told of two who had died in labour. If I were to judge solely by the opinions of the male sex, I should have no hesitation whatever in recording that the process of child-birth was a mere trifle: yet even after seeking more correct information from the women themselves, I could arrive at no other conclusion than that parturition, though a delicate matter, was an act which almost invariably passed off without great difficulty.

Men are never present during these family events, but apparently have to await the result outside. Three or four women—the house-full in fact—remain in attendance; one of whom is said to sit behind the patient supporting her frame: the others performing various offices tending to alleviate pain, and for the reception of the infant.

May not the ill-understood expression, 'She shall bear upon my knees,' Gen. xxx. 3, have reference to the position in which we find the person, who with a knee on each side of the expectant mother, squats behind to support her body?

The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life. 161 162 621

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study. 161

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate. 162

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye. 732

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health. 165 147

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the 757 164

1 [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

CHAP. X. man afflicted with that dreadful malady, was not amongst the 196 people of the census, the case cannot be used in these calculations.

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Now for our examination into the augmentation of the numbers of the people.

165 If we allow, that out of the 3 people recorded in paragraph (x) to be in a state of health unfavourable to prolonged existence, 2 die in the course of the year. And suppose that another 2 die in the same period from other causes—a high rate for those who, living a pastoral and quiet life in a healthy climate, are exposed to few vicissitudes—we have then 4 deaths amongst 196 people, in the course of twelve months; or 2 per cent. per annum, as the extreme death-rate for *all ages*.

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2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

tion and competition, expose its people to vicissitudes from which the Toda is entirely exempt—was 1 in 45, or 2·23 per cent. per annum.[6] CHAP. X. 000

λ. We shall find in a succeeding chapter on Infanticide, Table No. 7,[1] that of 26 M + 20 F, or 46 children, who—judging from the ages of the mothers—were of different ages, varying from 1 to 20 years, 5 died. In other words, 10·87 per cent. of children born, die of *youthful* maladies. 165

μ. If, from the same Table, we calculate the number of children, whose mothers being less than 27 years must themselves be under 10 years of age, we see that of 23 born, 3 died; or that 13 per cent. died of *infantile* disorders.

An average taken of the mortality of several countries in Europe, gives 38·3 per cent. of children who died in the year 1825, 'from birth to the age of 10.'[7] 000

Not to fatigue my readers with further preliminaries, I will now submit the brief calculation which is to show whether the Todas are dying out or increasing in numbers; and at what rate of progress. Mathematical accuracy cannot, with justice, be expected; for, even with the most perfect census possible, there are obvious reasons why exactness is unattainable. I will premise, in the words of Dugald Stewart, that 'the rate at which the multiplication of different races would go, seems to depend on the following particulars; (1) the age at which the parent becomes prolific; (2) the time that elapses in pregnancy; (3) the frequency of breeding; (4) the numbers of each brood; (5) the period during which the parent continues prolific.'[8]

Suppose then we begin our reckoning with 177 married Todas of both sexes. Paragraph (ζ) of this chapter informs us that of this 177, there will be 100 men and 77 women. 163 165

Tables Nos. 6 and 7[2] show that the average of women—

[6] Adam Smith, 'The Wealth of Nations.'
[7] Malthus, 'Essay on the Principle of Population.'
[8] Dugald Stewart, 'Lectures on Political Economy.'

1. [See p. 120, Category 116 -- Analyst]
2. [See pp. 119 and 120, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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including a proportion of the sterile—bear children for 20 years, at the rate of 6 children for each woman.

163 We know from paragraph (λ), that of 100 children born, 165 10·87 die before they attain to the age of 20.

The natural death-rate of *all ages* is allowed in paragraph (κ) to stand at 2 per cent. per annum; which rate is here taken for the proportion of *adults* only, who die—a very high figure. Hence 18·29 per cent. will give the number of deaths during the ten years which forms the *mean* period of child-bearing.

Calculation.

77	Number of women who commence to bear children.
77–18·29= 58·71	Average number of women who bear children for 20 years.

Then

58·71 × 6 = 352·26	Number of children born to those women at the expiration of 20 years.

Deduct

52·26 + 10·87 = 32·41	The number of children who die before attaining 20 years.
319·85	The number of children who survive at the expiration of 20 years.

During these 20 years, the original 177 people have decreased by 2 per cent. per annum; or 33·21 per cent. = 58·78.

Thus

177–58·78 = 118·22

438·07

161 We see therefore that in the course of 20 years, the 177 Todas have theoretically expanded to 438. Thus doubling in 16·2 years. 'In the back settlements of America, where

CHAP. XXIII.

65 years down to the youngest married women, if we would trace the abatement of infanticide.

847 It is much to be regretted that the statistics of Table No. 8
162 do not afford a record so complete as could be desired; even
847 to the degree I had fondly calculated on their doing, in the
163 course of our careful enquiries in the field. The instances, though certainly few in number, should distinctly have pointed to the change that was being effected in the course of forty-eight years; by enabling us to trace some sort of declining scale in the contrast of the sexes. The disproportion between males and females is indeed great in the Table, but it neither increases nor lessens in any form of sequence.

I have allowed the Table a place in these pages, despite its acknowledged deficiencies, and notwithstanding that the statistics, taken by themselves, give every appearance of the venerable practice being in full vigour, whilst I am fully convinced by the circumstantial evidences which I have given, that such is not the truth. I have done so, because it thus obtains a value, in showing that *the practice of infanticide may be extinct, whilst statistics indicate its actual prevalence:* that, in fact, the strange numerical difference in the sexes, which the census shows to amount to 25 per cent., implies with certainty, only that infanticide has *lately* been practised. If the custom were in its fullest possible force, consistent with the preservation of the race, the sexual divergence would be as great as 100 to 33·3; a proportion which allows one girl on an average, to every family—with less than which allowance, the race could not survive.

My readers will have noticed in Chapter XI. the suggestion, that a curious result of long continued infanticide, has been to create a male-producing variety of the human race.

● 165 It will be observed that in the Table, the proportion of females who have died, to 100 males, is 65·6: whilst of those alive, it is 72·6. This discrepancy bears evidence to the inaccuracy of the statistics. Judging from the circumstances

[See p. 197, Category 163 -- Analyst]

attending the census, and the personal care bestowed on it, to obtain genuine results, I have every reason to think that the record of those *alive*, is as nearly correct as possible: but I have not the same confidence as regards those who had died. I attribute much of this inaccuracy to the imperfect memory of the people, in describing events long past—a person once dead, being rarely talked about—but very largely also to their habit of ignoring the gentler sex.

That such a habit should really exist, was suggested to my mind, on observing how much girls were left out of count when they described the numbers in families, and of how great importance the birth of a son was esteemed. If a Toda is asked how many children—kinmokh—he has, his reply will almost invariably be, so many sons—mokh:[9] and if further information is desired as to his daughters, one has to specify tûjmokh. On one occasion a father replied to the usual enquiry, 'I have five sons.' 'Where are they?' 'There—1, 2, 3, 4, 5.' I could only see four. Two or three times the numbers were gone over, each time the man gravely counting five, I finding only four. So, pointing to each in succession, I enumerated 1—2—3—4. Where is the fifth? 'There,' he said, pointing to his *wife*, who quietly nodded approval. It seems that the good woman had not yet given birth to the child which both parents had agreed to consider a *son*!

Viewing human action, ever as the resultant of many forces—passions, necessities, emotions, habits—pulling in divers directions, with various degrees of strength; we find that the Todas very early in the world's history, practically solved the difficult physical problem of finding the condition of equilibrium of those especial forces which affected them; how, in fact, to *stand still* in a world, the law of whose nature is that of perpetual change—a remarkable example of the

[9] Mr. Metz asserts positively that the word mokh is used by the Todas for *son*, and not for *child*. In other Drâvidian dialects it may have expanded in its application so as to mean children, both male and female.

342 the hut is always very small, and is closed by a door which slides over the opening on its inner side.

Some houses are much longer than others, with a door at each end and a central partition, so as to form a double hut which is called *epotirikhthars*, *i.e.*, "both-ways-turned house." This kind of hut did not seem to be common, and I only saw three or four examples, of which one is shown in Fig. 8.

A much more common kind of double hut is called *merkalars*, *i.e.*, "other-side house," in which the back part of the hut is partitioned off, with a door at one side.

342
343

FIG. 8.—THE VILLAGE OF PEIVÒRS, SHOWING A DOUBLE HUT (IN THE BACKGROUND). THE TWO BUILDINGS ON THE LEFT ARE DAIRIES, AND THE STRUCTURE IN THE CENTRE IS A CALF-HOUSE.

● 166 In some Toda villages there may now be found huts of the
177 same kind as those of the Badagas. In the cases in which I
342 found such huts, I was told that they had been built by Badagas who had lived in the villages while the Toda occupants were away. Todas may also occasionally be found living away from their own villages, usually near tea plantations. They do this because there is a demand for buffalo manure at the plantations, and when living in this way they not uncommonly use huts of the Badaga pattern.

342 In front of the hut on either side of the door there are
352 usually raised seats called *kwottin*, and there are similar

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 621 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name from the chief of these villages, the *studmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

101 174 616 618 The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad, and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol, Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 361 621 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ing to the need for pasturage, and the villages in the Kundahs and other outlying parts of the hills appear only to be visited during the dry season before the south-west monsoon sets in. 166 361 621

Each clan is further subdivided, these subdivisions being of two kinds. One, called the *kadr*, is only of ceremonial importance, and we shall meet with it first in the chapter dealing with offerings. The other, called the *pòlu*, is of more practical importance, and is the basis of the machinery for regulating any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole. 618

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikāra river.

733 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Avalanché to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanché-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXIII.

847 I am well convinced that the old man spoke the strict truth in describing the practice of infanticide as a thing of the past; basing my belief, on the general appearance of things, rather than on statistics. (1.) If the custom still prevailed, the circumstance could not have remained hidden from the people of neighbouring tribes, with whom a very close degree of intimacy is maintained: and its commission forming a topic of conversation in their bazaars and meetings, the news would in due course certainly have reached our ears. (2.) The people sitting before us, in course of close examination as to the number and condition of their families, would undoubtedly have evinced by manner or voice, if at any time, we were approaching a dreaded and secret subject. (3.) Two, three, and even four living daughters were met with in families: and I may add, the girls looked in very good condition and as well cared for, as the rest of the household.

177 In the year 1822—or 48 years prior to the date of my
847 census—the Government of Madras put a pressure on the Todas, in order to impel them to forsake their murderous
168 practice.* But no statistics exist, and none can now be formed, that will afford us means of judging the actual state of the habit, anterior to that date.

847 In a previous chapter of this book—in that treating on the Census—the average age at which Toda women commence to bear children, is noted as 17 years. Those women therefore, who are 48 + 17 = 65 years old, must be the earliest who show the effect of the Government's repressive action. Hence it is, that we must look to the information regarding births and deaths which has been afforded by the mothers, rating from

* Owing to a deficiency in the records of the Madras Government, we do not know how infanticide was actually stopped; but the orders given in its letter of 21st July, 1820, were to frustrate the practice 'by all means of encouragement and persuasion.' In carrying these orders into effect, I believe that the persuasion employed was of an impressive character.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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compensatory skill of savages, which they owe greatly to their large organ of Weight.

000 In the description of the Toda character, founded on phrenologic basis, which I afforded in previous chapters, I have endeavoured to express, how weak they are in those groups of mental qualities which enable men to surmount difficulties in life by the force of their natural energies; how that their whole nature is built for the maintenance of the existing state of things: how free from cruelty, and how fond of children: how practical their character, though limited in range of vision: and how deficient in tenacity.

I have also tried to enable my readers to realise the early state of things; when the increase of numbers due to the luxurious nature of an equatorial climate had outstepped the supply of food: and the growth of human intellect—giving the ability to augment the supply—had failed to keep pace with the growing density of the population.

847 Now, resolve all these forces—the natural tendencies of primitive man, and the circumstances by which surrounded—
168 in such direction as exactly to neutralise one another; and you work out the problem which the Todas had to solve. Only three courses were open to them: (1.) The progressive exercise of combined labour and skill. (2.) Abstinence from marriage. (3.) Destruction of children.

They tried the first, and failed. In regard to the second, Nature, who is ever careful of her own interests, was doubtless altogether too strong for them. We see they adopted the third course, but in such manner as to give their gentle natures—gentle above all to children—the least suffering, by killing the infants without pain, and before the parents had opportunity to love them.

The great similarity in the dispositions of the two sexes assures me that mothers co-operated with fathers willingly in the deed.

000 If the Todas had possessed a large organ of *Acquisitiveness*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

000 associated with belief. The ceremonial in Torres Straits had been swept away, while the stories of the legendary heroes were almost all that remained to the people of the old life and were in consequence still cherished.

177 Among the Todas missionary influence, whether of Christian or Hindu, has had little effect, and the ritual of the Todas in 538 some parts of the hills is almost, if not quite, untouched by 797 outside influences.[1] The effect of intercourse with other peoples seems to be showing itself largely in the form of loss of interest in the stories of the past.

171 One of the most striking aspects of the customs and ceremonies of the Todas is that these have in many cases no exact parallels in other places. Perhaps the most definite result which modern research in anthropology has brought out is the extraordinary similarity of custom throughout the world. Customs apparently identical are found in races so widely separated geographically and so diverse ethnologically that it seems certain the customs must have developed in total independence of one another. There seems to be an identity of idea actuating custom in peoples very different from one another in their surroundings and conditions of life.

The nearest parallels to Toda custom and ceremonial are undoubtedly to be found in the Indian peninsula, but even here, though there is often a general resemblance, this breaks down on going into detail. Even when the resemblance is so close as to suggest a common origin, the differences in detail are often very great.[2]

177 One clue to this exceptional nature of Toda custom and belief is to be found in the geographical position of the people, which has to a large extent isolated them from the world in general.

133 The plateau on which they live, broken by numerous hills and valleys, is the top of a scarp formed by the meeting of the Eastern and Western Ghats. Some of the hills project

[1] As we shall see later, this is only true of some parts of the hills and some institutions.

[2] With more exact knowledge of Indian customs and ceremonies which have staggered on side by side with, though often obscured by Brahmanism, it is possible that these differences would be found to be much slighter than the evidence at present available suggests.

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234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to
177 the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain
412 a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground
415 outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkati*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There
171 are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

The Care of the Ordinary Buffaloes

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda
463 terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares 234
food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremoni- 272
ally as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the 778
dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is
that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is 784
possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken.

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred [178]
animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed.

Special Dairy Customs

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy 171
procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed 234
in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over
[262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
445 *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
778 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel
788 of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct,
796 Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Erkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned:
788 *Atthkâr* and *Òners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
Moskar and *Manêthi* (Ȯdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr),
621 *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Ttindenk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsêram parsêram*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Ȯdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [606] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first 843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood 851 of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage 585 ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvatpimi* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi maz vûrmâ; swâmi pûdikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekû*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekûkûdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas. 616 846

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word *pülpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar ceremonies. *Püli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pül* would be used for outskirts in this special sense. 171 846

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some time after, the child has its face covered, and no one except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtâr terithti*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtâr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed. 852 854

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majvatvaiidrn*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring
234 the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the reli-
793 gious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the *wursol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

764 The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because
171 it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown
174 three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

764 It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that
174 the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

601 The Toda system appears to be closely related to that
171 of the Dravidians of Southern India. In several cases the names for certain kin are identical with or closely resemble those of other South Indian languages.

The three most characteristic features of the Toda system are (i.) the use of the same term for mother's brother and father-in-law, &c.; (ii.) the marked development of vocative forms of the kinship terms; (iii.) the marked development of distinctions according to age. These three features are also found in Tamil, and as far as my information goes in Telugu and Canarese. The Toda system appears to be a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity. The resemblance between the Toda and the Tamil names seems certainly to be closer than that between the Toda names and those of the Telugus and Canarese.

I do not wish here to consider these resemblances and differences in any detail, but in the Table on the opposite page I have given a list of those kinship terms in which the Todas resemble other inhabitants of Southern India. The Tamil terms I owe to Mr. K. Rangachari of Madras; the others I have taken from Morgan's *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race.*

Kinship Taboos

601 A man never mentions the name of his *mun.* If he wishes
551 to make clear of whom he is speaking he will give the name of the place at which his *mun* lives, as "*Tedshteiri ithvai en mun*
784 *podchi,*" "My uncle who lives at Tedshteiri." This restriction only applies to the own brothers of his mother. Other more distant *mun* may be spoken of by name, and as we have already seen, if a man wishes to make it clear of whom he is speaking, he mentions the name in addition to the kinship term.

A man is also prohibited from uttering the name of the man from whom he has received his wife—*i.e.*, to whom he has done *kalmelpudithti* (see p. 502). This man, who is called the *mokhudrtvaiol*, is usually the father of the wife and would normally be also a *mun*, but sometimes the place of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

mokhudrtvaiol is usurped by somebody else and in such a case there might be no restriction on the name of the wife's real father. In the only case of this kind of which I have a record, the marriage of Siriar (20) and Pupidz, the place of *mokhudrtvaiol* was taken by Kuriolv, who was living with Pilimurg (7), the girl's mother, and though he was no real

	Toda.	Tamu.	Telegu.	Canarese.
Son	mokh	maghan		
Elder brother	an (anna)	aṇṇan (aṇṇa)	anna	anna
Elder sister	akkan (akka)	akkal (akka)	akka	akka
Mother's brother	mun (mâmâ)	amman or maman (mama)	mena mama	mava
Father-in-law	mun (mama)	mamaner (mama)	mama	mava
Father's sister	mumi (mimia)	attai		
Wife of mother's brother	mumi (mimia)	ammami		
Wife's mother	mumi (mimia)	mamiyar (ammami)		
Sister's son	manmokh	maruman or marumakan		
Mother's brother's son	matchuni	maittunan (?)		
Father's sister's son	matchuni	aitan or maittunan		
Wife's brother	matchuni or paiol	machchinan or maittunan		

relative of the wife, Siriar might not mention his name. In spite of the fact, however, that Kuriolv had become his *mokhudrtvaiol*, Siriar went privately to Patirsh (35), the real father of his wife, and did *kalmelpudithi* and would also refrain from saying the name of this man.

A man is prohibited from saying the name of his wife's mother (*mumi*), but my notes do not make clear whether he is also prohibited from saying the names of other *mumi*—*i.e.*,

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 176

171 live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

234 *Buffaloes.* These are to a very large extent individual
422 property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the
428 property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes
176 among them.

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.[1] When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *Irvakhtudr meilkâdr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

[1] On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kara clan.

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudikwarn* is also burnt at the *azaramkadr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with
778 magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1] but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nawnakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkadr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkadr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *koltiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *parsitpini* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptikpini* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *teramptipini* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
174 when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
178 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

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utkchi and the more important ceremonies of *erkumpttkpimi*, take place soon after the new moon marking the commencement of this month, and these ceremonies were sometimes said to signalise the beginning of a new year. The following are the names of the Toda months, with the periods of our year to which they approximately correspond :— 805

Tol	October—November
Ewisit	November—December
Kiddi	December—January
Altol	January—February
Nalitol	February—March
Ani	March—April
Ikkari	April—May
Ali	May—June
Ordoi	June—July
Pirishki	July—August
Tudoi	August—September
Kirdoi	September—October.

Each month has thirty days. A record is kept of the number of days from one new moon to the full moon, and from that to the next new moon. The full moon is counted as being on the fifteenth day after the new moon, and the new moon as being on the sixteenth day after the full moon.

The Week

The names for the days of the week are as follows :—

Arnam	Sunday
Tilnam	Monday
Ôm	Tuesday
Pitkwam	Wednesday
Tilm	Thursday
Pilivam	Friday
Thanivam or *Tanivam*	Saturday.

According to Schmid, who wrote in 1837, *Ôm* is regarded as the first day of the week. Schmid also notes that the names for Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday agree in etymology with Tamil, Wednesday being Buddha's day and Friday the day of Venus. He gives *Etnat* as an alternative name for Saturday. [171]

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A Single Star called Ishtkati is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishtkati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishtkati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*." 177 772 821

A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tâdrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably γ and ϵ Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky. 773 821 171

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tâdrval*, and so one star is called *tâdrvalmokh*. The *tâdrval* still sings "*Kudursami trrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tâdrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas. 177 772 773 821

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

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173 thus no record earlier than three centuries ago, and no traditions of any value, and we are altogether thrown back on the evidence furnished by the manners and customs of the people, their language, and their physical characteristics.

171 Though the manners and customs of the Todas are in many ways unique, or very exceptional, there is a general resemblance between them and those comprised under the general title of Hinduism, and especially with such more popular customs as are described by Mr. Crooke.[1] The great development of the ritual aspect of religion, the importance of ceremonies connected with birth and death, the sacredness of the milk-giving animal, the nature of the system of kinship, the marriage regulations and many other features bear a general, and in some cases a close resemblance to institutions found in India generally, or in certain parts of India.

On the social side these resemblances are perhaps closer than on the religious side. The system of kinship is very similar to that of other parts of Southern India, and, so far as my knowledge goes, to that of India generally. The marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister should marry is found throughout Southern India and probably throughout the Dravidian population of India. The practice of polyandry probably exists scattered here and there throughout India, and has undoubtedly existed in recent times in Malabar. The practice of the *mokhthoditi* union between man and woman has also close analogies in Malabar.

On the religious side the high development of the dairy ritual, so far as I know, stands alone, but the customs connected with birth and death have many resemblances to practices followed in other parts of India, though this resemblance is general only and usually breaks down on going into detail.

Thus in Brahmanic ritual there are several ceremonies prescribed at different stages of pregnancy, and some Indian tribes or castes have pregnancy ceremonies peculiar to themselves, but I do not know of any tribe or caste except that

[1] *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India.* London, 1896.

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of the Todas in which giving a bow and arrow forms the essential feature of a pregnancy ceremony, though it is not uncommon for this weapon to play a part in marriage rites, and in Coorg a little imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of a newly born boy. 171

Similarly, seclusion after childbirth is common in India, and in the Brahmanic ceremony of Jatakarma water is poured over the heads of mother and child by the priest. In some cases from Mysore (see p. 705) there is a still closer resemblance to Toda custom, but there are some features of the Toda ceremonial for which I can find no parallel.

In many points, again, there are distinct resemblances between the practices of the Todas and the more popular customs of India; thus the pounder, sieve and broom frequently play a part in the popular magic of India,[1] as of other parts of the world, but I do not know of any parallel for their being regarded as especially the emblems of women, as they appear to be in Toda belief.

It is perhaps in the funeral ceremonies that we find the largest number of resemblances between Toda custom and that of other parts of India. Thus, among those who cremate their dead, it is usual to have ceremonies some time after the cremation, and some have regarded the second funeral ceremony of the Todas, the so-called dry funeral, as the representative of the Sapindi ceremony of orthodox Hinduism. Among several tribes fragments of bone are preserved after the cremation, which become the objects of further ceremonies. Thus, the Hos and Mundahs[2] preserve large fragments of bone, which are hung up in the house and are buried in an earthenware pot much later, after being taken in procession to every friend and relation of the deceased. Again, among the Saoras of Madras[3] fragments of bone are picked out from the ashes and covered over with a miniature hut.

Animals are frequently killed at funerals throughout India, and among the Saoras, just mentioned,[4] the animal is a

[1] Cf. Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.
[2] Dalton, *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., 1868, vol. vi, p. 37.
[3] Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1888, vol. i. p. 249. [4] *Loc. cit.*

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171 buffalo, which is killed close to the stone on which its blood is smeared. Again, among the Kois[1] a bullock is slain and the tail placed in the hand of the corpse.

A funeral practice which is very widely spread in India is the breaking of a pot, and in some cases the pot so broken is one which has contained the water used to quench the fire. Among the Naickers and the Reddies of South India[2] the body is bathed with water from an earthen pot, which is then dashed upon the ground, while in other places an earthen pot filled with water is carried round the body three times, after which the fire is lighted and later extinguished by water which runs from a perforation in the pot. The common Indian practice, according to Padfield,[3] is for the chief mourner to throw a pot over his head behind him so that it is dashed in pieces.

That the kindred should retire with averted faces from the place where the corpse is left is prescribed by Manu,[4] and the custom of burning or burying face downwards is practised by low caste people, the motive in this case being to prevent the evil spirit from escaping and troubling its neighbours.[5]

While there is thus a general resemblance between many of the manners and customs of the Todas and those existing in various parts of the Indian peninsula, there is one district which possesses customs and institutions which seem to stand in a much closer relation to those of the Todas than is the case elsewhere.

The social and religious customs of the west coast, and especially of Malabar, not only bear a general resemblance to the customs of the Todas, but this resemblance in some cases persists when followed into detail. The similarity would probably become still more obvious if we knew more of the customs of the less civilised inhabitants of this district of India.

In going over the resemblances I will begin with those on the social side. The most characteristic feature of the social

[1] Cain, *Ind. Antiq.*, 1876, vol. v, p. 357.
[2] Kearns, *Tribes of South India*, p. 51.
[3] *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, p. 234.
[4] IV. 240.
[5] Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 269.

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organisation of the Todas is the institution of fraternal polyandry. The Nairs of Malabar have given their name to a different type of polyandry, but it is extremely doubtful whether the relations existing in recent times between Nair women and their consorts should be regarded as examples of polyandry. Nevertheless, there is undoubted evidence that true polyandry has existed in Malabar, and in the most definite examples known this has been of the fraternal type. From the Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, published in 1891, it is clear that, though polyandry is now extinct in North Malabar, it still persists in some districts of South Malabar. One witness before the Commission stated that at one time polyandry was very prevalent in South Malabar, and that it was still the practice for a woman of the Kammalar or artisan caste to have five or six brothers as husbands, and the witness had known personally a woman in Calicut who was the wife of five brothers, spending a month at a time with each. Another witness stated that polyandry existed in some parts of Cochin, and in a few places in South Malabar. Another said that among the Tiyans of North Malabar it was the custom for one man to marry a girl for all the brothers of the family. One of the names for marriage in Malabar is *usham porukka*, which probably means "marriage by turns." The Kanisans or astrologers of Malabar proudly point out that, like the Pandavas, they used formerly to have one wife in common to several brothers, and that the custom is still observed by some.[1]

Polyandry is not the only marriage institution in which there is a resemblance between the Todas and the people of Malabar. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a Toda woman seems to be very much like the consort of a Nair woman, and when these consorts are, as they usually are, Nambutiris or Malabar Brahmans—*i.e.*, belong to a different caste—the resemblance to the *mokhthoditi* custom becomes very close.

More important is the custom of giving a cloth as the essential marriage ceremony. The two chief features of a Toda marriage are the giving of a loincloth to the girl and the salutation of the girl's relatives by the husband. Simi-

[1] Logan's *Malabar Manual*, vol. i. p. 141.

171 larly the essential feature of the irregular union between man and woman is that the *mokhthodvaiol* gives a cloak to the woman, and the Badaga name by which the relation has previously been known is derived from this fact—the man is called the "blanket man" of the woman. Throughout the greater part of the Malabar coast the essential feature of the marriage ceremony is that the man gives a cloth to the woman. The Nairs have two marriage ceremonies,[1] of which the later, or *sambandham*, forms the actual alliance between man and woman. The ceremony of this marriage consists in giving a cloth, and various names for the ceremony, such as *muntukotukkuka*, *vastradanam*, *putavakota* and *pudamuri*, all mean "cloth-giving." In South Malabar a marriage is dissolved by tearing up a cloth called *kachcha*,[2] and among the Izhavas,[3] the actual wedding ceremony consists of the gift of a cloth.

The act of giving clothing as part of the marriage ceremony is found generally throughout India, but it seems to be a much more prominent and essential feature of marriage in Malabar than elsewhere.

Among the funeral ceremonies of the Todas there is one in which a cloth is laid on the body of the deceased. The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a man belonging to the clan of the deceased to those who have married into the clan, the cloth being then placed on the corpse by the wives of these men. The whole ceremony seems to be essentially a transaction between clans which have intermarried and evidently stands in a close relation to the regulation of marriage, and it is therefore of great interest not only that a cloth should play so prominent a part, but also that the word used for the cloth which gives the name to the ceremony should be *kach*, the same word as is used sometimes in Malabar for the cloth so important in the marriage ceremonies.

The resemblance between the Todas and Nairs in this direction goes, however, one step further. Among the funeral

[1] See *Malabar Marriage Commission* and Wigram's *Malabar Law and Custom*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1900.

[2] *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i., Eth. App., p. 136. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

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ceremonies of the Nairs there is one called *potavekkuka*, in which new cotton cloths are placed on the corpse by the senior members of the deceased's Tarawad (corresponding to clan), followed by all the other members, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, and other relatives. The details of the ceremony differ in the two communities; among the Nairs the placing of cloths is the duty of a wide circle of relatives, but the resemblance between the customs is sufficiently close to make it highly probable that we have to do with two developments of one custom.

The ceremony just described is not the only point in which the funeral rites of the Todas resemble those of Malabar. The earthen pot which I have already mentioned plays a part in the rites of both Nairs and Nambutiris. By the Nairs[1] the pot is carried three times round the pyre while the water leaks out through the holes, and on completing the third round the pot is dashed on the ground close by the spot where the head of the corpse had lain. The Nambutiris burn their dead and bury the ashes three days later, and when the body is being burnt an earthen pot containing water is carried round the fire, and is then punctured and the water received into another vessel, from which it is thrown on the fire, and then the pot is smashed and thrown away.[2]

We have seen that according to Toda belief it is necessary that those who have not been through certain ceremonies in life must do so after death, and the same belief is entertained by the Nambutiris, who tie the *tali* at the funeral of an unmarried girl,[3] just as the Todas perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

The Nairs collect pieces of unburnt bones from the ashes fourteen days after the cremation, but they either throw them into the nearest river or take them to some sacred place, thus following a frequent Indian practice.

There is one feature of the *urvatpimi* ceremony of the Todas which also suggests a possible link with Malabar, and this is the name, *pülpali*, given to the artificial dairy

[1] *Madras Gov. Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 247. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 61. See also Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, Oxford, 1899, p. 17.

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171 used by the Tartharol. The Nairs of Malabar have a ceremony at the ninth month called *pulikuti*, in which the woman drinks tamarind (*puli*) juice which has been poured over a knife by her brother.[1] The Toda word for the sour taste is *pülchiti*, derived from tamarind, and I have suggested that the name *pülpali* may mean 'tamarind dairy,' and be a survival of community between the Toda ceremony and that of Malabar.

171 I have now enumerated a number of points in which there is a close resemblance between the customs of the Todas and 174 those of the people of Malabar. In some cases, as in that of the cloth ceremony of the funeral, the resemblance is so close that we seem almost bound to seek its explanation either in identity of origin or in borrowing. We may be confident that if there has been any borrowing from the inhabitants of Malabar, it has not been recent, and we may also be fairly confident that the physical barrier in the past must have prevented any but the most infrequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the Nilgiri plateau and those of Malabar. If we attach any significance to the resemblances I have indicated, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that the Todas at some time lived in Malabar and migrated to the Nilgiri Hills, and it remains to inquire whether there are any other facts in favour of this view.

174 On one line of evidence I cannot speak with any authority, but I strongly suspect that there is a very close resemblance 197 between the Toda language and Malayalam.

I think there is little doubt that the Toda language is much more nearly allied to Tamil than to Canarese, and I believe that the contrary opinion of Dr. Pope was due to the inclusion in his material of many words borrowed by the Todas from their Canarese-speaking neighbours, the Badagas. Malayalam is closely allied to Tamil, differing from it chiefly in its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and in the large number of Sanscrit derivatives,[2] and I should like to make the suggestion, for the consideration of Dravidian philologists,

[1] *Madras Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 242.

[2] Cf. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 23.

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Malabar it is probable that they came by one or other of these paths.

There are two other districts which have some claim to be considered as possible places from which the Todas may have migrated—*viz.*, Mysore and Coorg.

The Todas regard with some reverence a Hindu temple at Nanjankudi in Mysore, and visit it to pay vows, and there is little doubt that they have done this for a long time. Further, Nòdrs, one of the oldest and most sacred of the Toda villages, is close to the present road from Mysore and may have been near the most convenient route from Mysore in ancient times. I think, however, that, though not recent, the relations with the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi are not of very great antiquity, and I am inclined to ascribe the Toda reverence for it to their association with the Badagas, who almost certainly came from Mysore. I have not been able to find many parallels to Toda customs in Mysore. In one case, however, the resemblance is very close. Among the Gollavalu of Mysore[1] a woman after delivery is turned out into a leaf or mat hut, about 200 yards from the village, and on the fourth day a woman of the village pours water over her. In this case the woman lives in the hut for three months, her husband also living in a special hut. Again, among the Kadu (or forest) Gollas of Mysore[2] the mother and child remain in a small shed outside the village for seven to thirty days.

The other district which has customs especially resembling those of the Todas is Coorg. Among the people of Coorg cloth-giving appears at one time to have formed the essential marriage ceremony, and there still exist what are called 'cloth-marriages,' in which a man becomes the husband of a woman merely by giving her a cloth. There is also some evidence that polyandry has been practised in Coorg, and I have already referred to the resemblance between the *pursûtpimi* ceremony of the Todas and the Coorg custom of giving a little bow and arrow to a newly born boy. The bow is made of a stick of the castor-oil plant and for the arrow

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1889, vol. i. p. 535.
[2] *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, Pt. i. p. 521.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 the leaf-stalk of the same plant is used. In Coorg the imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of the newly born child, but this custom is not widely removed from that of the Todas in which the bow and arrow is put into the hand of the mother shortly before the child is born.

[173] The Todas know the people of Coorg, which they call Kwûrg, and have a tradition of an invasion of their hills by these people, but it is very improbable that there has been any direct borrowing, and it seems more likely that some of the customs of the Todas and Coorgs have had a common source.

171 The resemblance with the customs of Coorg are perhaps more striking than with those of Mysore, and the former 174 region is much more likely to have been influenced by Malabar than the latter. The links with Coorg do not weaken, and perhaps even strengthen, the conclusion that the Todas owe much to Malabar.

144 If we accept provisionally the view that the Todas migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar, we are next 174 confronted with the problem as to whether they are directly derived from any of the races now living in that district. The most diverse views have been held by those who have considered the racial affinities of the Todas. Leaving on one side the conjectures of those who have supposed them to be Scythians, Druids, Romans, or Jews, we find that the Todas have been supposed by several writers to be of Aryan or Caucasic origin. De Quatrefages[1] grouped the Todas with the Ainus of Northern Japan and Keane[2] follows him in putting the two peoples together, and regards both as witnesses to the widespread diffusion of Caucasic races in Asia. Deniker[3] suggests that they belong to the Indo-Afghan race, with perhaps an admixture of the Assyroid race.

Previous writers have found no special reason to link the customs of the Todas with those of Malabar, and, so far as I am aware, no one has considered how far the Todas may be of the same race as any of the inhabitants of

[1] *Histoire générale des Races Humaines*, Paris, 1889, Introduction, p. 469.
[2] *Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 418.
[3] *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 412.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 In endeavouring to link the Todas with Malabar I have
174 naturally dwelt on the points of resemblance rather than on the points of difference. The differences are, however, very great. The general manner of life of the two peoples is now wholly different, while on the religious side I may point to the wide prevalence of snake worship in Malabar, especially among the Nambutiris.

The hypothesis that the Todas are derived from one or more of the races of Malabar would not be tenable for a moment except on the assumption that the migration took place very long ago, and that the culture of Malabar has undergone great changes since the migration. As to the length of time during which the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, we can only offer the vaguest surmises. We know that three centuries ago the Todas were living on the Nilgiris, apparently in much the same state as at the present day. The appearance of some of their sacred stones suggests great antiquity, especially the well-worn polished appearance of the *neurzülnkars*, which, if the accounts are right, are only rubbed a few times in the year.

174 On the other hand, the history of Malabar is highly conjectural. The two great positive landmarks in its history are the beginning and end of the rule of the Perumal princes. The date of the first Perumal is put at about the time of Christ, or somewhat later, and it is tempting to surmise that the Todas may have been driven or have retired from Malabar in consequence of the political changes which took place at this time. The last Perumal probably reigned about a thousand years ago, but there does not appear to have been any political upheaval at the time, the last prince having his period of office prolonged beyond the usual twelve years, and having then divided his dominions among his family and retainers.

If we assume that the Todas came from Malabar, the date of their migration would be of great interest in relation to the possibility of Christian or Jewish influences on the Toda religion. There are ancient settlements of both Christians and Jews in Malabar. Tradition assigns the starting-point of the native Christian settlements in Malabar to St. Thomas;

172 furnishes us with another example of material objects which
174 have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and
here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken
182 place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas have had no enemies, either human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded by all.

174 In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration
182 the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with an example of a people who once have possessed a higher
171 culture of which some features have undergone degeneration.
788 If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district, and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have been on much the same general level as that of the dominant castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because in their very simple environment this was the most accessible object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris; and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most probable that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect of their religion.

171 If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of
174 one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation, the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ment provided by the Nilgiri plateau. I have already referred to the resemblance between certain Toda customs and those of one such tribe, the Hill Arrians, who live in the hills in Travancore and on the Travancore-Cochin boundary. These people are fair, about five feet six inches in height, and frequently have aquiline noses. They inherit in the male line, and have an early marriage ceremony, followed by another in which cloths are presented to the bridegroom. After child-birth the woman lives in a shed for sixteen days. They bury their dead, the earth being dug with the ceremony to which I have already alluded,[1] and though we are not told that a cloth is laid on the corpse at the funeral ceremonies, Fawcett[2] records the fact that a cloth is placed on the grave. There are thus several points of resemblance between their customs and those of the Todas, and this resemblance extends in some measure to the physical appearance and suggests, not only that they and the Todas have been influenced by the same culture, but even that they are people of the same race. We are here, however, plunged almost entirely in the region of conjecture, and we must wait for further information before we consider whether such tribes as the Hill Arrians are representatives of the same race as the Todas, both having been driven from the plains of Malabar into their mountain fastnesses, or whether the Todas and Arrians are two hill tribes of similar descent who have each been influenced by Malabar, of whom the Todas have advanced more in culture, owing to their exceptionally favourable environment on the Nilgiri plateau.

The whole of this last chapter is, I am afraid, open to the charge of being highly conjectural. It has, however, seemed to me desirable to raise some of the problems suggested by the existence of the Todas. In the settlement of these problems much further research is necessary, and I have somewhat reluctantly dealt so largely with the conjectural topics of the chapter, because they seem to point clearly to two lines of research in which further work is necessary. One is the archæology of the Nilgiris, which would, I believe, now well repay further investigation; the other is a detailed

[1] See p. 402.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

174 discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen
771 religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by
777 the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars. I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nilagiris, nor can I find, in the customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of Christianity. Mr. Mots derives Peranganād (Toda *Pirpár*) from Feringhi; but we have no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

771 If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic; while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

171 Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mūndah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed; the Larkā Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the Pelkis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawāni; and they break a pot at funerals, their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

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114 * While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.) has been published. In this work, page 183, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever "to believe that the Todas of the Nilagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or "Manichean settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of "Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Papuans applies word for word to the Todas:—

"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Uebungen welche, mit einigen anderen Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, "mit ihrem jetzigen Culturzustande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher "höhern Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem "quite irreconcilable with their present state of civilisation, unless we recognise in them the traces of a formerly "higher culture."—*Trench's Study of Words, page 22, note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilisation. The cases of the Todas and Kurumbas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primeval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay exist can hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be seen, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, to ascertain facts about the tribes in question seemed more germane to the matter than to discuss theories of civilisation.—*Editor.*

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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648 464 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it 461 [241] beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda 562 512 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described [159] [171] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans 177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, 609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even [735] the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, 114 177 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, 164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

T 121 614 551 T [171]

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

C 614 551

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

C 593 551 [769] [553] [171]

T 551 614

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

T C 121 122 T 104

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *t*, *d*, *n* should be read for *v*, *δ*, *γ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kiśker] gave one buffalo to [keːnoʒ] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keːnoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoːn] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdiːfj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kiśker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kiśker]'s father's sister [tuarfuːemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjornaːf] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kiśker] by the latter and [kiśker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuaroːn], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it.

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative *somi* as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munda, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [193] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 708 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the mundu,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these positions are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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* This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical [122] Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12. [113]

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those of which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [338] a god, and a profane part where the houses are. [346]

[p. 82]

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841 Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags [178] are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all discarded ones [171] are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community.

841 794 563 177 The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has bein made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

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But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannada and Tamil, and more closely, as I
64 judge provisionally, with Kannada, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
[197] background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[*] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[**] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
197 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
174 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
[79] they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the
[787] Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[***] that the model house or dairy used in the *ur-koṭṭ* ceremony, and called *poḍ-peḍ* (Rivers' *pālpali*), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (*pyḷi*) has no possible connection.

Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
174 some cases still, practiced in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
595 fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
[114] ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Furthermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas
[171] of the Nilgiris have been found to practice a special type of fraternal polyandry.[****]

The *tortḷoṭ* or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' *mokthodits*) is on the whole so
174 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women
837 that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[*] I base this statement partly on the literature (but all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, on account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 1, pp. 123-57, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 610-90, 1915].

[**] Pp. 699-708, especially pp. 698 f. [***] Rivers, p. 700.

[****] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* [*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, pp. 379-83, 1938].

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[18] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[19] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[18] Rivers, p. 700.

[19] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kīmg. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil kogku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannada kogge with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koppu (no dictionary is available for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannada kodagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kīmg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen
[515] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology.*
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

[171] It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

114 The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
602 word, *puliol.* Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
614 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ, ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

[Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitions we must
602 also find exogamous lineages.

[171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda can be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligations between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 332) (BD named by FZ p. 332)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	S chief fourner at funeral
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	Cutting of lock of hair at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	
Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothers
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan
582 Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for
601 instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent
602 in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-

773 number." The gods are believed to have held their councils,
776 meeting on some special hill, to which each god came from his own hill-top. The hill of Pòlkab, near Kanòdrs, and the
823 village of Miuni are both renowned as meeting places of the gods.

There is a very definite association between the Toda gods and the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. Nearly every one of the gods has his hill where he dwells, and often when speaking of the gods the Todas seem to identify the god with the hill. There are two river gods, Teipakh and Pakhwar, associated with the two chief streams of the district, but there is some reason to believe that even these gods have their hills where they sometimes live, while at other times they inhabit or are identified with their streams. In the case of Teipakh, the god and the natural object seem to be very closely identified, and Kuzkarv, growing up in the river Teipakh, is said to be sitting in the lap of his maternal uncle. Again, one god is associated with a bubbling pool, but he also has his hill-top and is believed only to visit the pool on certain occasions. There can be little doubt that most of the Toda gods are hill-deities and that the association of the gods with hills is so strong that even the gods of streams and pools may be assigned their hills in general belief.

●172 There is one important feature which is said to be common to all the hills inhabited by deities. They all have on their summits the stone circles which the Todas call *pun*. My informants were very definite about this and fully understood that these stone circles corresponded to the cairns and barrows opened by Breeks and others.

I was not able to examine into the question for myself and ascertain whether the circles called *pun* were actually present on the god-inhabited hills, but I have no reason to doubt that this was usually the case. Most writers on the Todas have been inclined to suppose that the cairns and barrows, with their contents, were in no way connected with the Todas, and they have based this opinion largely on the indifference of the Todas to these monuments. The people who are so jealous of their dairies that they will not allow anyone to enter or even view their contents, will allow any stranger to open the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

cairns and take their contents, and will even assist in the demolition. When I asked the Todas what they thought of the rifling of the *pun* they showed just the same indifference. They did not seem to think the matter any concern of theirs, and yet they believe in a definite association between the presence of a *pun* and the abode of a deity. 172

There seem to be three chief possibilities. One, that the cairns are Toda remains and that the association of the stone circles above them with the presence of a god is the last surviving relic of the fact. The second is that when the Todas came to the Nilgiri hills they found mysterious stone circles on certain hills, which marked out these hills as possessing features out of the common, and that this gave them a sanctity which led to the idea that they were inhabited by gods. A third possibility is that the same peculiarities which led the original builders of the circles to choose certain hills also led the Todas to choose them as the abodes of their deities, and that it was only later that they came to recognise the association between the circle and the presence of a god.

Whichever possibility may give the true explanation, one would have thought that the Todas would have objected to the disturbance and excavation of the cairns. There is little doubt that they were ignorant of the fact that objects were buried beneath the stone circles, but they are quite intelligent enough to know that there is a connexion between the stones and the objects beneath them when once these have been found.

I have very little doubt that the true explanation of the indifference of the Todas towards these monuments is that they have no definite traditional injunction against interfering with the circles. The Todas are the slaves of their traditions and of the laws and regulations which have been handed down to them by their ancestors. Till the Europeans came to the hills, it had never occurred to anyone to meddle with these stones or explore the soil beneath and around them. In consequence there was no reason why injunctions against interference should be handed down, and when the European arrived with his spade and pickaxe the Todas found nothing in their traditional laws telling them that it was wrong to 172 183

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference
183 which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.[1]

776 Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

769 There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as
771 heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of
776 the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

[1] I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

but, leaving this on one side, there seems to be no doubt that both Christians and Jews were well established in Malabar more than a thousand years ago. An ancient document is still preserved by the Jews of Cochin, which was given to their leader by the Perumal of the day, and this document can be dated about 750 A.D. A similar document preserved by the Nestorian Christians can be dated 774 A.D. 174

If the Todas left Malabar at the beginning of the Perumal rule, Jewish or Christian influences can be excluded, but if at a

FIG. 75 (from Breeks).—A CAIRN ON THE NILGIRI HILLS.

later period such influences may have been present, though it is very improbable that they were important; for, unless the Todas have changed very much, they would have been very unlikely to have borrowed from religious settlers of an alien race. Still, in considering the strange resemblance between the Hebrew and Toda versions of the Creation, this possible influence should be borne in mind.

I have so far said nothing of the archæological evidence which may possibly help in the settlement of the vexed 172

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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questions which I have raised in the preceding pages. Our knowledge of the history of the Todas would be very materially advanced if we knew whether the cairns, barrows and other ancient remains which are found on the Nilgiri Hills are Toda monuments. In the cairns and barrows there are found objects which suggest a Toda origin, such as figures of buffaloes with bells round their necks (see Fig. 76, 9), but the vast majority of the finds are utterly unlike anything now possessed by the Todas. They include pottery of many designs, the lids of the vessels being often adorned with the figures of animals. Many other animal figures have also been found, and though that of the buffalo often occurs, figures of the horse (see Fig. 76, 10), sheep, camel, elephant, leopard (?), pig (?), and low-country bullock with hump are all found. Such figures can only have been made by those well acquainted with the low country, and none of these animals are ever mentioned in Toda legends.

Metal work is also found in the cairns and barrows; bronze vases, basins and saucers (Fig. 76, 1, 2, 3), iron razors, styles or pins (?), and daggers (Fig. 76, 8), while iron spear-heads (Fig. 76, 4, 7, 13) are frequently met with.

In addition to the more elaborate cairns, cromlechs and barrows found on the Nilgiri Hills, Breeks, to whom we owe most of our knowledge on this subject, found what he took to be ancient examples of the *azaram* or circle of stones within which the Toda buries the ashes of his dead at the end of the second funeral. In such *azaram* in the district between Kotagiri and Kwòdrdoni, Breeks found bronze bracelets and rings, iron spear-heads, a chisel, a knife and an iron implement in something of the style found in Malabar and differing from those usually found in the cairns.

Breeks points out that the characteristic feature of the cairns and barrows of the Nilgiris is the circle of stones, and that some consist of an insignificant circle hardly to be distinguished from the Toda *azaram*. He often found it difficult to say whether a given monument was a cairn or an *azaram*, so that it would appear that there are intermediate gradations between the more elaborate cairns or barrows containing the pottery and metal work and the simple Toda *azaram*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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FIG. 76 —VARIOUS OBJECTS FOUND IN THE NILGIRI CAIRNS, TAKEN FROM BEEKS.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 From the amount of rust on the iron implements, however, Breeks concluded that there was a long interval of time between the most recent of the cairns and the oldest *azaram*, but he points out that if the latter are really *azaram*, they show that the Todas used at one time to bury such objects as iron spears.[1]

As regards the cairns, Breeks points out that though the figures of many animals occur in addition to that of the buffalo, most of the animals are so badly imitated that it is difficult to identify them, while the figures of the buffaloes are singularly characteristic and often very spirited.

The only implements found by Breeks which might be agricultural were shears and sickles (Fig. 76, 12, 5), and he recalls the *kafkati* burnt by the Todas with their dead, which is a curved knife, different, however, in shape from the sickles often found in the cairns.

On the other hand, very few of the human figures found in the cairns resemble the Todas in any way; the women have the low-country top-knot instead of the Toda curls, and they carry chatties on their heads, which would never be done by a Toda woman at the present time, whatever she may have done in the past.

Breeks himself inclined to the view that the cairns are Toda monuments. One objection which has been made to this view is that the Todas exhibit little or no interest in the cairns, and offer no objection to their excavation. I have already given reasons[2] why this cannot be regarded as a conclusive argument against the Toda origin of the monuments. The Todas certainly identify the hills which possess stone circles with the abodes of their gods, and the absence of objections to the excavation may merely be due to the fact that they have no traditional injunctions against interference with these circles.

174 In dealing with the religion of the Todas, I have advanced
771 the view that the ritual and beliefs of the people furnish us with an example of a religion in a state of decadence. It seems probable that the Todas once had a religious cult of a

[1] It will be remembered that the Todas claim to have once possessed a spear which had belonged to their god, Kwoten.

[2] See p. 445.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture. 174 771

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great. 172 174 182 [517 53]

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.[1] Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show. [461]

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

[1] The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 furnishes us with another example of material objects which
174 have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and
182 here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas have had no enemies, either human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded by all.

174 In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration
182 the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with an example of a people who once have possessed a higher
771 culture of which some features have undergone degeneration.
788 If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district, and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have been on much the same general level as that of the dominant castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because in their very simple environment this was the most accessible object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris; and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most probable that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect of their religion.

771 If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of
174 one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation, the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

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settling on its very topmost plateau, where we now find them, whilst a small remnant, winding behind its north-western slopes, remained on one of the lower plateaus, called the Wynâd.

This modern place of Toda residence is an isolated mountain, upwards of seven thousand feet above sea level, upreared on E. longitude 76° 45′ and N. latitude 11° 20′, amidst the plains of South India—the gigantic and sudden culmination of the minor mountain-chain system, called the Eastern and Western Ghats, which there meet.

These, their last movements, having been very small and of minor importance, I have included their past and their present places of residence in one area, marked VI. on the map.

Not only the summit of the Nilagiris, but the tops of the minor rounded eminences thereon, are studded with kairns, raised for the reception of ashes of the dead, by a race whose history has been so completely lost that not a tradition even of it remains. On the same plateau are also a few kromlechs, also many deserted circles of stones, situated near streams of running water; some manifestly constructed for pounding cattle, others, with equal certainty, not made for that purpose —being in exposed situations and having rocky beds.

These erections undoubtedly do not belong to the Todas, who not only do not regard them with reverence, but assert that they were of a people antecedent to themselves on the mountain. Moreover they are found in many parts of the Indian peninsula and of Western India. But I may do service in drawing attention to points in which the cremation customs of this unknown race are those of the Todas, and to those in which they differ from them.

In brief, we find, from relics exhumed from kairns, that their owners made use of the horse: that they practised agriculture, holding the buffalo in high esteem, and burying its bell with the manes of the deceased. We learn that they were acquainted with the use of the spear, bow and arrow:

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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that their women wore simple jewelry, and that all their implements, weapons and ornaments, whilst of a very primitive nature, were of designs extant, not only in India, but in this part of the country.

We may safely deduce from the evidences of care manifest in the solidity of these stone receptacles, as well as from the positions in which we find them, both that these people held the memory of the dead in great respect, and their property alive to be their property when dead, and that their religious belief, as regards the future state, was connected by some line of thought with prominent natural features of the country.

In many respects, viz. in the custom of cremation, the regard shown to buffaloes, the especial notice of its bell, the practice of burying weapons and personal ornaments, we shall find in due course, almost an identity with the obsequies and modes of thought now displayed by the Todas; and Mr. Metz writes, concerning the Toda faith: 'Their idea is that the spirits of deceased Todas, together with the souls of the buffaloes killed by their friends to accompany them to heaven and supply them with milk there, *take a leap from Makurti Peak*, as the nearest way to the celestial regions.'[14]

The chief points of variance between the two peoples, consist in the evidences in the Kairn-builders, of a civilisation —implied in the practice of agriculture, and in raising stone constructions to contain their dead—somewhat superior to that of the Todas. Regarding the matter of husbandry, the Todas could not be more backward in respect to these unknown Kairn-builders than they are behind all the tribes of Dravidians which at this very day surround and isolate them. A certain small degree only of civilisation is of necessity implied in the presence of simple implements of cultivation.

The evidence of ~~stone cemeteries~~, probably does not imply

[14] Metz, 'The Tribes of the Nilghiry Hills.'

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the exercise of so much labour as would at first appear; for what more likely—indeed, almost certain—than that each village or family erected one once for all for itself, and that it was filled in by degrees? But it would express a method of disposing of the ashes, somewhat superior in completeness, refinement, and perhaps in depth of religious feeling, to that practised by the Todas, nothing more. No essential difference in race, but merely a tribal custom.

I would advance, therefore, the great likelihood of these Kairn-builders having been members of certain Turanian tribes of a similar stage of culture to our early Drâvidians; each of which would have brought with it the custom of the particular portion of Western Asia from which it migrated—this tribe, apparently, from a rocky and hilly region.

It does not seem too much to insist that, in grand migrations of primitive races, not merely families of one spirited tribe would move together, but they would be attended or followed at intervals of time by other tribes dependent on or patronised by them; not necessarily closely related, though perhaps near neighbours. All, however, moved by the same impetus: continued pressure from without, a succession of famines at the door, or a vacuum to be filled up.

Had the Todas died out a hundred years ago, but little remembrance of them would survive at this day. Similarly, these defunct races live solely in their imperishable monuments.

In Chapter XIX., on the Boath, will be found the suggestion that that eccentric building may have belonged to the Kairn-builders. I do not wish to press the theory with undue vigour; yet, if form is in a degree, a sort of index or expression of the mind that adopts it, I think that, in the unusual shape of roof (pointing upwards) in the Boath, may lurk a mental impulse in co-ordination with that which prompted them to place kairns on the top of hills; some superior

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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religious development of the tribe; the root, I may term it, of some such conception as leads us to the words:

Nearer, my God, to Thee, nearer to Thee.

Certain it is that the Todas, who grovel to the earth, show in their cremation custom, as in the architecture of their most holy place, a parity in lowliness as much marked as this prominence of individuality which we note in the Kairn-builders.

I have apparently stepped out of my way to speculate on the remains of an unknown people, but my object has been to show a possible connection between the Kairn-builders and the Todas.

CHAP. XIX.

346 *under the same general ideas*, and apparently for similar purposes as the dairy of a tiriêri or the pâthchi of any Mand. Then it holds a vat—which no other building does—
378 whose use is not understood by the vorshâl in charge, and whose very existence is, I feel nearly certain, unknown to the people. If the vat was constructed for sacrificial purposes, then its use has been discontinued and forgotten, though the priest in charge is a vorshâl or sacrifice man.[4]

It is situated on an exposed site bearing the outlines of stone walls, built on a largeness of scale, and in a form, nowhere else found amongst these people—with a Kromlech and numerous Kairns dotted close about.

The specific name by which it is known—boath[5]—is peculiar, and applicable solely to that style of structure.

181 Now it should be borne in mind, if we would form an
346 opinion on the origin of this edifice, that the Todas are unimaginative creatures of one idea; having one way of doing everything: intolerant of change or deviation from custom, unless for some manifestly practical advantage. How then do we find such a race in occupation of an eccentric building which does not fit in with any of its other institutions? Not a tiriêri—for it is of lower grade in Toda estimation; its servant a vorshâl, not a God. Not an ordinary pâthchi, for one of the largest size exists apart, within a few paces of it.

172 As there is nobody who can give an explanation of the phenomenon, I will submit a theory of my own for consideration. May the boath not be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to, the Todas, which, taking refuge like them on these hills, died out in their presence—

[4] See Note 4 of Chapter VIII.

[5] Boath. An enclosed Jain temple is hand.

It may be deemed fanciful to refer to bonth or bothy. The Welsh is both, the Gaelic is both. This word is of very extensive use. The Tamil vêdi and Kanarese bêdi = house, may be compared.

The Todas and Drâvidians generally, have much in common with the Celtic tribes. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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the Todas thus becoming inheritors of a curious and sacred building, possessing some relics, and possibly a herd of cattle attached?

The point of interest in this theory consists greatly in the possibility of the original owners of this boath being the builders of the circles, Kairns or Kromlechs,[8] or the erecters of the upright stones—Genesis xxviii. 18, 19—which are all found in great abundance on these hills.

Is this form of temple or surrounding wall found elsewhere—in other parts of the world—in connection with these erections and with massive ruins? Let us read an extract from the 'Explorations in the Peninsula of Sinai,' written by the Rev. F. W. Holland, and which will be found in 'The Recovery of Jerusalem.' 'During my wanderings in 1867,' he says, 'I found that there were other ruins of a much older date: houses similar in form to the Bothan, or beehive houses in Scotland, built of rough and massive stones, about five feet high, and forty to fifty feet in circumference, with no windows, and one small door about twenty inches high. . . . These houses are generally found in groups, and near them are often seen the ruins of tombs—circles of massive stones—similar to those which in England and Scotland are called Druids' circles.'[9]

[8] See Chapter I.
[9] Wilson Warren, 'The Recovery of Jerusalem.'

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Toda

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and supreme Spirit, and in a future state, though this they seem to regard as one of a somewhat mundane character, inasmuch as buffaloes and abundance of milk are to be the portion of the faithful. They also pay reverence to, though they do not worship, inferior objects, such as hills and forests and the rising sun, precisely as did the ancient Celts. In connection with the adoration of light, they also make an obeisance to their evening lamps on lighting them. The observance of this custom in Europe is mentioned by Edward Spencer, who, writing in 1596, states that, "at the kindling of fire and lighting of candles, the Scots and Irish use superstitious rites."*

The presence in their temples of large stones, which have, by superficial observers, been regarded as gods, has led to the belief that these people are idolaters; but this is certainly not the case. There is no doubt that the shapeless symbols are merely representatives of an unseen power, and not in themselves actual objects of worship; though with other races, preserving less strictly their primitive character, this original use has degenerated into idolatry. The fact, therefore, that this tribe has so preserved to the present day, in the midst of a heathen country, the primary object and intention of such symbols, is one worthy of notice; and leads to the supposition that the Todas may be equally unchanged in all other respects since the earliest days of their corporate existence as a people.

It would be a most interesting point to determine satisfactorily whether or not the early progenitors of the Todas were the erectors of the numerous Druidical circles and remains found on their hills, and which crown the summit of almost every peak throughout the Nilgiri range. Several of the cromlechs have, rather against the wishes of the hill-tribes, been examined at different times, and found to contain urns of clay filled with black earth, charred fragments of human bones, and roughly made clay figures of buffaloes, and in some instances bells; the whole lying under large flat stones within the circle. It is to be noted, too, that these urns, as well as the bells, very closely resemble those that have been found in Great Britain.

Within the last few months, "a set of iron implements" has been found in a cromlech on the southern side of the Nilgiri

* *Early Races of Scotland.*

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Toda

172 range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a
837 time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

532 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early
533 age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Despite the hypothesis of Dr. Rivers that the Todas are derived from one or more of the races of Malabar, their origin is buried among the secrets of the past. So too is the history of the ancient builders of cairns and barrows on the Nilgiri plateau, which were explored by Mr. Breeks when Commissioner of the Nilgiris.* The bulk of the Breeks' collection is now preserved in the Madras Museum, and includes a large series of articles in pottery, quite unlike anything known from other parts of Southern India. Concerning this series, Mr. R. Bruce Foote writes as follows.† "The most striking objects are tall jars, many-storied cylinders, of varying diameter with round or conical bases, fashioned to rest upon pottery ring-stands, or to be stuck into soft soil, like the amphoræ of classical times. These jars were surmounted by domed lids. On these lids stood or sat figures of the most varied kind of men, or animals, much more rarely of inanimate objects, but all modelled in the rudest and most grotesque style. Grotesque and downright ugly as are these figures, yet those representing men and women are extremely interesting from the light they throw upon the stage of civilization their makers had attained to, for they illustrate the fashion of the garments as also of the ornaments they wore, and of the arms or implements carried by them. The animals they had domesticated, those they chased, and others that they probably worshipped, are all indicated. Many figures of their domestic animals, especially their buffaloes and sheep, are decorated with garlands and bells, and show much ornamentation, which seems to indicate that they were painted over, a custom which yet prevails in many

* J. W. Breeks. Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris, 1873.

† Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities, Government Museum, Madras, 1901.

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172
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7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

172 parts." Among the most interesting figures are those of heavily bearded men riding on horses, and big-horned buffaloes which might have been modelled from the Toda buffaloes of to-day, and, like these, at funerals and migration ceremonies, bear a bell round the neck.

234 193 Two forms of Toda dairy have so far been noticed. But there remains a third kind, called the ti mand, concerning which Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The ti is the name of an institution, which comprises a herd of buffaloes, with a number of dairies and grazing districts, tended by a dairy-man priest called palol, with an assistant called kaltmokh. Each dairy, with its accompanying buildings and pasturage, is called a ti mad, or ti village. The buffaloes belonging to a ti are of two kinds, distinguished as persiner and punir. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the ti dairy is concerned with their milk. The punir correspond in some respects to the putiir of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the palol, and are not treated with any special ceremony. During the whole time he holds office, the palol may not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another ti village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the kaltmokh, or with people who come to visit him at the ti. If the palol has to cross a river, he may not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford, and it appears that he may only use certain fords. The palol must be celibate, and, if married, he must leave [595] his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers." I visited the ti mand near Paikāra by appointment, and, on arrival near the mand, found the two palols, well-built men aged about thirty and fifty, clad in black cloths, and two kaltmokhs, youths aged

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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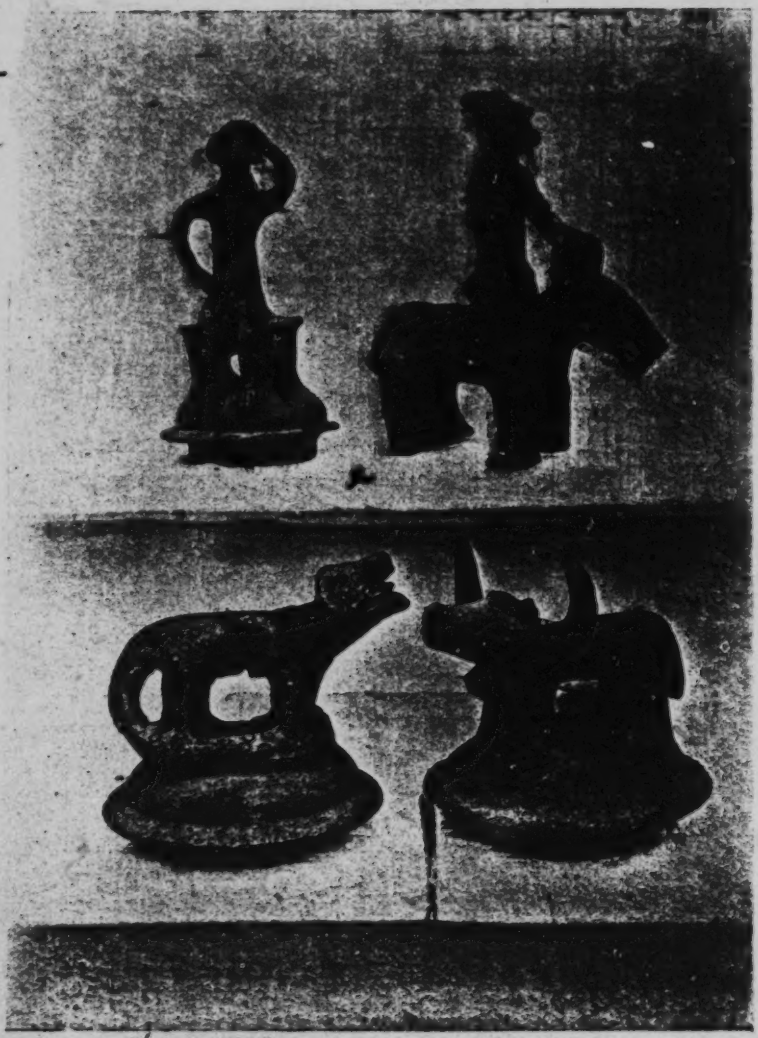

FIGURES FROM NILGIRI CAIRNS.

[facing p. 137]

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.

been my chief guides to Toda lore. One man who had 123
pointed out to me certain sacred places fell ill and made up his mind that he was going to die. Another man lost his wife a few days after he had shown me the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies. A third man who had revealed to me the details of the ceremonial of the most sacred Toda dairy, suffered the loss of his own village dairy by fire.

The Todas consulted their diviners, who ascribed these events to the anger of the gods because their secrets had been revealed to the stranger. In consequence my sources of information ran dry to a large extent, and the difficulties in the way of the investigation of the more sacred topics were greatly increased. By the time it was settled that I was to blame I was nearly at the end of my visit, but it was in the last two or three weeks that I had hoped to overcome the scruples of the people and to obtain information on many doubtful points about which I had to come away unsatisfied.

One of the subjects on which my material is defective is the 114
folk-lore. I have a number of tales, but they are only 173
a small part of the store of Toda legend. I regret especially 538
the incompleteness of my work in this respect because I 796
believe that the Todas are rapidly forgetting their folk-tales and the legends of their gods, while their ceremonial remains to a large extent intact, and seems likely to continue so for some time.

I was especially struck by this because, in previous anthropological experience in the islands of Torres Straits with Dr. Haddon, we had found the exact opposite to be the case. In these islands, the ceremonial had disappeared, and the only record of it to be obtained was that derived from the memories of the oldest inhabitants. Nevertheless in Torres Straits the store of legend was still ample, and the agreement of the stories obtained from different individuals was so great that it was evident that the people had preserved their folk-lore with fidelity.

The difference between the two communities is easily ex- 000
plained. In Torres Straits missionary influence is strong, and missionary effort is always directed to break down the practices

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

aspects, and the information so gained often afforded valuable corroboration of what I had been told on other occasions and by other individuals. Thus, in obtaining a prayer, various matters would arise which would confirm the accuracy of a legend obtained weeks earlier, or the investigation of a funeral custom would lead to the indirect corroboration of evidence concerning the regulation of marriage. 124

The most important way in which this method of indirect corroboration may be intentionally applied is by obtaining the same information first in an abstract form and then by means of a number of concrete instances. As an example of what I mean I may cite the method by which I inquired into the laws of inheritance of property. I first obtained an account of what was done in the abstract—of the laws governing the inheritance of houses, the division of the buffaloes and other property among the children, &c. Next I gave a number of hypothetical concrete instances; I took cases of men with so many children and so many buffaloes, and repeating the cases I found that my informant gave answers which were consistent not only with one another but also with the abstract regulations previously given. Finally I took real persons and inquired into what had actually happened when A or B died, and again obtained a body of information consistent in itself and agreeing with that already obtained.

By far my most valuable instrument of inquiry was that provided by the genealogical method.[1] The Todas preserve in their memories the names of all their ancestors and relatives extending back for several generations. In the tables given at the end of this book, I have recorded the pedigrees of seventy-two families, including the whole of the Toda community. Whenever the name of a man was mentioned in connexion with ceremony or social custom, his name was found in the genealogical record and the relation was ascertained in which he stood towards others participating in the ceremony or custom. By this means a concrete element was brought into the work which greatly facilitated inquiry. 124 173 601

[1] See chapter XX and *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1900, vol. xxx., p. 74.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

124 173 601

Customs and rites were investigated by means of concrete examples in which the people taking part were real people to me as well as to my informants. In a later chapter I shall consider more fully the *rôle* of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. I mention them here to give a preliminary indication of the extensive part they played in my investigations. In order to give my readers the opportunity of following my method in some measure for themselves, I have given after the name of any individual mentioned in the book the number of the genealogical table in which his name occurs; thus "Kòdrner (7)" means that Kòdrner is a member of the family of which the pedigree is recorded in Table 7.

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I have already referred to the trustworthiness of the evidence given by the Todas. I must now speak of the great differences in this respect shown by different individuals. Some would give full and elaborate accounts of ceremonial which close investigation showed to be, so far as one could tell, thoroughly accurate. Others gave careless and slovenly accounts, full of omissions and inaccuracies of detail, though they rarely said anything which was distinctly untrue.

After some experience had been gained, one day's work was usually sufficient to enable me to make up my mind whether a man was a careful witness, and if he did not seem to be so, he was not again called upon for help. Different men were known to have especial acquaintance with certain branches of knowledge, and I always endeavoured to obtain such people. In the case of the religious ritual, it was not practicable to make use, to any great extent, of men actually holding any of the sacred offices, but I always had recourse to people who had held these offices and were personally familiar with the ceremonial.

Among the many aspects of social life and religion, I soon found that there were some about which there was no reticence, and these could be discussed in public with men, women, or children standing by and perhaps taking part. There were others which were of a more sacred nature, and, if they were approached in public, it was immediately obvious

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the *ti*, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place. 114 234

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by males, and males only are allowed to take any part either in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed. 173 234 462

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, Ön, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan. 234 773

Dairy Procedure

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the procedure. 234 512

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

●173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, *pineipir*; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given being called in general *nòdrodwaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who rule." 173 234 618

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan have passed into the possession of other clans. This has happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds. 425 431

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*. 234 778

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The *nashperthir* of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the *martir*. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be 234 618 621 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62). 234 421 618 621

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *püdrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeipir*; at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi. 173 234 618

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 234 463 554 618

[1] See Chapter XXIII.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and [illegible] open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pölmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not
412 purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel
415 all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the
outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.
776 All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are
783 thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

The Five Ti

173 At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to
234 the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The
621 Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the
773 name of one of its places, Tlkîrs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

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THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Püv died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr. 173 234 773

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpuv*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpuv*. [415]

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the *ti* buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu. When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *tòrzum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti poh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other 173 234 773 778

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[774] *wani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars pok*
173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.

234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr,
773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given
221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the
234 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to
621 the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil,
773 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tîdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tîdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *wnir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo amcestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tîdj, amd Teir. The *warsir*,

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are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nidrkutshi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *wair*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Perauth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *perzinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *perzinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

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234 343 352 which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

173 234 618 773 793 The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanu*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vèdrmâ, kärs wadrth vèdrmâ, mäu was vèdrmâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

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followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf.

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55).

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.'

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Ônâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost.

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.)

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not

234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

THE KARS TI

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I
621 could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
773 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs. The story runs that Anto created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

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at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit. 173 234 621 773

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarzam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri. 234 793

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and [552] 234 778

234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûzthenis ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

THE PAN TI

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

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place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Tarzhva. Its special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Nerâdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirslol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the
793 *warspoh*.

Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

THE NIDRSI TI

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This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi*. When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti*. The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti*. There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

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Puzi said, "I will put you on a hill opposite to me." So she put him on the hill called Mopuvthut, near the village of Naters, and in order to make the hill higher she put three baskets of earth on the top, so that her son might be seen by everybody. 773 776

When Kurindo was on his hill he thought to himself, "My mother has treated me badly; she sprinkled me with water and quenched my power, and she has made me bent to one side; I do not like to be opposite to her." So he went away to a hill near Kanòdrs. This was before the time of Kwoten and before the Kamasòdrolam had run away (see p. 195). While Kurindo was living on this hill a strange tribe came to the hills, so Kurindo again moved and went away to the hill of Arsnur on the Mysore side, where he still lives.

There is a hill called Puthi on which a fire is lighted at certain times (see p. 291) and the god inhabiting this hill was, according to one account, the husband of Teikirzi. It is possible that Puthi and Puzi are the same, but I think it more probable that they are two separate gods, each having his own hill, Puthi being the husband of Teikirzi, and Puzi being the deity of this legend.

The following legends differ from the preceding in that they appear almost certainly to record the lives of deified men. The first legend deals with three men of different clans, but the sons of three sisters. The second deals with the life of Kwoto, and professes to be the history of a being of miraculous birth who came to be accepted by the gods, not only as one of their number, but as superior to themselves. These two legends were known far more thoroughly and universally than any of the preceding. It seems most probable that they are records of men who really lived, and that the life of each has become a nucleus round which have grown various miraculous and portentous incidents. 173 773 776

Kwoten, Teikuteidi, and Elnâkhum

There were once three men, the children of three sisters. The eldest was Kwoten, who belonged to Pan, the second was Teikuteidi, who belonged to Taradr, and the youngest

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was Elnâkhum of Nòdrs. (According to one account the father of Kwoten was Purten, and his mother was Tiköni of Keradr. They lived at Pan and Kiursi, and Kwoten was born at Pan. Purten died when Kwoten was thirty years old and Tiköni died six years later.)

Kwoten had a wife called Kwoterpani. She did not like her husband, but preferred a man of Kanòdrs called Parden. One day Kwoten took his wife to a place called Timukhtar (near the spot where Sandy Nullah toll-bar now stands). He gave her only the loin-cloth called *tadrp* to wear, hoping that she would be cold and uncomfortable and would sleep with him, but she refused. Kwoten then took her to Kûdrîdjpül near Mulòrs, where there was a large wood. In this wood there was a tree of the kind called *külmän*, into which Kwoten climbed and made a bed. Below him, about three feet above the ground, he made a small bed for his wife, and under the tree, close to his wife's bed, he tied a big male buffalo. He did this because he thought a tiger might come to take the buffalo during the night when his wife would be frightened and would climb up the tree to his bed. During the night a tiger came and took away the buffalo, but even this did not induce the woman to go to her husband. Next morning Kwoten took his wife to Pòlâdri, which belonged to the Panol. This village was near Miuni, and there Kwoten became a *palikartmokh*. One day Kwoten was in the dairy and his wife in the hut when Parden came from Kanòdrs. Kwoten's wife knew that her husband was in the dairy, and endeavoured to prevent Parden from going into the hut by giving him buttermilk. Kwoten found that Parden had come, and sharpened a big knife to kill him, and when he came out of the dairy, Parden ran away towards Kanòdrs and Kwoten followed with the knife.

Kwoten's sister had married a Kars man and was living with him at Nasmiòdr, and at this time Kwoten's mother was staying at this place. As Parden ran away, pursued by Kwoten, they had to pass Nasmiòdr, and Kwoten's mother saw them, and said, "How is it that my son does not catch Parden?" Then she cursed Parden, saying "*On sati udairnùdr, Kârkadith mul udith pâtmâ*"—viz., "If I have reverence

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to the village, may he be checked by the tree with thorns in the Kark wood." When Parden reached a stone now called Pardenkars, Kwoten caught him up and tried to kill him, but the knife struck the stone instead and split it into two pieces. Then Parden ran on to the wood called Kark, where he was caught by a tree with thorns (brambles) so that Kwoten was able to kill him.

When the news of the death of Parden reached Kanòdrs all the people were very much afraid, and all ran away except one old man and his wife. As the people were going, they sent a message to the Kotas at Tizgudr. Two Kotas took a grain pounder (*wask*) and went to Pòladri. When Kwoten was told that the Kotas were coming he went and hid himself. The Kotas came and stood near the village and were told that Kwoten had gone away. Then they told Kwoten's wife, who at this time was pregnant by Parden, to come out of the hut. She came out and went to the Kotas, who asked her where Kwoten was. She said she did not know, whereupon the Kotas were vexed, and pierced her belly with the pounder, so that she died. Her funeral took place at Tadendari, and that of Parden at Arâdr.

The people of Kanòdrs ran away to a place called Penasmalpet, near Malmathapenpet, and are known as the Kamasòdrolam. They have never been seen since, but the Todas have heard from various wandering tribes that they still exist and that they live on a hill from which they can see Kanòdrs, and that when the Kamasòdrolam see a fire at Kanòdrs they shave their heads and make a special kind of food called *ashkkarthpimi*.

When the Kanòdrs people ran away there remained behind one old man called Muturojen and his wife Muturach,[1] who were living in a village near Kanòdrs called Mîtâhârzi. When the people left, the old man went to the Kanòdrs dairy to churn the milk left there by those who had run away, and he stayed there, sleeping in the *kwotars* or calves' hut, as the dairyman should do at Kanòdrs. His wife used to come every day as far as a place called

[1] These are quite unlike Toda names, nor is the name of the village, Mîtâhârzi, like a Toda name.

173 Pitipem, where she rubbed a place with buffalo-dung and sat down.

773 While sitting there one day an eagle (*kashk*) sat on
776 her head, and she became pregnant, and went back to the village and gave birth to a son. When Kwoten heard of this he wished to kill the child and set out to do so. The old woman's daughter, who had married a Kars man, sent her husband to warn her parents that Kwoten was coming to kill them. The Kars man met Kwoten and ran away from him towards Kanòdrs, followed by Kwoten's dog. When he came to a hill above the village he called out that Kwoten was coming. When the old man heard him, he cursed Kwoten and those with him; the latter became stones and Kwoten himself (according to the story as told by the Kanòdrs people) was stung by honey bees and died. The people of Kanòdrs are descended from the son born to the old woman. If this old woman was not a Toda, as her name and that of her village suggest, this would seem to point to a tradition that the people of Kanòdrs are descended from an ancestor of a different race from the other Todas (see p. 640).

[578] Owing to the behaviour of Kwoten to the Kanòdrs people there has ever since been *karaivichi* (trouble) between the people of Pan and Kanòdrs. They do not intermarry and no Kanòdrs man may go to one of the chief villages (*etudmad*) of the Pan people nor may a Pan man go to an *etudmad* of Kanòdrs.

According to the above account Kwoten died after being cursed by the old man, but this is only a feature of the story as told by the Kanòdrs people, and in the account given by others Kwoten had many other adventures and finished his life in this world in a very different manner. He married a second wife, who, like the first, objected to her husband and preferred a man of Keradr, whose name was Keradrkutan. Kwoten lived with this wife at Kazhuradr, near Isharadr. At
[292] that time women wore the garment called *än*, which is dark grey like the *tuni* of the *palol*, and is now only used as a funeral garment.

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Keradrkutan used frequently to come to Kazhuradr, and this vexed Kwoten, who told his wife to have nothing to do with the man. She encouraged Keradrkutan, however, and this vexed Kwoten so much that he took off her *än* and brought a thorny bush called *peshteinmul* and beat her all over with the bush, so that she became covered with blood. Kwoten at this time wore the garment called *tuni*, which he then took off, dipped it in water, and rubbed it all over his wife so that she became the colour of *tuni*, and then he gave her back her *än* and went to his dairy. While he was in the dairy Keradrkutan came stealthily to the village. When the woman saw Keradrkutan she cried very bitterly and said, "Kwoten has beaten me very severely so that I shall die; come and see me." When Keradrkutan went into the hut, the woman died.

Before this time, when Kwoten was one day beating his wife, she abused him, saying, "*Talrs ti oditha vai, Kòlrs kûv oditha vai; en puspad*"—"You have no *ti*, you have no Kotas: why do you beat me?" This was to reproach Kwoten because the Pan people had no *ti* buffaloes and had no Kotas to make things for them. So Kwoten went and complained to his brother Teikuteidi. Teikuteidi was very sorry, and in order to remove the reproach he persuaded Elnâkhum of Nòdrs to give certain buffaloes of the kind called [illegible]om the Nòdrs *ti*. Elnâkhum gave a two-year-old calf (*pol*) and a one-year-old calf (*kar*), and also two bells (*mani*) to put on their necks. The two bells were called Tarskingg and Takhingg. The calves were then standing at Kuladrtho and were taken by Kwoten to the *tars poh* of Pan. He tied the two bells to one of the calves called Kazhi. These bells ought properly to have been tied to the buffalo called Enmars which remained behind at Kuladrtho. Then Enmars went to Anto and complained as follows:—

"*kî mûdr,*	*kî kevi,*	*ninkûtik*	*pòrâni*"[1]
"inferior neck,	inferior ear,	to your council	I will not come".

i.e., "I will not come to your presence with naked neck and

[1] ? *Pòdrâni* or *pudrâni*.

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ear." Anto told him not to grieve because he had lost the *mani*, and that instead

Melgarsol	*teirpülk*	*mudâ mâ*	*nî pud*
Melgars man	pül of Anto to	in front go may	you come

Antosh	*pep ûn*
at Anto	*pep* drink

i.e., "When you go to Anto, a Melgars man shall go in front of you to the *pül* of Anto; when you come to Anto you shall drink *pep*." To this day, when the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* go in procession to Anto a Melgars man goes in front and the buffalo called Enmars drinks *pep* at Anto. At the same time Anto prophesied to Enmars that a misfortune would befall Teikuteidi, saying

"*wûrâdr*	*nols*	*Teikuteidi tan*	*ennâth*	*piriedkin,*	*et vokh!*"
"whole year	day	himself	without numbering	I will divide,	go away!"

When Teikuteidi heard of this prophecy he was much grieved, and was very careful to do all the following ceremonies:—*erkumptthiti*, *upatiti*, *punkudrtiti*, *tatmadthkudrtiti*, *petkudrtiti* *mukudrtiti*, *adikudrtiti*, *parivkudrtiti*, *tatòtiti*, *muòtiti*, *ponkastiti* and *irpalvusthi*—viz., sacrifice of calf, salt-giving, purification of *pun*, *tat* and *madth*, *pet*, *mu*, *adi* and *pariv*, etc.,[1] He performed all these ceremonies to escape the prophesied evil, for if he had succeeded in doing them all for the whole twelve months the prophecy would not have been fulfilled. On the very last day he forgot the prophecy and did not perform the ceremonies, but went to a place called Kirspem, where he sat under the shade of a *pülmän*. There is a flower which blossoms on this tree in the rainy season only, and then the bees come. When Teikuteidi was sitting under the tree it was not the rainy reason and he was very much surprised to hear the humming of honey bees in the tree. The noise was being made by a *kazun*[2] which had taken the form of a

[1] I do not know exactly to which ceremonies *tatòtiti* and *muòtiti* refer. The words mean "he takes the *tat*" and "he takes the *mu*," and evidently refer to some dairy ceremonial. *Ponkastiti* probably means that he kept *pon* throughout the year- *i.e.*, gave or sold nothing from his dairy during the year.

[2] A spirit which brings death (see p. 403).

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bee. He looked up to see if there were any flowers to attract the bees and could not see them, neither could he see any bees. Then he thought for a little while and remembered Anto's prophecy, so he did not remain under the tree, but went away to Kirsgòrs to attend the funeral of a *wursol* of Nòdrs (see p. 439). When the funeral was over Teikuteidi set out with companions to go to Kerkars (a place near Paikara). On the way they passed Kwongudrpem (near Kuudi). There he stopped and began to count his companions; he counted them, but forgot to include himself, saying that there were twenty when they started and now only nineteen, and he thought for a long time who the lost person could be. When he was looking in the direction of the funeral-place for the lost companion, he saw a lame man named Keikarskutan, who had a *purs* and *ab* (bow and arrow). Keikarskutan lay down and shot the arrow [1] and it came towards Teikuteidi with a sound like a bird's voice. Teikuteidi was looking to see what sort of bird it was when the arrow pierced both his eyes [2] and he died. When his companions found that he was dead, they held the funeral at Keràs, and at the place where he died they made a mark with four stones like a cross, one for his head, one for his legs and one for each hand.

Kwoten was responsible for various features of the organisation of the Pan people. He divided them into two parts, the Panol and Kuirsiol, and also divided the *ti* into two parts, the *wars ti*, which was to belong to the Panol, and the *tars ti* to the Kuirsiol. He settled that the *palol* of the *ti* should be chosen from the people of Keadr. When there is a funeral in any clan a *palol* belonging to that clan must give up his office; hence, in order that his *ti* should never be without a *palol*, Kwoten separated the people of Keadr into two divisions, the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol, so that a member of one division might be *palol* if a member of the other division died.

[1] When Keikarskutan shot the bow and arrow he lay down. According to my informants, Keikarskutan lay down to shoot the bow and arrow because he was lame, but shot it in the ordinary way and did not use his legs in doing so. Breeks, who gives a brief version of this legend, was told that the arrow was shot by means of the legs and refers to this method as the ancient Indian custom.

[2] I give this as it was told.

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This was the origin of the division of the Keadr people into the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol.

One day Kwoten went to the *wars ti* of Pan and took buttermilk and slept there, and he did the same at the *arsaiir ti* of Kwòdrdoni, and since that day the people of Pan have had the privilege of taking buttermilk and sleeping at the places of each *ti*.

Kwoten also made two *teiks* (stones or wooden posts at which buffaloes are killed at the funerals), the *parsteiks* for the Panol and the *kirshteiks* for the Kuirsiol.

[177] It is owing to the example of Kwoten that the Todas now take meals in Kurumba villages. Before his time they had never done so, but Kwoten one day went to a Kurumba village and took food, and since that time all Todas have done so.

Kwoten was also the first Toda to go to a Kota village. He wanted one day to go to Mitur in the Wainad, and as it was getting dark and he was still on his way, he went to the Kota village of Kulgadi (Gudalur). He sat on their *tiin*, or bed, got new pots and food from them, and, taking both to the stream called Marspa or Marsva, he cooked and ate the food there, and then, returning to the village, slept on a Kota *tiin*. Since that time Todas have gone to that village, and have done as Kwoten did, but they will not go to any other Kota village.

One day Kwoten went with Erten of Keadr, who was spoken of as his servant, to Pòni, in the direction of Polkat (Calicut). At Pòni there is a stream called Palpa, the commencement of which may be seen on the Kundahs. Kwoten and Erten went to drink water out of the stream at a place where a goddess (*teu*) named Terkosh had been bathing. When Kwoten was about to drink from his hands, he found in the water a long golden hair; he measured the length of the hair and found it was greater than his height; he had a long stick in his hand called *pirs*, and found that the hair was longer than this stick. Then he asked Erten about it. Erten knew it was the hair of a *teu*, but thought it best not to tell Kwoten, and tried to persuade him that it was of no importance, and proposed that they should return home.

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Kwoten, however, insisted on finding out from whom the hair came, so they went along the stream. Kwoten went first and Erten had to follow him. As they went they met the bird called *karpüls* going from the right side to the left,[1] uttering its cry. Kwoten asked Erten why they met the bird, why it went from right to left, and why it made a cry. Erten replied as follows:—

"*Nödr udoi*	*kwudrpedrshai; Naraian sami kaipedrshai.*"
"Country (God) if there is	you will die; Naraian will kill you."

In spite of this warning, Kwoten persisted in going on, and finally they came to Terkosh, who said to Kwoten, "Do not come near me, I am a *teu*." Kwoten paid no heed to this, but said; "You are a beautiful woman," and went and lay with her. Then Terkosh went away to her hill at Pòni, where she is now, and to this day the Kurumbas go there once a year and offer plantains to her and light lamps in her honour.

Kwoten and Erten returned home. Kwoten went to Kepurs, a village now in ruins, close to Nanjanad, and Erten went to a village called Kapthòri belonging to the Keadrol. Kwoten had about five hundred buffaloes grazing at Pazhmokh, near Kepurs. That night Kwoten slept on the *idrtul* over which he had spread a sambhar skin. He had on his finger a thick silver ring, which may still be seen at Naters and is used in the funeral ceremonies of men of the Pan clan. When the people awoke next morning they found that Kwoten had disappeared and that there only remained, lying on the sambhar skin, the silver ring and some *pug*.[2] Kwoten had been carried away by Terkosh and it was found that his five hundred buffaloes had also disappeared.

When Erten got up next morning he went to Kepurs and called out to the *wursol* of that place, "*Wursolia, tar türzhodthrska*"[3]—"O *wursol*, is the man up yet?" The *wursol*

[1] To meet this bird going from right to left is a bad omen; if going from left to right, it is a good omen.

[2] I could not find out the exact meaning of this word, but it appeared to be a name for the blood-stained froth which may come from the mouth of a dying man. In a sentence which occurs later the word appears as *pögk* (blood), but my informants were certain that *pug* itself is not blood.

[3] See p. 616.

173 773 776 replied, "*Pülmâv tars pògh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Aroth pun pârs Pâlmän kwark putvai, nadrtivadr*"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wursol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakhudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wursol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk [762] also strangled themselves with *kakhudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pòni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seizâr zon, Kwoten âr zon, Seizâr zon, Terkosh âr zon.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *âr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Taradr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that [735] place were sent to him. Very little is related about the third brother, Elnâkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

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Elnâkhum is said to have built the long wall which still exists at the village of Nòdrs. 173

The story of Kwoten reads very much like that of a man who really lived and was deified after his death. The minute detail with which several of the natural incidents of his life are known might be held to point in this direction, but perhaps more important is the fact that his ring can still be seen, and that his spear was, according to Breeks, in existence not long ago. It looks as if Kwoten was a man who raised Pan from a comparatively insignificant position among the Todas to be one of their chief clans, and was the means of introducing several innovations in Toda custom. It is probable that he was deified after his death, and that some of the incidents of his life have acquired miraculous characters. 773 776 [618]

Kwoto or Meilitars

There was once a man belonging to Melgars who married a woman of Kanòdrs and took her to Melgars. When she became pregnant, the woman was taken by her husband to Kanòdrs. On the way back to Melgars they passed Ushadr, the place where the funeral ceremonies of Melgars men took place. They were standing in front of the funeral hut at that place when the man found a good *twadri* tree,[1] and, cutting three or four sticks from it, brought them to his wife, who stripped the bark from the sticks. While she was doing this, the pains of labour came on, and soon after she gave birth to a gourd (*kem*). Both husband and wife were very much ashamed, and they decided to say that a child had been born and had died, and the man went round to all the villages to say that this had happened and that the funeral would be held at Ushadr. Accordingly they had the *etvainolkedr* (first funeral ceremony) at Ushadr, the gourd being covered with a *putkuli* (cloak), so that it was taken to be the body of a child.

First the buffaloes were caught and killed, and then the supposed corpse was taken to the burning-place, where a fire

[1] Probably the tree or bush from which the material called *twadrinar* is manufactured by the Todas.

●173 773 776 was made and the gourd in its mantle was put on the fire. The fire first burnt the cloak, and when it reached the gourd, this broke into two pieces. One piece became a little baby, a boy, which took a piece of the burnt cloak and went away in the air to Neikhârs, where there is a big tree, under which it alighted. The other piece of the gourd was split into many fragments by the heat of the fire, and some of the fragments were driven with such force that they killed a kite which had come to the funeral. (To this day the kite does not eat the buffaloes at funerals at Ushadr, though it does so at other places.) The father and mother followed the child to Neikhârs, where they found it sitting on the tree.[1] The father and mother said to the child "*Ena, itvâ*"—"My son, come here," and the boy came down and went to them, and was taken away by his parents to Melgars.

As the parents and child were on their way to Melgars they met the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* going from Kòn to Enòdr. At that time the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars used to go with the *ti* buffaloes as far as a place called Irgûdrval, on the way between Kars and Enòdr. A Kars man went with the buffaloes, and he wore on his right wrist a gold bracelet (which is still kept at Kuzhu). At Irgûdrval there is a stone called Pidûtkars, and it was the duty of the man with the bracelet to sit on this stone and to make the Melgars buffaloes pass on the right side, the Kars buffaloes on the left side, and the *ti* buffaloes in the middle. When he had done this, the *palol* prayed at the stone, and then the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars turned back and the *ti* buffaloes went on to Enòdr. When the man and his wife saw the buffaloes coming, they waited near Pidûtkars, and while they were waiting the baby laughed. The father asked the boy, "Why do you laugh?" The boy answered, "I know the *kwarzam*[2]

[1] My informants could not say whether the boy went away in the air as a child or as a kite. The boy often assumed the form of a kite later, and it is tempting to suppose that the assumption of this form by the child was connected with the death of the kite, *i.e.*, that it was a case of transmigration. The fact that the child went away in the air and was found sitting on a tree makes it highly probable that it flew in the form of a kite, but my informants could not say that this was definitely part of the legend.

[2] The *kwarzam* is the name used in prayer (see Chap. X).

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of the *ti* buffaloes, *perner persagun*; I know the *kwarzam* of the Melgars buffaloes, *narsüln natüln nâkh*; also I know the *kwarzam* of the Kars buffaloes, *inâtvidshti inâtvan*; that is why I laugh[illegible] after the buffaloes had gone on to Enòdr, the parents [illegible] and went on their way to Melgars. After they had been at Melgars fifteen days, they noticed that the child grew so rapidly that they could see him getting bigger from day to day, and he was soon grown up. He was called Kwoto.

One day Kwoto went into the buffalo pen and played there with the buffalo-dung, so that he was covered with the dust of the dung. His father rebuked him and was blowing on him to get rid of the dust when the boy changed into a kite and flew away. The next day he resumed human form, but from that time he only stayed in the village at times, and at other times stayed in the woods. This went on for about eight days, and then he refused to take food from the village and became a companion of the gods.

At this time the gods used to hold councils on the slopes below a hill called Tikalmudri. The place where they sat was called Pòlkab. When the gods were holding council at Pòlkab, Kwoto went and sat on the top of the hill Tikalmudri. Then the gods said to one another, "How is it that he sits on the top of the hill while we sit below? It is not at all good." They consulted together and decided to kill him. So three or four of the gods went to Kwoto and said in a cunning way, "We will show you your country" (*i.e.*, the place which should belong to him; each of the gods had his appointed place). So they took him to a steep precipice called Teipâper, and having deceived him that they would show him his country, they threw him down. Kwoto, however, was not killed, but took the form of a kite and flew back to Tikalmudri. Then all the gods were surprised that he was not dead, but decided to try and kill him again, and they took him to the hill Kòdrtho, near Nidrsi, and threw him down. (The hill Kòdrtho was inhabited by the god Kòdrtho.) Kwoto was not killed, but pulled up a bamboo tree with its roots, and flew back and struck Kòdrtho on the head, and Kòdrtho's head split into three pieces. One of these pieces is now the well-known

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hill, the Drug, seen from Coonoor, while the other two pieces are eminences on the ridge running out to the Drug.

Kwoto then returned to Tikalmudri. The gods said, "We cannot kill him; he has some power; let us try his power." So they gave him the following task:

"*Pirivi*	*tirikvâ,*	*pldîr*	*plrickvâ?'*
Low	turn	high	fill?

i.e., "Can he turn the low stream and fill the high stream?" (According to another account the words in which the task was given were, "*Alvoi tiriki, Kalvoi plrsvôka,*" *i.e.*, "Can he turn the stream Alvoi and fill the stream Kalvoi?")

Kwoto then took a huge stone, which may still be seen near Kanòdrs, and put it in the stream so that it flowed upwards. Then the stream begged Kwoto, "We are going upwards according to your order, but it is very difficult for us; we wish to be allowed to go our ordinary way." So Kwoto took away the stone and the stream resumed its natural course.

The gods saw what Kwoto had done and decided to try his power in another way, so they said:

"*Kânîr*	*ît,*	*hutei*	*kurs*	*ûtia?"*
Sun	tie,	stone	chain	can he do?

i.e., "Can he tie the sun with a stone chain?" Kwoto then took a stone chain and tied it to the sun and brought the sun down to Nern, near Kanòdrs, and tied it to a tree. When the sun wanted to drink, Kwoto took it to the stream Kalvoi, from which the sun drank, and there is now to be seen a hole in this stream at the place where the sun drank.[1] Then Kwoto took the sun to a pool surrounded by trees called Nerpoiker, also near Kanòdrs. While the sun was tied in this way, it was dark both in this world and in Amnòdr. Then the people of Amnòdr came to the gods and asked why they allowed Kwoto to do these things, and said that they were now living in thick darkness, and they begged that Kwoto should be allowed to put the sun back in its right place. Then the gods went to Kwoto and asked him to put the sun

[1] This place is close to the spot at which the path from Pishkwosht (Bikkapattinand) to Kodanad crosses a stream soon after leaving the former village.

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back, and they acknowledged that he was a god and the most powerful of the gods. They said that he should no longer be called Kwoto, but that his name should be Meilitars, because he was superior to all the gods; also that he should go "*parnur nòdr, pitnur nòdr*," "to 1,600 places, 1,800 places," *i.e.*, he should not belong to one place only, like the other gods, but should go everywhere.

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Then Meilitars put back the sun in its proper place.

(According to another version, the task of tying the sun was given in the words:

"*K'ònòr*	*di*,	*pirzagun*	*patrôkt?*"
Male buffalo	tie,	sun	can he catch?

The sun was said to have been at this time sitting on the back of a male buffalo, and Kwoto was told to tie the buffalo and catch the sun. According to this account Kwoto first used an iron chain, *kabantagars*, which was melted by the heat of the sun. Next he tried a bronze (?) chain called *kachtagars*, which also melted. Then he used a stone chain, or *karstagars*, which did not melt, and he succeeded in tying the sun with this. This version of the story corresponds with that given by Breeks.)

Kwoto or Meilitars was closely connected with two clans, those of Melgars and Kanòdrs. It is said to be owing to the fact that Kwoto was a Melgars man that Melgars people have the special privileges and duties which are peculiar to that clan. At any rate, this is the view held by the people of Melgars. At Kanòdrs, the name of Kwoto occupies a prominent place in the prayer of the dairy, and several of the special features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs dairy are said to exist in consequence of the many wonderful things which Kwoto had done in its neighbourhood. When new buttermilk has to be made for Kanòdrs, it is made at a place called Kautarmad, far away, because Kwoto made new buttermilk there, and in the ceremony at this place earth is taken from certain places from which Kwoto took it.

Kwoto or Meilitars is the hero of several stories, in none of which does he play a very creditable *rôle*.

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

173 world and Amnòdr. Those who were dead stayed permanently in Amnòdr, but living people could go to visit them
773 and return. One day Punatvan of Kars went with Meilitars
775 to Amnòdr. They stayed there two days and two nights, and then Meilitars came away without Punatvan's knowledge. At that time the people of Kars were living at Nasmiòdr, so Meilitars went to Nasmiòdr and said that Punatvan intended to stop in Amnòdr, and wished the Kars people to perform the funeral ceremonies for him, killing thirty buffaloes. So the Kars people caught thirty buffaloes, the chief one being called Enmon. Round the neck of Enmon were hung the two bells (*wursuli mani*) called Karsod and Kòni. They cut a piece of stick and put it in a *putkuli* to represent the dead body and then killed the thirty buffaloes. As the buffaloes were on their way to Amnòdr, they met Punatvan on his way back. Punatvan asked the chief buffalo, Enmon, "Why do you come here?" Then Enmon told him what Meilitars had done. The man and buffalo put their heads together and cried, and their tears became a pool of water.[1] Then Punatvan took the two bells from the neck of Enmon and sent them back to Nasmiòdr, where they are kept to this day, but he returned to Amnòdr with the buffaloes. Then Ön, the ruler of Amnòdr, ordered that in future no one should return to the world of the living from Amnòdr, and since that day the Todas have not been able to go to and fro between the two worlds as they used to do.

At the present time the people of Keradr have no *ti*. Once
173 they had a *ti* which they lost through the action of Kwoto, who
773 went one day to their dairy at Tìkìrs, near Mòdr, and, hiding
776 the *kaltmokh* in the wood, took his place. When the *palol* milks, it is the duty of the *kaltmokh* to let out the calves and send them to the *palol*. Kwoto did not do this properly, but sent more calves than were required, so the *palol* became angry and took his stick (*kwoinörtpet*) to beat the supposed *kaltmokh*, but the stroke missed and fell on the *palol* himself.

000 Another day the *palol* told Kwoto to pour out the re-

[1] This pool has been converted into the Marlimand reservoir, the source of the water-supply of Ootacamund.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. '1901-02) 1906 Toda

Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the re-

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mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the buttermilk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends smallpox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

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After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

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Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy myself which was correct.

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According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

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[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of
177 the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a
god and said that he would dance before them, and did so
262 like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever
773 he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first
776 and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *teuol*, or diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meilitars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (Panyas), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat the flesh of a calf while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

Other Gods

773 There are very many other deities. Of the following I can
776 give little more than the names.

Atiato is the *nòdrodchi* of the Kwòdrdoni clan and also of Pedrkars. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

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history of the dairy. *Eikisiov* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuudr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground became swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring and is called *kisnîr*. The two following *kwarzam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. *Karstum* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathûmûk when it began to bellow and could not be induced to stop; the people tried to take it back to the pen, but it would not go and died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarzam* are followed by two referring to trees of ceremonial importance—one the tree by which is buried the *mu* on the integrity of which the continuity of the dairy procedure depends, while the other is connected with the sacred bell.

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Then follow the *kwarzam* of a hill on which there are cairns and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarzam* of a different kind. The first refers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi, who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing we have seen that she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the form, "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes with the wand." The last *kwarzam* is that of the calf, from which the ordinary buffaloes or *putitr* of Kuudr are descended, but I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the words, except *nakh*, which is the name of a three-year-old buffalo.

In the Kuudr prayer several of the *kwarzam* refer to incidents of a more or less miraculous nature which are believed to have happened at the village where the prayer is used, while the last *kwarzam* but one refers to one of the chief events of Toda mythology.

It will be noticed that many of the *kwarzam* used in this prayer correspond very closely to the names in ordinary use. Some, such as *keitnòdi* and *teikhkwadiki*, are the same words as those in general use, while others differ from

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234 be mentioned is that the emblems of womanhood, the
784 pounder, sieve, and broom, may be removed from the hut
562 while the dairyman is present, though the women themselves remain.

During certain dairy ceremonials, women must leave the village altogether, and during the passage of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* near the village of Kiudr, the women leave the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

Although women are thus excluded from all participation in the dairy ceremonial, we shall see later (Chapter XIV) that an artificial dairy plays a part in some of the ceremonies connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

History of the Dairy

173 The Todas can give very little information which throws
234 any light on the development of this complex organisation of
778 the dairy with its elaborate ritual. According to tradition, the most sacred dairies, and especially that of the Nòdrs *ti*, date back to the time when the gods were active on earth and were themselves dairymen.

Beyond the belief that buffaloes of different kinds were assigned to the different clans by Teikirzi, I could obtain no account of beliefs about the origin or growth of the other grades of dairy. One fact as to the past which seemed clear was that *ti* dairies were at one time more numerous than at present, and several places now possessing village dairies of the ordinary kind are said to have been at one time the seats of *ti* dairies. Thus it is believed that Kiudr was formerly a *ti* place, and the old weatherworn stones shown in Figs. 31 and 32, which are still called *neurzülnkars*, seem to provide evidence that tradition is here correct. The village of Teidr is said to have been at one time a *ti*, and here again two stones called *neurzülnkars* are to be seen about a quarter of a mile from the village.

There is another feature of the Kiudr dairy which suggests that it may at one time have been a *ti* dairy. It contains six bells called *mani*, which clearly differ in nature from the *mani* of the other village dairies, especially in the fact that they

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are not used at funerals. They are also distinguished as *patatmani* and *ertatmani*, a distinction not met with in any other village dairy. It seems probable that they are the representatives of the two kinds of bells of a *ti*, the *mani* proper and the *kudrsmani*. The *ertatmani* of Kiudr are 'fed' with buttermilk, a procedure not followed, so far as I know, in any other dairy, but it may be that this is a feature of the procedure of the *ti* dairy which escaped me. Certainly the most likely explanation of the existence of these bells at Kiudr is that they are survivals of its former position as a *ti* dairy.

The villages of Kiudr and Teidr both belong to the Teivaliol, and this raises the question whether this division of the Todas may not have possessed *ti* herds and *ti* dairies of their own at one time, and may not always have had to be content with providing dairymen for institutions belonging to the Tartharol. No information could be given on this point, but it seems unlikely that dairies and places belonging to a Tarthar clan should have been handed over to the Teivaliol when they were no longer used as *ti* dairies and *ti* places.

Certain Tarthar villages are also said to have had at one time *ti* dairies, especially the sacred places of Nòdrs and Òdr. This probably means that there is a tradition that the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were at one time kept at these places which, as we have seen, are still visited by the *palol* during his ordination ceremonies.

The process of extinction of *ti* institutions can be seen in progress at the present time. The Nidrsi *ti* is not now in working order; there has been no *palol* for some years and its dairies are unoccupied. It is said that a *palol* would have to be appointed temporarily if it was desired to perform the second funeral ceremonies of a Nidrsi man, but in the present condition of the Nidrsiol, it seems to me not at all unlikely, either that the rule will be disregarded, or that the second funeral ceremonies will not be performed, and that the Nidrsi *ti* will become absolutely extinct, possibly dragging down another institution into extinction with it.

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* is now only active for a short time once every year in order to satisfy a ceremonial requirement of the

173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
782 told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
796 nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony was of great
574 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
796 offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Tentütusthchi* is
783 certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though now it may be performed several times in the year. Even now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

782 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
234 *kwadrthpimi*—*i.e.*, we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death, but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk.

[The Tentütusthchi Ceremony; See pp. 290-291 — Analyst]

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were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed 764
and redistributed to those who had given them. The people 775
told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body 178
over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the 764
objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is 178
now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face down- 764
wards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall[1] and 775
Walhouse[2] thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston and myself the body was put on the fire with the face upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that if this were not done, the dead person would have to make [772]
the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set towards his future abode.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.
[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.

114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same com-
173 pleteness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.
601 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to
551 whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they
784 had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

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into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead. 124 173 601

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure. 551 784 [616]

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect. 124 173 601

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres* 128 601

[1] [pp. 749-788]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Value of the Genealogical Record

In the succeeding chapters I shall show the value of the genealogies in working out the nature of the system of kinship and in providing statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The greater part of my work on the social aspect of the life of the Todas is based on material derived from the genealogies; or perhaps I should rather say that most of the information I give has been checked, if not entirely obtained, by means of the genealogies. 124 173 601

I wish, however, to draw attention here to a far wider use of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. They bring a concrete element into anthropological work which greatly facilitates inquiry. The lower one goes in the social or intellectual scale in mankind, the greater difficulty is there in dealing with abstractions. The savage mind is almost wholly occupied with the concrete. Discuss his laws of inheritance with him, and you probably soon become hopelessly entangled in misunderstanding. Take a number of concrete cases, and his memory will enable him to heap instance upon instance showing how property was inherited in given cases. Similarly, in ceremonies, ask the savage to give an account of a given ceremony, and he probably omits many essential points, not because he forgets them, but because they are so familiar to him that he thinks you, like himself, take them for granted. Ask him to tell you exactly what A and B did when they performed a given ceremony, and he forms a mental picture of A and B going through the ceremony, and tells you exactly what they did and how they did it. When another individual comes into the ceremony, he too comes in as a concrete personage, and his sayings and doings are faithfully recorded.

The Todas are so intelligent that the genealogies were not so essential an instrument of investigation as was the case in Torres Straits, but they were nevertheless of enormous value in giving concreteness to the accounts of the Toda ceremonies. The Todas certainly gave fuller and more faithful accounts of their ceremonies when they described actual events, but such descriptions would have been of little value to me if I had

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

124 not had my pedigrees as a guide. An account of a Toda
173 funeral, for instance, with its many *dramatis personæ* would
601 probably have baffled my powers of comprehension if I had not had my book of genealogies for reference.

I always worked with this book by my side whenever I was investigating any ceremonial in which the social side of life was concerned. I asked for a description of some ceremony recently performed of which the memories were fresh. The chief actors in the ceremony were always mentioned by name; and whenever a name occurred, I looked up the clan and family of the person in question and noticed his relationship to other persons who had taken part in the ceremony. The actors in the ceremony were thus real people to me as well as to my informants, and the account of the ceremony proceeded with the maximum of interest and the minimum of fatigue both to myself and to my informants.

The method had the further advantage that it afforded me the means of checking the accounts which I was given. An informant inclined to be careless soon found that I had the means of checking his narrative on many points; and some of the people, not knowing the source of my information, credited me with more knowledge than I really possessed, and were in consequence extremely careful not to wander from the truth, or perhaps I should rather say, not to tell me anything of which they were not absolutely certain. I have already stated my belief that the Todas are very truthful and that they err far more often from carelessness than intention, but the fact that I had a fund of knowledge of which the source was somewhat mysterious probably saved me from having much of my time wasted by careless or inaccurate information.

123 I think that my familiarity with the names and circum-
124 stances of the people helped me to acquire their confidence. Among the more simple people of Torres Straits, I used sometimes to let a man know, much to his astonishment, that I was acquainted with some of the affairs of his family. Among the more reticent Todas, it seemed to me unwise to do this, but, on meeting for the first time a man with whom I was already acquainted through the genealogies, I often referred to something I knew he had done, perhaps to the skilful

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

way he had caught the buffalo at such and such a funeral, and the fact that I knew something of him and his doings often helped to put us at once on friendly terms, and at the same time put him on his mettle to give me the best of the knowledge at his command.

The Trustworthiness of the Genealogies

Before using the genealogical record as a means of studying the details of the social organisation, it may be well to consider what guarantee we have that the genealogies form a truthful record of the past. In Torres Straits, where I gained my first experience in these matters, I was so incredulous of the accuracy of the record that I obtained almost every particle of information from two or three different and independent sources, and it was only when I had finished that I found the whole mass of material to furnish a record so consistent in itself that it could hardly have been other than veracious.

Further, on investigating kinship and the regulation of marriage, both on the basis of the genealogical record, it was found that the results of one investigation closely corroborated the results of the other, and that the combined investigations gave so consistent and coherent a result that it was incredible that the genealogies on which the investigations were based should have been other than faithful and accurate records.

The Toda community is considerably larger than either of those with which I worked in the islands of Torres Straits, and when I found that the memories of the people extended back as far or nearly as far as in those islands, it became obvious that I was confronted with a task of considerable magnitude, and the question arose whether it was necessary to obtain separate accounts of every family from independent witnesses, as I had done previously, or whether I might not rely on the account of a family given by one witness and only seek corroboration occasionally. I began by following the same procedure as in Torres Straits, but soon found that the accounts obtained independently showed a close

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124 agreement, and I therefore contented myself in my later
128 work with one account, though every now and again I went
173 over a piece of a pedigree with a second witness. When
601 I had finished, the consistency of all the parts of the record with one another seemed to afford conclusive evidence that I had obtained what is, on the whole, a veracious record.

Of course, in so large a mass of material there are mistakes.[1] In one family no doubt a child has been omitted, especially when it died young and had no posterity to make its name important; in another case perhaps a child has been added to a family who was really the offspring of another mother. That there are such mistakes is certain, but they are probably few in number, and I have no doubt that, with one exception to be presently considered, such mistakes as have crept in do not appreciably impair the value of the genealogies as a record of the working of social regulations.

128 There is one deficiency of the record, however, of the
173 existence of which I have little doubt—a deficiency entirely due to my own carelessness. To me the chief interest of the
601 genealogies is that they are a record of the past—a record of the working of social regulations which at the present time may be already affected by the new influences coming into the lives of primitive people all over the world. In my absorption in the records of the past, I have often neglected the present and have omitted to ascertain carefully the children of families at present in process of growth. In several cases I have failed to obtain the names of children of people now living, and I have very little doubt that I have in several or many cases omitted the names of other children of growing families. I had one excuse for this in the fact already mentioned, that I had to obtain my information about a given family from people of some other family. A man would often know all about the members of the given family in the past, but, living perhaps at some distance from the family in question, he was often hazy as to the exact number and names of the children recently born, and it is the record of

[1] For a few cases in which an individual is entered as the child of a man who is known not to be his real father, see p. 534. In such a case I have assigned the child to the parent who is regarded as the legal father by the Todas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

children under five years of age which I know to be deficient. 128 173

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females. 601 161 162

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 ,,	4	7
56—60 ,,	19	9
51—55 ,,	20	17
46—50 ,,	26	21
41—45 ,,	26	18
36—40 ,,	26	27
31—35 ,,	40	25
26—30 ,,	40	33
21—25 ,,	38	28
16—20 ,,	32	31
11—15 ,,	41	20
6—10 ,,	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour- 125 128

125 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the
128 community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the
173 value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of
601 the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

Buffalo Pedigrees

124 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees
173 of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my
234 next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

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which they were reticent, but I am inclined to think that I was 124
told all there was to tell. 173

To a certain extent it is correct to say that the pedigrees
of the buffaloes are preserved, and in the female line only. 234
If any given buffalo were taken as the starting-point, the owner could usually tell me the names of the mother of the buffalo and of the mother's mother, and occasionally I obtained the names of the immediate ancestors in the female line for four generations. Thus, Nertiners of Taradr (24) had a buffalo named Kârstum who was the daughter of Idrsh. Idrsh was the daughter of Persud, who was the daughter of Nerûv, who was the daughter of Kiûd. Another of his buffaloes, Keien, was descended from Koisi, Nerûv, and Kâsimi in the order named.

I could not ascertain that the Todas kept any record of 173
the collateral lines of descent, nor was there, so far as I could 234
find, any idea of kinship between buffaloes descended from the same recent ancestor. Two buffaloes born of the same mother would be known, of course, to be sisters, but no importance seemed to be attached to the relationship.

An obvious reason for the limitation of the pedigrees of the buffaloes to the female line is the fact that only female buffaloes are named, so that there are no means of recording male parentage. We shall see later that among themselves the Todas attach little importance to paternity, and the same indifference is found in their attitude towards their buffaloes. The essential reason for the nature of the record of buffalo-descent is the complete absence of desire to maintain the purity of the breed, even of the most sacred herds, and the complete lack of attention to ties of consanguinity between buffaloes mated together.

The Toda Population

The chapters on kinship and marriage will furnish object- 000
lessons on the method of application of the knowledge derived from the genealogies to the study of social regulations. In the remainder of this chapter I propose to consider various problems connected with population, of biological as well as

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer. 773 674 609 754

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another. 694

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual. 673 688

Suicide

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die." 173 762 152

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die." 177 276 762

The Monegar

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below). 622

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
643

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

In this chapter I propose to give a short account of each of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan. 618

THE TARTHAR CLANS

NÒDRS

The people of Nòdrs owe their special importance to their connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nòdrodchi*, or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed certain special favours on her people. Chief among these is the possession of the Nòdrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact that the Nòdrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nòdrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *tesherst*, is also usually performed at a Nòdrs village. 123 773 618 234 554

of the dairies and priesthood. In 1826 the Rev. James Hough addressed a number of letters to the Bengal Hurkaru, giving an account of the Nilgiris and their inhabitants, and these letters were republished in a book in 1829. A more elaborate and most excellent account of the Todas was given by Captain Harkness in 1832, in a work entitled *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, and since that time very many of those who have visited the Nilgiri Hills have had something to say about the Todas and their ways. As I have already pointed out, these records from the earlier part of last century differ but little from my own, and do not furnish us with any evidence that Toda customs underwent any great change during that century. 114 175

As regards the evidence from Toda tradition, we are in no better case. Several writers have stated that the Todas believe that they came to the Nilgiris from elsewhere, but whenever I made any inquiries on this point I was assured that they had always been on the Nilgiri Hills, the first Toda having been created on the Kundahs in the manner already described. 173 773

It seems most probable that those who have ascribed such traditions to the Todas have been misled by the account of the Kamasòdrolam. These are the people who are believed to have been driven away from Kanòdrs by Kwoten (see p. 195). The Todas have a very sincere belief in the existence of these people, and when I showed one man the frontispiece in Marshall's book, representing a Toda village and its inhabitants, something unfamiliar in the arrangement of the scene made the man think that it must be a picture of the Kamasòdrolam. Any Toda who is asked whether there are other Todas and where they live will at once think of the Kamasòdrolam and will tell of these people, and the story might easily be mistaken for a tradition of their origin.

The Todas are also said to believe in their descent from Ravan, and I was told by one man that they were descended from the Pandavas, but I have little doubt that such beliefs are only recent additions to their mythology.

In studying the origin and history of the Todas we have 173

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 thus no record earlier than three centuries ago, and no traditions of any value, and we are altogether thrown back on the evidence furnished by the manners and customs of the people, their language, and their physical characteristics.

171 Though the manners and customs of the Todas are in many ways unique, or very exceptional, there is a general resemblance between them and those comprised under the general title of Hinduism, and especially with such more popular customs as are described by Mr. Crooke.[1] The great development of the ritual aspect of religion, the importance of ceremonies connected with birth and death, the sacredness of the milk-giving animal, the nature of the system of kinship, the marriage regulations and many other features bear a general, and in some cases a close resemblance to institutions found in India generally, or in certain parts of India.

On the social side these resemblances are perhaps closer than on the religious side. The system of kinship is very similar to that of other parts of Southern India, and, so far as my knowledge goes, to that of India generally. The marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister should marry is found throughout Southern India and probably throughout the Dravidian population of India. The practice of polyandry probably exists scattered here and there throughout India, and has undoubtedly existed in recent times in Malabar. The practice of the *mokhthoditi* union between man and woman has also close analogies in Malabar.

On the religious side the high development of the dairy ritual, so far as I know, stands alone, but the customs connected with birth and death have many resemblances to practices followed in other parts of India, though this resemblance is general only and usually breaks down on going into detail.

Thus in Brahmanic ritual there are several ceremonies prescribed at different stages of pregnancy, and some Indian tribes or castes have pregnancy ceremonies peculiar to themselves, but I do not know of any tribe or caste except that

[1] *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India.* London, 1896.

171 the leaf-stalk of the same plant is used. In Coorg the imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of the newly born child, but this custom is not widely removed from that of the Todas in which the bow and arrow is put into the hand of the mother shortly before the child is born.

[173] The Todas know the people of Coorg, which they call Kwûrg, and have a tradition of an invasion of their hills by these people, but it is very improbable that there has been any direct borrowing, and it seems more likely that some of the customs of the Todas and Coorgs have had a common source.

171 The resemblance with the customs of Coorg are perhaps more striking than with those of Mysore, and the former 174 region is much more likely to have been influenced by Malabar than the latter. The links with Coorg do not weaken, and perhaps even strengthen, the conclusion that the Todas owe much to Malabar.

144 If we accept provisionally the view that the Todas migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar, we are next 174 confronted with the problem as to whether they are directly derived from any of the races now living in that district. The most diverse views have been held by those who have considered the racial affinities of the Todas. Leaving on one side the conjectures of those who have supposed them to be Scythians, Druids, Romans, or Jews, we find that the Todas have been supposed by several writers to be of Aryan or Caucasic origin. De Quatrefages[1] grouped the Todas with the Ainus of Northern Japan and Keane[2] follows him in putting the two peoples together, and regards both as witnesses to the widespread diffusion of Caucasic races in Asia. Deniker[3] suggests that they belong to the Indo-Afghan race, with perhaps an admixture of the Assyroid race.

Previous writers have found no special reason to link the customs of the Todas with those of Malabar, and, so far as I am aware, no one has considered how far the Todas may be of the same race as any of the inhabitants of

[1] *Histoire générale des Races Humaines*, Paris, 1889, Introduction, p. 469.
[2] *Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 418.
[3] *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 412.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

remain in their pristine barbarous state; innocent even of written characters; and there are said to be several other minor dialects or corruptions belonging to small sylvan families holding unimportant geographical positions in the Drâvidian area. CHAP. I. 102 197

Remnants of the ejected Kôls are shown on the eastern limits, and Âryanised peoples are closed in on the entire northern boundary.

The Rev. Dr. Pope, in his contribution to this book,[12] gives it as his opinion that the Toda language was originally old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. He thinks that the language has dwindled to a mere skeleton, as a result of isolation and consequent degeneration of the people. 197

The early Indian history of the Todas has been as completely lost as that of the long protracted period which preceded their migration to the Dekkan. 173

We know, indeed, with a tolerable degree of certainty, both from their own legends and from those of neighbouring tribes, that until the last few hundred years they inhabited a jungle tract of inferior hills situated between the Kanarese and Tamilian districts, in the direction of Hâsanûr; which, on E. longitude 77° 20′ and N. latitude 11° 45′ form portion of the Eastern Ghats. And that they then divided into two or more parts, of which one settled in a northerly direction, near Kôlegâll, and the other migrated or was driven in the direction of the Nilagiri Mountain;[13] the greater number 101 131 173

[12] Vide Chapter XXIX., 'Outlines of the Tuḍa Grammar.'

At the time of recording this opinion, Dr. Pope had not had opportunity of perusing any portion of my descriptions of Toda life. Had he done so, it is possible he might have modified his views. I, who judge the Todas physically and through their antique customs and practices, fail to discover any degeneracy in the people; rather regarding them as not only without evidence of having been better, but with little appearance of having been materially different from what they now are, within any period whose length may be fixed or even approximated.

[13] Mr. Metz, who obtained this information from the Todas, is my authority for this paragraph.

CHAP. I.

settling on its very topmost plateau, where we now find them, whilst a small remnant, winding behind its north-western slopes, remained on one of the lower plateaus, called the Wynâd.

This modern place of Toda residence is an isolated mountain, upwards of seven thousand feet above sea level, upreared on E. longitude 76° 45′ and N. latitude 11° 20′, amidst the plains of South India—the gigantic and sudden culmination of the minor mountain-chain system, called the Eastern and Western Ghats, which there meet.

These, their last movements, having been very small and of minor importance, I have included their past and their present places of residence in one area, marked VI. on the map.

Not only the summit of the Nilagiris, but the tops of the minor rounded eminences thereon, are studded with kairns, raised for the reception of ashes of the dead, by a race whose history has been so completely lost that not a tradition even of it remains. On the same plateau are also a few kromlechs, also many deserted circles of stones, situated near streams of running water; some manifestly constructed for pounding cattle, others, with equal certainty, not made for that purpose —being in exposed situations and having rocky beds.

These erections undoubtedly do not belong to the Todas, who not only do not regard them with reverence, but assert that they were of a people antecedent to themselves on the mountain. Moreover they are found in many parts of the Indian peninsula and of Western India. But I may do service in drawing attention to points in which the cremation customs of this unknown race are those of the Todas, and to those in which they differ from them.

In brief, we find, from relics exhumed from kairns, that their owners made use of the horse: that they practised agriculture, holding the buffalo in high esteem, and burying its bell with the manes of the deceased. We learn that they were acquainted with the use of the spear, bow and arrow:

284 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is
234 such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
788 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful, more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family
778 and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

554 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinnisven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 791

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pōjāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pōjāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Varakāl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tūr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tūr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *naralu*, *mathu*, or *kam* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 996 621 173

The institution is *Mānāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting. 944

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Parakārk*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pekkan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*ken*), the *Parakārk* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālthoki*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and 533 531

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mānāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
765 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that
174 of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Asārams*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bētikhān,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
411 are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pūtkuli, tharp, kōsu, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tēr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

the principle of the "Universal Alphabet" proposed by Dr. Lepsius.* The actual adoption of Lepsius's system seems to me undesirable, because the great number of sounds it comprises, and the consequent complexity of diacritical signs used, are not requisite for Indian vocabularies, and would be unnecessarily bewildering to amateur compilers.

I would suggest that the Government of Madras, for instance, should endeavour to obtain the services of such men as Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Pope, and Mr. Metz, to draw up a table of signs which should represent all the sounds to be found in the different dialects of the Presidency. This list might be then forwarded to the other Provinces, in order that philologists there might add letters expressive of any sounds in Northern languages which are not found in the Dravidian dialects. When a general alphabet had been agreed upon, it should be sent to every district as the basis for vocabularies of the ruder and less known dialects. If the vocabularies thus formed, were again submitted to competent philologists for correction of the orthographical errors, into which ignorance of derivation might lead compilers, they would afford a reliable basis for the comparative philology of India.

The vocabulary in the Appendix is simply an attempt to render correctly, with due regard to derivations, the sounds of certain words in the Hill dialects; it has no pretensions to anything more.†

The Todas have hardly a tradition or legend of any sort from which information as to their former condition can be obtained. They believe that their ancestors always inhabited these hills, that is (for their ideas on the subject seem chiefly negative) they have no knowledge or belief of their having migrated from elsewhere. Mr. Metz thinks the Todas came from the neighbourhood of Kāligāl (Collegāl), because he has often been asked for news of the relatives, who, they believe, still reside there. I cannot find, however, that any Todas are now known in that neighbourhood. Mr. Minchin informs me that there are three colonies of Todas in Wainād, one at Dēvāla, and two on the eastern slopes of the Neliyālam Peak range. Those at Dēvāla, he says, reside in houses of bamboo, built with gable ends, like the huts of the Paniers, and occasionally work as house-builders for the bazaar people, but live chiefly by the sale of ghee and milk. They are Peikis, and say that they left the Nīlagiris sixty years ago to find a better sale for their produce. This account of themselves is confirmed by the fact, that within my own knowledge the dry funeral of two of them has been celebrated at the funeral mand of the Peikis near Ootacamund.

Little more information is to be derived from foreign sources. The Badagas are said to have come to the hills in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, *i.e.*, about three centuries ago; but their songs and stories depict the Todas much as we see them now. I think, however, we may infer that the latter were more numerous, from the fact of their having been able to exact the *gūdu* in the first instance, whereas now, with all the help afforded by long custom, they have at times difficulty in collecting it. Moreover, there are still traces to be found of old mands

* Such an alphabet is not open to the objections which historians and geographers urge with much reason against every method of transcribing names of places and other well-known oriental words which will render them unintelligible to the ordinary reader, because it is simply wanted for philological purposes.

† I believe that since the above was written the Government of India have authoritatively prescribed a system of transliteration, how obtained I do not know.—*Editor.*

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
773 from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he
173 enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
773 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
776 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pâltchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute emuneration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,* and Nâtanéri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
773 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Môttinâd mund, near the top of the Segûr Ghât. † To the right of the Creornand road.

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriaris*. They themselves became *Pālāls*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āsāram*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnâd Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Âmunâd*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Âmunâd*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Âmunâd*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kinisven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
● 173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of
771 which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

797

* *Pūjā*, worship.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf [648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded, the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter- [765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over [775] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that "it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed, and are available for use another time. This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas them- [173] selves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man [763] supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

of this, the rule was made that the body should always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

764 [763] [173] 764 786 [196] [191]

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near

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12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the toɪtjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[24] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjuɪr (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister ezog (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[25] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[24] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's toɪtjfoj-oɪj. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Maknɪv (Makner), wife of tulkɪrõj of the noɪŋ patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tõõfurɪ (Tevõ), looked like his mother's toɪtjfoj-oɪj, nobus of the piɪtoɪj patrilineal sib (Nabus, 64), also called kwɪtj (he reared the children after tulkɪrõj died). In a quarrel tõõfurɪ might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobus-mox "son of nobus" or kwɪtj-mox "son of kwɪtj," or as nobus or kwɪtj.

[25] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇiṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (Biṭṭiga Hoysala Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeevaram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, On, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

618 621 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name from the chief of these villages, the *etudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

101 174 616 618 The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad, and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol, Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 361 621 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

846 suggested is the most probable one; but this can only be con-
234 jecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have
853 now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

788 The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however,
174 has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *än*. As we shall see later, the *än* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madtuni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *än* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

000 A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

764 called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring
234 the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the reli-
793 gious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the *wursol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

764 The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because
171 it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion
174 with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

764 It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that
174 the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen.

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kazun* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kazun*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.[1] That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies.

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tersamptpimi*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolkedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be

[1] In Teitnir's lament for Pidrvan (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kars *kazun*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kazun*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Possibly the Todas may have some clear ideas about the connexion between their bells, gods, and dairies, but I could not discover them, and am inclined to believe that the people are now very hazy about the exact place of the bell and the god in their theology. 771 778 534

It was quite clear that they believed an offence against the dairy was punished by the gods, and I cannot say definitely that in this case the bell may not have been personified as a god, but I do not think that this was so.

It seems to me probable that the present sanctity of the bell has come about by a process of transference[1] from the buffalo to the object worn by it. Probably at one time the buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be at present. There is evidence that even in recent times the bell-cow or buffalo which carried the bell was an object of especial veneration. In such books as those of Harkness and Marshall, the bell-cow seems to occupy a more prominent position than, so far as I could tell, it occupies at present. 234 778 534 174 771

In the present day the *mani* of the *ti* is only hung on the neck of a buffalo at the migration from one *ti mad* to another and at the Nòdrs *ti*, only for a few minutes even then. At the village dairy, the *mani* is never, so far as I could tell, put on the neck of a buffalo except at the funeral ceremonies. The idea in the latter case seems to be that a sacred buffalo should wear its bell, and in order that the buffalo slaughtered at a funeral should go to Amnòdr with its bell, the *mani* is hung on its neck while it is being killed. The legend of Kwoto and Punatvan shows that the bells are believed to travel to Amnòdr with the buffaloes.

The following may be suggested as a sketch of the probable evolution of the sanctity of the bell. At one time the buffaloes were the chief sacred objects of the Todas. Then this sanctity was concentrated in the persons of the bell-buffaloes, and later became partially attached to the bells, and the Todas then probably reached a stage in which it was doubtful how far the sanctity of the bell-buffalo was due to its position

[1] As we have already seen (p. 243) there is some reason to think that there has been example of such transference of sanctity to an object in the case of the *mu* or buried dairy vessel.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is
778 possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea
in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas.
534 We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more
174 and more attached to the bell, less and less to its
771 possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

Relics

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

The Buffalo and its Milk

234 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies
778 we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

825 As we have seen (p. 417), there is a belief that a man who fails in the performance of certain sacred duties may be killed by a tiger, but the Todas do not appear to fear this animal except on behalf of their buffaloes, and I could only learn of one case in which a Toda had been killed, and as his name was not known it must have occurred very long ago, or may have been altogether mythical.

The Jackal.—I was told by my interpreter that he had seen the Todas saluting a jackal, but I did not hear of any beliefs associated with the practice.

825 262 174 *The Sambhar.*—The most interesting point in connexion with this animal is the fact that the Todas are undoubtedly permitted to eat its flesh. Kutadri, who was most scrupulous in his obedience to the customs of his people, had no reluctance in eating sambhar flesh, and when he had fallen ill soon after, he never thought of ascribing his illness to what was probably its real cause, which shows clearly that there could have been no idea that he had done anything forbidden or unorthodox.

The fact that the Todas may eat the flesh of the sambhar while taking that of no other animal, except ceremonially, might well be looked upon as an indication that there may at one time have been totemic restrictions on food. In their earlier homes, before they reached the Nilgiri Hills, it is probable that the sambhar was an unknown animal, and could not therefore have been a totem. Consequently, when they came to the Nilgiris, they would have found there an animal on the eating of the flesh of which there were no restrictions, and the absence of restriction would, on this hypothesis, have continued to the present day. The eating of sambhar flesh would be the proverbial exception that proves the rule.

[224] It seems to me possible, however, that there is a different reason for the absence of any prohibition. The Todas have no weapons with which they could kill a sambhar, and if this animal is ever killed by Kotas or Kurumbas, the mere fact that it had been killed by these people would probably be a sufficient reason why the Todas should not eat its flesh.

It is possible that it is only since the advent of Europeans

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174 to the Nilgiris, and the extensive slaughter of sambhar which
262 followed it, that the Todas have thought of eating the flesh of this animal, and as no prohibition against the eating of its
825 flesh has been handed down to them, they have no reluctance in satisfying in this way the liking for animal food which the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony keeps in existence, if it does not actually stimulate it.

231 *The Cat.*—This animal, which is called *koti* or *kwoti*, is
825 domesticated by the Todas. The cat is mentioned in the legend of the tiger recorded in this section, and the earliest writers on the Todas speak of them as keeping these animals. I have seen them on the walls of the dairies, and believe that they are allowed to go wherever they please. The only occasion on which they come into ceremonial is at the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, where the spleen is specially put aside to be given to the cat, and is on this account called *kwotinerûf*.

The dog occurs in the story of Kwoten and several other animals are mentioned in the prayers and incantations, chiefly as sources of danger to the buffaloes. In the incantation for the relief of headache given on p. 265, the names of many animals are uttered, probably with the intention that their heads may acquire the pain which is being charmed away from the head of the sufferer.

Trees and Plants

778 The most sacred tree of the Todas is undoubtedly the *tudr*
824 (Fig. 58). This name is given by the Todas to two species, *Meliosma pungens* and *M. wightii*, the two trees resembling one another closely.

The bark is largely used in the dairy ceremonial, and especially in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol* and other dairymen drawn from the Teivaliol and Melgarsol. Its use is especially connected with the people of these sections of the Toda community, but the rest of the Tartharol undergo a ceremony at the second funeral in which *tudr* is used, and this was said to have the purpose that every Toda should be purified with *tudr* before he enters on the future life.

A log and leaves of *tudr* are also used in the ceremony of

776 process of transference of sanctity from the buffalo to the
778 object worn by it, and I think it not unlikely that this transference may have reached its full development in comparatively recent times.

If my view be accepted, it would still leave open the *religious status of the buffalo*, and especially of the bell-buffalo, and here, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to me probable that the buffalo was never regarded as a god in the same sense in which this word is used for the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops. In the oldest legends, in which the buffaloes spoke like men, it is clear that they were in subjection to the gods, and were in no way regarded as themselves divine.

776 Some writers on the Todas have supposed that the *palol* is regarded as a god, but at the present time it is certain that
793 he is in no way divine. He is treated with respect, but nothing of the nature of worship or adoration is paid to him. His position among the Todas is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity. That his isolation is not a sign of divinity is, I think, shown by the results of infringement of his isolation. If the *palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches incurs no penalty. The sacrilege, according to Toda ideas, would attach not to him, but to the *palol* who, in spite of being touched, should persist in performing the duties of his office.

174 Whether the *palol* may ever have been more sacred in the past I cannot say. An indication that he may at one time
776 have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special
793 clauses of the Kiudr prayer which are uttered on the occasion of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*. Here the *kwarzam* of the *palol* is *eupalol*, which stands for *teupalol*, or "god palol," but in the next *kwarzam* the same prefix is given to his garment, the *tuni*, and I have little doubt that these *kwarzam* simply refer to the sanctity which attaches to the *palol* and his garment as part of the sacred institution of the *ti*. There is no doubt, however, that, according to tradition, the gods held the office of *palol* and that the *palol* of the

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Nòdrs *ti* is the direct successor of the god Ön, but to whatever extent Ön may have passed on his divine character to his immediate successors, there is little doubt that at present the *palol* has lost any divinity which may at one time have been ascribed to him. 174 776 793

It is very difficult to ascertain how far at the present time, according to Toda belief, the gods intervene in human affairs. Each clan is believed to have its *nòdrodchi*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nòdrodchi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler. Thus Teipakh is connected with both Piedr and Kusharf, Atioto with both Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, while Etepi, who is the *nòdrodchi* of Keradr, and Kuzkarv, the *nòdrodchi* of Keadr, are almost certainly one and the same deity. In the two latter cases a Tarthar clan has the same god as a clan of the Teivaliol. 776

Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nòdrodchi* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo. The Todas certainly believe that misfortunes are due to the anger of the gods. It is clear that the various offerings described in Chapter XIII are piacular and propitiatory. They are designed to atone for wrong done and to avert any future evil consequences of the offence which has been committed. 776 782

The power of the gods is believed to show itself in various ways. In several cases dairies have been disused because the dairymen have died in office, and this was said to have happened because the gods of those places were severe. It was apparently believed that they had visited infringements of the laws regulating dairy ritual with death.

The various misfortunes which befell different members of the community as the result of my visit were all ascribed to the anger of the gods. Again, the untoward incidents of the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 391) were ascribed to the anger of the gods because there had been an infringement of funeral custom. These and other cases show clearly that

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them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *unrsol* goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. Probably the behaviour of the *kaltinokh* in the sleeping hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous custom. 183 771 784

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them, may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration of religion. 771 182 788

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were 182 771 174

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174 absent in the new country. At the same time, it is perhaps
182 not without significance that the Todas are allowed to eat the
771 flesh of the sambhar. In their former home, in the low country, it is almost certain that this animal would not have been a totem, and therefore it would be natural that on their reaching the Nilgiris they might be permitted to eat it.[1]

771 It is doubtful how far the Todas have an idea of a supreme
776 god. At the present time they speak of and constantly appeal to Swami, and they will say that Swami is above all the gods, but I have very little doubt that this is a recent idea. Swami was chiefly spoken of and reverenced by the younger men, and it is quite clear that the name should not properly occur in the formulæ of any Toda ritual. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that the idea is old. It is probable that at one time there existed direct appeal to gods in the Toda prayer, and this direct appeal may have been to some supreme being who was addressed as Swami.

Apart from this question of the meaning of Swami, two deities stand out from the remainder of the Toda gods. One of these is Meilitars, whose cunning was able to deceive the gods, and who was able to perform miracles which were regarded as beyond the powers of the other gods. His story seems to show one way in which a god might rise above his fellows, and might become a supreme god, but this has certainly not happened in his case. There is not the slightest evidence to show that Meilitars is in any way worshipped as a supreme god. There is a much stronger case for the supremacy of the goddess Teikirzi. Teikirzi is said to be the foundress of many of the Toda institutions; the final explanation of all things in the Toda mind is that "it is the will of Teikirzi." She is said to be all-pervading, and

[1] I do not wish to lay any stress on this argument, for, as I have already indicated, it is possible that the eating of sambhar is a recent innovation, which has arisen since the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiris. Also I do not wish to indicate by the above that I commit myself to a belief in the universality of totemism as a stage in religious development. I only wish to point out that if this has been so, the Todas furnish a good case in which we might expect all traces of this descent to have disappeared or to have become so blurred and scanty as to be of little value.

587 however, from the account already given, that polyandry is still
595 strongly established among the Todas. Still, there are a few cases in the genealogies which seem to show that when two brothers had different wives, and one brother died, the widow might be taken by the surviving brother. Thus, in Table 34, two brothers, Matovan and Kemners, had one wife, Sargveli, while Atcharap had his own wife, Puners. When Matovan died, Sargveli was regarded as the wife of both Atcharap and Kemners.[1] Again, after the deaths of Mulpolivan and Peigvan (3), the widow of Nersveli was married by Perol, the clan-brother (first cousin) of the husband.

In other cases, the widow of one brother has not become the wife of her husband's brothers, but has married elsewhere; and though the evidence is necessarily very unsatisfactory, it seems on the whole probable that the Todas show no special relation between polyandry and the Levirate custom.

If the widow marries a man who is not one of the brothers of her dead husband, the new husband has to pay a certain number of buffaloes. He does not, however, give these buffaloes to the brothers of the dead man, but to his children; thus, when Karnisi of Päm (37) died, his widow, Nersaveli, married Mutthuvan (34) of Kanòdrs, who paid fourteen buffaloes to Pungievan, the son of Karnisi. This payment of buffaloes is known as *terkudrichti*, "compensation he gives," and it is the custom for the number of buffaloes in this case to be twice the number given by the dead man for his wife; in this case Karnisi had taken Nersaveli from another man for seven buffaloes.

In relation to the Levirate, the important point here is that the buffaloes are paid to the sons of the dead husbands, not to his brothers.

174 I do not think that the Todas provide any definite evidence
847 towards the solution of the vexed question of the relation
595 between polyandry and infanticide. It is possible that at their first arrival in the Nilgiri Hills, the Todas had few sources of food, and had a severe struggle for existence; that

[1] It will be noticed that I am using the term 'Levirate' in a wider sense than that in which it is sometimes employed, for Sargveli was not a childless widow.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

they therefore adopted the practice of female infanticide, and that polyandry followed as a consequence. At the present and during recent times there has certainly been no economical motive for infanticide, and I am very doubtful whether it has ever existed. I think it far more probable that the Todas brought the practice of polyandry with them when they came to the Nilgiris; but if this view should be adopted, there is still no evidence to show whether they also brought infanticide with them, or whether this custom developed owing to the fact that polyandry diminished the need for female children.

POLYGYNY

In the last section we have seen that there is a tendency for the polyandry of the Todas to become combined with polygyny. Two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule the two men have the two wives in common. In addition, polygyny of the more ordinary kind exists among the Todas, and is probably now increasing in frequency, as one of the results of the diminished female infanticide.

One example of polygyny is the marriage of Kuriolv (56) with two wives, one of about the same age as himself, the other a young wife whom he shares with Onadj (57). In another case Odrkurs (1), has two wives, the second wife being a young girl recently married in the hope of obtaining a son (see p. 550).

There is one example of polygyny in the genealogies in which a young boy, Mokudr of Nidrsi (42), has two wives, both young girls. He has been doubly married in order that he may get rid of one of his wives by the *tererstbi* custom and so become rich. He has been married to two wives in order that he may sell one.

When a man or a group of men have more than one wife, the two wives usually live together at the same village, but sometimes they live at different villages, the husband or husbands moving about from one village to the other.

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Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *kodtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral placed must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 178

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

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764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177 The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives
796 its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
● 174 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
178

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

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the Todas were so much isolated that their only iron was that of the tips of their arrows.

The bow and arrow are also mentioned in the legend of

FIG. 67 (FROM BRIGGS).—THE FIRST MAN ON THE LEFT IS HOLDING A BOW AND ARROW; THE SECOND A CLUB (PROBABLY THE 'NANMAKUD') IN HIS RIGHT HAND, AND THE 'TADRI' IN HIS LEFT; THE THIRD MAN IS CARRYING A CLUB, AND THE FOURTH MAN IS PLAYING THE 'BUGURI.'

Kwoten. Teikuteidi was killed by an arrow shot by a lame man who lay down when he shot. It is possible that this legend points to an ancient custom of shooting the bow and arrow by means of the legs.

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at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common. 762

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas. 177 754 787

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the Nilgiri Hills. Breeks[1] states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes. 177 174

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

Todas and Kotas

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kuv*. The relation between the two people is very different from that between Toda and [101] 177

[1] P. 4.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

rubs it on the heads of the two Kota priests, who prostrate themselves, one at each foot of the Toda, and the Toda prays as follows:— 177 609 796

Ullamâ;	*Kôv*	*erdm*	*tânenmâ;*	*kadr*	*pelumâ;*
May it be well;	Kotas	two	may it be well;	fields	flourish may;

mâ un mâ;	*ir*	*kar*	*mâ,*	*nôv*	*podr*	*mâ.*
rain may;	buffalo	milk	may,	disease	go	may.

The Toda then gives the two *mu* containing the clarified butter to the Kota priests, and he and his companions return home.

This ceremony is obviously one in which the Todas are believed to promote the prosperity of the Kotas, their crops, and their buffaloes.[1]

In another ceremonial relation between Todas and Kotas, the Kwòdrdoni *ti* is especially concerned. The chief annual ceremony of the Kotas is held about January in honour of the Kota god Kambataraya. This ceremony lasts about a fortnight, and, during part of the time, the proceedings are attended by Todas and other of the hill tribes. In order that this ceremony may take place, it is essential that there should be a *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, and at the present time this *ti* is only occupied every year shortly before and during the ceremony. The *palol* gives clarified butter to the Kotas, which should be made from the milk of the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the *ti*. Some Kotas of Kotagiri whom I interviewed claimed that these buffaloes belonged to them, and that something was done by the *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti* in connexion with the Kambataraya ceremony, but they could not or would not tell me what it was.

The relations between Todas and Kotas are probably of very old standing. The fact that the Kotas supply the bow and arrows burnt at a Toda funeral suggests that the connexion goes back to the time when the Todas used these weapons, while the special sieve supplied by the Kotas for a funeral is of a different pattern from that in use at the present 177 174

[1] The Kotas are agriculturists as well as mechanics, and, according to Breeks, they are quite as efficient as the Badagas in this occupation. They also keep buffaloes, though chiefly or entirely for their own use.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 time. The Kotas are mentioned in Toda legend. The
174 people of Tizgudr play a prominent part in the story of
773 Kwoten (p. 195), and this deity is said to have been the first Toda who stayed at a Kota village, viz., at the village of Kulgadi (or Gudalur). He sat and slept on the Kota *tiin* and since that time the Todas have stayed at this village, though they will not stay at any other. The relation between Kwoten and the Kotas seems to have been especially close. The old woman, Muturach, from whom the present people of Kanòdrs are descended, according to the legend, may have been a Kota. The Kotas who give tribute to the Todas are known as their *muʃtu* Kotas, and the first part of the old woman's name may have been this word.

Our acquaintance with Kota mythology is too scanty to contribute much to our knowledge of the relations between the two peoples. Breeks states that Kurguli (Padagula) is the oldest of the Kota villages, and that the Badagas believe that the Kotas of this village were made by the Todas. At Kurguli there is a temple of the same form as the Toda dairy, and this is said to be the only temple of the kind at any Kota village.

Breeks gives a legend which records the origin of the different foods of the Nilgiri tribes. Kambataraya, perspiring profusely, wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and out of these formed the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to live principally upon milk, the Kurumbas were permitted to eat the flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas were allowed perfect liberty, being informed that they might eat carrion if they could get nothing better. My interpreter, Albert, was told a different version of this legend, according to which Kambataraya gave to each people a pot. In the Toda pot was calf-flesh, and so the Todas eat the flesh of calves (*i.e.*, at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony); the Kurumba pot contained the flesh of a male buffalo, so this is eaten by the Kurumbas. The pot of the Kotas contained the flesh of a cow-buffalo, which may, therefore, be eaten by this people.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were
773 deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

174 In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the
177 Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and
773 this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

TODAS AND IRULAS

101 The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and
177 have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by
609 the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among
754 the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

177 The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection
773 of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tên* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 9).

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident
616 reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
796 differences between the two divisions may be regarded as secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual
174 and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
184 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived
192 from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the
197 interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened. 174 184

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:— 192 197

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*ktrstrgi*
Basket	*tôdri*	*putukîri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tôdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdiknnm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kônipun*
A dairy vessel	*iat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pôditch*	*pôtch*
Comb	*tîrkhli*	*siekhkîli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pôdri*	*idrnpôdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkôni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkôni*
Mushroom	*kitîn*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipôti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kulpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*telikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

616

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself —that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *pîli*. 184 194 616

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes
184 which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful
616 kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
775 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by
621 their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
616 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Toda clans take their names, the Tarthar villages being in Roman type and those of the Teivaliol in italics. I have omitted the chief villages of those clans which I know to have arisen in recent times by splitting off from other clans, and I have included two villages of which I can only give the approximate positions. These are Piedr and Kwshard, which are now rarely occupied, and are situated off the main plateau, near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I also give

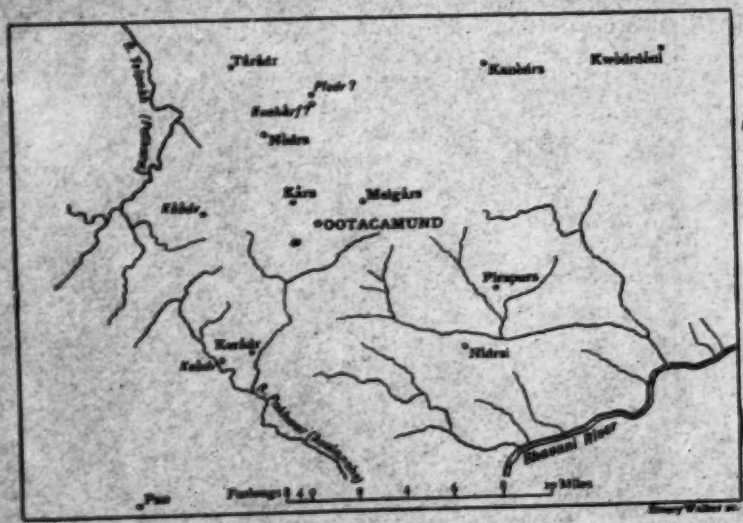

FIG. 73.

Pirspurs, the old *etudmad* of the Pämol. In Fig. 74 I give a second plan, showing the positions of all the villages which I know to be ancient, either because they possess sacred dairies or because they are mentioned in legend.

It will be seen that the greater part of the hills is occupied by the Tartharol, while the Teivali villages lie chiefly in the north-west part of the hills. The chief exception is the village of Keadr, which is situated some way south of the rest.

If, in coming to the hills, the Todas followed the routes now supposed to be traversed by the dead, the position of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference
616 in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

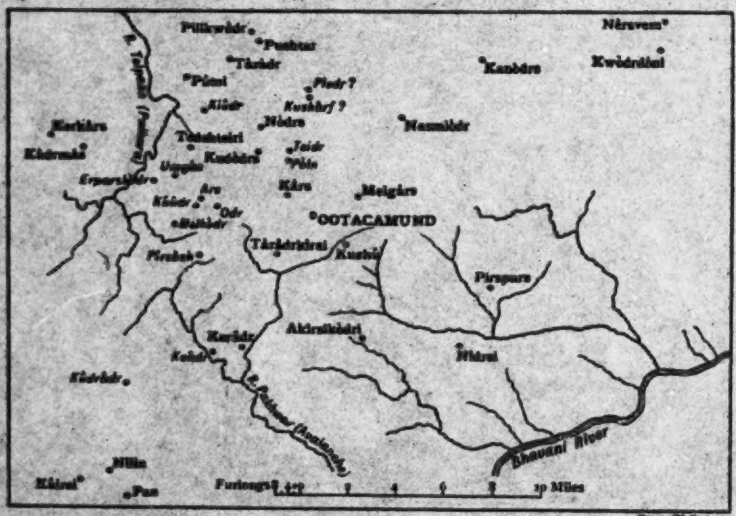

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnòdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a com-
616 munity, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards of the community. At the present time the majority of the
791 *teuol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other. 184 616 791

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills. 174 184 616

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out some interesting differences between the two divisions. The data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1] would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol. 174 184 616 847 177

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 and the greater freedom from external influence is probably
177 an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide
616 among them at present, though it will not explain the greater
847 prevalence in the earlier generations.

184 The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.

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171 used by the Tartharol. The Nairs of Malabar have a ceremony at the ninth month called *pulikuti*, in which the woman drinks tamarind (*puli*) juice which has been poured over a knife by her brother.[1] The Toda word for the sour taste is *pülchiti*, derived from tamarind, and I have suggested that the name *pülpali* may mean 'tamarind dairy,' and be a survival of community between the Toda ceremony and that of Malabar.

171 I have now enumerated a number of points in which there is a close resemblance between the customs of the Todas and 174 those of the people of Malabar. In some cases, as in that of the cloth ceremony of the funeral, the resemblance is so close that we seem almost bound to seek its explanation either in identity of origin or in borrowing. We may be confident that if there has been any borrowing from the inhabitants of Malabar, it has not been recent, and we may also be fairly confident that the physical barrier in the past must have prevented any but the most infrequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the Nilgiri plateau and those of Malabar. If we attach any significance to the resemblances I have indicated, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that the Todas at some time lived in Malabar and migrated to the Nilgiri Hills, and it remains to inquire whether there are any other facts in favour of this view.

174 On one line of evidence I cannot speak with any authority, but I strongly suspect that there is a very close resemblance 197 between the Toda language and Malayalam.

I think there is little doubt that the Toda language is much more nearly allied to Tamil than to Canarese, and I believe that the contrary opinion of Dr. Pope was due to the inclusion in his material of many words borrowed by the Todas from their Canarese-speaking neighbours, the Badagas. Malayalam is closely allied to Tamil, differing from it chiefly in its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and in the large number of Sanscrit derivatives,[2] and I should like to make the suggestion, for the consideration of Dravidian philologists,

[1] *Madras Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 242.

[2] Cf. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 23.

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that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 775

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 was larger than it is at present, and it is tempting to suppose
174 that we have here evidence of the route of the Toda migration.
361 There are, however, facts which make it improbable that this clue is of any value. If the villages about Gudalur had been survivals of the migration they would almost certainly have been sacred villages, but it was quite clear that they had no sanctity whatever and were not even saluted when seen from a distance. Unfortunately I did not visit Kavidi, the only village which remains, and if I had done so I might have discovered some evidence of sanctity and antiquity, but from what I was told it is very unlikely that any such evidence exists. This absence of sanctity is further in agreement with the traditions of the Todas, who say that the settlement at Gudalur is recent. There are, however, other facts which point to an ancient connexion of the Todas with this district. Some of the buffaloes of the most sacred and ancient Nòdrs *ti* are said to have come from Perithi in the Wainad, and the Taradrol, in many ways an exceptional Toda clan, are said to have their own future world or Amnòdr at this place.

174 It will thus be seen that, in addition to the points of similarity in custom and belief, there are definite facts pointing
487 to connexion with Malabar, and if we suppose that the Todas migrated from this district we have next to conjecture the path by which they travelled. If any importance is attached to the belief in the paths taken by the dead, we should regard it as the most probable view that the Todas travelled over the Kundahs, the two divisions of the people travelling by slightly different routes. The Toda tradition that men were created on the Kundahs is perhaps in favour of this route, which would seem to correspond with the road to the Nilgiris known as the Sisipara Ghat. If, on the other hand, we attach importance to the settlement at Kavidi, the route followed would be that through Gudalur. At the present time the latter road is far the easier of the two, and, if the Todas had travelled during the last few years, it would have been the natural road by which to come, but it does not appear that there was any essential difference in the difficulties of the two routes before the roads were made. The evidence in favour of either route is very scanty, but if the Todas came from

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Malabar it is probable that they came by one or other of these paths.

There are two other districts which have some claim to be considered as possible places from which the Todas may have migrated—*viz.*, Mysore and Coorg.

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The Todas regard with some reverence a Hindu temple at Nanjankudi in Mysore, and visit it to pay vows, and there is little doubt that they have done this for a long time. Further, Nòdrs, one of the oldest and most sacred of the Toda villages, is close to the present road from Mysore and may have been near the most convenient route from Mysore in ancient times. I think, however, that, though not recent, the relations with the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi are not of very great antiquity, and I am inclined to ascribe the Toda reverence for it to their association with the Badagas, who almost certainly came from Mysore. I have not been able to find many parallels to Toda customs in Mysore. In one case, however, the resemblance is very close. Among the Gollavalu of Mysore[1] a woman after delivery is turned out into a leaf or mat hut, about 200 yards from the village, and on the fourth day a woman of the village pours water over her. In this case the woman lives in the hut for three months, her husband also living in a special hut. Again, among the Kadu (or forest) Gollas of Mysore[2] the mother and child remain in a small shed outside the village for seven to thirty days.

171

The other district which has customs especially resembling those of the Todas is Coorg. Among the people of Coorg cloth-giving appears at one time to have formed the essential marriage ceremony, and there still exist what are called 'cloth-marriages,' in which a man becomes the husband of a woman merely by giving her a cloth. There is also some evidence that polyandry has been practised in Coorg, and I have already referred to the resemblance between the *pursütpimi* ceremony of the Todas and the Coorg custom of giving a little bow and arrow to a newly born boy. The bow is made of a stick of the castor-oil plant and for the arrow

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1889, vol. i. p. 535.
[2] *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, Pt. i. p. 521.

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171 the leaf-stalk of the same plant is used. In Coorg the imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of the newly born child, but this custom is not widely removed from that of the Todas in which the bow and arrow is put into the hand of the mother shortly before the child is born.

[173] The Todas know the people of Coorg, which they call Kwûrg, and have a tradition of an invasion of their hills by these people, but it is very improbable that there has been any direct borrowing, and it seems more likely that some of the customs of the Todas and Coorgs have had a common source.

171 The resemblance with the customs of Coorg are perhaps more striking than with those of Mysore, and the former 174 region is much more likely to have been influenced by Malabar than the latter. The links with Coorg do not weaken, and perhaps even strengthen, the conclusion that the Todas owe much to Malabar.

144 If we accept provisionally the view that the Todas migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar, we are next 174 confronted with the problem as to whether they are directly derived from any of the races now living in that district. The most diverse views have been held by those who have considered the racial affinities of the Todas. Leaving on one side the conjectures of those who have supposed them to be Scythians, Druids, Romans, or Jews, we find that the Todas have been supposed by several writers to be of Aryan or Caucasic origin. De Quatrefages[1] grouped the Todas with the Ainus of Northern Japan and Keane[2] follows him in putting the two peoples together, and regards both as witnesses to the widespread diffusion of Caucasic races in Asia. Deniker[3] suggests that they belong to the Indo-Afghan race, with perhaps an admixture of the Assyroid race.

Previous writers have found no special reason to link the customs of the Todas with those of Malabar, and, so far as I am aware, no one has considered how far the Todas may be of the same race as any of the inhabitants of

[1] *Histoire générale des Races Humaines*, Paris, 1889, Introduction, p. 469.
[2] *Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 418.
[3] *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 412.

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this district.[1] In considering this matter, we may anticipate that even if the Todas and any of the tribes or castes of Malabar had the same origin, marked differences would have been produced by the long sojourn of the former on the Nilgiri plateau. How long the Todas have been on the Nilgiri Hills no one can say, but we may safely conclude that a very long time must have been necessary to produce the wide divergence in custom and belief which is found to separate them even from those other inhabitants of India whom they most closely resemble. If the Todas came from Malabar, they came from a country differing enormously in temperature and in general physical and climatic characters from the Nilgiri plateau. Life on the hills must almost certainly have altered the physical characters of the people, and it is perhaps now hopeless to expect that any exact resemblance would be found with the existing races of Malabar even if the Todas are an offshoot of one of them. Nevertheless, in comparing the physical measurements of the Todas, which we owe to Mr. Thurston, with those of various Malabar races taken by Mr. Fawcett, it would seem that the differences are not very great, and in the measurements to which anthropologists attach most importance, those of the head and nose, they are very slight.

In the table on the following page I give the chief measurements in centimeters for Todas, Nairs, and Nambutiris.

The average dimensions of the heads and noses of the Todas correspond very closely with those of the Nairs, and the differences from the Nambutiris are nowhere great. It must be remembered that the measurements on the Todas were taken by one observer, and those on the Nairs and Nambutiris by another,[2] and this may partly account for

[1] In a paper which I have only seen since the above was written (*C. R. de la Soc. de Biol.*, 1905, t. lix, p. 123) M. Louis Lapicque has called attention to the resemblance between Todas and Nairs. He regards the Todas as pure or almost pure examples of one of the two races of which he believes the Dravidian population of India to be composed, the Nairs being more mixed with the negroid element, which forms the other component of the population according to M. Lapicque.

[2] It must also be borne in mind that the figures of the Nambutiris and those of some of the Todas are based on the measurement of twenty-five individuals only in each case.

141 the large divergence in the case of the maxillo-zygomatic
144 index, which is calculated from the bigoniac and bizygomatic measurements, in both of which there is considerable scope
174 for differences between different observers. The only other measurements which show any decided divergence are the stature and the length from the middle finger to the patella, and the greater stature of the Todas may well be the result of their more healthy environment. The cubit of the Todas also differs very decidedly from that of the Nambutiris, though little longer than this dimension of the Nairs.

	Todas.[1]	186 Nairs.	25 Nambutiris.
Stature	169·8	165 6	162·3
Span	175·9	175·1	170·0
Chest	82·0	80·6	83·7
Middle finger to patella	12·0	10·1	10·5
Shoulders	39·3	40·0	40·7
Left cubit	47·0	46·2	44·2
Left hand, length	18·8	18·5	18·0
,, ,, width	8·1	8·3	7·8
Hips	25·7	26·0	26·2
Left foot, length	25·0	25·4	24·5
,, ,, width	9·2	8·8	
Cephalic length	19·4	19·2	19·2
,, width	14·2	14·1	14·6
,, index	73·3	73·1	76·3
Bigoniac	9·6	10·4	10·6
Bizygomatic	12·7	13·1	13·2
Maxillo-zygomatic index	75·7	80·1	80·4
Nasal height	4·7	4·8	4·9
,, width	3·6	3·6	3·7
,, index	76·6	76·8	75·5

We do not know the probable errors of these different groups of measurements, but the agreement between the Todas and the two castes of Malabar is so close as to suggest strongly a racial affinity between the three.[2]

142 The hairiness of the Toda is perhaps the feature in which
144 he differs most obviously from the races of Malabar, while the robustness of his physique and general bearing are perhaps
174 almost as striking. The latter qualities may be entirely due

[1] Some of these measurements are based on the examination of eighty-two men, others are derived from twenty-five men only.

[2] The relations existing between Nair women and Nambutiri men must have brought about an approximation of the two Malabar castes in physical characters, even if they were originally of different ethnical origin.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to his environment, to his free life in the comparatively bracing climate of the Nilgiris, and, so far as we know, the development of hair may have a similar cause. Of all the castes or tribes of Malabar, the Nambutiris perhaps shows the greatest number of resemblances to the customs of the Todas,[1] and it is therefore interesting to note that Mr. Fawcett describes these people as the hairiest of all the races of Malabar and especially notes that one individual he examined was like a Toda.

142
144
174

I am not competent to express a decided opinion on the amount of importance which is to be attached to the resemblance which is shown by the figures on p. 708, but it seems to me that the facts before us give no grounds[2] for separating the Todas racially from the two chief castes of Malabar.

The identification of the Todas with Nairs or Nambutiris would still leave their racial affinities somewhat indeterminate. The Nambutiris are often supposed to be Aryan invaders of Malabar, and, owing to the cause already mentioned, the Nairs are so largely of Nambutiri blood that, if the Nambutiris are Aryan, the Nairs must also be strongly Aryanised even if they were originally of pure Dravidian descent.

If future research should show that the Todas are an offshoot of one of the races now existing in Malabar, and if any definite conclusion can be drawn as to the time during which they have been on the Nilgiri Hills, physical anthropologists will be provided with a most interesting example of the influence of environment on the physical characters of a race. Few greater contrasts of environment could be found in a country than that existing between Malabar and the Nilgiris, and it is possible that the Todas may furnish a striking example of the influence of environment on physical characters.

[1] It is worth noting that they practise male descent, while the Nairs follow the Marumakkattayam system of inheritance.

[2] I should much like to know the ratios between the lengths of different limb bones, such as those shown by the radio-humeral or tibio-femoral indices. The observations on the cubit and the distance from the middle finger to the patella suggest that considerable differences might be found between the Todas and the Malabar castes in these ratios, which do not seem to me to have yet received from the physical anthropologist the attention they deserve.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 In endeavouring to link the Todas with Malabar I have
174 naturally dwelt on the points of resemblance rather than on the points of difference. The differences are, however, very great. The general manner of life of the two peoples is now wholly different, while on the religious side I may point to the wide prevalence of snake worship in Malabar, especially among the Nambutiris.

The hypothesis that the Todas are derived from one or more of the races of Malabar would not be tenable for a moment except on the assumption that the migration took place very long ago, and that the culture of Malabar has undergone great changes since the migration. As to the length of time during which the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, we can only offer the vaguest surmises. We know that three centuries ago the Todas were living on the Nilgiris, apparently in much the same state as at the present day. The appearance of some of their sacred stones suggests great antiquity, especially the well-worn polished appearance of the *neurzülukars*, which, if the accounts are right, are only rubbed a few times in the year.

174 On the other hand, the history of Malabar is highly conjectural. The two great positive landmarks in its history are the beginning and end of the rule of the Perumal princes. The date of the first Perumal is put at about the time of Christ, or somewhat later, and it is tempting to surmise that the Todas may have been driven or have retired from Malabar in consequence of the political changes which took place at this time. The last Perumal probably reigned about a thousand years ago, but there does not appear to have been any political upheaval at the time, the last prince having his period of office prolonged beyond the usual twelve years, and having then divided his dominions among his family and retainers.

If we assume that the Todas came from Malabar, the date of their migration would be of great interest in relation to the possibility of Christian or Jewish influences on the Toda religion. There are ancient settlements of both Christians and Jews in Malabar. Tradition assigns the starting-point of the native Christian settlements in Malabar to St. Thomas;

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

but, leaving this on one side, there seems to be no doubt that both Christians and Jews were well established in Malabar more than a thousand years ago. An ancient document is still preserved by the Jews of Cochin, which was given to their leader by the Perumal of the day, and this document can be dated about 750 A.D. A similar document preserved by the Nestorian Christians can be dated 774 A.D.

If the Todas left Malabar at the beginning of the Perumal rule, Jewish or Christian influences can be excluded, but if at a

FIG. 75 (from Breeks).—A CAIRN ON THE NILGIRI HILLS.

later period such influences may have been present, though it is very improbable that they were important; for, unless the Todas have changed very much, they would have been very unlikely to have borrowed from religious settlers of an alien race. Still, in considering the strange resemblance between the Hebrew and Toda versions of the Creation, this possible influence should be borne in mind.

I have so far said nothing of the archæological evidence which may possibly help in the settlement of the vexed

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 From the amount of rust on the iron implements, however, Breeks concluded that there was a long interval of time between the most recent of the cairns and the oldest *azaram*, but he points out that if the latter are really *azaram*, they show that the Todas used at one time to bury such objects as iron spears.[1]

As regards the cairns, Breeks points out that though the figures of many animals occur in addition to that of the buffalo, most of the animals are so badly imitated that it is difficult to identify them, while the figures of the buffaloes are singularly characteristic and often very spirited.

The only implements found by Breeks which might be agricultural were shears and sickles (Fig. 76, 12, 5), and he recalls the *kafkati* burnt by the Todas with their dead, which is a curved knife, different, however, in shape from the sickles often found in the cairns.

On the other hand, very few of the human figures found in the cairns resemble the Todas in any way; the women have the low-country top-knot instead of the Toda curls, and they carry chatties on their heads, which would never be done by a Toda woman at the present time, whatever she may have done in the past.

Breeks himself inclined to the view that the cairns are Toda monuments. One objection which has been made to this view is that the Todas exhibit little or no interest in the cairns, and offer no objection to their excavation. I have already given reasons[2] why this cannot be regarded as a conclusive argument against the Toda origin of the monuments. The Todas certainly identify the hills which possess stone circles with the abodes of their gods, and the absence of objections to the excavation may merely be due to the fact that they have no traditional injunctions against interference with these circles.

174 In dealing with the religion of the Todas, I have advanced
771 the view that the ritual and beliefs of the people furnish us with an example of a religion in a state of decadence. It seems probable that the Todas once had a religious cult of a

[1] It will be remembered that the Todas claim to have once possessed a spear which had belonged to their god, Kwoten.

[2] See p. 445.

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture. 174 771

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great. 172 174 182 [517 53]

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.[1] Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show. [461]

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

[1] The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

172 furnishes us with another example of material objects which
174 have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken
182 place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas have had no enemies, either human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded by all.

174 In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with
182 an example of a people who once have possessed a higher
771 culture of which some features have undergone degeneration.
788 If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district, and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have been on much the same general level as that of the dominant castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because in their very simple environment this was the most accessible object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris; and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most probable that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect of their religion.

171 If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of
174 one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation, the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ment provided by the Nilgiri plateau. I have already referred to the resemblance between certain Toda customs and those of one such tribe, the Hill Arrians, who live in the hills in Travancore and on the Travancore-Cochin boundary. These people are fair, about five feet six inches in height, and frequently have aquiline noses. They inherit in the male line, and have an early marriage ceremony, followed by another in which cloths are presented to the bridegroom. After child-birth the woman lives in a shed for sixteen days. They bury their dead, the earth being dug with the ceremony to which I have already alluded,[1] and though we are not told that a cloth is laid on the corpse at the funeral ceremonies, Fawcett[2] records the fact that a cloth is placed on the grave. There are thus several points of resemblance between their customs and those of the Todas, and this resemblance extends in some measure to the physical appearance and suggests, not only that they and the Todas have been influenced by the same culture, but even that they are people of the same race. We are here, however, plunged almost entirely in the region of conjecture, and we must wait for further information before we consider whether such tribes as the Hill Arrians are representatives of the same race as the Todas, both having been driven from the plains of Malabar into their mountain fastnesses, or whether the Todas and Arrians are two hill tribes of similar descent who have each been influenced by Malabar, of whom the Todas have advanced more in culture, owing to their exceptionally favourable environment on the Nilgiri plateau.

The whole of this last chapter is, I am afraid, open to the charge of being highly conjectural. It has, however, seemed to me desirable to raise some of the problems suggested by the existence of the Todas. In the settlement of these problems much further research is necessary, and I have somewhat reluctantly dealt so largely with the conjectural topics of the chapter, because they seem to point clearly to two lines of research in which further work is necessary. One is the archæology of the Nilgiris, which would, I believe, now well repay further investigation; the other is a detailed

[1] See p. 402.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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inquiry into the more popular customs of Malabar and especially of its less known peoples, such as the Hill Arrians, of whom I have just written. It is in the hope that further interest may be awakened in these lines of inquiry that I have devoted so much space to the hypotheses and surmises of this final chapter.

If further research should show that the Todas are derived from ancient races of Malabar, it is possible that the existence of this strange people may help to illuminate the many dark places which exist in our knowledge of the connexion between the Aryan and Dravidian cultures. It is even possible that the Todas may give us a glimpse of what the culture of Malabar may have been before the introduction of Brahmanism, a culture from which many features would have disappeared, while others would have undergone special development; and, if this were the case, the complex dairy ritual of the Todas would be the most striking instance of the development, a development, however, carrying with it the germs of that degeneration from which the Toda religion now seems to be suffering.

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101

also have arisen other corruptions in English; as Torawar, Thautawars, Todars, Todies, &c. Dr. Hunter gives, in his Dictionary,[3] a Toḍuva variety of the Toḍu language; which is an error.

The Toda tribe is divided into five clans, called Pēiki, Pekkan, Tôdi, Kuttan, and Kenna.[4] The two first are very closely related, although they do not now intermarry; the former having become what might be termed a Levitical clan. All of the remaining four freely marry amongst one another.

194

We have very little positive information of the earliest inhabitants of India; but, so far as the existing condition of evidence enables us to determine, they were of a race whose speech, having analogies to the extensive Hô or Kôl group of languages, 'derived from a source common both to themselves and the Chinese,'[5] gives grounds for the belief that, at some extremely early prehistoric period, a migration of barbarians into India took place from over its north-eastern confines 'from the northern shores of the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Sea;'[6] thus *seemingly* earning for themselves the title of children of the soil, the aboriginal inhabitants of at least the central and north-eastern tracts of India.

The physical type of this race, judging from the many distinct tribes of the family still to be found in various hill ranges, partook of the main features of the Mongol—in the hairless face, broad and short, the spreading unshapely nose, small eyes and high cheek-bones: and evidences of the people exist even in the southern portion of the Indian peninsula, both in the presence of this peculiar stamp of countenance, and apparently in the names of places and of natural features of the country.

The Toda tongue is entirely apart from that of the Kôl

[3] Hunter, 'Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia.'

[4] Mr. Metz writes me that he believes he has found a sixth clan, called Târâl; but the statement needs confirmation.

[5] Hunter. [6] Hunter.

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tongue is entirely apart from that of the Kôl

family. It is, indeed, now known with absolute certainty to be a dialect of the development of Turanian speech styled Drâvidian;[7] the language of a group of primitive, illiterate, and perhaps warlike tribes who, between three thousand and four thousand years ago, migrated from tracts of Western Asia, and penetrating India, probably through Beluchistan and the natural water lines[8] of the country, filled all its western and southern districts, pushing before them, in some period of their advance, the various tribes of the Kôl aborigines, some of whom, in slavery or menial conditions of life, survived as subjects of their conquerors. 174 197

The Rev. Dr. Caldwell[9] has drawn attention to the remarkable circumstance that the closest and most distinct affinities to the speech of this race are those which have been discovered in the languages of the Finns and Lapps of Northern Europe and of the Ostiaks and other Ugrians of Siberia: and consequently that the Drâvidian is proved, by 'language alone, in the silence of history, in the absence of all ordinary probabilities, to be allied to tribes that appear to have overspread Europe before the arrival of the Goths and the Pelasgi, and even before the arrival of the Celts.'

The characteristics of the Toda branch of this race, form the burden of the following pages. In the process of writing 174

[7] A term which, applied by the Brahmans apparently in supercilious envy and contempt of the people they could not conquer—the word Drâvida implying the condition of being beyond the pale of the castes—is now used ethnologically, to designate that which has grown to be a distinct race of man.

[8] It would seem an absolute necessity, that primitive tribes should maintain the water-lines of the country they penetrated. 'If such be the case, noticing the geographical peculiarities of the west frontier of India, this Turanian race would have divided at the Desert of Scinde; one branch following the course of the Indus and its tributaries to the Land of the Five Rivers: the other, turning south, would have both crossed and followed the many watercourses which drain into the Arabian Sea, on their way towards the Dekkan.

[9] Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of the Drâvidian Languages.' I beg here to acknowledge my debt to the above valuable work for much of the information I have incorporated in this chapter.

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of them, I have grown to the very strong conviction that the people are a surviving sample of some portion of the Turanian race when in its very primitive stage. Without much exercise of the imagination, I can picture them the cotemporaries and neighbours, even perhaps the ancestors, of races of South-Western Asia which have made a figure in early history. There is much of the 'blameless Ethiopian' about them: something of the Jew and of the Chaldean in their appearance. I do not venture to hazard an opinion as to their cradle-land. It is safer to draw attention to what, judging by appearances and customs, are their possible ethnic affinities.[10]

At a period which historians have placed 300 or 400 years subsequent to this Turanian inroad, a branch of the Âryas—an Indo-European race of the Caucasian mould, speaking Sanskrit—burst in on India from the north-west. At first occupying that part of the country now known as the Punjab, these warlike colonists grew in the course of centuries into a conquering power, establishing empires on the Indus and Ganges after the fashion of lawless times, on the ruins of the Kôl aborigines and Drâvidians, holding possession of the soil of various parts. And with a success so complete, that we find the Âryas ultimately occupying the whole of the arable tracts which in the main follow the course of those rivers, and form the northern base of the Indian Peninsula. As a consequence of this crushing conquest in the north-west, we recognise Drâvidian tribes in the inferior strata of the resident populace, and their blood mixed with that of even the highest Âryan castes. The Sikh bears a considerable though refined likeness to the Toda. And the province of Oudh has manifestly a large Drâvidian substratum.

Warlike and gifted though this branch of the Indo-European family has shown itself to have been, it does not appear

[10] On the eve of sending this work to the press, I would beg again to urge my belief in the connection between the Drâvidian Toda and the Ethiop. Dr. Pritchard's 'Natural History of Man' might be compared.

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to have subjugated those Drâvidians which colonised the Dekkan; but rather obtained sacerdotal influence amongst them through the means of a superior religious culture and civilisation, of which ambitious and wily Pundits, like monks in the barbarous days of Europe, were the exponents and pioneers.

As might be expected, the three main races of India could not be located in the close contiguity which resulted of repeated conquest and subsequent expanding numbers, before their various religious customs, their languages, and even their blood, began to show their influence in reaction on one another. Perhaps the most striking effect of all these operations, was that which the barbarous rites and beliefs of the inferior races exercised on the purer and more spiritual religious faith which originally distinguished the Âryas.

In their desire to absorb all the subject and utterly savage tribes of the conquered inhabitants, the Brahmans opened the portals of their religion, and incorporated the many gods of the aborigines with the ancient deities of their Vedic pantheon.

The pure Hindu religion, although thus actually debased in the process, probably became an instrument of even greater efficiency, when wielded by clever priests, for the purpose of obtaining an ascendancy over races in an extremely low stage of culture. And we recognise this truth in the great influence which Hinduism and the Sanskrit tongue, have obtained over the entire Indian Continent.

In the case of the Drâvidians; it seems to me, on reviewing Toda religious practice, an extremely probable event, that a possible early contact with the Âryas, long before either race entered India, rendered Sanskrit, especially in regard to all pious notions and reverent observance, influential amongst them, even then. This is a very interesting consideration; one which must render it difficult to determine at what early period this Drâvidian branch of the

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Turanian tree had first been biassed through the superior religious instinct of the Ârya.

174 If we consider that the many tribes of these three dominant races, brought into India the various habits, religious observances, and dialects of the diverse tracts of Asia whence they emigrated. When we further reflect on the different results which must have ensued during their residence in the country of their adoption, from the contiguity of certain of them to the progressive Brahmanical race, with its refined and copious vocabulary, its elevated moral code, with idealised pantheon of heroes and heroines; and the proximity of others to the carnivorous Kôl, his tutelary deities and bloody rites. Further, bearing in mind the isolation of tribes kept asunder by the lawlessness of the times, the pathless nature of the country, and the conservative nature of tribal barbarians;—we can readily comprehend why Drâvidian tribes have now concreted into separate nationalities, whose dialects are 'distinct though affiliated languages,'[11] and whose religion varies in every shade, from the simple but senseless, or perhaps cruel, observances introduced by original immigrants, to the complex rites of corrupted Hinduism.

102 197 The accompanying sketch map of the Indian peninsula describes the position in the country which the Drâvidians hold at the present day; when, after their wanderings and their wars, the various tribes of which the race is composed had settled down, then expanded into important nations, speaking distinct dialects, of which the following are now highly cultivated:—

i. Tamil. iii. Kanarese.
ii. Telugu. iv. Malayâlam.
v. Tuluva.

Three others, viz.,

vi. Toda. vii. Gónd. viii. Ku or Khond,

[11] Caldwell.

the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$, and shows that the Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of the Nilagiri Mountains. 177 262 437 439 427

Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities: the Badaga acquires *land on cheap terms of* rental.

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to; acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of 174 177

[1] Badagas, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.

[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.

[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

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174 the low country, into a district so cold, wild, and inaccessible as this must, by contrast, have appeared to them, we have strong presumptive evidence of the two tribes having, previous
177 to their migration, long lived side by side, mutually dependent one on the other; the Todas, for the supply of grain they had not the energy to raise for themselves: the shrewd Badagas, for the nei which they obtained so easily from this most unmercantile people.

177 Similarly, another native tribe—the Kota—not so advanced
437 as the Badaga, but more laborious, and thus skilled, than the
439 Toda, followed the fortunes of this simple people on retirement to the Nilagiris; possibly influenced, amongst other motives, by knowledge of the fact that the live male buffalos, the carcasses of the females, and the skins and horns of both, were to be had almost gratis, so long as they maintained adherence to their old friends. Thus we see—no matter how primitive the stage of society, how microscopic the tribe—the universal mundane process at work; of the strong preying on the weak, and the clever on the stupid: races, like individuals, supporting themselves by utilising and depressing their simpler brethren.

> Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them:
> Little fleas have lesser fleas; and so on *ad infinitum*.

To what other cause but grievous national improvidence can we attribute their having acquiesced in promptings to part with an amount of meat sustenance, that would, if utilised, nearly double their food supply? And to permit skins and horns of vast herds—whose sale would have brought a very welcome addition to their revenue—to be removed as return payment for a little trumpery Kota music, and primitive ironmongery?

What the buffalo is to the Toda, so is the Toda to these slightly superior tribes; the milch-cow.

000 There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

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and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[8] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[8] See note 2 of Chapter V.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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the Hindu Badagas, with whom they have for several generations been on intimate terms: whose mode of worship they have had opportunities of noticing: and with whom they have often conversed on elementary religious topics. Thus, as I have noted, they have seized on a few words, and the names of a score of small Gods connected with maladies and diseases, of whom they know nothing but their names; but without having adopted a religion.

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CHAP. XIII.

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Don't let the tirièri go to ruin!
Let one become a thousand!
Let all be well!
Let us have plenty of calves!
Let us have plenty of milk!

During three days and nights the bell is kept fastened round the cow's neck. On the morning of the third day it is removed from her neck, and lodged in the priest's house. It is never worn again during that cow's lifetime.

The entire tirièri herd is far more sacred than any of the ordinary village droves of buffalos, and the bell-cows are infinitely more sacred than any other cows of the sacred drove. So far as I could ascertain: whilst the bell-cow is the direct lineal descendant, from mother to daughter, from some remote but sacred ancestor, the remainder of the tirièri herd are the offspring of some original drove, whose members are probably related to the bell-cows.

A certain number of bulls are retained in the sacred herd; those male calves which are not wanted being given away to the Kotas. The finer animals are retained. When a young bull has arrived at mature age, and has proved his vigour, he undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed; by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the tirièri, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. He is not a very sacred character. In fact it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove, after due sanctification.

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It appears to me as somewhat remarkable that a people so fond of simple regulation and undeviating rule, should permit the principle of female succession amongst their cattle, whilst maintaining agnate law amongst themselves. I cannot admit the contrast between the two systems to be merely the result of accident. Knowing the direct simplicity and good sense of

the savage mind, I see the probability that once on a time, the scheme of inheritance and of kinship, both among themselves and for their buffalos, was identical; viz., through the female line. And the more remotely ancient the mode of Toda life, and the nearer it approached to man's primæval condition, the greater the probability that the habits of animal and man approached one another in general similitude. CHAP. XIII. 174 234 611

Before proposing for consideration the conclusion which I draw from the facts of early identity and present difference in such customs, I will give an extract from a well-known work on primitive marriage. Mr. M'Lennan in striving to show 'that the most ancient system in which the idea of blood-relationship was embodied, was a system of kinship through females only,' writes: 'considering that the history of all the races of men, so far as we know it, is the history of a progress from the savage state; considering the social condition of rude tribes still upon the earth—remembering that the races which can be traced in history had all a previous history, which remains unwritten—it cannot seem a very strange proposition that there has been a stage in the development of human races when there was no such appropriation of women to particular men—when, in short, marriage as it exists among civilized nations was not practised. We believe that we shall show, to a sufficient degree of probability, that there have been times when marriage in this sense was yet undreamt of. Wherever this has been the case, the paternity of children must have been uncertain; the conditions essential to a system of kinship through males being formed, would therefore be wanting; no such system would be formed; there would be—there could be—kinship through females only.'[4] 000

In Chapter XXVII. reasons for my belief are given, that with polyandry came the change from promiscuous unions and kinship through the female line, to inheritance through males 174 234 611

[4] M'Lennan, 'Primitive Marriage.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XIII.

174 234 611

only—the system which now obtains amongst these people—in which argument I am glad to find Mr. M'Lennan almost entirely with me.

Now therefore, I would advance the suggestion, that the system of kinship in cattle, through their *cows*, is perhaps contemporaneous with the age when the Todas also, prior to the introduction of polyandry, held to the practice of kinship through the female line. In which belief are grounds for confidence in the very high antiquity of the Toda bell-gods.

The worship of the *bull*, may possibly be a further development of cattle worship.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

137 778 824 Though the proper meaning of the word tûde, is simply a bush; yet taken in connection with its use for sanctifying purposes, it may be held to imply that it is *the* bush above all others. It is a very common little tree on these hills, fragile, and by all accounts, possessing no remarkable properties in flower, seed, or sap. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel Beddome, Conservator of Forests, for its botanic names, viz., *Meliosma simplicifolia*, alias *Millingtonia*.

Dr. Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, has obliged me with the following valuable information as to the diffusion of the tree; a point on which I have been desirous to obtain the most reliable account, hoping that the localities might form geographical links by which the Todas might be traced to other tribes within or beyond the boundaries of Hindustan. 'The distribution of the plant,' Dr. Hooker is so good as to write, 'is Western and Eastern Himalaya, from Simla eastward. Khassia, Silhet, and Mishmi hills in Assam. From the Concan to Courtallam in the western Peninsula. It certainly does not inhabit Persia, the Caucasus, or South Russia, and probably not even Beluchistan.'

174 783 824 778 It was important to establish, if the race of which the Todas form a tribe, brought with them from Western Asia the use of the tûde, the *Millingtonia*. It would now seem probable that they brought with them, merely, the already established practice of self-purification with a sacred plant, and not finding in the country of their adoption that which they had been accustomed to use when in their own land, they elected the tûde in its place. If the views expressed in the last chapter, as to the antiquity of the rules of cattle inheritance—making the bell-cow a descendant by the female line from some remote ancestor—be considered of value, then some degree of support is also afforded to show the collateral practice of purification by the use of a sacred plant, to be also very ancient.

000 It would be interesting to know if other broken tribes of the pre-Âryan—Drâvidian—race, now living in various tracts

CHAP. XXIX.

The Drâviḍian languages had originally one cerebral, as had the Sanskrit and the Welsh.

193 (2) The Tuḍa *temporal particles* (§ 28) are

k for the *present* (eh, ah, h)
th (sharp) for the *past* (d)
b for the *future* (p, v) (only obscurely indicated).

It is perhaps in vain to form conjectures as to the origin of these, but k seems allied to ge or ke=do;

th may be connected with the root tâ, dâ, d'hâ=*give, place, establish.*
b is possibly allied to S. *b'hu* and its cognates.

(3) The Tuḍa nominal inflectional particles, or case endings, are (§§ 15–17) at the most four:

g (k); edd (end); ad; orzh.

Of these g I connect with ge=do;

edd (end=erd) is past of er=be;
ad (ath) is adj. pronoun;
orzh (or) is the root of a verb, signifying *absolute existence.*

§ 44. On the whole I[1] venture to think that

194 (1) The Tuḍa is a language which was once highly inflectional; but, having lost most of its inflections, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South-Indian tribes; and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

197 (2) The language seems to have been originally Old
174 Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tuḍas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country; and have dwelt on the Nîlagiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by

1 [The Reverend G.U. Pope, author of this chapter --Analyst]

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the Poligars. Intercourse with the Baḍagars has probably modernized a few of the forms and introduced some words. Of Telugu influences I see no trace. It is true that the Tuḍa for *tree* is **mân**, and in Telugu *mânu*, while in Tam. and Kan. it is *mara*; but the soft *r* is always avoided by the Tuḍas, who turn *vâram* into *vôm*.

Nor can I trace any resemblance in Tuḍa to Malayalim, in any of the points where that dialect differs from its sisters.

NOTE. Some words have been added to the above list, since the 'outlines' left Dr. Pope's hands. If, in consequence, a few errors have crept into the Chapter, I alone must be held to be responsible for them.—W. E. M.

ADDENDA.

(Translation of Deuteronomy, chap. xxv. 5.)

000

vodd ennan athum enorvet-mokh vodd-
An elder-brother (and) *his other-born* (younger brother) *in one*

ârrulch uddâdi, vodd, âl mokh illâde,
Toda house if they are, one Toda-man a son is not, (childless)

kêdag-pôkadi kêdag-pôkan kâtvodi-kukh en-odd-
if he goes to death (dies) *the dead-one's bound-woman* (wife) *to another*

âlg kaṭṭaṭi, â kukh-âl, enorvet-mokh
man must not join, that woman's man's (husband) *younger-brother*

illaveniâdi, pâyâl â kukh kakhuri vorgma,
or if not, the brother-in-law (near relation) *that woman near shall sleep,*

athum kudma, kâtvodi-âlg enorvet âdi.
her shall join, as a wife's man's younger-brother shall he do.

[p. 270 is blank]

765 The pouch of the *pútkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkcur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kātēr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pett*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant 533 music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical 539 farewell to the dead:

* *Āmnādga serumā,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tiliwā.**

765 Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

[764] At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

764 Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in 765 note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the 174 significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

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* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Tārnāt Mand the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzārams* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the cairns.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 290. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhūt, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhūts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes
765 of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that
174 of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āzārams*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bêtikhân,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
441 are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pútkuli, tharp, kónu, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tôr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

174 mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the 411 cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

224 The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilization: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by samber* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

174 It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

764 The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their 765 ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkvur* probably represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

784 The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

000 It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Sámber, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilization and primitive condition of Man*, page 331:—
"The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet "would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!

Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 451:—
"Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful, "and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly "improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page* 37.
He says that among the *Hos* and *Moondahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections as if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of cairns at the end of this volume.

the principle of the "Universal Alphabet" proposed by Dr. Lepsius.* The actual adoption of Lepsius's system seems to me undesirable, because the great number of sounds it comprises, and the consequent complexity of diacritical signs used, are not requisite for Indian vocabularies, and would be unnecessarily bewildering to amateur compilers.

I would suggest that the Government of Madras, for instance, should endeavour to obtain the services of such men as Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Pope, and Mr. Metz, to draw up a table of signs which should represent all the sounds to be found in the different dialects of the Presidency. This list might be then forwarded to the other Provinces, in order that philologists there might add letters expressive of any sounds in Northern languages which are not found in the Dravidian dialects. When a general alphabet had been agreed upon, it should be sent to every district as the basis for vocabularies of the ruder and less known dialects. If the vocabularies thus formed, were again submitted to competent philologists for correction of the orthographical errors, into which ignorance of derivation might lead compilers, they would afford a reliable basis for the comparative philology of India.

The vocabulary in the Appendix is simply an attempt to render correctly, with due regard to derivations, the sounds of certain words in the Hill dialects; it has no pretensions to anything more.†

The Todas have hardly a tradition or legend of any sort from which information as to their former condition can be obtained. They believe that their ancestors always inhabited these hills, that is (for their ideas on the subject seem chiefly negative) they have no knowledge or belief of their having migrated from elsewhere. Mr. Metz thinks the Todas came from the neighbourhood of Kāligāl (Collegāl), because he has often been asked for news of the relatives, who, they believe, still reside there. I cannot find, however, that any Todas are now known in that neighbourhood. Mr. Minchin informs me that there are three colonies of Todas in Wainād, one at Dēvāla, and two on the eastern slopes of the Neliyālam Peak range. Those at Dēvāla, he says, reside in houses of bamboo, built with gable ends, like the huts of the Paniers, and occasionally work as house-builders for the bazaar people, but live chiefly by the sale of ghee and milk. They are Peikis, and say that they left the Nīlagiris sixty years ago to find a better sale for their produce. This account of themselves is confirmed by the fact, that within my own knowledge the dry funeral of two of them has been celebrated at the funeral mand of the Peikis near Ootacamund.

Little more information is to be derived from foreign sources. The Badagas are said to have come to the hills in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, *i.e.*, about three centuries ago; but their songs and stories depict the Todas much as we see them now. I think, however, we may infer that the latter were more numerous, from the fact of their having been able to exact the *gūdu* in the first instance, whereas now, with all the help afforded by long custom, they have at times difficulty in collecting it. Moreover, there are still traces to be found of old mands

* Such an alphabet is not open to the objections which historians and geographers urge with much reason against every method of transcribing names of places and other well-known oriental words which will render them unintelligible to the ordinary reader, because it is simply wanted for philological purposes.

† I believe that since the above was written the Government of India have authoritatively prescribed a system of transliteration, how obtained I do not know.—*Editor.*

174 long ago deserted, some of which by the girth of the trees which have since grown up in them, have evidently been abandoned for centuries.

177 It would appear that the Todas have always maintained some intercourse with the western coast, as the cowrie necklaces of the women imply. The earliest notice of
487 them I know of, is to be found in the Journal of the Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de
175 Meneses; Coimbra, 1606, the following extract from which has been kindly furnished me by Dr. Gundert :—

175 "From Malabar the Vicars' regular report, from their hitherto neglected and paga-
"nised churches, came in to Goa (in 1599). At this time two Cattanars had been to
"Todamala in the country of the Zamorin, 50 leagues distant from the furthest churches.
"There (in Todamala) there are still Christians, who speak a language different from
"the Malabar language. They call their god 'Bidi'* (=fado, fatum). They have a
"Trinity of persons, viz., an old man, a youth, and a small bird. They say Thomas
"taught them, but because the king of Mylapūr killed all Christians, they took refuge
"on these mountains, that there their Cattanars have died, their books have been lost,
"and all idea of God has disappeared, but still they have a picture very much injured
"of that Trinity. The objects of that picture they try to keep in mind. They knew
"that in Cochin there were people of their own caste, on which account they called
"the two Cattanars brothers, and summoned men and women together to hear them,
"when the Cattanars explained from the picture the Trinity to the people. The
"Jesuit Roy was very glad of this report, and spoke of it as not a singular instance.
"In other places also (near the hills) remains of former Christian congregations were
"discovered. He (Roy) became Bishop of Angimale in 1601, and Archbishop of
"Cranganore in 1605."

This report seems to have led to further investigations, as we find by the following abstract of a manuscript in the British Museum kindly furnished me by the Reverend Mr. Whitehouse :—

At the synod of Udiamparūr in the state of Cochin,† held under Archbishop Meneses in 1599, information having been received that there were certain villages of Christians in a country called Todamala, who anciently belonged to the Syrian church of Malabar, but then had nothing of Christianity except the bare name, it was ordered that priests and preachers should be sent thither immediately to redeem them to the Catholic faith, baptise them, &c. Francisco Roy, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Syrian Christians, in 1602 sent a priest and deacon of the Christians of St. Thomas with a good guide to find out the place and collect information. They reached the Todamala; but, as the account brought back by them, was not so sure and complete as was desirable, Bishop Roy requested the Vice-Principal of the Jesuits to depute a priest of his own order to make further inquiries. The Rev. Jacome Ferreiri was selected for this mission. He started from Calicut, the place of his residence, and was permitted to return safely, after undergoing great exposure and fatigue, with a good deal of information about the hill tribes, their manners and customs, but with no tidings of any Christian colony, which had either become extinct or removed elsewhere, if it had ever been there at all.

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* Dr. Gundert says, "Bidi or Vidhi is a well-known name of Brahma."

† Todamala is included in a list of Christian churches given in Assemani Bibl. Orient., but this only refers to the date of this same synod.

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriers*. They themselves became *Pālāls*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Ātirem*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnād Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Ānnānād*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Ānnānād*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Ānnānād*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of
771 which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

● 174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

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* *Pūjā*, worship.

174 discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen
religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may
771 be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by
the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their
777 desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept
Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to
nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's
manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars.
I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nilagiris, nor can I find, in the
customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of
Christianity. Mr. Mata derives Peranganid (Toda *Pirpdr*) from Feringhi; but we have
no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing
it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

771 If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of
element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost
Vedic; while the exclusion from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any
of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

171 Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity
in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mundah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed;
the Larkā Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes
the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the
Polkis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawāni; and they break a pot at funerals,
their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

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114 * While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.) has been published. In this work, page 182, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever "to believe that the Todas of the Nilagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or "Manichean settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of "Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Papuans applies word for word to the Todas:—
"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Ueberzeugungen welche, mit einigen anderen Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, "mit ihrem jetzigen Culturzustande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher "höheren Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem "quite irreconcilable with their present state of civilization, unless we recognize in them the traces of a formerly "higher culture."—*Tylor's Study of Words, page 22, note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilization. The cases of the Todas and Kurumbas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primeval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay exist can hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be seen, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, we ascertain facts about the tribes in question connected more germane to the matter than to discuss theories of civilization.—*Editor.*

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

794 is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noʒ "sacred place"
796 may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude
234 that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the
778 [192] localised dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

796 nooʒoɛlm — kuːtjuθnoʒ
778 sacred places-all — to which she gathered-sacred place
234 tõuoɛlm — "
539 gods-all — "
794

i. e. "(noʒ), the sacred place to which the goddess tõkiɛj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moreθarm — kumʒtuθnoʒ
children-charity — which gave-sacred place
mʒreθarm — "
buffaloes-charity — "

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noʒɛɛmɛjtk — pimθnoʒ
sacred places-meeting-to — which went-sacred place
tõuenojtk — "
gods-meeting-to — "

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly
794 of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the
796 gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes
778 and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the
234 tõuθut, the tõunoʒ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon,
[177] assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tõunoʒ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is
[539] also evident since it is said that a tõunoʒ may become angry and
[783] visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, references given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair: pɛrɛnɛjtɛ, pɛʒɛnɛjtɛ "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the
[533] Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name
[174] (hutɛm)" of the mund myːnj, which is pɛrɛnɛ, said to mean "the standing-place (nɛ) of the 1600 gods (represented by pɛr for pɛrɛnɛ)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §13.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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Rivers says (p. 453): "The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs" he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiǫj and the rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθuṭ. Since they are distinct from the töunoc̣, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθuṭ. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may probably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kiǫj and the other töuθuṭ for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiǫj and the gods associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods, the töuθuṭ, stories are still told in the vague way of which Rivers complained (p. 453 middle). But this vagueness is really merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-8, worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

I 764 earthen floor. The opening into this hole is covered over with the trunks of young trees laid close together, side by side, with a mound of earth raised over them. This is removed for the reception of each fresh corpse, which is flung in headlong like that I of a dog, without any ceremony or preparation whatever.

585 Like the Kurumbas, they have no notion of marriage, but 616 live promiscuously one with the other, save that the two classes keep th.mselves to themselves.

Both these unfortunate races have doubtless retrograded, mentally and physically, under their long continued endurance of hardship, and are, probably, in a lower and more debased condition at the present day, than ages ago, on their first arrival in T the locality.

144 In conclusion, it is difficult to believe that any of the tribes I 105 have thus endeavoured to describe (excepting, of course, the Vadacas) can be in any way allied to the inhabitants of the plains; whilst it appears almost impossible as regards the Todas, a tribe as distinct from all its various surrounding neighbours as an oasis in the desert. Superior in physique, countenance, and character, free from the inherent thirst for blood so universal among all wild races, and yet brave and courageous, by moral influence alone exercising dominion over larger tribes, exclusively pastoral practising polyandry, speaking an unknown tongue, believing in an invisible deity,—they stand totally isolated in the very midst of an enormous population of civilised and progressing people, of an utterly different religion; and after, it may be, thousands of years, still retain unchanged their primitive character, and the observance of religious rites and customs prac- T tised in prehistoric times.

144 There is no doubt that all these hill-tribes are aborigines of 174 the peninsula of India, the whole area of which was probably Ko once occupied by them. Some have thought it possible that 144 they may all have been originally of one race; and others, in 174 like manner, have argued that, even in the extreme instances of Ku the Toda and the Kurumba, the difference in physical character 144 may be attributed to the nature of the regions they respectively 174 inhabit. This is allowing extraordinary power to such influ- I ences, and is, moreover, entirely contradicted by actual fact in the 144 case of the Khotas. That tribe, occupying precisely the same regions 174 as the Todas, is as opposite to them in physical character as is

[The Erulas -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW63
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

T 144 174 KO 144 174 Ku 144 174 I 144 174

the Kurumba. Why, unless originally different, should one tribe have short clustering hair, with bushy beards, while another in the same district has long straight locks, with little or no beard? why should the one tribe be brown, with women fair, and the other have both sexes perfectly black? and what influence of climate could convert a Kurumba's nose into a Roman one?

It is very probable that the two most degraded of these tribes —namely, the Erulas and Kurumbas—were originally one, and that the slight physical differences existing between them may have resulted from the nature of their respective situations and consequent modes of life. The Todas and Khotas, however, can never have been one people; and the characterising differences of the present day must have always been equally marked. The preservation of their respective characteristics may be due to the fact of these tribes having escaped pursuit, or even observation, at the hands of the successive subjugators of the country, owing to the lofty and inaccessible retreat which they selected for themselves in the Nilgiri mountains. The Todas might, indeed, have been located there in earlier ages, not only previous to the irruption of the Hindoos across the Indus and through the plains of the Deccan, but anterior to the nations that preceded them, and possibly from the earliest ages. The Erulas and Kurumbas, flying thither for refuge, and finding the summit already in possession of a superior people, would naturally shelter themselves in the untenanted solitudes lower down, hiding in the dense forest of the mountain sides as at the present day. Their partial inoculation with the religion and language of neighbouring races seems also to confirm the theory of isolation in respect to the other, and further removed, tribes. In the Todas, therefore, is it not possible that we may have a remnant of one of the earliest races that inhabited Asia whose rites and customs, if not introduced into Europe by a westward migration, were doubtless analogous to those of the Celts of Britain? May they not be a living link connecting the present with ages of which we still know next to nothing, and in their singular social customs, religious rites, and even personal appearance may we not picture to ourselves, probably with a very near approach to accuracy, the scenes and people of an era coeval with, or even prior to, the stone monuments which on

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

T 144 174 their mountains, as in this land, have so long excited our interest and speculation?

KO 144 174 The Todas have been, in turn, considered as outcast Jews, Roman colonists, and Celto-Scythians; one writer asks if they could be Aryans, or might not rather be Turanians, and another

Ku 144 174 propounds their affinity to the Tasmanians. I do not presume to advance an opinion on so difficult a subject as this, but have thought it interesting to point out the striking analogy that

I 144 174 exists between their rites, customs, and monuments, and those of the Celts of Early Britain, an analogy not unknown to antiquarians. On the other hand, I have drawn attention to the many points of resemblance existing between them and the Kaffirs. The number of these I might have added to, for I have left unnoticed here some with which I was much struck at the time. I have also glanced at the few points they have in common with the Jews of old, and also with the ancient Romans, whose coins have, by the way, been found plentifully in the Deccan.

Though I do not deduce any theory of origin from the above resemblances, they are equally entitled to notice with the former, and may possibly qualify the soundness of conclusions that have been drawn from Celtic analogy.

The real origin of the Todas and Khotas is a question which, if ever to be elucidated, we are not, as yet perhaps, sufficiently acquainted with their language satisfactorily to determine, and I would earnestly recommend the subject to this Society as one worthy of its investigation. There is, in fact, hardly any more inviting field for the anthropologist than that of Hindostan, almost every quarter of which furnishes wild tribes of whose history little is known. There were two others of these which interested me very much, namely, the Brinjarries and the Niadis.

000 The former are the gypsies of India, a nomadic tribe roaming the Deccan with large herds of bullocks. The lineaments of the white race are plainly visible in their sable countenances. Their dress, too, is a partial approach to that of the European, though the tall handsome women wear very singular armlets, bangles, and necklaces. One of the latter which I procured, will be found worth the inspection of those acquainted with other eastern ornaments of that nature.

The other tribe, that of the Niadis, is of a totally opposite character. They are a wretched people scattered over the low hills and waste districts of Malabar. They are nearly naked, but

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghāt, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [184] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 178 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [164] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which, taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

[113]

* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Despite the hypothesis of Dr. Rivers that the Todas are derived from one or more of the races of Malabar, their origin is buried among the secrets of the past. So too is the history of the ancient builders of cairns and barrows on the Nīlgiri plateau, which were explored by Mr. Breeks when Commissioner of the Nīlgiris.* The bulk of the Breeks' collection is now preserved in the Madras Museum, and includes a large series of articles in pottery, quite unlike anything known from other parts of Southern India. Concerning this series, Mr. R. Bruce Foote writes as follows.† "The most striking objects are tall jars, many-storied cylinders, of varying diameter with round or conical bases, fashioned to rest upon pottery ring-stands, or to be stuck into soft soil, like the amphoræ of classical times. These jars were surmounted by domed lids. On these lids stood or sat figures of the most varied kind of men, or animals, much more rarely of inanimate objects, but all modelled in the rudest and most grotesque style. Grotesque and downright ugly as are these figures, yet those representing men and women are extremely interesting from the light they throw upon the stage of civilization their makers had attained to, for they illustrate the fashion of the garments as also of the ornaments they wore, and of the arms or implements carried by them. The animals they had domesticated, those they chased, and others that they probably worshipped, are all indicated. Many figures of their domestic animals, especially their buffaloes and sheep, are decorated with garlands and bells, and show much ornamentation, which seems to indicate that they were painted over, a custom which yet prevails in many

* J. W. Breeks. Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nīlgiris, 1873.

† Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities, Government Museum, Madras, 1901.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the toɪtjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[24] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjuɪr (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister ezog (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[25] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[24] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's toɪtjfojoɪ̨. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Moknɪr (Makner), wife of tulkiɪθj of the noɪ̨ patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, töötarɪ (Tevö), looked like his mother's toɪtjfoj-oɪ̨, nobus of the piɪ̨toɪ̨ patrilineal sib (Nabus, 64), also called kuɪ̨tj (he reared the children after tulkiɪθj died). In a quarrel töötarɪ might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobus-mox "son of nobus" or kuɪ̨tj-mox "son of kuɪ̨tj," or as nobus or kuɪ̨tj.

[25] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (Biṭṭiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeevaram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

 But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I
614 judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
[197] background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[26] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[27] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

197 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
174 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
[79] they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[28] that the model house
[787] or dairy used in the uɪr-foṭṭ ceremony, and called poɪl-poḷj (Rivers' pūlpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyḷj) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
595 some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar before comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
[114] ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Fur-
[171] thermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[29]

174 The toɪṭjfoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
837 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[26] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123–47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611–40, 1907). [27] Pp. 693–718, especially pp. 698 ff. [28] Rivers, p. 702.

[29] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 379–83, 1938).

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439 177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361 778 231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōṇg. This is etymologically connected with Kota koṇg in the same meaning, Tamil koṇku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koḍgu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koṇṇu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōṇg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

TODA AW60
KERALA AW11
2239

K 595 182 Ti 595 182 To 595 182

stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

To 174 595 182 162 K 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [847]

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

To 114

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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THE TODAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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THE people whose manners and customs I am about to describe live on the undulating plateau of the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India. The hills were visited by a Portuguese missionary in 1602, and have been invaded by Indian tribes on various occasions, but, at the beginning of the last century, the plateau and its inhabitants were absolutely unknown to Europeans. The earliest definite information about the hills at this time is given in a letter from William Keys, an assistant revenue surveyor, written in 1812, but it was not till several years later that further information about the people began to be published.

Of the various tribes inhabiting the hills, the Todas excited the greatest interest, and this interest has continued, partly because the people are so different from any other of the races by which they are surrounded, but still more because both they and their customs are so picturesque and, in many ways, so unique.

A very large literature[1] has accumulated about the Todas and their customs. This literature is so extensive that when I determined to go to the Nilgiri Hills, I was reproached by more than one anthropologist for going to people about whom we already knew so much; and one even said that, so far as his department of knowledge was concerned, he was sure that we had all the information we could expect to get.

[1] The bibliography of this literature is given in Appendix II.

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CHAPTER XXX

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE TODAS

I HAVE now given the whole of the material which I have collected on the institutions of the Todas. In describing these institutions I have discussed various general problems suggested by their nature, but I have said little about the points of resemblance or difference between the customs of the Todas and those of other peoples either in India or elsewhere. It remains in this last chapter to see how far the evidence which I have given throws any light on the very difficult questions: Who are the Todas? How do they come to be living on the Nilgiri Hills? 114 125

The evidence which might be available for our inquiry is of three kinds: records of the Todas in the past, traditions preserved by the Todas, and, lastly, evidence derived from the comparative study of physical and psychical characters, language, beliefs, and institutions.

The evidence coming under the first two heads is of the scantiest. Our earliest record of the Todas is contained in a Portuguese manuscript now in the British Museum. It records the visit of a Portuguese priest named Finicio to the Nilgiri Hills in 1602. This manuscript was partially translated and published by Thomas Whitehouse in a book dealing with the Syrian church of Malabar, under the title "Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land." As the translation given by Whitehouse is incomplete, I had the manuscript retranslated, and it was then found that several interesting details had been omitted, and that there were several errors in the translation. The new translation is given on pp. 721–730.

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The account given by Finicio is very superficial, being the result of only two days' intercourse, but it is sufficient to show that there has probably been little change in the Todas and their surroundings in the three centuries which elapsed between his visit and mine. I have referred in the general body of the work to several of the points in which his account either corroborates or differs from my own. Perhaps the most important feature of his story is that it shows the relation between the Todas and Badagas three centuries ago to have been very much what it is at the present day, and shows clearly that this relation between the two tribes is of longer standing than has usually been supposed. Finicio's account is, however, so brief and superficial that it helps us little in our search for evidence on the evolution of Toda society. We know from it that the institution of the *ti* was in existence, and the scanty evidence goes to show that the life of the *palol* was much what it is now, but there is nothing to tell us whether the ritual had then reached the high pitch of development which it now shows, nothing to tell us whether since that time there has been development or degeneration.

From 1602 to 1812 we have, so far as I am aware, no record of the Todas. In the latter year William Keys, Assistant Revenue Surveyor, reported the existence of the Todas, or Thothavurs, and other tribes in a letter to the Collector of Coimbatore. His account gives little information about the Todas, except that they kept buffaloes and held it a sacred and inviolable custom to keep their heads uncovered. In 1819 "a Subscriber" wrote an account of the Nilgiri tribes which was published in the *Madras Courier*. Beyond a description of their appearance, the only information given about the Todas or Todevies is that it is against the custom to wear either turban or sandal, that they permit hair and beard to grow long, and that the Badagas pay a few handfuls of grain from each field as acknowledgment that they received their land from the Todas. In 1820 Lieutenant Macpherson reported the practices of polyandry and infanticide, and in the following year Captain B. S. Ward described the marriage customs more fully, and gave some account

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of the dairies and priesthood. In 1826 the Rev. James Hough addressed a number of letters to the Bengal Hurkaru, giving an account of the Nilgiris and their inhabitants, and these letters were republished in a book in 1829. A more elaborate and most excellent account of the Todas was given by Captain Harkness in 1832, in a work entitled *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, and since that time very many of those who have visited the Nilgiri Hills have had something to say about the Todas and their ways. As I have already pointed out, these records from the earlier part of last century differ but little from my own, and do not furnish us with any evidence that Toda customs underwent any great change during that century. 114 175

As regards the evidence from Toda tradition, we are in no better case. Several writers have stated that the Todas believe that they came to the Nilgiris from elsewhere, but whenever I made any inquiries on this point I was assured that they had always been on the Nilgiri Hills, the first Toda having been created on the Kundahs in the manner already described. 173 173

It seems most probable that those who have ascribed such traditions to the Todas have been misled by the account of the Kamasòdrolam. These are the people who are believed to have been driven away from Kanòdrs by Kwoten (see p. 195). The Todas have a very sincere belief in the existence of these people, and when I showed one man the frontispiece in Marshall's book, representing a Toda village and its inhabitants, something unfamiliar in the arrangement of the scene made the man think that it must be a picture of the Kamasòdrolam. Any Toda who is asked whether there are other Todas and where they live will at once think of the Kamasòdrolam and will tell of these people, and the story might easily be mistaken for a tradition of their origin.

The Todas are also said to believe in their descent from Ravan, and I was told by one man that they were descended from the Pandavas, but I have little doubt that such beliefs are only recent additions to their mythology.

In studying the origin and history of the Todas we have 173

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

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I give here a translation of two extracts from Portuguese manuscripts preserved in the British Museum. The original spelling of the names of places and persons has been preserved and I have added some notes. I am indebted for the translation to Miss A. de Alberti.

The Mission of Todramala.[1]—This new mission of Todramala belongs to the college of Vaipicotta, and it seems necessary to give your Rev. an account thereof that you may be informed of what has been discovered, as well as of what still remains to be done. Vague rumours had reached the Lord Bishop Dom Frco. Ros that in the interior of this Malabar, among some mountains, there dwelt a race of men descended from the ancient Christians of S. Thomas; in order to discover and open the way to them he sent from our seminary a Cassanar[2] and a Chamas, which means a priest and a deacon, who after travelling for more than fifty miles reached the summit of the mountain of Todramala. Here they came upon a race which appeared, in accordance with the rumour, to be of those who were driven from the territory of S. Thome by the many wars in former times and scattered through these parts. They did not call it by that name, however, but pointing in the direction of S. Thomas, they said that certain men came thence, some of whom settled in those mountains, and others went further down, of whom they knew nothing. The Cassamar thereupon took occasion to ingratiate himself with them, saying that those who settled lower

[1] Add. MS. 9853, pp. 464-5, MS. 25-26 vol. [Translation].
[2] Or Cattanar, a native priest of the Syrian Church.

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175 down were his ancestors, and therefore they were all of one race, and they had come solely to visit them as their brethren and relations. This moved them to such love and pity that men, women, and children embraced and welcomed them with tears. They found no trace of Christianity in them; they had neither crosses nor books, though they said they had some once, but they were lost as those who could read had died out. They have no pagoda worship nor pagan ceremonies. On being questioned concerning their god they spoke of a bird, a father, and a son, from which it may be presumed that they had some notion of the Blessed Trinity. They rejoiced to hear of the creation of the world and other discourses which the Cassamar and the Chamas held with them; and they were very eager that they should remain with them a long while, but they could not do so, as their guide was very pressing that they should return. They are a somewhat white-skinned race and tall of stature; they grow long beards and wear their hair after the ancient Portuguese fashion, bushy on the head and falling on the shoulders behind. They have necessaries in abundance, namely, rice, some wheat, vegetables, and meat in great variety, both fowls and wild game; quantities of cattle, and so much milk that they cannot use it all and give it to the very cattle to drink. Many other things were related of their customs which I leave until more is known of them. Upon this information the Father Vice-Provincial, at the instance of the Bishop, resolved to send thither a priest well acquainted with the Malabar tongue, and therefore he commissioned the father who was going to the residence of Calicut to inquire the easiest road and best season for this mission. He found that it was much nearer Calicut through the territory of the Samorim, and that the best time was the month of January, when, by the help of God, a father will set out with several Cassamars, and of what occurs your Rev. will be informed next year.

The Mission of Todamalâ.[1]—Last year your Rev. received a brief account of a new mission destined for Todamalâ to a certain race dwelling in the interior of this country of Malabar, among rugged mountains, at a distance of fifty leagues or thereabouts. These were supposed to be descendants of the Christians of S. Thomas who had somehow drifted to those parts. Though last year the Bishop of Angamale, Dom Frco. Ros, sent a priest belonging to the Christians

[1] *Add.* MS. 9853, p. 479. MS. 40 vol. [Translation].

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of S. Thomas, accompanied by a deacon and a good guide, to explore the land and acquire information concerning this race, they did not being back such full and certain intelligence as was desired. Therefore the Lord Bishop asked our Vice-Provincial to send one of our fathers, and the choice fell upon Father Yacomo Fenicio,[1] who has known the people of Malabar for many years and is well acquainted with their language. The father set out from Calicut, where he resides, and whence the road is easiest, and with the assistance of good guides reached the desired destination, though at the cost of great labour and risk. Having acquired ample information, he returned to Calicut from Thodomala, and on his arrival wrote a letter to the Vice-Provincial, dated the 1st of April, 1603, giving him an account of his discoveries, of which the following is a copy—

Copy of a letter from FATHER YACOME FINICIO *to the* VICE-PROVINCIAL OF CALICUT, *1st of April*, 1603

Thanks be to God, I am returned from Todamalâ, though with great labour and little satisfaction, for I did not find there what we hoped and were led to expect. And as the prosecution or abandonment of this mission depends upon it, I think it necessary to give you here a detailed account of all I discovered and endured. The road by Charti being impracticable on account of the wars which had broken out among the people, I was obliged to go by Manarechatem, and this was providential for us, it being the road taken by the Cacmar whom the bishop sent last year. It is thirteen leagues from the shore of Tanor. So far the way was safe and easy, this being the territory of the Samorim, and in every village we met people who knew our Christian Errari,[2] the nephew of the Samorim, who accompanied me. I was very glad of his company, because he offered it himself, and because he could speak Canara, the language of the Badegas, neighbours of the Todares. Before we reached Marasachate we had an interview with the chief ruler of the Samorim, who lives within two leagues. I gave him a palm-leaf from Carnor, chief ruler of the Samorim, in which he bade him give me the men and assistance necessary for my journey to Todamalâ, and to go with me himself if necessary. The ruler welcomed us with many

[1] In the translation given by Whitehouse the name of this priest is given as Ferrein.

[2] A member of the Ezvari or towhard caste.

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compliments, but as regards the journey he made many difficulties, and not only he, but many others of that place said that the way was very long and full of wild and rugged mountains; that there were elephants and tigers, that it was very cold up there, and finally that there was a risk that some of us would die. The ruler wished to send two Naires, who knew the way, with me, but they would not go for fear of falling sick, even though I would have paid them well. Finding that they made so many difficulties I pressed the Errari to return to Calicut with his people, as it was feared that they would fall sick upon the way, and I would go to Manaracathe and there provide myself with a guide and escort. This touched the Errari upon a point of honour, and he bade me not to speak of such a thing, for he was resolved to go, and his Naires had all bound themselves by an oath to go likewise. The Errari had with him a Varser,[1] which is little less than a Brahmin, and he said to me, "Father, if I die on the road, bury me where you will; it is of no consequence." I asked another young Naire if he wished to go, and he replied, "I will accompany your Reverence while I have breath." Upon this we took leave of the ruler and went to Manarecathe, where we found the very chatim who went with the Cacenar; however, the Errari thought it best to take another more trustworthy, who had relatives in the country. Here we were told that it was six Canara leagues to Todamalli, which is twelve Malabar leagues, and that it would take two days and a half to get there. Everyone provided himself with clothes against the cold of Todamalli, and with provisions for the journey; also with pots which the Naires carried on their heads, not for want of coolies, but because the Naires and Brahmins will not allow those of a different caste to touch the pots in which they cook their rice. The arms were left behind that the natives might not suppose that the people of Malabar had come to fight with them. Thus we set out cheerfully, and the first day, as we could not reach a village before night, we dined, and started between eight and nine in the morning, and marched quickly until evening that we might not be benighted in the thicket, for fear of the elephants, and yet our guide said we had only travelled two Canara leagues. That day we crossed a sandy mountain.

The second day we wished to start at dawn, but we met fifteen or sixteen men of that village coming by the road we were to pursue, all armed, and they told us that there were three elephants in the

[1] ? Vaishya.

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way, so we waited until nine o'clock and in the meantime the elephants sought their pasture. This second day we supped at the foot of a very high mountain over which our road lay, and as there was no village and there were elephants about, after supper we climbed part of the mountain and slept there. After midnight we climbed nearly all the rest of the mountain by moonlight, with great labour and fatigue. On reaching the summit other great mountains appeared, and others beyond them, at which we were all astounded, for some of them were so steep that we were obliged to descend in a sitting posture. When the Errari found himself on these mountains, he said that God was punishing him for his sins, and that going up and down such mountains would shorten their lives by ten years. The chatim, our guide, looking down from a mountain, said that merely looking down dazzled his eyes, and so said the Naires on other occasions in similar circumstances. But I could not restrain my laughter, and began singing hymns in Malabar against pagodas, whereupon the others laughed too, and joined in the hymns. It was now noon, and we had still another mountain to climb before reaching the village of the Badagas, neighbours of the Thodares, but we were so tired that we could go no further. We wished to dine, and there was very good cold water flowing from a mountain, but we had no fire. The Errari offered to go up with the Brahmin and to send us down a light. I would not suffer him to take so much trouble, nor was it necessary, for the chatim, our guide, struck fire from two twigs, and thereupon everyone sat down to rest, cooking his rice meanwhile. When we had rested we climbed the mountain and reached the village of the Badagas. It is a village of 150 to 200 souls, called Melcuntaõ.[1] The Cacenar is reported to have visited it. Here we found the chief of the Todeos and spoke with him. He promised to go and assemble the rest, that we might speak to them. In this village they have fowls, cows, goats, rice, lentils, mustard seed, garlick, and honey. They brought me some wheat in the husk, which was very difficult to remove, and therefore it seemed to me more like barley or some other grain than wheat. The Badagas are like the Malabars, and they say there are two other villages like this in these mountains, four, five, and six leagues distant from each other. These trade with the Thodares and sell them rice, buying buffalo butter from them, which they carry to Manaracathe for sale. The next day I wished to discourse to these Badagas concerning our

[1] Whitehouse suggests that this is Mele.

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law. I showed them the pictures of Our Lady of St. Luke, telling them that the child was God, who became man to teach us his law and save us. I showed them a gilt Bible and told them that it was the book of our law, and as they all surrounded me, I went up into a high place and the Errari with me. I spoke in Malabar and the Errari interpreted in Canara, which is their language. A Badaga who understood Malabar could not contain himself, but came up to where I was and spoke to me in Topas.[1] Then I taught him that the law given to us by the God made man was contained in ten commandments, &c., and they all rejoiced at the ten commandments and their explanation. Only at the sixth[2] commandment the Topas Badaga represented to me that the Malabars also had many wives. I told him that this law was not the law of the Malabars, but of God, and that they did wrong in having many wives, whereupon he was satisfied. Finally I told him that I had not come to teach the Thodares only, but them also if they would accept this law. They replied that the law was very good, but they did not dare adopt it, neither could I live in these barren mountains, &c. I make no doubt that if a priest were there they would all be converted. While I was in this village of Melentaõ the priest of the Thodares came thither, but he remained outside the village, for he may not touch a woman. I went to see him and found him seated on the ground with seven or eight others seated near him. He was a huge man, well proportioned, with a long beard and hair like a Nazarene falling on his shoulders, the front hair drawn back over his head, leaving his forehead uncovered. His dress was a shawl from the waist to the knees, and the rest of his body was naked; he held a sickle in his hand. When I had come up to him and sat down, he asked me how I was; I replied that I was well and all the better for meeting him, for it proved to me that God was my guide, since I had come from so far to see the Thodares and immediately met with their chief. He asked the purpose of my coming. I replied that I had come to see the Thodares, having heard that we were of the same race and laws, and that last year one of our people visited them and gave us a very good account of them. I asked him if they knew from whom they were descended. He said no, and thereupon would have taken leave of us. Then I said that it was not right to wish to leave us so soon, since we had come so far solely to visit them, and

[1] I do not know the meaning of this. One caste of the Badagas is called Toeya.

[2] Seventh?

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upon this he remained. Then I inquired of those around who he was, and what was his office. They replied that he was called Pallem and was like the Belicha Paro among the Malabars. Belichaparo is he who takes care of the pagoda, and sometimes the devil enters into him, and he trembles and rolls upon the ground, and answers questions put to him in the name of the pagoda. I asked if the Thodares had pagodas; they replied that they had a live buffalo cow for a pagoda, and they hung a bell round its neck, and the Pallem offered it milk every day, and then let it loose in the fields to graze with the rest. And every month or thereabouts, the Pallem seizes the buffalo by the horns and trembles, saying that the buffalo bids them change the pasture, and thereupon they change their place and pasture. By the milk and butter of this buffalo and that of its children and grandchildren, which already reach 120, this Pallem is maintained. On this mountain where I was there were 100 Thodares,[1] and they had three pallems between them, each having his buffalo for a pagoda. When the buffalo dies the Thodares assemble, choose one of these hundred, tie the bell round its neck, and it becomes a pagoda. Besides the buffalo they have 300 pagodas to whom they also make offerings of milk. I asked him why he carried the sickle in his hand, and he replied that God commanded him to carry no other arm or stick but only that sickle. He used it to scratch his head, which was swarming with lice, and they could be seen crawling among his hair. I asked if he was married; he answered that he and his younger brother were married to the same woman, but as he might not touch a woman in the house she always lived with his brother, but he sent for her into the bush every week or so, when it was a fine day. And when he liked he sent for any of the wives of the Thodares whom he chose, and the husbands allowed it so long as he paid them. I asked if they had books and he said no; none of them can read or write. He also told me that they had a father whom God took up to heaven, body and soul, and the buffaloes looked up to heaven after him, and that was why they made offerings to the buffaloes. At last I gave him one of the looking-glasses from Calicut, with which he was very pleased and said he would give it to his wife. Then I took leave of him, after showing him the pictures and Bible, at which he wondered. Besides this pallem they have another whom they call Ferral,[2] who is present

[1] By the context this should be 100 buffalo cows.

[2] Evidently the *wurzol*.

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175 when they give the buffaloes salt water, and he trembles, bidding them give them drink, and they will give much milk, and grow fat, and give butter in plenty, &c.

The next day we went to visit the villages of the Thodares. We climbed quite half a league above this village, and on reaching the summit nothing was visible on every side but mountains and valleys; all was desert without a single fruit or forest tree, excepting in an occasional damp place where there were a few forest trees. There are no palm trees or jacks in all these mountains, nor any fruit trees, as I have said. As we traversed these mountains and valleys, every now and then we saw a herd of buffaloes in the distance with a Thodar or two guarding them. In this way we met four or five Thodares and sent them to fetch the rest. As no women were visible, I promised one a looking-glass if he would go and fetch them. He hastened away up a mountain and brought back four women, who remained at a distance through timidity and would not join the rest. I sent them word that they must approach if they wanted looking-glasses, and then they came up. After this we went on for another half a league or more and came upon two Thodar huts at the foot of a mountain. They were like a large barrel half buried in the ground, or like a covered bier. They were nine spans in length and the same in breadth; and six spans in the highest part. The hoops of the barrel were of thick reeds like Indian cane, bent into a hoop with both ends fixed in the ground. Pieces of wood from the bush were laid across these reeds and covered with grass. The front was made of stakes set on end, like organ pipes, with no other filling whatever. The door was a span and four inches wide, and two spans and an inch high, so that the Errari and myself could scarcely enter, and inside we had to kneel. There were two beds with grass mattresses on each side, and a small pit in the middle of the hut which was the fireplace. There was a little window on one side, a finger's length high and a span wide. Beside these houses was a pen for buffaloes, and close by another little house where they make the butter. They said the other houses were half a league distant from each other. Thirty or forty Thodares assembled; they are clothed in a large sheet with no other covering but a small loincloth four or five fingers wide. Their arms are long sticks smeared with butter; when new they look like strips of white paper at a distance, but they cure them and they turn black. They wear long beards, and rather long hair, but not so

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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long as the Pallem. It was two months since I had shaved or cut my hair, so that I looked like one of them, and they did not wonder at me as they did at the Cacenar, who went there with no hair or beard. They never shave except when one of them dies. At a death they kill half of the dead man's buffaloes, and the other half goes to his heirs. If he has no buffaloes each person gives one, and half of them are killed and the rest are left. They burn the dead body, but it must be wrapped in a veil of pure silk, which they call a toda-pata, worth five or six fanams; and if this is lacking they must wait for it, though it be for a year. In the meantime, in order to preserve the body they open it at the loins, take out the entrails, and cut off the occiput; then they place it in an arbour and dry it in the smoke. Two brothers marry the same woman; she lives with the eldest at night, and with the youngest by day. Others have two or three wives. They do not eat fowls, cow's flesh, nor goat, and so they breed none of these. They do not eat buffalo's flesh, but only wild boar and venison. They eat no salt. They have no crops of any kind, and no occupation but the breeding of buffaloes, on whose milk and butter they live. They have no vassals, as was reported; on the contrary, they are subject and pay tribute to the Badega chiefs. When they eat they hold the rice in their left hand, take a lump of butter in the right, mix it with the rice, and so eat it; when their meal is finished they rub their hands together and wipe them on their hair, and so they all smell of butter. In colour they resemble the Malabars, some whiter and some darker; they are generally moderately tall. Their ears are pierced or bored, not long like those of the Malabars, and some wear a silver circle in them like a ring. They wear black threads round their necks, and some have a large silver bead like a pater-noster in front. I had a skein of black thread in my pocket and drew it out; a Thodar seeing it begged it of me earnestly two or three times. I told him that I must give it to the women, and I divided it in four and gave it to the four women above mentioned, and I gave them a looking-glass each, with which they were very delighted. The women wear nothing but a long sheet like the men; they wrap it round them, throwing the right end over the left shoulder, and so cover themselves. Their hair hangs loose, but their faces are uncovered. I said that the women lower down wore bracelets, chains, and jewels on their arms and necks, and in their ears, and thereupon one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

175 of them uncovered her arm, on which she wore four large well-made copper bracelets. The sheet worn by both men and women is so filthy that it looks as if it would not burn if you put it on the fire, and if water were thrown on it, it would not penetrate. The men look after the house, cook the rice, do the milking, make the butter, and mind the buffaloes. The women do nothing but pound the rice, and sometimes mind the buffaloes in the absence of their husbands. In speaking with the Pallem I asked him whether he or his wife cooked the rice; he replied that it was a great disgrace among them to allow the wife to cook the rice. The Thodares being thus assembled, I told them that, hearing that we were of the same race and law, I had come to visit them, and as I knew they had neither priest, book, nor law, I being a priest had come to teach them. I asked if they were glad to have me with them, and they replied that they rejoiced greatly at it. I asked if they would follow all my instructions, and they said they would. Then I asked if they would leave off adoring the buffalo and the 300 pagodas. They replied that they feared the buffaloes and pagodas would do them some harm. I said I would be answerable for it, and that I had more power than the pagodas. Then they said that if I would defend them they would willingly leave off adoring them. I asked if they would give up the custom of two brothers marrying one woman, and they said they would. I asked if they thought it right to give their wives to the Pallem; an old man replied, "If it is the command of God, what can we do?" After this they asked me of their own accord to show them the pictures and the book; I did so, and they paid homage to them with great rejoicing. I also gave them a looking-glass each, and after discoursing and conversing with them for some time I asked them to give me two children to take away with me; they excused themselves, saying that they could not do so just then. I asked from whence they were descended, and one replied that he had heard that they came from the East, and some remained there while some settled lower down. They were amazed at seeing white men, and asked me to uncover my arms for them to look at. They were delighted with the Errari's red tunic and gold buttons, and velvet cap with the gold braid.

At last I took leave of them, promising to return at some time during the year and remain with them longer. It did not seem to me necessary to delay any longer, nor to lay any foundation of our

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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faith, as I do not think that the present is a suitable time for the Company to undertake such out-of-the-way enterprises, since it cannot attend to others of greater importance which are close at hand, for want of workers. The Thodares only number a thousand, and these are scattered about four mountains, two belonging to the Malabar, where there are 300. I went to one of these which belongs to the Samorim, another belonging to the Naique, where there are another 300, or a little over; and another belonging to another king, near Charti, where there are another 300 or rather more; the whole distance being eight Canara leagues, which are sixteen in Malabar. And they live scattered about—every month or thereabouts they move their village. The whole district is uninhabited desert. The winds and climate are very cold; the water is excellent, but icy cold; it flows down from the mountains; it cannot be drunk at a draught because of the cold. One is obliged to pause, and after drinking one has to wait awhile for the gums and teeth to get warm. The journey there and back is very laborious and can only be undertaken in January and February. From Manarcate upwards it is impossible to travel in a litter. On the return journey I was very fatigued and asked if it were possible to find men to carry me. I was told that there were plenty of men, but that it was impossible to be carried over these mountains, where one person alone could only climb up and down with great difficulty. Besides this, the Errari and all the rest were very pressing that I should return before any of us fell ill; the Errari said he was himself indisposed, as well as some of the others. They could not tell me anything concerning the Blessed Trinity. I asked them why they wore their hair loose, and a Badaga replied that in the time of Charamparimatei they killed the father of the Thodares, and they asked, "Who killed our father?" and they answered that God killed him; whereupon they unbound their hair and said, "Never will we bind up our hair again until we have killed God, in revenge for our father [and] for the broken pots." On the return journey the Badegas showed us a shorter and less difficult road, which took us two days and a half, but saved going up and down the last steep mountains. However, there was no lack of mountains to climb, but they were not so difficult, though the first day we climbed down one which was very high and steep. We numbered fourteen with the guides. There was a Badega village at the foot of the mountain, and seeing us they took us for a hostile band and fled into the bush. Our

175 guides called to them not to fly, for we were men of peace who had been to visit the Thodares, whereupon they returned, and coming down we found them armed with their little lances, but we saw the women and children still hidden in the bush. A little further on we came upon four or five more houses; these people also fled into the bush, the women carrying the children on their backs. The second day we slept in the bush two leagues from Manarecate. There were tigers and elephants about, but God preserved us and we all reached Calicut in safety, thanks be to Our Lord. Several afterwards fell sick, however, among whom was the Variel, who is still suffering. May God restore him, for he has promised me to become a Christian, and has already broken his own law as regards food, &c.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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'We did not kill them to please any God, but because it was our custom.

'The mother never nursed the child—no, never! and the parents did not kill it. How could we do so! Do you think we could kill it ourselves!

'Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the opening of the buffalo pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals![2] We never did such things! and it is all nonsense, that we drowned it in buffalo's milk!'[3]

'Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—*that would be a sin*—papum; but when we had one girl,[4] or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed.

'This is the way it was done. An old woman—kelachi[5]—used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth, with cloth thus'—here pantomimic action. 'It would shortly droop its head and go to sleep. We then *buried* it in the ground.[6] The kelachi got a present of four annas[7] for the deed.

'I don't know if the infants thus killed, go to amnôr. Who can tell such a thing!'

195

[2] I find the following passage in a letter from the Collector of Coimbatore, dated 25th June, 1856, to the address of the Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, very kindly placed at my disposal by the Revenue Department, Madras; 'The mode of destroying the infant, if a female, is by exposing it the next morning at the door of the cattle kraal; when first opened, the whole herd, half wild, rush over and annihilate the wretched infant—the Todas never lifting their own hand against it.'

[3] This response had reference to a report then current, of this second mode of destroying children.

[4] The truth of this statement is confirmed by a letter from Mr. J. Sullivan, Collector of Coimbatore, dated 5th July, 1820, to the Secretary to the Governor of Fort St. George.

[5] Also means 'a female friend.' See Chapter VII., Note 1.

[6] It will be remembered that Todas *burn* their dead. By burying these infants, can it be, that the people thought they had got rid of them *for ever and ever*? Hence my question, to which the next paragraph forms a reply.

[7] Four annas is equal to sixpence of English money.

174 long ago deserted, some of which by the girth of the trees which have since grown up in them, have evidently been abandoned for centuries.

177 It would appear that the Todas have always maintained some intercourse with the 489 western coast, as the cowrie necklaces of the women imply. The earliest notice of 175 them I know of, is to be found in the Journal of the Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de Meneses; Coimbra, 1606, the following extract from which has been kindly furnished me by Dr. Gundert:—

175 "From Malabar the Vicars' regular report, from their hitherto neglected and paganised churches, came in to Goa (in 1599). At this time two Cattanars had been to "Todamala in the country of the Zamorin, 50 leagues distant from the furthest churches. "There (in Todamala) there are still Christians, who speak a language different from "the Malabar language. They call their god 'Bidi'* (=fado, fatum). They have a "Trinity of persons, viz., an old man, a youth, and a small bird. They say Thomas "taught them, but because the king of Mylapūr killed all Christians, they took refuge "on these mountains, that there their Cattanars have died, their books have been lost, "and all idea of God has disappeared, but still they have a picture very much injured "of that Trinity. The objects of that picture they try to keep in mind. They knew "that in Cochin there were people of their own caste, on which account they called "the two Cattanars brothers, and summoned men and women together to hear them, "when the Cattanars explained from the picture the Trinity to the people. The "Jesuit Roy was very glad of this report, and spoke of it as not a singular instance. "In other places also (near the hills) remains of former Christian congregations were "discovered. He (Roy) became Bishop of Angimale in 1601, and Archbishop of "Cranganore in 1605."

This report seems to have led to further investigations, as we find by the following abstract of a manuscript in the British Museum kindly furnished me by the Reverend Mr. Whitehouse:—

At the synod of Udiamparūr in the state of Cochin,† held under Archbishop Meneses in 1599, information having been received that there were certain villages of Christians in a country called Todamala, who anciently belonged to the Syrian church of Malabar, but then had nothing of Christianity except the bare name, it was ordered that priests and preachers should be sent thither immediately to redeem them to the Catholic faith, baptize them, &c. Francisco Roy, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Syrian Christians, in 1602 sent a priest and deacon of the Christians of St. Thomas with a good guide to find out the place and collect information. They reached the Todamala; but, as the account brought back by them, was not so sure and complete as was desirable, Bishop Roy requested the Vice-Principal of the Jesuits to depute a priest of his own order to make further inquiries. The Rev. Jacome Ferreiri was selected for this mission. He started from Calicut, the place of his residence, and was permitted to return safely, after undergoing great exposure and fatigue, with a good deal of information about the hill tribes, their manners and customs, but with no tidings of any Christian colony, which had either become extinct or removed elsewhere, if it had ever been there at all.

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* Dr. Gundert says, "Bidi or Vidhi is a well-known name of Brahma."

† Todamala is included in a list of Christian churches given in Assemani Bibl. Orient., but this only refers to the date of this same synod.

6/15 At Calicut he wrote a formal report, dated April 1st, 1608, from which the following particulars are gleaned:—

He proceeded viâ Manarecate 13 leagues inland from Tanûr. A native convert, a nephew of the Samuri Rajah, accompanied him, and some others. Their route led them over steep and rugged mountains, infested with elephants and tigers. At Manarecate they were told that the Todamala was 6 Canarese or 12 Malabar leagues distant, and that it would take them two days and a half to reach their destination. Here they provided themselves with extra clothing as a protection against the cold of the mountains, and also provision for their journey. The Nairs who accompanied them wisely left their weapons behind them, lest the hill people should take alarm. The evening of the second day from Manarecate* found them at the foot of a steep hill up which their route lay. On the third day they reach a Badaga village called Melcuntao (? Mâlir or Mâlkûndah), containing between one and two hundred inhabitants. The priest and deacon previously sent are said to have arrived thus far. Here they met also with the chief of the Todas, who agreed to call his people together so that they might have an opportunity of conversing with them. On the following day the Jesuit father tried to converse with the Badagas on the subject of Christianity. He also had an interview with the Toda priest called Pallem (Pâlâl) outside the Badaga village, which he would not enter for fear of pollution. They saw some Toda women, and gave them looking glasses and hanks of thread, with which they were much pleased. The third day of their sojourn on the hills was spent in a visitation of some of the Toda settlements, which are very correctly described, as also their dress, diet, manners, and customs. They could not give much account of their own origin, and gave no information leading to the supposition that either they or their ancestors ever had anything to do with any form or profession of Christianity. They simply said that they had heard that their ancestors came from the East, that one party settled on these mountains, and another party descended into the plains. Their number was supposed to be about 1,000, scattered pretty equally over four mountain districts. Feeling the cold, and the Samorin's nephew beginning to be indisposed, they now began to arrange for their descent into the low country. Ere they left, they promised to return within a year, and make a longer stay. Circumstances however prevented them from so doing. The friendly Badagas showed them a better road than that by which they made the journey thus.

Very probably the records of the Portuguese missionaries on the Western Coast would furnish us with further information regarding the Todas.

The only other notice (also furnished by Dr. Gundert) I possess, is the following:

Il Viaggio all' Indie Orientale del padre P. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, Procuratore Generale dei Carmelitani scalzi. Roma 1672, Venetia 1683.

"The Todri, a small tribe of rather fair people on the mountains behind Poniane in "the kingdom of the Samorin, pray to the buffaloes by which they live. They choose the

* Mr. Whitehouse says, "I think the Manarecate must be the place called Manar in Ward's Government "Survey Map, about Lat. 11°, Long. 76° 30", because it was 13 leagues inland from Tanur, and from thence "12 leagues to the Todamala. There is a Manar at the foot of the Sankapatti Ghât, but this is too near. "This idea receives support from Buchanan's Journey through Mysore and Canara, Vol. ii. p. 494, where he "speaks of a tract of land occupying part of the mountains between Malabar and Coimbatore, divided into two "districts, Attapalli and Agatte-Cudaw, and says that the pass leading to Attapalli is called Manarghât."

975 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
973 from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought
173 about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
723 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
726 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pālchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute emuneration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,* and Nātanēri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
723 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Māttinād mund, near the top of the Segūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Crocrmund road.

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Kuriolv, they are too old or infirm to serve. Kuriolv is still on the *naim*, and his influence is entirely predominant, and it appears that he has been instrumental in altering the constitution of the council very largely. The number of representatives has been increased, and the following were the members in 1902:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52) of Kuudr, Perner and Tebner (68), of Keadr, Parkeidi (21), Paners (23) and Siriar (20) of Taradr and Pidrvan (9) of Kars. Thus several members of the Kuudrol and Taradrol are serving, while there appears to be no representative of the Nòdrsol; and I was told by several Todas that Perner and Tebner are on the council because they are friends of Kuriolv, though, as members of the Keadr clan, they have no right whatever to the position. 623

On the slopes below the hill called Mirson, near Paikara, there are the remains of ruined walls marking a place where the *naim* used to meet. This place is called Idrgûdipem, and seems to have been at one time the chief meeting-place.

At the present time the *naim* meets anywhere. I have seen the council sitting in the compound of the bungalow at Paikara and on one occasion, when I was working in a bungalow at the Ooty Club, the *naim* sat in the grounds of the club. In general, they now meet at the places which happen to be most convenient for the chief members.

The members usually sit in a semicircular row. If they are considering a dispute between two parties, representatives of the parties take part in the sitting, and in these cases the members of the *naim* sit in the middle of the row while the representatives sit on either wing. 623 627 578

During my visit the council was chiefly occupied with the various complicated transactions which are always arising out of the custom of transferring wives from one man to another. This custom is the chief source of disputes among the Todas, and at times the *naim* may sit for several days before one case is settled.

I am doubtful whether the *naim* should have a definite head, but at the present time it certainly has such in the person of Kuriolv of Kuudr. He is the senior representative of the *manikudupel* of Kuudr, and is therefore the natural representative of this clan on the *naim*. He is highly intel- 623 159 555 176

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623 159 555 176

ligent, and gave me the impression that he might have risen to a high place in any community. He has the reputation among the Todas of being very eloquent and of having great persuasive powers. When persuasion fails, there is very little doubt that he resorts to intimidation of some kind, though I could not discover what his means of intimidation are.

FIG. 60.—KURIOLV AND PILIMURG.

On one occasion the *naim* spent a whole day discussing a marriage case in the compound at Paikara. On the following day they met in a distant part of the hills to continue the discussion of the case, and I was told that this was arranged by Kuriolv because he hoped to enforce his wishes in some secluded spot more effectively than in the publicity of Paikara where the evidences of the 'government' probably lent moral support to his opponents.

However Kuriolv effects his purpose, there is no doubt that

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he almost entirely dominated the Toda people at the time of my visit. We have already seen that he has succeeded in altering the constitution of the *naim*, and several examples are given in this book of his interference in the normal course of Toda affairs; interference usually in favour of his own family or friends. In at least one case (see Chap. XVI) during my visit he considered himself superior to ceremonial laws. 159 623 555 176

He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died.

I did not obtain a full account of the duties of the *naim* and of the affairs which come under its jurisdiction. There is no doubt, however, that it is largely concerned with the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families, and clans. As I have already mentioned, it seemed to me that it was almost exclusively engaged during my visit in the regulation of the disputes arising out of the *terersthi* custom. In one such case the question of funeral contributions was involved, and I have no doubt that the settlement of any dispute arising from this source would come within the province of the *naim*, and probably any doubtful point in the working of the social regulations would be submitted to it. 623 627

In addition to its functions in disputes between individuals, the *naim* has wide functions in connexion with Toda ceremonial. It decides when many ceremonies take place, and has the chief word in regulating the affairs of the *ti* dairies. Thus it appeared that the various arrangements and alterations of arrangements in connexion with the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* which were made during my visit were the work of the *naim*, or, at any rate, of its chief members.

CRIME

I have no knowledge about the power of the *naim* in criminal as opposed to civil matters. I never heard of inquiry by the *naim* into any criminal offence committed by one man against another or against the community. It is, however, [623] 674

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171 live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

234 *Buffaloes.* These are to a very large extent individual
422 property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the
428 property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes
176 among them.

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.[1] When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *îrvâkhtuûdr meilkûdr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

[1] On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kars clan.

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Thus, if sixteen buffaloes are to be divided among four brothers, the eldest and youngest would each take four, the second and third brothers would each take three, and the remaining two buffaloes would either be sold and the purchase money equally divided, or taken by one of the brothers, who would divide three-quarters of the value of the buffaloes between the other three men. If there should be only fourteen buffaloes, the eldest and youngest sons would each take four buffaloes and the others three.

234 422 428 176

The *meilkudr* is also operative if a man divides his buffaloes among his sons in his lifetime. In this case a man usually keeps some buffaloes for himself; thus I was told that a man who had sixteen buffaloes and three sons might give four buffaloes to the eldest, three to the next, and four to the youngest son, keeping five for himself.

The Todas told me of one apparent exception to the law of *meilkudr*. If, in a family of four brothers, the two elder brothers marry one wife and the two younger marry another and the two groups separate, the buffaloes would be equally divided, but this is because each would receive a *meilkudr*. If, on the other hand, the eldest and youngest son married one wife, and the other two sons married another woman, the first group would receive two buffaloes in excess of the second. The former example is, of course, an obvious consequence of the law of *meilkudr*. I only mention it because the Todas told me of it especially, and seemed to regard it as a case which might be thought to be a departure from custom.

I gave the Todas a number of hypothetical problems of buffalo division, and all were solved in accordance with the law of *meilkudr*. I have not been able to learn of any exact parallel in other parts of the world, and it seems possible that it is an independent invention of the Todas. The division is called *kudr*, or horn, and it seems to me quite possible that at some time it occurred to an ingenious Toda that the two extremities of the family should be regarded as the two horns of the family, and that this fact should be recognised in the division of property, or, it may be, that the custom of endowing the eldest of the family above his fellows

176 existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it
234 was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore
422 the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda
428 mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

234 There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies
422 involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a
425 member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *tererstbi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

234 Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas
609 and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

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198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
234 only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

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[See categories 437 and 609 for additional information about Toda relationships with neighboring groups]

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000 associated with belief. The ceremonial in Torres Straits had been swept away, while the stories of the legendary heroes were almost all that remained to the people of the old life and were in consequence still cherished.

177 538 797 Among the Todas missionary influence, whether of Christian or Hindu, has had little effect, and the ritual of the Todas in some parts of the hills is almost, if not quite, untouched by outside influences.[1] The effect of intercourse with other peoples seems to be showing itself largely in the form of loss of interest in the stories of the past.

171 One of the most striking aspects of the customs and ceremonies of the Todas is that these have in many cases no exact parallels in other places. Perhaps the most definite result which modern research in anthropology has brought out is the extraordinary similarity of custom throughout the world. Customs apparently identical are found in races so widely separated geographically and so diverse ethnologically that it seems certain the customs must have developed in total independence of one another. There seems to be an identity of idea actuating custom in peoples very different from one another in their surroundings and conditions of life.

The nearest parallels to Toda custom and ceremonial are undoubtedly to be found in the Indian peninsula, but even here, though there is often a general resemblance, this breaks down on going into detail. Even when the resemblance is so close as to suggest a common origin, the differences in detail are often very great.[2]

177 One clue to this exceptional nature of Toda custom and belief is to be found in the geographical position of the people, which has to a large extent isolated them from the world in general.

133 The plateau on which they live, broken by numerous hills and valleys, is the top of a scarp formed by the meeting of the Eastern and Western Ghats. Some of the hills project

[1] As we shall see later, this is only true of some parts of the hills and some institutions.

[2] With more exact knowledge of Indian customs and ceremonies which have lingered on side by side with, though often obscured by Brahmanism, it is possible that these differences would be found to be much slighter than the evidence at present available suggests.

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more than the rest above the general level of the plateau, which ranges from 6,000 to 7,500 feet above the sea, and the loftiest of these hills reaches the height of 8,760 feet. The plateau is so high that, though it is situated only about eleven degrees from the equator, the thermometer rarely rises above 70° F., and in the nights of the cold season may touch the freezing point. 133 [132]

In every direction the sides of the hills leading up to the plateau are steep and often precipitous. To the south-east, east, and north-east there is a rapid fall of about 5,000 feet to the plains of the Coimbatore district, though to the south this plain only forms a gap about twenty miles in breadth between the Nilgiri and the Anaimalai Hills. On the north-west the slope is more gradual and is broken by the Wainad district about 3,000 feet above the sea. To the north there is a steep fall, but only for about 4,000 feet, to the plateau of Mysore, which is about 3,000 feet above the sea.

The south-western part of the hills is known as the Kundahs and may be regarded as a range separate from the greater part of the plateau, from which it is divided by a wide valley, the Avalanche Valley. From the Kundahs there is an extremely precipitous fall to the Malabar district.

The steep sides leading up to the plateau on which the Todas live are clothed with thick, almost impenetrable jungle, which is extremely malarious, so that a night spent on the way to the summit is very likely to produce fever.

The hills appear to have been for long an object of reverence to Hindus on account of their height and inaccessibility. Dubois states that "as it is very difficult to reach the top of this mountain, a view of the summit alone (and it is visible a long way off) is considered sufficient to remove the burden of sin from the conscience of any person who looks at it."[1]

When the hills were first visited by Europeans, their use as a sanatorium was long delayed owing to the difficulty of making roads, and it was not till after many years that the hills became a regular resort of the European population. We shall see later that the isolation of the Todas has certainly 177

[1] *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, part ii., chap. v.

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177 not been complete, and that the hills have been invaded by strangers, especially from the side of the Wainad; but the isolation has probably been considerable, and, for long periods, it may have been complete.

101 177 In their isolation from the world in general, however, the Todas have not been alone. Two other tribes, the Kotas and the Badagas, occupy the plateau with them, and the peculiar relations between the three tribes are among the most interesting features of the social life of the Nilgiris. The Todas are a purely pastoral people, limiting their activities almost entirely to the care of their buffaloes and to the complicated ritual which has grown up in association with these animals. The Badagas are chiefly agriculturists; the Kotas are artisans and mechanics; and both supply the Todas with part of their produce. There is here a well-marked instance of division of labour, in which the labour of the Todas is reduced to a minimum. Their privileged position is usually held to be due to the tradition that they are the "lords of the soil," and the produce which the Todas receive from the other tribes is supposed to be of the nature of tribute.

The jungle on the slopes of the hills is inhabited by two wild, dwarfish tribes, the Kurumbas and Irulas, who have a general resemblance to the many other jungle tribes of Southern India. These people are much feared by the tribes of the plateau for their supposed magical powers, but they have little to do with the complex social life of the others.

101 131 177 The district in which the three tribes live is not extensive. The extreme length of the plateau, from east to west, is about forty-two miles, and its average breadth, from north to south, about ten miles, the maximum breadth being fifteen miles in the centre of the district. The total area of the plateau is less than 500 square miles. In this district there live about 800 Todas, 1,200 Kotas, and 34,000 Badagas. In addition, there are now extensive European settlements, the largest of which is Ootacamund, the seat of the Madras Government for six months of the year. The other large European settlements are Coonoor and Kotagiri, while Wellington, near Coonoor, is a military station.

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts,

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attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation. 114 127

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people. 114 177 192

The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of 103 114 191

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the Todas, and similarly with the names of institutions such as clans, dairies, or ceremonies. The practice of giving Badaga names in their intercourse with Europeans has become so engrained that a Toda invariably uses these names when speaking to a European. During the first few weeks of my work, I received exclusively Badaga names, and to the end of my visit, whenever I visited a new district, the Badaga names would crop up till the people found that I wanted Toda and not Badaga. Kiunievan, who was the chief informant of Mr. Breeks in 1872, is still alive, and when I asked him why he gave Mr. Breeks the Badaga names in every case, he answered "He did not seem to want anything else," and this answer seems to me to give the clue to much of the error which has found its way into many of the accounts which have been given of the Todas.

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One of the most serious errors which has arisen in this way is one connected with the Toda clans. Every account which has been given of the clan-system of the Todas is that of a system which is current among the Badagas as the Toda system, but has only a limited correspondence with the actual system as it is in use among the Todas themselves. Every Toda, if asked by a European to what clan or division he belongs, will promptly give his division according to the Badaga classification, and this has led to the incorporation of this classification in all the accounts of the Todas which deal with their social organisation.

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Some words are necessary about the general plan of the book. I should have preferred to begin with the social organisation, and to approach the religious aspect of the life of the Todas through the ceremonies accompanying the chief incidents of life, including birth, marriage, and death. The ideas borrowed from the ritual of the dairy, however, so pervade the whole of Toda ceremonial, that I have been obliged to consider the ritual of the dairy at an early stage. After a preliminary chapter sketching the general character and life of the people, I have therefore given a full description of the elaborate ceremonial which centres round the dairy; and on this follow the accounts of other ceremonies and sacred institutions and a general discussion of the

342 the hut is always very small, and is closed by a door which slides over the opening on its inner side.

Some houses are much longer than others, with a door at each end and a central partition, so as to form a double hut which is called *epotirikhthars*, *i.e.*, "both-ways-turned house." This kind of hut did not seem to be common, and I only saw three or four examples, of which one is shown in Fig. 8.

A much more common kind of double hut is called *merkalars*, *i.e.*, "other-side house," in which the back part of the hut is partitioned off, with a door at one side.

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FIG. 8.—THE VILLAGE OF PEIVÒRS, SHOWING A DOUBLE HUT (IN THE BACKGROUND). THE TWO BUILDINGS ON THE LEFT ARE DAIRIES, AND THE STRUCTURE IN THE CENTRE IS A CALF-HOUSE.

166 In some Toda villages there may now be found huts of the
177 same kind as those of the Badagas. In the cases in which I
342 found such huts, I was told that they had been built by Badagas who had lived in the villages while the Toda occupants were away. Todas may also occasionally be found living away from their own villages, usually near tea plantations. They do this because there is a demand for buffalo manure at the plantations, and when living in this way they not uncommonly use huts of the Badaga pattern.

342 In front of the hut on either side of the door there are
352 usually raised seats called *kwottün*, and there are similar

234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to
177 the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain
412 a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground
415 outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkaṭi*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There
171 are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

The Care of the Ordinary Buffaloes

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda
463 terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

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234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali*, where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir*, or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun*, kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokk* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

●177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni*,
292 he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *pòdrshtuni*, is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti*, one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani*, are

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kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions. 234 778

There were several points of interest about the lamps used to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspoh*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *öuavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*ponnol*), and on most days only one is used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is butter. 234 354 [314] [177]

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *tòratthwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The

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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were
234x believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—
221 and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements
233 and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due
796 to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certainly vanish.

234x As we have seen, the migration to the relatively un-
[illegible] important dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday,
796 but when going to the more important places a Sunday must be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the
● 177 new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

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less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also accompany the procession. [177]

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take part in the procession must go without food on the morning of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual. The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the *pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere, is in or near the wall of the *tu*. 234x 221 796

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*. The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions. 234x 284 415 482

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the *piitusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug* is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar* are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back, one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy, and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi* is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate between those of the inner and those of the outer room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its 796

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This was the origin of the division of the Keadr people into the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol.

One day Kwoten went to the *wars ti* of Pan and took buttermilk and slept there, and he did the same at the *arsaiir ti* of Kwòdrdoni, and since that day the people of Pan have had the privilege of taking buttermilk and sleeping at the places of each *ti*.

Kwoten also made two *teiks* (stones or wooden posts at which buffaloes are killed at the funerals), the *parsteiks* for the Panol and the *kirshteiks* for the Kuirsiol.

[177] It is owing to the example of Kwoten that the Todas now take meals in Kurumba villages. Before his time they had never done so, but Kwoten one day went to a Kurumba village and took food, and since that time all Todas have done so.

Kwoten was also the first Toda to go to a Kota village. He wanted one day to go to Mitur in the Wainad, and as it was getting dark and he was still on his way, he went to the Kota village of Kulgadi (Gudalur). He sat on their *tiin*, or bed, got new pots and food from them, and, taking both to the stream called Marspa or Marsva, he cooked and ate the food there, and then, returning to the village, slept on a Kota *tiin*. Since that time Todas have gone to that village, and have done as Kwoten did, but they will not go to any other Kota village.

One day Kwoten went with Erten of Keadr, who was spoken of as his servant, to Pòni, in the direction of Polkat (Calicut). At Pòni there is a stream called Palpa, the commencement of which may be seen on the Kundahs. Kwoten and Erten went to drink water out of the stream at a place where a goddess (*teu*) named Terkosh had been bathing. When Kwoten was about to drink from his hands, he found in the water a long golden hair; he measured the length of the hair and found it was greater than his height; he had a long stick in his hand called *pirs*, and found that the hair was longer than this stick. Then he asked Erten about it. Erten knew it was the hair of a *teu*, but thought it best not to tell Kwoten, and tried to persuade him that it was of no importance, and proposed that they should return home.

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Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the re-

mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the buttermilk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends smallpox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy myself which was correct.

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

173 pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of
177 the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a
262 god and said that he would dance before them, and did so
773 like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever
776 he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *teuol*, or diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meilitars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (Panyas), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat the flesh of a calf while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

Other Gods

773 There are very many other deities. Of the following I can
776 give little more than the names.

Atiato is the *nòdrodchi* of the Kwòdrdoni clan and also of Pedrkars. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

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773 Konto or Konteu is the *nòdrodchi* of the Panol, and lives on
776 the hill Konto, to which fire is set by the *palol* of the Kars or Pan *ti* (see Chap. XIII).

Kòdrtho is the *nòdrodchi* of Nidrsi. He played a part in the history of Kwoto, and according to some accounts he was the *mun*, or maternal uncle, of this god.

Near the source of the Paikara river, there is a cave in which there is a pool called Alvoi. Sometimes this pool gives forth a loud bubbling noise, and this is believed to be due to a *ten* dipping himself in the water. The name of the god is Alvoi Kalvoi, Kalvoi, situated at some distance from the pool, being a hill on which the god usually lives.

There are other gods about whose histories I have no information. Tiligush is the *nòdrodchi* of Päm and Karadr of Taradr. Pòrzo inhabits a hill near Nòdrs, and Karzo, a hill near Kars, and the names of other gods, such as Kaladrvan, Teikhun, Peigwa, Karmunteu, Kondilteu and Mundilteu, are mentioned in the prayers of the *ti* dairies.

114 In addition to these, who are certainly true Toda gods, the
●177 Todas also pay respect to the gods of the other tribes on the Nilgiris, while occasionally the names of Hindu gods are men-
776 tioned in their ceremonies. If a Toda be asked if he worships one of these gods, he will almost certainly assent, but at the same time he distinguishes them from his own gods. The only deity who seemed to be confused with their own gods by some of the Todas was Petkon, whose Badaga name was said to be Betakarasamy. Breeks calls him Betikhan, and states that he is a hunting god; and according to some Todas Petkon was a son of Teikirzi.

Previous accounts of the Toda gods have been very erratic. Some writers have given the names of Hindu gods. Breeks gives the names of dairies as those of gods, though he also records abbreviated versions of several of the stories given in this chapter. The most curious account, however, of the Toda gods is that of Marshall, who gives[1] the following as the names of five gods which are muttered when milk is put on the sacred bells:—Ânmungâno, Godingâtho, Beligoshu, Dekulâria, and Kazudâva. We puzzled over these words for

[1] P. 142.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 190. Toda

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776

a long time, and could not discover the names of gods even remotely resembling them. Finally it became clear that the last was "*kars ud âva*" ("Give me one rupee"). Similarly there was little doubt that "Beligoshu, Dekulâria" stood for "*beli karsu tudkersia*" ("Will you not give me a silver coin?"), the Badaga equivalent of the last word being very much like Dekulâria. The first two names we could not identify with certainty, but the first is possibly "*en mûn gânei*" ("Do not see my face"), and the second is possibly the name of a Badaga buffalo-pen.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

are not used at funerals. They are also distinguished as *patatmani* and *ertatmani*, a distinction not met with in any other village dairy. It seems probable that they are the representatives of the two kinds of bells of a *ti*, the *mani* proper and the *kudrsmani*. The *ertatmani* of Kiudr are 'fed' with buttermilk, a procedure not followed, so far as I know, in any other dairy, but it may be that this is a feature of the procedure of the *ti* dairy which escaped me. Certainly the most likely explanation of the existence of these bells at Kiudr is that they are survivals of its former position as a *ti* dairy. 173 234 778

The villages of Kiudr and Teidr both belong to the Teivaliol, and this raises the question whether this division of the Todas may not have possessed *ti* herds and *ti* dairies of their own at one time, and may not always have had to be content with providing dairymen for institutions belonging to the Tartharol. No information could be given on this point, but it seems unlikely that dairies and places belonging to a Tarthar clan should have been handed over to the Teivaliol when they were no longer used as *ti* dairies and *ti* places.

Certain Tarthar villages are also said to have had at one time *ti* dairies, especially the sacred places of Nòdrs and Òdr. This probably means that there is a tradition that the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were at one time kept at these places which, as we have seen, are still visited by the *palol* during his ordination ceremonies.

The process of extinction of *ti* institutions can be seen in progress at the present time. The Nidrsi *ti* is not now in working order; there has been no *palol* for some years and its dairies are unoccupied. It is said that a *palol* would have to be appointed temporarily if it was desired to perform the second funeral ceremonies of a Nidrsi man, but in the present condition of the Nidrsiol, it seems to me not at all unlikely, either that the rule will be disregarded, or that the second funeral ceremonies will not be performed, and that the Nidrsi *ti* will become absolutely extinct, possibly dragging down another institution into extinction with it. 178 234 177

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* is now only active for a short time once every year in order to satisfy a ceremonial requirement of the 178 234

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177 178 234 Kotas, and this institution may possibly soon become little more than a name. If it were not for the Kotas, it would undoubtedly be as near extinction as the *ti* of Nidrsi. One *palol* of the Pan *ti* has recently ceased to be appointed, and the same difficulty which has led to his disappearance will probably sooner or later vacate the other office, and Pan will follow in the footsteps of the other clans. Many of the dairies belonging even to the more prosperous *ti* institutions are now disused, and some have completely vanished. The legend of Kwoto preserves a tradition of ceremonial accompanying the migration of the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* which has now entirely disappeared, and nothing is known of the special features of ritual which were practised at many *ti* dairies which have become extinct.

Of dairies of other grades, the *poh* of Kanòdrs is now only occupied for a short time once a year, and its ceremonial may soon also become extinct. The conical *poh* of Kars and the seven-roomed *kudrpali* of Nòdrs are dairies which have ceased to exist, and with the extinction of the latter have gone completely all traces of the ritual which was practised in this kind of dairy, and nothing is known as to the meaning of the seven rooms.

Some of these changes are recent, and due to the altered conditions produced by the general invasion of the Nilgiris, but others date back to a time before Europeans came to the hills, and were due to intrinsic conditions, chiefly the hardships connected with the ritual practised in certain of the dairies. The altered surroundings of the Todas are undoubtedly hastening the process of decay, and institutions which would probably have lasted for centuries will now almost certainly disappear in a few decades.

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Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a *teuol*, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 191 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a god connected with the division to which the majority of the diviners belong. 787 791

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas. 177 787 791 198 776

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobuv is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda 787 791

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portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffer misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death. 124 754 578

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain. 177 754 787

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs (6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account. 177 754

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes 234 787 754

234 that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I
787 have no information, however, as to the method which the
754 sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any one who has offended him.

124 The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came
754 to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

177 The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than
754 that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub* = Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied.
[721] If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

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used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 777
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvaznudr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvaznudr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this 755
kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or 756
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incantations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Sinpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkòren* may be spoken of as an *utpol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *utpol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

755 *pathanmul*.[1] The thorn and some of the salt are then put into
● 177 the fire, and the *utpol* utters the following incantation :—

Pithioten Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirsktim idith, tan âv kan pudrs kan
his mother eye perish eye

pudri ûmâ; tan in kan pudrs kan pudri ûmâ;
be destroyed may; father

and this formula is repeated, substituting for *av* or *in* the names of the following relatives :—*an*, *akkan*, *nòdrved*, *mun*, *mimi*, *pian*, *piav*.[2] Then follows the same formula repeated, in which the names of various tribes are substituted for those of the relatives, as "*mav kan pudrs kan pudri uma*"—Badaga eye perish, may his eye be destroyed." The people mentioned are *mav* (Badaga), *pedr* (Tamil), *suti* (? chetties), *kurub* (Kurumbas), *erl* (Irulas), *panin* (Panyas).[3] The last clause is *möditi kan pudrs kan pudri uma*, extending the imprecation to the women of all the people already mentioned. When the incantation is finished, the remainder of the salt is eaten by the sick man.

755 The Toda *utkòren* may practise 'absent treatment.' If a man wishes to treat a sufferer from the evil eye, and is unable to visit his patient, he puts the salt on the ground and strokes it with the thorn of *pathanmul*, repeating the above incantation as he strokes. He then sends the salt to the sick man, by whom it is eaten.

The treatment in any case is repeated till it has been done three times.

[234] If it is a buffalo which is suffering from the evil effects of *kanarvasnudr*, the *utkòren* use the same method, and the salt is eaten by the buffalo.

278 In the special case in which the evil is produced by saying that a man is looking well or is well dressed, the *utkòren* have
755 a different method. They take a piece of the root called *kabudri*,[4] and a plant called *kwagal*, and squeeze the juice of both into a vessel.

[1] The leaves of this plant, *Solanum indicum*, are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

[2] For the meaning of these kinship-terms, see Chap. XXI.

[3] It is noteworthy that the Kotas are not included.

[4] This is the plant, *Euphorbia Rothiana*, used at the purification of the *ti* dairy (p. 136).

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 302 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing. [234]

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind. [753]

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used. 751

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism. 177 776 751

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi—i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo. 755 278 824

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pudrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

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time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also 771
possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell 788
points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer 754
were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which 793
hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it
became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions,
and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of
function, though the means used continue to show a close
resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

Omens

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meet- 787
ing certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The 825
most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird 778
called *karpüls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If 177
a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the
left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the
right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice
in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the
last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left
to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting
the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who
is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole
incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends,
and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the
Badagas or other Hindus.

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birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites. 171 843 851 585

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvatpimi* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery. 844

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi maz vûrmâ; swâmi pûdikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekti*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekûkûdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days after dallivery. [177]

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

192 764 adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas *bara kedu*, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted. I never heard these terms used by the Todas themselves, who always spoke of the *etvainolkedr* and the *marvainolkedr*, though it seemed that the first funeral might sometimes be called *karchokedr*, which probably means fresh or green funeral.

177 764 The funeral ceremonies have undergone some modification in recent times owing to the intervention of the Government. Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person. This has had most influence on the second funeral ceremonies, which, largely owing to this prohibition, are now much less elaborate and prolonged than in former times.

764 The funeral ceremonies are held at certain appointed places called *kertnòdr*, different for each clan. Sometimes these places are at, or close to, villages where the people are now living; sometimes they are at places which were formerly inhabited; while in other cases, again, there is no evidence that the funeral places have ever been inhabited. In every case, whether inhabited or not, the place where a funeral is held is called a *mad*, the same name as is used for a village.

Each clan has at least two funeral places, one for males and the other for females, and in several cases a clan has more than one funeral place for each sex. Some clans have different places for the two funeral ceremonies, and the Piedrol, who have one outlying branch of their clan at Kavidi in the Wainad, have special funeral places for the first funeral of members of this branch, the second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, being held at the chief funeral place of the clan. Others, again, have a special place for boys who have not passed through the ear-piercing ceremony.

349 764 In general, a funeral hut (see Fig. 48) is specially built for the reception of the dead body, this hut being usually erected within a stone circle found at the funeral place. At the funeral of a male, this hut is called *kertnòdrpali* or *neilpali*. It is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man of certain fees from those members of other clans who have married into the family. 764

The cloth used is a red loincloth of a kind which is never worn by the Todas, but, so far as I could ascertain, it is only an ordinary cloth procured in the bazaar.

THE CREMATION

After the *kachütthti* ceremony the body is replaced on the wooden bier and borne to the *methkudi*, where the funeral pyre has been erected within the wood, usually at no great distance from the funeral hut.

The bier is laid by the side of the pyre, and the dead person is then supplied with the various necessaries for the other world. Many of the things are placed in the large pocket, or *kudsh*, between the two folds of the cloak in which the body is enclosed.

The things supplied are chiefly food, ornaments, and money. The food includes grain, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey. Some of the food is put directly into the *kudsh*, while some of the grain, rice, and honey are mixed together and put in a metal bowl. Tobacco, coconuts, ghi, or articles of food from the bazaar may be added.

A number of square boxes made of rattan and called *pettei*[1] are also placed on the bier. They are procured from Mitur in the Wainad, and are often called *miturpettei* or *mitudpettei*. Jaggery and other things are put into each of the boxes, and they are covered with cloth, tied with thread, and adorned with cowries. [439]

The ornaments placed on the corpse included rings for the fingers, armlets, necklaces, and earrings.

The money is collected from all present and put in rolls into long purses, called *tinkani*. Most of the money used for this occasion is old with Arabic inscriptions and is known by the Todas as *irajkars*, the more recent coinage being called *englishkars*. In one collection of coins which 764 436 177

[1] At the *aavamkah* (see p. 381) these boxes are only burnt at a woman's funeral, their place at a man's funeral being taken by bamboo vessels called *wak*. This is probably also true of the *avainelkah*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and
436 among the more recent coins were included two Japanese
177 yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral
372 of a man this must be done by means of fire made by friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood
766 (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three
775 times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"*Kedr*	*tütth*	*tâzâr*	*mud*	*tirk*	*tâkitth*	*tâthi.*"
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tâzâr tâkitth kûrs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 764 [533] At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived, some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instruments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine, and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and drum. The musicians become especially active while the body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the

FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

764 765 Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XVI

FUNERAL CEREMONIES—*continued*

THE MARVAINOLKEDR

765 THE second funeral may be held little more than a month
766 after the *etvainolkedr*, or there may be an interval of a year
or more, and in the case of a child both funeral ceremonies
177 may be performed on one day. In the old days the *marvainolkedr* was a great occasion. The proceedings lasted for two whole days, and were prolonged till daybreak of the third. Many buffaloes were slaughtered; they were caught on the first day, when they were shut up in the circular pen and bells put on their necks. On the second day, they were taken from the pen to the slaughtering place, and various ceremonies took place in connexion with and after their deaths. This kind of funeral was called *tuütthkedr*, meaning "the putting in buffalo-pen funeral." In the old days this putting into the pen was sometimes omitted, especially in the case of poor or unimportant people, and the catching and killing of the buffaloes were both carried out on one day, and this kind of funeral was known as *marppitkedr*. At the present time the Todas only have the *marppitkedr*, owing to the restrictions on the number of buffaloes killed. The Todas seem now to believe that the Government have actually prohibited them from putting the buffaloes into the pen at the funerals, but I could not find that this was the case.

765 It is now the custom, and seems long to have been so, to
hold the *marvainolkedr* of several people at the same time.
177 The Government allows two buffaloes to be killed for each

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

person, and if two or more funerals are held simultaneously it gives an appearance of the olden times. So far as I could ascertain, however, the funerals of two or more people only take place together when they belong to the same clan. 765 177

In some cases, however, the funeral places of two or more clans are very near one another. In such a case there might be a certain amount of combination of the different ceremonies, but some of the rites would be carried out at different spots for each clan. Something of this kind appears to have happened at the funeral ceremonies recorded by Mr. Thurston (*Bull.* i., p. 176). Similarly the *marvainolkedr* of a man or woman of the same clan may be held simultaneously owing to the fact that the funeral places for the two sexes are usually close to one another. The buffaloes would, however, be killed at different places, and the remains would not be burnt and buried at the same *azaram.* 765 618

Owing to the custom of having the *marvainolkedr* of several people simultaneously, it has often been supposed that the Todas have a kind of anniversary ceremony for all those who have died during the year, but there is no doubt that this is wrong. There was a large *marvainolkedr* soon after I left the hills (in January, 1903), but it was a ceremony for two women only, Narskuti (63 and 56), and Tersveli (63 and 52), both belonging to the Kuudrol, and it was held at Kurkalmut, the proper funeral place for the women of Kuudr. It is quite possible that owing to the restrictions on the slaughter of buffaloes it may become more and more the custom to hold several *marvainolkedr* simultaneously, and that this custom may develop into an anniversary ceremony. This could only come about, however, by throwing over the custom that the funerals of each clan should be held at a definitely appointed place, and there is no doubt that this has not yet happened. 765

At the second funeral ceremony the relics are placed in a special hut, and at a man's funeral the hut has the same name as at the *etvainolkedr*, and apparently it may sometimes happen that the same hut is used at both ceremonies. The second funeral is not always held, however, at the same place 349 765

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

etvainolkedr. At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind. 765

As the buffalo dies, the *narskedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakhudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakhudri erspimi*, or *kudri erspimi*,[1] "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartmokh* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

The Kooṭiti Ceremony

Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male which is called *kooṭiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this purpose. 234 765 177 783

[1] *K'kdri* is the generic word for creeper.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

765 234 177 783

According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes. It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol* made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called *kegampkwûdr* (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of *tudr* leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the name *koötiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments, including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain (*tagars*), necklace (*keiveli*), earrings (*kevthveli*), and bracelet (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only, are carried by two women to the place where the calf is standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the former throwing before and behind him as he walks the mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol* comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs adikina?*"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to move all present, Tartharol and Teivaliol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*" and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads. The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed, but is allowed to go free.

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but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for another funeral. 177 765 783

The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *ârtûrverutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—*i.e.*, funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narskedr*.

One of the most important features of this *koòtiti* ceremony [778] is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*.

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnòdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi pona*," "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.[1] It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

[1] See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii. p. 4.

602 this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified
605 butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-
765 in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

765 The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the
177 *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male :—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain
439 called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

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bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus. 765

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi* 177
taval, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*. 439

(*c*) A *naumakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trktpmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* 765
are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place.

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there 602
follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankâti*. At the funeral of 605
a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on 765
the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *asaram*, where they

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

602 remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that
605 the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased,
the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—
765 thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *azaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

177 The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water
765 (*ktdr tüt ârs kudrcki*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out[1] and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

765 The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwungg*) and goes round the

[1] This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *manmokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle. 764 431 602

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *sewai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased. 177 764

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR.

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world, 772 775

[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

BELLS

778 These are the most sacred of the sacred objects of the Todas. It is necessary, however, to distinguish three kinds
177 of bells, the *mani*, the *tukulir mani*, and the *kwungg*, and it is
534 only the first of these which has any great sanctity.

The *tukulir mani* is only used in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the second funeral (p. 376), and between these occasions is kept by the Badagas or Kotas. I am doubtful whether it is a true Toda object, and suspect that it is a Badaga or Kota bell which is used in a ceremony borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these peoples.

The *kwungg* is the household bell and is kept in the hut. It is used in the funeral ceremonies on two occasions, being hung on the neck of one of the ordinary buffaloes before the animal is killed, and it is also the bell which is rung in the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. The bell may be touched or carried by women, and I have seen a *kwungg* removed from the neck of a slaughtered buffalo by a Kota who handed it to a woman. Though the bell is used in ceremonial, the fact that it may be touched by both Kotas and women shows clearly that it is not regarded as possessing any sanctity whatever. In general appearance, however, the *kwungg* probably differs little from the *mani*, being a large bell of the same oblong shape which is characteristic of cattle-bells.

778 The *mani* is a bell which, so far as I could ascertain, never
534 has a tongue, though this loss may be nothing more than a sign of its antiquity.

There are several kinds of *mani*. At the *ti* dairy there are two distinct varieties: the *mani* proper which is kept in the inner room and is hung on the neck of a chosen calf of the *persinir* on the occasion of the migration ceremonies, and the *kudrsmani* which is kept outside the door of the dairy. The latter appear to have little sanctity, but the former are probably the most sacred of Toda objects of veneration. They are said to be extremely ancient; some are reputed to have come from Amnòdr, and others are believed to have had miraculous origins, one having been born in a vessel of milk

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas. 234 177 437

Other Animals

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence which I possess concerning their relations with animals in general. 773 778 825

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

they reached the Nilgiris, though it is, of course, possible that it might have been chosen on account of its resemblance to some tree sacred in their past history. The tree has, however, a wide distribution in India. 778 824

Pope has suggested that *tudr* is connected with *tulasi*, *Ocymum sanctum* or holy basil. This is a small flowering plant, and it is improbable that there is any connexion between the two plants except a resemblance in name.

Another tree which appears to be especially sacred is the *kiar* tree (*Litsæa Wightiana*). Whenever a tree is used to mark the spot where the *mani* is laid during purificatory and other ceremonies, the tree must be of this kind. The wood of this tree is used when making fire for most sacred purposes.

The leaves of trees and shrubs are used in various branches of the dairy ritual. Those in most frequent use are various kinds called generically by the Todas *muli*, three of which belong to the genus Rubus. The young shoots of the same plants are used in the ordination ceremonies.

Grasses are also used in Toda ceremonial, and one of these, a slender grass called *hakar* (*Eragrostica nigra*) is used on several occasions, those of especial importance being the ordination of the Teivali *palikartmokh* and the sweeping of the threshold of the dairy by a girl at the migration ceremony. The same grass is also used in one of the methods adopted to promote speedy delivery in childbirth.

Of the various kinds of grain used by the Todas, that called *patm* or *samai* (*Panicum miliare*) seems to be in most frequent use in connexion with ceremonial, but it cannot be said to be sacred in any way. Barley (*kodj*) seems to have a peculiar place in Toda belief. The *tòratthadi* or cooking-vessel of the dairy may not be used for this grain, although any other kind may be boiled in it. On the other hand, three grains of barley are put into the mouth and three into the hair of a boy at the naming ceremony. In explanation I can only offer the surmise that barley is not cooked in the dairy vessel because its use by the Todas is an innovation, and that similarly the use of barley in the naming ceremony is also an innovation borrowed from the Badagas or some other tribe. 824 177

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In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village. 776 234

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas. 776 787 177

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods. 776 778 823

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are 776

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is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional *kwarzam* uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti. 771 776

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Ön who rules the world of the dead.

Influence of other Religious Systems

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,[1] whose temple is near Mettapollayam. 177 771 776

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At the present time there is no doubt that their temples are visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas from 40 to 100 rupees. 776 782 842

[1] These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

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776 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however
782 much money they take away with them from their villages, all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been
776 worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the
782 Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums
771 were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The
797 Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one
771 of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

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know that, three centuries ago, priests visited the Todas and 177
preached to them, and it is stated (see p. 720) that one chose 771
the Hebrew story of the creation for his lesson, and it may 797
be that the incident, striking the fancy of the people, was incorporated into their own tradition of the origin of man. The resemblance between the Toda *madnol* and the Sabbath may also excite the suspicion that the former institution is founded on ideas borrowed from Christians or Jews. I think we may be confident that, if this has been the case, the borrowing took place very long ago. I hope to show in the last chapter that it is probable the Todas came from Malabar, and it is possible that their migration to the hills took place after the settlement of Christians or Jews in that district. If Christianity has affected the religious beliefs or practices of the general body of the Todas, I think it is certain that this influence has not been recent.

Magic and Religion

A word may be added, at the end of this chapter, on the 771
relation between the magic and the religion of the Todas. 789
I have already pointed out reasons for believing that the Toda religion is one in process of degeneration, and we must not therefore expect to find among this people material for the study of the evolution of religion from magic or for the method of divergence of the two from some original stem which was neither magic nor religion.

The chief interest of the Todas from this point of view is that they show how side by side with a relatively high form of religion there may exist a body of beliefs crystallised in magical formulæ which bear a very close resemblance to the formulæ of the religious ritual. Their aim and their general nature leave no doubt that the formulæ given in the later part of Chap. XII are magical in nature, and yet they show more distinct evidence of appeal to deities than is to be found in the definitely religious formulæ of the dairy. These magical formulæ of the Todas seem to show us a stage of magic in which religion has been called

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any conclusions about the last generation very inconclusive, 161
but since the record for very young children is certainly
defective, and since many families now existing will certainly 162
increase in size, it is probable that any progressive decrease in the size of a family has now been arrested, and the details of the genealogical record would therefore agree with the Census Reports in showing the presence of a distinct tendency of the Toda population to increase.

None of the previous records have given any indication of 162
the numbers of the two chief divisions of the Toda people. According to my genealogical records, there were living, in 1902, 528 Tartharol and 208 Teivaliol. The defects in my record are probably somewhat greater for the Teivaliol than for the Tartharol, but any difference there may be is certainly not great, and I think we may conclude that, though these figures are not accurate, they represent approximately the true proportion of the numbers of the two divisions. It is quite certain that the Tartharol are more than twice as numerous as the Teivaliol. Mr. Punnett's table does not show any great difference between the two divisions in the average size of the family, so that the proportion between the numbers of the two divisions has probably not altered during the period covered by the genealogical record. It is probable that the Teivaliol have always or for a very long time been the smaller division.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record then agree 161
in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the
middle of last century which has now ceased, the probability 177
being that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers. 164

There can be little doubt that any decrease in the Toda population about the middle of last century was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. The adverse influences which came into the lives of the Todas probably owe their origin to the large immigration of native servants and to the development of the bazaar. Though Europeans first began to come to the Nilgiri Hills about 1820, it was not till twenty or thirty years later that they arrived in any considerable numbers, so that it was probably the middle of the century

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161 177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

164 842 [273] The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 842 Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 177 842 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

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The chief village of the Kars clan is situated close to Ootacamund and has suffered greatly from its neighbours, but many of the villages of the clan are more remote, so that the clan may be put down as one partly influenced. The people of Päm and Nidrsi, on the other hand, are more influenced than any other of the Toda clans, as is shown by the alterations in their villages and the neglect of the ritual of their religion. The villages of the Pämol are, or were, near to Wellington Barracks, and it is certainly the most degenerated of all the Toda clans. The following table, taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, shows the average size of the family in each case, and though the figures are somewhat irregular, they bear out the view that sterility is greater the more the people have come into contact with Europeans and their followers.

Name of clan.	No. of families.	No. of offspring.	Average size of family.	Average size of family for group.
Nödrs (uninfluenced)	14	54	3·84	3·59
Pan (uninfluenced)	8	21	2·37	
Taradr (uninfluenced)	9	43	4·77	
Kanödrs (uninfluenced)	11	33	3·00	
Kars (partly influenced)	25	76	3·04	3·04
Päm (much influenced)	10	22	2·20	2·60
Nidrsi (much influenced)	10	30	3·00	

Proportion of the Sexes

The records of the Toda population in the past all show an excess of men over women, and with the exception of the record of Ouchterlony, which is certainly untrustworthy, the excess is considerable. In view of their untrustworthiness no importance can be attached to the records taken earlier than that of 1866, and in the report for that year I have been unable to ascertain the proportions of the sexes. In 1871 there were 140·6 men for every 100 women; in 1881, 130·4 for every 100; in 1891, 135·9, and in the census of 1901, 127·4 men for every 100 women. My figures, derived from the

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

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In some families marriages between *matchuni* in the near sense occur much more frequently than in others. Thus out of the forty *matchuni* marriages among the Tartharol, the husband or wife belonged to the Taradrol in fifteen cases, and in one large Taradr family, that of Parkeidi (21), six out of eight children married their *matchuni* in the near sense. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the Taradrol have been comparatively little affected by outside influences. They are a clan which might be expected to keep up the orthodox Toda custom. 177 582

Another example of a family in which the orthodox marriage custom has been frequently followed is that of Table 52, where there may be found eight cases of the marriage of *matchuni* in the near sense, and several others where the *matchuni* relationship is more distant. 582

In some cases marriages have taken place between the children of *matchuni*. Thus the marriage of Uvolthli (15) with Sinmundeivi (20) among the Tartharol, and of Pangudr (66) with Nelbur (54) and Kanokh (56) with Sanmidz (63) among the Teivaliol, are all cases in which marriages have taken place between the children of two men who called one another *matchuni*. There may be other cases, but these examples are perhaps sufficient to show that these marriages may be held to take the place of the orthodox *matchuni* union.

While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful. The more distant tie of kinship from our point of view is unlawful, while the nearer is commanded.

Marriage with a *matchuni* may often involve considerable disproportion of age. In one case at the present time a boy of about two years of age is married to a woman of about twenty. The woman, Nulnir (10), was still unmarried when she reached this age, so she was married to her *matchuni*,

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At the present time the custom of *tererstbi* has a far wider range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age. It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *tererstbi* should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.[1]

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *tererstbi* custom should be remedied.

Divorce

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the transference of wives just considered.

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

[1] For an instance see p. 535.

181 Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,[1] a reason why polyandry
831 is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

[177] The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

[144] That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

143 By means of the genealogical record I was able to work
831 out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

[1] *Loc. cit.*

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season. 618 621 361

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position. 618 178

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans. 101 177 618 616

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

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101 prise the remainder of the Tarthar clans—viz., those of Taradr,
177 Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm and Nidrsi. I could
618 obtain no direct information from the Todas which would
616 explain why the Badaga classification should differ from their own. It is possible that it is an old classification of the Todas, but this is unlikely, since it is probable that the intercourse with the Badagas is not very ancient. It seems to me possible that it may have arisen out of the constitution of the *naim* or council. This has four Toda representatives belonging to Kuudr (representing the Teivaliol), Kars, Nòdrs and Taradr. This would correspond to four of the Badaga divisions, and the fifth, the Melgarsol or Pekkan, would certainly be well known to the Badagas through their privileges as *mòrol*. It is possible that the Nòdrs representative used also to represent Pan, and that the Taradr member represented the remaining clans, and, if so, it would point to there having been some old five-fold division of the kind believed in by the Badagas. It is quite clear that the five-fold division has no influence on the marriage regulations and Peiki, Todi and Kuttan all marry freely within their divisions. Except in connexion with the *naim*, I could learn of nothing which would show that the five-fold division has any social significance, and I know of no other way in which the Panol are associated with the Nòdrsol nor of any other way in which the six clans included in the Kuttan are associated together. It is possible that the five-fold division is connected with some customs regulating the payment of the Badaga tribute to the Todas, but I could learn nothing of such customs.

618 Each clan has divisions of two kinds called *kudr* and *pòlm*. The *kudr* is a division of ceremonial, the *pòlm* of practical, importance.

The Kudr

Normally each clan has two *kudr* and two only, and, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, these divisions become of the greatest importance in connexion with the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the whole regulation of which is dominated by the division into *kudr*. So far as I could ascertain, the *kudr* has now no

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842 hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently
618 married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

GOVERNMENT

623 The most important feature of Toda government is the *naim*, or *noim*,[1] a council having a definite constitution. The
627 *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general, and, in addition, more informal councils,[2] consisting of the chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim* may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs of a clan.

623 The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five
● 177 members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri, from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the *naim*. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations between the Todas and Badagas.

623 The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda representatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8) and Piutolvan (10) of Kars, Kudòdrsvan (3) of Nòdrs, and Ìrcheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had not been taken by Piutolvan, the second Kars representative. All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

[1] A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kûtkûdriti*, "the assembly assembles," or *kûtpuniti*, "the assembly makes."

[2] It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view.
673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

578 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling
673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence
623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other
671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *tererstlii*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some-
586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been
674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be carried off by force from the home of the former, but,
177 however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Pardem, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer. 773 674 609 754

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another. 674

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual. 673 688

SUICIDE

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die." 173 762 152

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die." 177 276 762

THE MONEGAR

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below). 622

622 The earliest *monegar* whom the Todas remember is Teitchi or Teiti (52). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Mutevan, who is still alive. The two eldest sons had died before their father, and Persevan, the third son, was said to be weak-minded, and Mutevan was therefore chosen to succeed.

Mutevan is now a very old man, probably about eighty years of age, and his office was taken over some years ago by his eldest son, Ivievan. Though Ivievan is the *monegar* he is not the chief representative of his family on the *naim*, this position belonging to Kuriolv, the son of Pareivan and Persevan. Ivievan is helped in collecting the assessment by an assistant *monegar*, and till lately this place belonged to Parkurs of Kars.

177 It does not appear that the monegarship is a real Toda office, but that the earliest *monegar* was appointed by Mr. 622 Sullivan, the first British official of the Nilgiris. The family, 554 however, to which the *monegar* belongs is called the *mani-kudupel*, which may mean the *monegar* family, but I could not discover definitely whether this title is older than the institution of the monegarship. It is possible that Teitchi was one of the chief men of the *naim* when the Europeans first came to the hills and that he was therefore appointed as *monegar*.

It is quite clear that at the present time the *monegar*, Ivievan, is not the most important man among the Todas, but that the predominant position belongs to his cousin, Kuriolv, the representative of the family on the *naim*.

HEADMEN

618 Though it is very doubtful whether the institution of *monegar* is not an innovation, and whether the Todas as a whole have properly any true chief, it is fairly clear that the clan and its divisions have definite leaders.

Each clan has a headman or *etudol*; usually, it seemed to me, one who had come to the top by virtue of his character and ability. I did not learn how far his position was generally recognised nor by what means he was chosen. It was quite clear, however, that the leading man of a clan

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions. 618

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pòlm* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property. 421 618 621

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy[1] was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual 177 421 423

[1] For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan. There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
570

CHAPTER XXIV

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

181 THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple.
234 The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life
77 are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy. This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the affairs of daily life.

181 The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little
531 developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony that little is left for the development of art, even of a primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the person, and even here we shall find that the methods of wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their amusements again we shall find that the influence of ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely imitations of ceremonial occupations.

821 I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun, moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observations and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony
291 of each funeral.

The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus,
291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago,
437 according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers
531 who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present
463 time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar. When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*,
177 made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said
437 to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *ān* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

005 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordina-
tion of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the
292 *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle;
and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the
palol, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn*
made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be
limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a
survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this
or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is
292 an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of
the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed
clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these
people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that
the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is
little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last
century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when
crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his
appointment, and my guide, Kòdrner, although much younger
than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this
custom when he was with me.

Methods of Wearing the Hair

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of
which has its special significance. The ordinary method for
men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms
a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in
Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are
completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of a fruit called *tlpom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit called *puthimulpom*[1] is used for the same purpose. The yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks of the Hindus. 314 302 751 177

ORNAMENTS

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten. 301

The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Breeks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

[1] This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Taradr and Kanòdrs.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat. 264 576

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men. 252 462

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide. 273 177 276

Fire-making

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon, 372

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils.

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koötiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 178

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
174 when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
178 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

802

mopoth	thirty	*ikwd ödk*
mopoth mkd	thirty-three	*mökkwd*
nlfoth	forty	*mökkwd ödk*
nöpoth nmk	forty-four	*nökkwd*
epoth	fifty	*nökkwd ördk*
epoth nöx	fifty-five	*aiiwd*
ördth	sixty	*aiiwd oidk*
ördth ör	sixty-six	*ördwd*
öwoth	seventy	*ördwd oponi*
öwoth ö	seventy-seven	*ökwd*
öizoth	eighty	*ökwd mdk*
öivoth öi	eighty-eight	*ötkwd*
unvoth	ninety	*ötkwd ördk*
unvoth unpoth	ninety-nine	*unpawd*
anör	hundred	*unpawd nd*

Above a hundred the numbers of *kwd* are continued to *potkwd*, *ponudkwd*, &c., up to twenty *kwd*, which make one *silgh*, and then the people begin again at the beginning.

This occurrence of the number eleven is probably a consequence of the transactions between Todas and Badagas. 177 802 804

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 There was some reason to believe that the true Toda measure
802 is the *ák* (probably a contraction of *achok*) and that the
804 Badagas brought their grain to the Todas in vessels called *kwá*. The *kwá* contained eleven of the Toda *ák*, and hence came about the very unusual proportion between two measures.

802 In giving ages or any other period of time, the word for year, *kwòdr*, is often abbreviated to *wá*; thus *nápoth kwòdr*, forty years, becomes *nápothkwá*.

In counting the Todas use their fingers largely and have a special method of indicating the numbers. To signify one, the thumb is placed against the tip of the little finger; for two, against the tip of the ring finger; for three, against the middle finger; for four, against the forefinger; for five, the tip of the index finger is placed over the nail of the thumb; the same position is used for six, while that for seven is the same as for four, and so on, so that when ten is reached the thumb is resting again on the tip of the little finger.

MONEY

177 The Todas use the ordinary Indian currency. In their
436 legends and ceremonies there is frequent reference to the *panm*, or four-anna piece.

Among the coins used by the Todas at the funeral ceremonies there are many of considerable age with Arabic inscriptions, and the earlier visitors to the hills describe the Todas as possessing old Venetian gold pieces. In the legend telling how the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* dispersed the invading Coorgs (p. 114), the boy made use of a small gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he had in his possession.

THE CALENDAR

805 The Todas have twelve months, each of which begins with the new moon. The first month of the Toda year is *Tai*, which begins with the new moon in October, so that this month usually includes part of October and part of November. Some of the chief Toda ceremonies, such as that of *teutiit-*

772 821 childbirth. It is said to be a star which is never present in the same part of the sky as *Kadsht*. The reason for this is that once *Keirt* and *Kadsht* fought together. *Kadsht* had six men and *Keirt* only one. *Keirt* broke the leg of one of the six men, so that now there are five stars close together in the Pleiades and one lags behind. On account of this quarrel Swami ruled that *Kadsht* and *Keirt* must never be together, but that when *Kadsht* is on one side of the sky, *Keirt* must always be on the other.

When talking about *Keirt* in connexion with the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut, it was said that *Keirt* was near the sun and that the sun was dangerous because *Keirt* was near it. It seemed that *Keirt* was always near the sun, which led me to suspect at first that it was Venus. It was quite clear, however, that this was not so. No one could show me *Keirt*, nor was anyone clear as to the part of the sky in which it was to be seen at any time in the night, and I think it most probable that this mysterious inhabitant of the sky is not a star at all, but a being allied to the Hindu *Ketu*. On the other hand, at a funeral attended by Samuel, the setting of *Kadsht* and the appearance of *Keirt* was taken as the sign that the proceedings of the *azaramkedr* might begin, [177] which looks as if *Keirt* was a real heavenly body. I think it is most probable that the whole idea of the injurious influence of *Keirt* is borrowed from the Badagas, and, if this is the case, the Toda word is probably merely an altered form of *Ketu*. I was told that *Keirt* was a Badaga word and that the Badagas feared its influence on women after childbirth.

A group of stars called *Pòdimin*, or porcupine star, corresponds to the stars in the sword of Orion. They are regarded as a porcupine from which the three stars of the belt are trying to escape.

A constellation of seven stars is called *Katikâlmin*. From the description it appeared to be the Great Bear. This constellation was not visible, but when I made a drawing of its seven chief stars, it was at once recognised as *Katikâlmin*.

A single star called *Ishtkati* is almost certainly Sirius.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

A Single Star called IshTkati is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishtkati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishtkati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*." 177 772 821

A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tûdrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably γ and ϵ Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky. 773 821 171

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tûdrval*, and so one star is called *tûdrvalmokh*. The *tûdrval* still sings "*Kudursami trrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tûdrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas. 177 772 773 821

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

GAMES

541 It is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies, and in the old days when the *marvainolkedr* lasted two days, the first day, devoted to catching the buffaloes and putting them in the pen, must have been largely of a sportive character. Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is a spectacle which is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place.

The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired in a certain degree a ceremonial character.

524 526 177 In one of these games called *narthpimi*, a boy squeezes through a narrow tunnel formed by a flat slab of stone over two upright slabs. Two boys start from different distances, and the object of the nearer boy is to squeeze through the tunnel before the other can touch his feet. I did not have an opportunity of seeing this game, and I only saw the stones with which it is played at one village. This was at Nòdrs, where the three stones are called *menkars* and mark the spot at which one of the ordinary buffaloes is killed at the funeral ceremonies. The *menkars* is shown in Fig. 12 in front of and a little to the right of the entrance to the dairy.

Another game resembling tip-cat is called *eln*, and at some villages there is a special stone where the game is played. A piece of wood pointed at both ends is propped against the stone and struck with a stick, and should be caught by someone at a distance. The name for this game is probably Badaga,[1] and this suggests that the game has been borrowed from this people.

According to Breeks another game called *kâriâlapimi*, resembling 'puss in the corner,' is played by the Todas. The name suggests a true Toda game and I regret that I know nothing about it.

[1] The game is described by Breeks and Thurston under the name of *ilata*, but this again is certainly not Toda.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good performance. 526

At many villages there is a large globular stone called *tukitthkars* (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukittthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings. 147 526 778

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream called Kavageir, winning eighteen *nakh* (three-year-old 517 526 211 525 177

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even
517 little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all thes mes are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have
198 milked" at the village would be "*frkartkudrvispimi*," often shortened into *frkartspimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvukkudrivispimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*frkarami*" at the village and "*frkarpûkhami*" at the *ti*.

There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *irnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar tûrzhodthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*[1] was said to be the *teu* word for 'man.' The words *kwudrpedrshai* and *kaipedrshai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *teu* language.

Secret Language

177 The Todas have a large number of expressions which they
198 use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the
195 Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkelv* or "front fact."

[1] The last syllable of the name Meilitars given to Kwoto is probably this word so that the name means 'superior man.'

551 frequently used by the Teivaliol than by the Tartharol, and in both divisions it is rare in older generations.

I do not know the meaning of the terminations in *-olv* and *-eidi*: it is noteworthy, however, that *-olv* is also a frequent ending of the names of dairies.

The termination *-ner* or *-ners* sometimes becomes *-ntr*, and it may be the word for water, possibly with the idea of 'spring.'

The usual terminations of female names are *-veli*, *-veni* or *-vani*, *-eimi*, and *-idj* or *-ids*. Of these, the first is by far the most frequent, being usually pronounced with a *th* sound, as in *-velthli* or *-vilthli*. It is possibly the same word as a frequent Indian name of Venus, which is also the Toda name for this planet. The word also means silver and in the form *pelthiti* is used for 'white.'

The termination *-veni* or *-vani* is probably derived from *pani*, which is said to be an ancient name for a Toda woman. Occasionally the latter form occurred, as in the name of Sinadapani (67), and one of the wives of Kwoten was named Kwaterpani. I know nothing of the derivation of the terminations *-eimi* and *-ids*.

The names of Todas are often derived from villages, dairies or dairy vessels, hills and their deities, and objects of various kinds. There seems to be no objection to use the names of deities or of such sacred objects as the *mani* as personal names, but only as those of men. Recently the Todas have [177] begun to use words of Hindu or even English origin for the names of their children.

103 It is the names of men which are chiefly derived from villages, and at least twenty examples occur in the genealogies.
551 In some cases the name of the village is used without any suffix, as in Ushadr (48) and Madsu (58); in other cases one or other of the customary terminations is used, as in Keradrkutan[1] (26), Nongarsivan (62), Kuirsiners (18), and Karseidi (8). The special point of interest here is that the names of villages which have now disappeared may be preserved as personal names; thus Harkness mentions the village of Kattaul as being near Ootacamund, and, though the

[1] This name also occurs in the story of Kwoten.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

names as buffaloes. There is only one doubtful example in the genealogies, Kerani (35). This is also the name of a bell, and I am doubtful whether it is really a buffalo-name. It is probable that the absence of the names of buffaloes is merely utilitarian and has no deeper significance. Buffaloes are generally referred to by name, and it would obviously be inconvenient that they should have the same names as people. 551

Many other names are derived from objects or from the language of everyday life. Examples of such are Nipa, stream; Perol, unsanctified man; Irsimitch, lime; Sakari, sweet; Kakar, a grass; Mogai, cubit; Kapur, camphor; and Pòl, a two-year-old calf. Sometimes such words become names by the addition of the terminations *-kûdr* or *-veli*, as in Panmkudr, the horn of a four-anna piece, and Nirveli and Kadakveli, derived from the words for water and for the wild rose. Probably with a wider knowledge of the Toda vocabulary, it would be found that a very large number of the names are formed in this way.

In one case a girl was called Mudukugh (72). She was the third girl in the family, and the name was no doubt given to commemorate the fact.

Often two or more children of a family are given names with a considerable degree of similarity to one another. In one case two brothers are called Mongeidrvan and Tergeidrvan (53); in another, Piliar and Piliag (52); and in a third, Singudr and Sinar (55); three sisters are called Teinesveli, Ternersveli, and Kenerveli (51), and in such cases it seems probable that new names are invented.

At the present time children are in many cases receiving Hindu names. Three young boys are called Arjun, Parvishki, and Sandisparan, and a young girl is called Natcham, which was said to represent Latchmi. Other Hindu names are Katcheri (Cutcherry), Sirkar, Kedjeri, and probably there are many others. 177 551

In a few cases names of English origin have probably been given, as in the case of Pensil, and the name Birkidj was said to be derived from Breeks.

The genealogical record shows clearly that this use of names derived from external sources is quite recent. There is a very

177 striking difference in general character between the names of the present and those of older generations, and a foreign origin is especially frequent in the names of children less than ten or fifteen years of age. The evidence from names would seem to point to a rapid spread of outside influence during the last ten years.

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Shortened forms of names are often used. The termination of a word may be dropped; thus Nurmaners is often called Nurman, Ultzkudr becomes Ultz, and Paniolv, Pani. Sometimes the contraction is of a different kind; thus the girls Astrap and Pumundeivi are usually called Asp and Pumidz, and the name of the boy Kulpakh often becomes Kulen.

In addition to his proper name nearly every Toda has a nickname, usually given to him by the Badagas. These names often refer to some personal peculiarity, and this is probably the reason why nicknames were usually given to me with great reluctance, there being a distinct reversal of the condition found in communities of lower culture, where the proper names are usually kept secret, while only nicknames are uttered. Arpurs (46) was nicknamed Suri (knife) on account of his sharp nose, and Nertolvan (16) is called Teinkan or 'Bee eye,' on account of the smallness of his eyes, like those of the honey bee. In other cases I do not know the origin of the Badaga names, but they have usually different forms from those of true Toda names, often terminating in *-oin* or *-iiln*. Sometimes the Badaga name is merely a modification of the Toda name, as when Tudrvan becomes Utudiki. In a few cases I heard the Badaga name of a man more often than his Toda name; thus Tövoniners is usually called Aravoin, and a noted Toda of the last generation is always spoken of by his Badaga name, Mervoin. In a few cases, men long dead are remembered by their Badaga names, while their Toda names are forgotten.

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As I have already indicated, nicknames are often used by people of low culture as a means of evading taboos, and though, as we shall see shortly, such taboos exist among the Todas, I met with no instance in which a Toda, who was unable to utter a name, gave a nickname in its stead.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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CHAPTER XXVII

RELATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

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In this chapter I propose to put together the chief facts with which I am acquainted which throw light on the very difficult problem of the relations between the Todas and the other tribes of the Nilgiri Hills. The chapter could only be written with any degree of completeness by one who had studied the question from the point of view of each of the Nilgiri tribes separately. I have only been able to do so, and that incompletely, from the Toda point of view. My information is derived almost wholly from the Todas themselves, and gives their way of regarding the relations between themselves and the other tribes.

The five tribes inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills are shown in Fig. 68 (taken from Breeks), the Todas in the centre with the Badagas on their right and the Kotas on their left. Next to the Badagas are the Irulas, and next to the Kotas are the Kurumbas.

The tribes with which the Todas come into contact habitually are the Badagas and Kotas, while their points of contact with Kurumbas and Irulas are much less important. The Badagas are not only the agriculturists of the Todas, but are the constant intermediaries between the Todas and the extra-Nilgiri world. The two tribes regard each other more or less as social equals. The Kotas, on the other hand, who are the artisans of the Todas, are regarded by them as social inferiors. The relations with the former may be considered first.

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TODAS AND BADAGAS

101 The Todas call a Badaga *Mav*,[1] which seems to be a form of the Canarese word for father-in-law or maternal uncle. The origin of this term is said to have been that when the Todas first met a Badaga, they asked his name and he answered "*Mav*." A Badaga who performs certain services 177 for the *palol* is called *tikelfmav*. Certain elders of the 609 Badagas are also called *madtin*.

Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two which is represented in Fig. 69. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin*, you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas.

177 The Badagas perform definite services for the Todas and give what may be regarded as a tribute of grain at the harvest. 651 The tribute is called *gudu*. I did not myself investigate the nature of the *gudu*, and there is some difference of opinion among previous writers[2] as to whether a definite amount of grain

[1] *Mav* is also the Toda word for sambhar.

[2] According to Harkness, "each burgher, hamlet, or village" gives about two quarts (p. 108), or (p. 135) half a bushel to the *ti* and half a bushel to the other Todas. According to Breeks (p. 9), the *gudu* is about one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-fifth of the gross produce.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

or a given proportion of the crop is given. I have no information as to the way in which the giving of the tribute is regulated, and it is eminently one of those points on which evidence must be sought from both Todas and Badagas. In the case of the Kotas, we shall see that there is a definitely

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FIG. 69.—A BADAGA GREETING A TODA

organised system regulating the relations of certain Kota villages to certain Toda clans, and some such system probably exists to regulate the supply of Badaga grain to different clans, but I have no information on the point.[1]

[1] It is possible that the elucidation of this point might also help towards the explanation of the Badaga account of the Toda clans.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 The contribution of grain from the Badagas has usually
651 been regarded as given in return for the use of the land, the Todas being supposed to be the original owners of the soil. That this is not the whole explanation is shown by the fact that the Badagas also give a tribute of grain to two other Nilgiri tribes, the Kotas and Kurumbas. Harkness[1] was told by the Badagas that the portion given to the *ti* was in return for the prayers of the *palol*, and that they did not believe that "their crops or their cattle, themselves or their children, would prosper without his blessing." The Badagas also stated that they generally desisted from cultivating their fields when the *ti* was left without a *palol*. They looked on the tribute of grain to the Todas as given of their own good will, while a similar tribute to the Kurumbas was dictated by fear of the consequences of sorcery which might be employed if the duty were neglected.

[754] It has been supposed that the fear of Toda sorcery is one reason for the maintenance of the tribute, and, since the Badagas undoubtedly fear the power of the Toda sorcerers, it is probable that this factor plays a part, though one less important than in the case of the Kurumbas.

[234] Another view which has been taken is that the Todas maintain rights over old dairies in the middle of the Badaga fields, and that any recalcitrance on the part of the Badagas might be followed by the taking up of these old rights. It is possible that the Todas have at some time threatened to resume their rights over disused dairies, but, in the case of the more sacred dairies, the fear of defilement of the sacred buffaloes by approaching a Badaga village would prevent the Todas from putting such a threat into practice.

The grain is probably given, partly because it is an immemorial custom, partly because the Badagas believe that they receive benefits and avoid evils in consequence of the custom.

177 At the present time, the amount of grain supplied by the
437 Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* must, however, be that supplied by

[1] P. 136.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas. 177 437

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus, from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as that described by Harkness. 177 234 609 437

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in the Toda community is in connexion with the *naim*, or council, of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of the two communities. 177 623

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other. 177

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177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
621 huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas
437 seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special
278 reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *u'kòren* (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
762 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common. 762

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas. 177 754 787

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the Nilgiri Hills. Breeks[1] states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes. 177 174

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

Todas and Kotas

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kuv*. The relation between the two people is very different from that between Toda and [101] 177

[1] P. 4.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 Badaga. While a Toda regards a Badaga as his equal, or
186 perhaps even as his superior, he looks down on the Kota as
inferior, as hardly to be classed as a man with himself. In
609 their secret language, a Toda speaks of a Kota as *kimas ithwai*, "he that is beneath," and in the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) the Kotas are the only hill tribe which is not thought worthy of mention—they are not thought to be of sufficient importance to be able to cast the evil eye. When a Kota meets a Toda, he raises both hands to his face and salutes from a distance. The two people do not touch one another in general, though I do not know that contact is definitely prohibited. A Toda will not sleep or take food at a Kota village in general, but makes an exception in the case of Kulgadi in the Wainad (see p. 200). It is usually supposed that the contempt of the Toda for the Kota is due to the flesh-eating, or even carrion-eating, habits of the latter, and this is certainly one of the elements which influence the relations between the two peoples.

177 The Kotas supply the Todas with the larger part of their
pottery and ironware.[1] All the earthenware vessels of the
437 dairies, except those of the inner rooms of the *ti* dairies, are supplied by the Kotas, and the various knives and other metal objects of the Todas are chiefly obtained from these people. The Kotas supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals and they supply the music on these occasions.

Just as the Badagas do not supply grain to the Todas only, so the Kotas do artisan work for Badagas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Kotas are the artisans, not of the Todas only, but of the whole hill district.

101 The relations between the Todas and Kotas are strictly
regulated, each Kota village supplying certain Toda clans.
177 There are seven Kota villages on the hills, of which the
437 following are the Toda and Badaga names:—

In the Todanad district:—

Tizgudr, Tizgadr, or Tizgwadr (Badaga, Tirichigadi), between Ootacamund and Kanòdrs, near the Toda village of Ushadr.

[1] According to Breeks, the Kotas who supply the Todas are known as *muffu* Kotas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kurguli (B. Padagula or Kuruvoje), near the Badaga village of Sholur. 101 177

In the Mekanad district :—

Kalmal (B. Kolamala or Kollimalai), not far from Kateri. 437

In the Peranganad district :—

Meilkukal (B. Melkotagiri or Perangada) in Kotagiri, one of the three chief European stations on the hills. Kikukal (B. Kilkotagiri or Kinnada), north-east of Kotagiri.

In the Kundanad district :—

Medrkukal (B. Menada).

The seventh is Kulgadi (B. Kalagasa) at Gudalur in the Wainad.

The village of Tizgudr is connected with the Toda clans of Kars, Melgars, Kanòdrs, and sometimes with the people of Kulhem. Kurguli supplies the clans of Nòdrs, Taradr, Kuudr, Piedr, and Kusharf, and occasionally Kulhem. Kalmal supplies Keradr, Nidrsi, Pàm, Kidmad, and Keadr. Meilkukal and Kikukal are both connected with Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, and Medrkukal is the Kota village of the Panol. Kulgadi is connected only with the village of Kavidi, near Gudalur, which belongs to the Piedrol. When there were several Toda villages in the Wainad, it probably served them all.

The connexion between clans and villages seems to depend almost wholly on geographical distribution. The clans are supplied by the Kota villages which are nearest to their headquarters. An outlying village such as Kavidi has not the same Kota village as the rest of its clan. The Kidmadol, who are a branch of the Melgarsol, have not the same Kota village as the parent stock; but, on the other hand, the Panol, who now live chiefly among other Todas near Governor Shola, are still connected with the Kundah Kotas.

Each Kota village is responsible for the supply of the clan or clans with which it is connected. Its inhabitants make the various utensils used in the household and in the less sacred dairy work of the Todas. At the funeral of any member of a clan with which they are connected, they provide the music and the following objects :— 177 437 764

At the *etvainolkadr*, a cloak in which the corpse is wrapped,

177 437 764 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*), and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudshmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 437 609 796 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk, buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 609 796 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

rubs it on the heads of the two Kota priests, who prostrate themselves, one at each foot of the Toda, and the Toda prays as follows:— 177 609 796

Ullamâ;	*Kôtv*	*erdm*	*tânemmâ;*	*hadr*	*palumâ;*
May it be well;	Kotas	two	may it be well;	fields	flourish may;

mâ un mâ;	*ir*	*kar*	*mâ,*	*nôv*	*pedr*	*mâ.*
rain may;	buffalo	milk	may,	disease	go	may.

The Toda then gives the two *mu* containing the clarified butter to the Kota priests, and he and his companions return home.

This ceremony is obviously one in which the Todas are believed to promote the prosperity of the Kotas, their crops, and their buffaloes.[1]

In another ceremonial relation between Todas and Kotas, the Kwòdrdoni *ti* is especially concerned. The chief annual ceremony of the Kotas is held about January in honour of the Kota god Kambataraya. This ceremony lasts about a fortnight, and, during part of the time, the proceedings are attended by Todas and other of the hill tribes. In order that this ceremony may take place, it is essential that there should be a *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, and at the present time this *ti* is only occupied every year shortly before and during the ceremony. The *palol* gives clarified butter to the Kotas, which should be made from the milk of the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the *ti*. Some Kotas of Kotagiri whom I interviewed claimed that these buffaloes belonged to them, and that something was done by the *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti* in connexion with the Kambataraya ceremony, but they could not or would not tell me what it was.

The relations between Todas and Kotas are probably of very old standing. The fact that the Kotas supply the bow and arrows burnt at a Toda funeral suggests that the connexion goes back to the time when the Todas used these weapons, while the special sleve supplied by the Kotas for a funeral is of a different pattern from that in use at the present 177 174

[1] The Kotas are agriculturists as well as mechanics, and, according to Breeks, they are quite as efficient as the Badagas in this occupation. They also keep buffaloes, though chiefly or entirely for their own use.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177
174
773

time. The Kotas are mentioned in Toda legend. The people of Tizgudr play a prominent part in the story of Kwoten (p. 195), and this deity is said to have been the first Toda who stayed at a Kota village, viz., at the village of Kulgadi (or Gudalur). He sat and slept on the Kota *tiin* and since that time the Todas have stayed at this village, though they will not stay at any other. The relation between Kwoten and the Kotas seems to have been especially close. The old woman, Muturach, from whom the present people of Kanòdrs are descended, according to the legend, may have been a Kota. The Kotas who give tribute to the Todas are known as their *muffu* Kotas, and the first part of the old woman's name may have been this word.

Our acquaintance with Kota mythology is too scanty to contribute much to our knowledge of the relations between the two peoples. Breeks states that Kurguli (Padagula) is the oldest of the Kota villages, and that the Badagas believe that the Kotas of this village were made by the Todas. At Kurguli there is a temple of the same form as the Toda dairy, and this is said to be the only temple of the kind at any Kota village.

Breeks gives a legend which records the origin of the different foods of the Nilgiri tribes. Kambataraya, perspiring profusely, wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and out of these formed the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to live principally upon milk, the Kurumbas were permitted to eat the flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas were allowed perfect liberty, being informed that they might eat carrion if they could get nothing better. My interpreter, Albert, was told a different version of this legend, according to which Kambataraya gave to each people a pot. In the Toda pot was calf-flesh, and so the Todas eat the flesh of calves (*i.e.*, at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony); the Kurumba pot contained the flesh of a male buffalo, so this is eaten by the Kurumbas. The pot of the Kotas contained the flesh of a cow-buffalo, which may, therefore, be eaten by this people.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *ár kárthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them. 101 609

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood. 177 437

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge. 177 754

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *téuol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners. 177 787

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf; 177 773

177 according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were
773 deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

174 In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the
177 Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and
773 this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

TODAS AND IRULAS

101 The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and
177 have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by
609 the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among
754 the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

177 The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection
773 of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tēn* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 9).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Pushtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tesherst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed. 621

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members. 618 621

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pòlm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, [211] erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood.

KANÒDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were [177] said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to 618 have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is 234 only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Near the village is a forest hut, and opposite this are two stones called *pedrkars*. The Todas once had a large gathering here, and a man jumped a long distance which was recorded by means of these stones. 621

The other villages of the Kanòdrsol, *Taknin*, *Kuzhu* or

FIG. 71.—THE STONES AT PISHKWOSHT CALLED 'TEUAR.'

Kushu, &c., are in the same neighbourhood, but I was unable to visit them, and do not know whether they have any objects of interest.

KWÒDRDONI

This is the most outlying of Toda clans, but numerous tea estates have been established in its neighbourhood, and the people appear to have been a good deal influenced by the altered conditions. I was unable to visit any of the villages, and I know less about this clan than any other. 177 618 621

All the villages of the clan are situated in the district of the hills called by the Todas Purgòdr, and the people of the clan are, therefore, often called the Purgòdrol.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English soldiers came to Päm and insulted the women and how Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at Wellington. 618 159

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Päm for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 177 618 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo. 234 618

There are two *mani*, called *Eshkiakudr* and *Eikudr*, each with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pineipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvali*. [178]

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of these seems to be of any importance. 621

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
● 177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
234 only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other. 184 616 791

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills. 174 184 616

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out some interesting differences between the two divisions. The data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1] would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol. 174 184 616 847 177

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 and the greater freedom from external influence is probably
177 an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide
616 among them at present, though it will not explain the greater
847 prevalence in the earlier generations.

184 The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 175

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful, seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of oppositeness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

CHAP. IV.

157 181 177 426 674

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

183

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

153

[1] The Toda living in proximity to the houses of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike persistency; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit disconcerted.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 224

THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 437 439 427

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$, and shows that the Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of the Nilagiri Mountains. 177 262 437 439

Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual *necessities: the* Badaga acquires land on cheap terms of rental. 427

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to: acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of 174 177

[1] Badagas, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.
[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.
[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

CHAP. VIII.

the low country, into a district so cold, wild, and inaccessible as this must, by contrast, have appeared to them, we have strong presumptive evidence of the two tribes having, previous to their migration, long lived side by side, mutually dependent one on the other; the Todas, for the supply of grain they had not the energy to raise for themselves: the shrewd Badágas, for the ..i which they obtained so easily from this most unmercantile people.

Similarly, another native tribe—the Kota—not so advanced as the Badaga, but more laborious, and thus skilled, than the Toda, followed the fortunes of this simple people on retirement to the Nilagiris; possibly influenced, amongst other motives, by knowledge of the fact that the live male buffalos, the carcasses of the females, and the skins and horns of both, were to be had almost gratis, so long as they maintained adherence to their old friends. Thus we see—no matter how primitive the stage of society, how microscopic the tribe—the universal mundane process at work; of the strong preying on the weak, and the clever on the stupid: races, like individuals, supporting themselves by utilising and depressing their simpler brethren.

> Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them;
> Little fleas have lesser fleas; and so on *ad infinitum*.

To what other cause but grievous national improvidence can we attribute their having acquiesced in promptings to part with an amount of meat sustenance, that would, if utilised, nearly double their food supply? And to permit skins and horns of vast herds—whose sale would have brought a very welcome addition to their revenue—to be removed as return payment for a little trumpery Kota music, and primitive ironmongery?

What the buffalo is to the Toda, so is the Toda to these slightly superior tribes; the milch-cow.

There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

CHAP. VIII.

137 262 The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots. They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula—a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit—pôm—and herbs of sorts.

177 273 276 Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is still a luxury.

262 862 Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

252 As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

564 The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

264 Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER IX.

SAVAGE ANTITYPE.

Cause of idleness of primitive Races—Their attributes—Toda qualities, and form of Cranium—The most primitive form of Skull—How to judge of Cannibal heads—Tylor, on the Development of the Human Race—Dolichocephali the natural Inhabitants of warm Zones: Brachiocephali the result of harsher circumstances—Endogamy and Dolichocephaly—Why pure Brachiocephali are not met with—Caste inimical to advance—Brachiocephaly the counterpoise to Dolichocephaly—Correlation between Brachiocephaly and Broad Shoulders.

CHAP. IX.

It will no doubt appear phenomenal to many of my readers, much in the same way as surprise has been excited in myself; that notwithstanding the example of certain tribes living contiguous to the Todas, and cognate to them in blood as in the stage of their barbarism, who earn a living by various modes of occupation, pursuit, and industry, the Toda should persist in maintaining an isolation of idleness so complete, that not one of the many means which these other tribes have adopted for improving their circumstances, and none of the impulses to action by which they have been moved, should in the least have commended themselves to this remarkable people living in their very midst.

The North-American Indian is well known to be receding before the advance of the white-man; from an inability to adapt his wild habits to the too-rapidly changing times, so absolute as to give the appearance of his having deliberately and proudly elected to accept extinction, rather than compromise with civilisation by altering the pristine customs of his race. And we greatly—and with much apparent justice—

CHAP. XII.

and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[5] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[5] See note 2 of Chapter V.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XII.

the Hindu Badagas, with whom they have for several generations been on intimate terms: whose mode of worship they have had opportunities of noticing: and with whom they have often conversed on elementary religious topics. Thus, as I have noted, they have seized on a few words, and the names of a score of small Gods connected with maladies and diseases, of whom they know nothing but their names; but without having adopted a religion.

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CHAP. XIII.

234 778 [198]

chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

177 234 262 431

But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

234 778

There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[3] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

[3] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, mani dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XX.

764 The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in other respects they are identical.

The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the [177] ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of this meat.

765 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign 302 of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut their hair off.

764 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of 824 certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know. On showing samples of them, which had been collected for me by a young man, to a pâlâl, he swept them aside with his hand, implying that, compared with the tûde, which he treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DRY FUNERAL.

The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.

CHAP. XXI.

If the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of the bara kêdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance. 764 765

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable numbers at the kêdu Mand, and display their ornaments on these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1] 765 177 533

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' 000

[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.' [192]

 In the very early morning of the first of a two days'

CHAP. XXI.

765 768 177

ceremonial,[2] and long before these guests have begun to arrive, the family of the deceased have a little private ordinance of their own; in burning all his personal property, such as his stick or staff, the honnu or milk vessel, and clothes: also a *flute* or flageolet, and a model of *a bow with bamboo 'strings,' and arrows.*[2] I could not ascertain any reason whatever for this musical instrument and these spurious weapons being burnt. Be it particularly borne in mind that the Todas have no sense of music and do not possess a flute in the whole tribe: that they never hunt, and have no weapons of the chase. These toys are made by the Kotas entirely for the occasion. Thus it was, I experienced some difficulty in buying the bow, which will be found in photograph No. 15. The first question asked of the man who purchased it for me from the Kota, was 'Who is dead?'

765 535 801

The opening public ceremony of the day, is a kind of dance performed by from twenty to fifty men. The dance I witnessed was monotonous enough. It consisted of the body of men, keeping step whilst striding round and round like the spokes of a wheel; each spoke having three men arm in arm: and all exclaiming, rather than shouting, 'A! U! A! U!'[3] in time with their steps. I could trace nothing symbolic in the exhibition except that strange number three, which I notice in all religious matters, to be constantly appearing. It may be that the dance and shout are both merely a Toda mode of giving vent and expression to a festive state of mind.

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Whilst this dance is being carried on by the men, the women prepare food in the hut described in the last Chapter, which has been repaired or renewed for this occasion. Here all the guests assemble, the two sexes sitting apart. The women of the family serve out the supplies from the diminutive door to

[2] Captain Forsyth, in his 'Highlands of Central India,' writes of the Bygas, 'their bows are made entirely of the bamboo, "string" and all.'

[3] The Toda word for *I shout*, is 'A! U! bisharthken,' or *I call out* A! U!

[i.e., the bara Kêdu, or second funeral--Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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I incline to the belief that in any matters of religion beyond what I have described, they have been influenced through the proximity of cognate races, who themselves, again, have at different periods, been variously Hinduized or inoculated with the strange customs of other tribes in India, cognate or otherwise. Thus, through the Âryas, the Toda sense of adoration has been educated; more Gods have been introduced than he knows what to do with: and his natural love of relics has been intensified and improved. From being at first memorials of cattle herds, the relics have grown to be venerated souvenirs of ancestors. On the other hand, the mildness and contentedness of the tribe, have—so I think—led them to drop or to avoid much of the demonolatrous habit of other members of that Drâvidian race to which they belong. Certainly any superior ideas; any notions of the soul, or of sin, and all forms of invocation in prayer, small as even collectively they may appear to be, bear the appearance of their having come to them through the instrumentality of the Âryas; partly, no doubt, from Brahmanical sources: in part perhaps, in course of some very early contiguity, antecedent to the migration of either race, from a common cradle land, into India. Even the waste of good meat is to my mind suggestive of similar influences.

I will conclude this chapter in the words of Mr. Baring-Gould, which, applied to the Turanian state of progress, are equally descriptive of Toda culture. 'Impressed with a vague and child-like sense of the mysterious, it has not advanced into the idealising stage. God to the nomads of Northern Asia, is awful, undefined. They feel His presence about them, above them, and, with dazzled and bewildered mind, seek to know nothing more.'[3]

[3] Baring-Gould, 'The Origin and Development of Religious Belief.'

CHAP. XXIII.

847 I am well convinced that the old man spoke the strict truth in describing the practice of infanticide as a thing of the past; basing my belief, on the general appearance of things, rather than on statistics. (1.) If the custom still prevailed, the circumstance could not have remained hidden from the people of neighbouring tribes, with whom a very close degree of intimacy is maintained: and its commission forming a topic of conversation in their bazaars and meetings, the news would in due course certainly have reached our ears. (2.) The people sitting before us, in course of close examination as to the number and condition of their families, would undoubtedly have evinced by manner or voice, if at any time, we were approaching a dreaded and secret subject. (3.) Two, three, and even four living daughters were met with in families: and I may add, the girls looked in very good condition and as well cared for, as the rest of the household.

177 847 168 In the year 1822—or 48 years prior to the date of my census—the Government of Madras put a pressure on the Todas, in order to impel them to forsake their murderous practice.* But no statistics exist, and none can now be formed, that will afford us means of judging the actual state of the habit, anterior to that date.

847 In a previous chapter of this book—in that treating on the Census—the average age at which Toda women commence to bear children, is noted as 17 years. Those women therefore, who are 48 + 17 = 65 years old, must be the earliest who show the effect of the Government's repressive action. Hence it is, that we must look to the information regarding births and deaths which has been afforded by the mothers, rating from

* Owing to a deficiency in the records of the Madras Government, we do not know how infanticide was actually stopped; but the orders given in its letter of 21st July, 1820, were to frustrate the practice 'by all means of encouragement and persuasion.' In carrying these orders into effect, I believe that the persuasion employed was of an impressive character.

The Badagas are Hindus, chiefly of the Saiva sect, and are supposed to have migrated to the Nîlagiris from Mysore, about 300 years ago, after the breaking-up of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. According to the last Census they numbered 19,476. They are an agricultural race, and cultivate various cereals of rather a poor sort. They hold their lands under Government at very easy rates, and of late years many of them have acquired considerable wealth, and own large herds of cattle. They pay a sort of tribute, in grain, to the Todas. Their language is a corrupt form of Kanarese. 181 177

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
428 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
592 "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
177 depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
461 an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from
294 the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{16}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket, nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bōguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hok*,
Hok.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a [illegible]
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Māv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, *Tenure of land.*
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirdi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pithkali*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analys]

177 421 423 651

an undefined extent of land. Further, the Badaga and Kota cultivators had always given them annually a portion of their field produce under the name of *gūdu*, but, "*whether out of superstitious motives, or to induce the Todas not to "molest them, or in acknowledgment of their proprietary right in the land,*"* was uncertain.

This seems to be the case for the Todas.

On the other hand there is nothing in the Toda occupation which affects the universally acknowledged right of the Government to levy full assessment on all uncultivated land, when actually brought under tillage, a right which the Government had exercised without objection in the case of all lands cultivated by the Badagas and paying *gūdu* to the Todas.

The first step in the settlement of the matter was to declare in 1843 that the Todas had an absolute right in their mands or village sites and in the spots appropriated to religious rites, and had also a claim to compensation† for abridgment of their grazing privileges, but that purchasers from Todas could only buy the right of occupying the land for pasture. On this principle compensation was paid by Government for the area now forming the Ootacamund settlement. Subsequently, on further inquiry, in connexion with the survey of the Hills by Captain Ouchterlony, it was found that the Badagas generally were not disposed to admit the right of the Todas to demand *gūdu* from them at any specified rate, although they acknowledged the practice of giving *gūdu*, and their readiness still to give it "according to their own wants or fancy." It was found too that the Badagas had for some time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the *gūdu*, and that no claim had subsequently been urged by the Todas on the buyer. On inquiry into the extent of table land over which *gūdu* was claimable, it appeared that on the whole plateau of the Hills there were not more than about a hundred mands occupied and unoccupied, and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in practice, only extended to the area surrounding each mand. Under these circumstances it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a mand or of spots appropriated to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoccupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural purposes. Every lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *gūdu* would be charged to the grantee, and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *gūdu* was payable thereon. Subsequently, in 1863, sales by public auction were substituted for leases. Under orders from Government the revenue authorities have abstained from leasing, or putting up to public auction, land which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda

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* *Despatch from the Court of Directors to Madras*, dated 21 June 1848, No. 13.

† Compensation equivalent to the *Gūdu* was to be given, and added to the assessment when the land was taken and tilled; and in case the land so taken was a portion of that for which the Todas paid the pasture tax, in proportionate share of the tax was to be remitted.

In *Minutes of Consultation*, dated 7 May 1852, the *Gūdu* equivalent was fixed at 1 anna per Khal (cawny). A Cawny = 1·22 acres.

177 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gûdu* been claimed* for lands
421 disposed of by Government.

Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gûdu* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pattâs*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gûdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gûdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— *Religious Rites Cere*

234 I. *Pâlâls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pâlaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pâlaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pâlâls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenâd, and one near Kodanâd. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pâlâls* must be Peikis; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarserzhâl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pâlâls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilâl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pâlâl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pâlâl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,749, 29 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's Letter* of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gûdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

About Octacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* II. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 771

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pějári*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pějári* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Pursháli* comes with three holy branches of the *Tūr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tūr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *arvala*, *anthu*, or *kess* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 996 621 173

The institution is *Mānāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child. 944

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Pursháli*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pekkan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*hoo*), the *Pursháli* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pálthchi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and 533 551

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mānāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is [77] devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and [583] sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other [60] guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and [77] otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bêti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. [578] This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

[635] The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now [636] and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kéd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kédmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! ôr kar ultamá*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kéd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kéd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *maniyakâran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchâyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1/2 [of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analysis]

they walk to another stone near the Kédmane in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki with the bow in the middle, and the *Varzhál* in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting

Amunádga Sérumá
Karma dharma tilimá.

which may be rendered, "May he enter heaven, may it be well with his good deeds "and his sins."

The Peikis and Pekkans do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kédmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Āzāram*.

The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes. It is curious that the Todas, to whose relatives the dead animals are consecrated, make no objection to this disgusting operation, though carried on at the very door of the *Kédmane*. I asked a Toda once about it, and he replied, "*When the buffaloes are* "*alive they are ours; when dead they belong to the Kotas.*"

The *Kéd* is burnt about four o'clock on the following morning (they say the burning must be completed before dawn) at the *Āzāram*,* a single circle of large stones fixed in the ground not far from the Kédmane. They first light a fire outside the *Āzāram*, and then spread the *pútkuli* with the *kéd* in the middle of the circle, and pile burning sticks on it until, with the help of ghee, they make a great blaze. They put on the inside fire the following articles:—

A *Kéf Kutti*, a sort of large knife or sickle wrapped round with cloth.
An axe.
Twenty-one bamboo measures ornamented with cowries, two anna bits, and coloured threads, and containing barley, kīre, and sāme grain.
Four or five cakes of jaggery.
A winnowing basket.
A basket for holding rice.
Three or four Toda walking sticks.
A straight pole (*Tarzh*) 20 feet long, ornamented with tassels and rosettes of cowries, and sometimes with a small silver umbrella. (*Plate* XI., *fig. b.*)
A palm-leaf umbrella.
A miniature bow and three arrows.† (*Plate* XI., *fig. a.*)
A purse.

* I could not ascertain with any certainty whether these stone circles, which are always to be found near the funeral mound, had been constructed in recent years or were of considerable antiquity. Their appearance, however, did not suggest any great age. From the Todas whom I questioned on the subject, it was very difficult to elicit any definite information; but the impression which their answers conveyed, was, that now and then they construct new circles, when they consider that the old ones have been used long enough.

† I am told that these are burned at the green funeral when the Kotas have time to make them, but they must not be made beforehand, or the man for whom they were intended would die; and as the Kotas will only work, and the Todas only burn on certain days, it must frequently happen that the two do not coincide.

174 long ago deserted, some of which by the girth of the trees which have since grown up in them, have evidently been abandoned for centuries.

● 177 It would appear that the Todas have always maintained some intercourse with the
489 western coast, as the cowrie necklaces of the women imply. The earliest notice of
175 them I know of, is to be found in the Journal of the Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de Menezes; Coimbra, 1606, the following extract from which has been kindly furnished me by Dr. Gundert:—

175 "From Malabar the Vicars' regular report, from their hitherto neglected and paga-
" nised churches, came in to Goa (in 1599). At this time two Cattanars had been to
" Todamala in the country of the Zamorin, 50 leagues distant from the furthest churches.
" There (in Todamala) there are still Christians, who speak a language different from
" the Malabar language. They call their god 'Bidi'* (=fado, fatum). They have a
" Trinity of persons, viz., an old man, a youth, and a small bird. They say Thomas
" taught them, but because the king of Mylapūr killed all Christians, they took refuge
" on these mountains, that there their Cattanars have died, their books have been lost,
" and all idea of God has disappeared, but still they have a picture very much injured
" of that Trinity. The objects of that picture they try to keep in mind. They knew
" that in Cochin there were people of their own caste, on which account they called
" the two Cattanars brothers, and summoned men and women together to hear them,
" when the Cattanars explained from the picture the Trinity to the people. The
" Jesuit Roy was very glad of this report, and spoke of it as not a singular instance.
" In other places also (near the hills) remains of former Christian congregations were
" discovered. He (Roy) became Bishop of Angimale in 1601, and Archbishop of
" Cranganore in 1605."

This report seems to have led to further investigations, as we find by the following abstract of a manuscript in the British Museum kindly furnished me by the Reverend Mr. Whitehouse:—

At the synod of Udiamparūr in the state of Cochin,† held under Archbishop Menezes in 1599, information having been received that there were certain villages of Christians in a country called Todamala, who anciently belonged to the Syrian church of Malabar, but then had nothing of Christianity except the bare name, it was ordered that priests and preachers should be sent thither immediately to redeem them to the Catholic faith, baptise them, &c. Francisco Roy, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Syrian Christians, in 1602 sent a priest and deacon of the Christians of St. Thomas with a good guide to find out the place and collect information. They reached the Todamala; but, as the account brought back by them, was not so sure and complete as was desirable, Bishop Roy requested the Vice-Principal of the Jesuits to depute a priest of his own order to make further inquiries. The Rev. Jacome Ferreiri was selected for this mission. He started from Calicut, the place of his residence, and was permitted to return safely, after undergoing great exposure and fatigue, with a good deal of information about the hill tribes, their manners and customs, but with no tidings of any Christian colony, which had either become extinct or removed elsewhere, if it had ever been there at all.

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* Dr. Gundert says, "Bidi or Vidhi is a well-known name of Brahma."

† Todamala is included in a list of Christian churches given in Assemani Bibl. Orient., but this only refers to the date of this same synod.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Kota AW55

are only to be seen at some little distance, generally in parties of ten or twelve, and invariably retreat on the approach of strangers. They attracted the attention of my party by howling in the most unearthly tones, from a rising ground several hundred yards from the road. Looking at them through the glass, they were seen to be miserably thin and wretched-looking creatures of the wildest possible aspect. By the advice of a Hindoo *kotwal*, I put down a few *annas* on a rock by the roadside, for which, as soon as we were at a safe distance, they raced down howling and chattering like so many wild beasts. 000

Cock sacrifice is practised by these people also, and no doubt many interesting customs and rites might be discovered if properly investigated; but I must not digress from my subject; my only reason for thus incidentally mentioning either of these tribes is to show what material exists for inquiry among the tribes of Southern India, whether on the hills or on the plains.

To return for a moment to the former, I may add in conclusion that the Todas and Khotas of the present day are unfortunately degenerating. Both tribes are, I think, naturally capable of considerable improvement, both mentally and morally, but, so far as I saw, and especially in the case of the former, their contact with the European has hitherto produced only its too common results, intoxication, licentiousness, and cupidity, threatening to add to the long list of so-called uncivilised races that the white man has assisted to demoralise. T 177 K 177

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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648 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous
464 success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it
461 beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former
[241] Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda
562 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad
512 or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described
[157] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of
[171] the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans
177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand,
609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām).
[735] Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868,
114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most
177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who,
164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

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apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which 177
at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it 164
undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked- [114]
eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an [834]
absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection 628
with the question of the morality of the Toda women, 577
Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other 177
members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his [554]
fellow Tribesmen.

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177 fellow tribesmen. To this man finger-prints came as no novelty, since his impressions were recorded both in England and America.

212 Writing in 1870,* Colonel W. Ross King stated that
191 the Todas had just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. At the present day, a few write, and many converse fluently in Tamil. The Nilgiri C.M.S. Tamil
797 mission has extended its sphere of work to the Todas, and I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a Toda version of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The English say that once upon a time a rich man and a poor man died. At the funeral of the rich man, there was a great tamāsha (spectacle), and many buffaloes were sacrificed. But, for the funeral of the poor man, neither music nor buffaloes were provided. The English believe that in the next world the poor man was as well off as the rich man; so that, when any one dies, it is of no use spending money on the funeral ceremonies. Two mission
797 schools have been established, one at Ootacamund, the
871 other near Paikāra. At the latter I have seen a number of children of both sexes reading elementary Tamil and English, and doing simple arithmetic.

797 A few years ago a Toda boy was baptised at Tinnevelly, and remained there for instruction. It was hoped that he would return to the hills as an evangelist among his people.† In 1907, five young Toda women were baptised at the C.M.S. Mission chapel, Ootacamund. "They were clothed in white, with a white cloth over their heads, such as the Native Christians wear. A number of Christian Badagas had assembled to witness the ceremony, and join in the service."

[113]

* Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills.
† Madras Diocesan Magazine, November, 1907.

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a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr. Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the ground that they were too poor to afford the expense of the operation, or that they were always suckling or pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation would not be free from danger. The dots and circles, of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger; silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

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At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539

At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.

At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793

He lights the lamp.

At eight he milks his buffaloes.

He puts on no cloth.

He places butter and ghī before the god.

Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.

Then he puts on his cloth.

At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.

He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.

He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.

He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.

He alone may sleep in the temple.

At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.

At seven he milks them.

The woman's house is down the hill.

The priest must not go in unto the woman.

He may not marry.

When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.

Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, etc. 771 114 771 177 788

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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791 etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
177 "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
302 A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[782] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[788] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[765] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondurıdz. One of these is the daughter of ımuxfun (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxüuıı (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondur to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

§3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töü "god" or ıfoıı "sacred place" or by the compound töünoıı, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and noıı when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god öm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töünoıı, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619-27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343-60, 1937).

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -küwtṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[9] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in pwtʃofxüwtṇ (a son of sirjair 20)<pwtʃof, a mountain near the mund toiroiɾ, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in twipwsxüwtṇ (20; referred in §6)<twipwsfoiü, the kogfof̸j dairy at toiroiɾ; kæmxüwtṇ, son of toiliθj and nertnwɜ (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners)<kæmof̸, the üwsof̸j dairy at the mund kərkoɜ. A son of küərom of the pwrgoiroɾ (34, Kwodron) is named ɑsojxüwtṇ<ɑsojwr, the buffaloes of the tii of this sib. köikisjxüwtṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the [177] Badaga name of another man kekærɾjxüwtṇ in table 25)<köikisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toiroiɾ.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fwn; e.g. in kərorfwn (21, Karadrvan)<kərorθwt, name of a mountain (twt) near toiroiɾ; wɾküwiɾfwn (24, Idrkudrvan)<wɾküwiɾfəɾw, a river (pəiw) near Mt. kəror; pwtʃefwn (24, Pachievan)<pwtʃof, a mountain near toiroiɾ (cf. pwtʃofxüwtṇ in §9); kergæɾfwn (25, Kerskedrvan)<kergæɾfəɾw, a stream near the mund pɑʃtair; ɑsojfwn<ɑsojwr, the buffaloes of the tii belonging to the pwrgoiroɾ, is another name of poifwṣ (35, Patirsh; cf. ɑsojxüwtṇ in §9); mupuifwn (16, Mopuvan)<mupuif, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɾθoi̯ or pæɾθoi̯fwn, kæmodz or kæmodzfwn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mwn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pwn, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[9] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. 831 192 The these meanings given for pwn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fwn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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55 193 [553] pairθotj near the mund karkos. edzen (22, Idjen) <iidzfaɸ, a valley near the mund paʃtair; this man was afterwards called küarxas, from a rocky ground near the mund tæilgüuir, since there was another man called edzen. natyłj (25, Natuli) <kinxatyłj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund paʃtair; kinxatyłj = "small (kin)-stone (kas)-deep pool (tyłj)," and natyłj = "beauty (nas)-deep pool (tyłj)." I could not discover that natyłj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tærθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tærθj and kæm, a brother of tærθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmaɸł, cf. kæmgüuṭṇ (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkirθj, for which see §12.

55 552 614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or küasm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjair in §14. Others are moiromas, a son of töüθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moiramn, i.e. Mariamma; noixoroidzn, a son of sirjair (table 20), <noixuir "Nagore" or noixuirxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roidzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noixor or noixoroif "cobra."

55 776 177 §18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ardʒoṇ "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n̄ by Toda ṇ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ardʒ. The other name is idjom (a son of tæipax, table 20). This is from idroidzn "king (roidzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in öngüuṭṇ (20, Enkutan); öm, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes küaröü, who belonged to the sib of the melgaisoɸ, had another name mæiltarz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

55 177 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. kointsarz, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (arz is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa arasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

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also means "Englishman, European in general." It may be that the Tamil 551
ɪrɪsan is also concerned in the origin of the Toda word, but in that case we 177
should expect final -n to remain.). It is to be expected that names of Badagas might be adapted, and perhaps such cases occur, but I have no record of any.

§20. One name that I know of has reference to an incident in the life of 551
a man's father. udjoɪsn (34, Udiosan) was made from udj "a government 554
appointment" and oɪsn "he who became," since when this man was born, his father held an appointment as a forest-ranger.

§21. Many of the examples given above are names of men of the 551
toɪroɪroɪ sib. In order to give a comprehensive view of all the names of 614
one sib, I collect those here with references to the paragraphs where they are treated above and add all those that have not yet been mentioned. A few names given in Rivers' tables of this sib are not remembered by my informants, either because they belonged to children who died before they made any mark in the tribal life, or because the taboos on the names of the dead have caused them to be forgotten. I mark with an asterisk those names that follow the norm of derivation from names of places, objects, etc., connected with the sib.

RIVERS' TABLE 20

*tæɪθj (§12)
*tuɪsɪθj (§12)
*tuŋpɪθj (§12)
*nöɪrnuɪs (Narsners) < uɪnöɪroɪ, the second küasm of the mund tæɪlgüuɪr (see nertnuɪs, §11)
*muɪdbɪθj (§12)
*ertsɪθj (§12)
*kakaɪr (§7)
*tæɪpax (Teipakh) < tümɪθæɪpax, a pen at the mund toɪroɪr sɪrjaɪr (§§14,17)
*tæɪfxüuɪr (Tavkudr) < Mt. tæɪf near toɪroɪr, "he who has horns as tall as Mt. tæɪf" (cf. §8)
*kɪnöjmuɪj (§7)
*paɪŋxüuɪr (Pankudr) < paɪŋdüuɪ, two pens, one at toɪroɪr, one at kæɪkos (cf. §8)
*köɪkɪsjxüuɪṭŋ (§9)
*æɪdʒ, son of kakaɪr, < æɪdyalxuɪṭ, a ravine near paʃtaɪr (cf. §7)
ɪdjom (§18)
nasom (§14)
*tuɪpuɪxüuɪṭŋ (§§9, 15)

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of female-denoting significance, is -ɪɪdz. E.g. ɑrlɪɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from ɑrl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noɪʂoɪ; it was at noɪʂ that the goddess töɪkisj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

mɑxɑrxoj	potsɯθnoɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
mɑxɑrɑl	oɪkjɯθnoɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noɪʂ) the sacred place where töɪkisj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that ɑrl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with töɪkisj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moɲɪdz (7, Manidz); moɲ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—iɲefædʒ, moɲefædʒ "quarrels (pædʒ) about women (iɲ, a Badaga word) and land;"

iɲexüɑɪʈ	koʈjoθik
woman-bungalow	you built
moɲexöɪr	kertoθik
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɑrmɪɪdz (44, Termidz) < tɑrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nüɯɪʈɪɪdz (3, Notidz) < nüɯɪʈ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪʈ, koɲenüɯɪʈ "dancing (oɪʈ) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koɲ)." poɲɪɪdz, daughter of küɯɪlpɑx (52, Kulpakh) < poɲ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otsodjfoɲ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sinɪɪdz (21, Sinidz) < sin "gold." laɪbɪɪdz, daughter of töɪküɯɪr (63, Teikudr), < laɪbm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). ruɪpojɪɪdz (also ruɪpoj), daughter of kömnuɪs (34, Kemners), < ruɪpoj "rupee." rɑɪmɪɪdz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. roɪdʒɪɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), < roɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪɪdz (28, Pirkidz) < pɪrkitɑn, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nīlgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmɪɪdz (63, Sanmidz) < sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

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ṭeuj (10, Punduteimi), with tüuṭ "handle of a bamboo vessel" (frequently found in songs), has also the suffix -emj mentioned in §25, piḷj "silver" is found in piḷjmoʃt (54, Pilimasht), with moʃt "ax;"[10] piḷjnir (55, Pilinir), with nir "water;" piḷjmut (35, Pilimut), with mut "pearl." 551 193

§27. As first member of a compound is found nas- 'beauty;" nasturfj (49, Narstufi), with turfj "feather;" naspiḷj (35, 52, Naspilthi), with piḷj "silver." It is found in the form nal- with insertion of -a- in nalabuif, daughter of panur (23, Paners), with puif "flower." puif "flower" is found as first member of a compound in puifiḷj (20, Puveli), with piḷj "silver;" with inserted -a- in puifamut, daughter of sirjair (20), with mut "pearl;" with suffix -idz and piḷj "silver" in puifidzfiḷj (65, Puvizveli).

§28. Other compounds are found with more sporadic members. korsmailj, daughter of oitjarz and udjoisn (34, Atiurz and Udiosan), from kois "rupee" and mailj "garland;" korsafiḷj (11, Kosaveli), from kois "rupee" and piḷj "silver" with inserted -a-; cf. korsar §25. nirfiḷj (63, Nirveli) from nir "water" and piḷj "silver." arznir (16, Arsner), from arz "European" and nir "water." mutnirfiḷj (51, Mutnirveli), from mut "pearl," nir "water" and piḷj "silver," is rather exceptional in having three members. pumer (23, Pumers), from pum "fruit" and er "leaf;" cf. sines §26. Several contain English words: soipnir (6, Sapnir), from soip "shop" and nir "water;" pofurmut, daughter of oitjarz and udjoisn (34), from pofur "power," referring to the electric power line across the hills, and mut "pearl." Three refer to Miss C. F. Ling who was formerly a missionary among the Todas.[11] ligmisj (23, Lingimishi) represents Ling Missy (i.e. Miss Ling), which is the ordinary way in which a South Indian would refer to this lady; ligjabuif, daughter of üusoiṛ (48, Ushadr), has puif "flower" with an inserted -a- and an unwarranted j; misjamut, daughter of kömnur (34, Kemners), is misj "missy" and mut "pearl" with an inserted -a-. 551 193

§29. Uncompounded words without any suffix are found as names: tugul, daughter of kürurjaḷf (52, Kuriolv), "moon;" sarfer (62, Sever) "1000;" ysmitʃ (12, Irsimitch) "lime (the fruit)," cf. the appendix to note 7; mumer (56, Munar), "affection." poṭoṇm (34, Paton) is the word found in Sanskrit as paṭṭana "city" and is the usual Toda word for Madras city. kopol (41, Kapal) seems to denote the compound of a bungalow and refers especially in the songs with its pair kotsarj to the law-courts in Ootacamund. A few English words have been taken as names changed only to such 551 193

[10] Moʃt "ax" and mosj "bell" (cf. shamosj §26) form a song-pair, denoting two of the objects found in dairies.

[11] See *The Songs of the Todas*, footnote 2 and p. 554.

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551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæıbj, daughter of öıknuıs (8, Arkners), < "baby;" pentʃ, daughter of korxtuıṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæısn; a woman's name tæıs is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kujniır, 3, Kainir).

[177] §30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiıfj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandiıfj, daughter of kūuılpax (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess," the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 614 778 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and kūasm "sacred names' of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. öıngūuıṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 776 177

551 193 [614] §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[12] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

[177]

[12] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the kūasm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

[562] [533] [778]

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797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kišker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime. 797 794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the abandoned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the [177] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in [341] providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts [346] themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal [182] dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final [162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research [113] Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small [109] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ʂ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [š] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [ǰ] and [ʒ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ə] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [u] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aʊ:i] is one name in the diphthong [aʊ:] plus the vowel [i].

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The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalised relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

[15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

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The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfunodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuum:n], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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114 the care of which forms a very complex ritual, and containing within itself such an unusual feature as polyandry, this culture was bound to attract attention as a thing *sui generis* in the field of knowledge of anthropologists. Work on the language of the tribe in 1935–7 has given me an opportunity to study the culture as well. The present paper attempts to assess the amount and nature [121] of such changes as the culture has suffered in the thirty-five years since Rivers' visit.

177 In 1901–2, the Todas were already exposed to outside influences of several different kinds. Leaving aside their immemorial connexion with the Kotas and the Kurumbas, these three tribes regarding themselves as being the aboriginal inhabitants of the hills and as having been created there together, and their more recent but still ancient connexion with the immigrant Badagas, two other strong influences had been in a position to affect Toda culture from the time that the Nilgiris became accessible early in the 19th century. The English, who created three hill-stations, Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagiri, and a military station Wellington, provided one of these influences, and their Indian servants, minor officials, and tradespeople, an even stronger influence. Since Rivers' time conditions in the hills have changed so that outside influences have become potentially much stronger. A railway now connects Ootacamund and Coonoor with the Tamilian plains to the south and motorbuses connect the whole area with the Mysore plains. The possibilities of the Nilgiris as a suitable ground for growing vegetable produce and tea have been exploited to a high degree. Their attractions as holiday grounds for Europeans and a place of retirement at the end of official life have been certainly not more widely appreciated, but perhaps more widely used by Europeans from all parts of India. The climax of this tendency of the English to invade the Nilgiris

113 *Id.*, *Personal names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, April 1938.

Id., *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*, Journal of the American Oriental Society (not yet published).

Census of India, 1931, vol. 14 (Madras), part 1 (report by M. W. M. Yeatts), 267–268.

[M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, American Anthropologist 38, 103–112. This completes the list of my reports on the Todas up to date, but is not referred to in this paper.]

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for short or longer periods has however been passed and with changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations; whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area. 177

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments. 177 128

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained 177 233 262 262 648 437

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is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonises a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

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177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
177 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Oot-
233 acamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
425 from the Todas. The sib of the mṇkitjo:ʃ (Rivers' Pam; for
[614] details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ṭo:ʃ and melga:-ṭo:ʃ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
[311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ṭo:ʃ sib, the other of
[797] the mö:ṭo:ʃ sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ṭo:ʃ sib were sold to Government
[614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
[685] when the sib of the ka:ṭo:ʃ were in need of a large sum of money to settle pṇkumṇ's liability in the suicide of nö:rnmṇ. In general,

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In general, 177 233 425 657

the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and prevent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic 177 657 life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in con- 177 nexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature 657 of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work 241 this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings 648 in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of 434 Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 3], 123. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

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887 764 554 526 [578] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṛ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumṛjaḷf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kenods (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 ●177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθaŋ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the nirjo:ɸ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumɨ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new po:lm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 194

is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːʈ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noːʈoːselm	kuːtjuθnoːʈ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tõuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːʈ), the sacred place to which the goddess tõkiej gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moreθarm	kumʈuθnoːʈ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mʈeθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noːʈexuːdtk	piːuθnoːʈ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tõuenoːjtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tõuθuʈ, the tõunoːʈ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tõunoːʈ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tõunoːʈ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair: pəːrnuːθõu, pəʈpuːrõu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kaːgm)" of the mund myːnj, which is pəːrnuːu, said to mean "the standing-place (nuːu) of the 1600 gods (represented by pəːr for pəːrnuːu)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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771 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion
776 seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at
794 the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs"
234 he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiǫj and the rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθut. Since they are distinct from the töunoɣ, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθut. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may pro-
771 bably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product
774 of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly
794 general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by
234 which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kiǫj and the other töuθut for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiǫj and the gods
[776] associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods,
776 the töuθut, stories are still told in the vague way of which
538 Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

771 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no
234 change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such
794 change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete
777 abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical
778 alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-8 worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

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worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nörnmş (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son sirjar; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a töu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief already mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is şcmj (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmş (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

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of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative *somi:* as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

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will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress. 177 778 791

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies; the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution. 782 114 [124] [262] [564] [177]

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known; 197 [191]

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[177] [171] the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage [178] [582] customs attempted by kumzjalf and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of [425] [426] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life [657] of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

161 177 There remains the important question of the effect of outside influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems [114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women [831] by the polyandrous system combined with the marriage institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

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irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931.[1] The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901–11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918–9 and relapsing fever in 1923–4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about 8¼ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931–41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of the tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

[1] See *Census of India, 1931*, reference given in note 1.

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841 Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags [178] are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all dis[illegible] ones [171] are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community.

841 794 563 177 The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has been made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

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The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast.

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects.

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris.

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units.

[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōṅg. This is etymologically connected with Kota koṅg in the same meaning, Tamil koṅku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koṅgu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koṅgu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōṅg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[241] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirtes, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would. 158 828 [839]

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us. [164]

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son. 762 [824] [773] [276] [177]

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing 674 [411] [578]

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Oñ*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.

178

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth of the same kind, called *ān*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual. 234 292 793 178

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the *tarvali* it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses *tudr* in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*. 234 778 788

[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tarthorol.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremonially as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken.

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed.

Special Dairy Customs

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

are not used at funerals. They are also distinguished as *patatmani* and *ertatmani*, a distinction not met with in any other village dairy. It seems probable that they are the representatives of the two kinds of bells of a *ti*, the *mani* proper and the *kudrsmani*. The *ertatmani* of Kiudr are 'fed' with buttermilk, a procedure not followed, so far as I know, in any other dairy, but it may be that this is a feature of the procedure of the *ti* dairy which escaped me. Certainly the most likely explanation of the existence of these bells at Kiudr is that they are survivals of its former position as a *ti* dairy. 173 234 778

The villages of Kiudr and Teidr both belong to the Teivaliol, and this raises the question whether this division of the Todas may not have possessed *ti* herds and *ti* dairies of their own at one time, and may not always have had to be content with providing dairymen for institutions belonging to the Tartharol. No information could be given on this point, but it seems unlikely that dairies and places belonging to a Tarthar clan should have been handed over to the Teivaliol when they were no longer used as *ti* dairies and *ti* places.

Certain Tarthar villages are also said to have had at one time *ti* dairies, especially the sacred places of Nòdrs and Òdr. This probably means that there is a tradition that the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were at one time kept at these places which, as we have seen, are still visited by the *palol* during his ordination ceremonies.

The process of extinction of *ti* institutions can be seen in progress at the present time. The Nidrsi *ti* is not now in working order; there has been no *palol* for some years and its dairies are unoccupied. It is said that a *palol* would have to be appointed temporarily if it was desired to perform the second funeral ceremonies of a Nidrsi man, but in the present condition of the Nidrsiol, it seems to me not at all unlikely, either that the rule will be disregarded, or that the second funeral ceremonies will not be performed, and that the Nidrsi *ti* will become absolutely extinct, possibly dragging down another institution into extinction with it. 178 234 177

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* is now only active for a short time once every year in order to satisfy a ceremonial requirement of the 178 234

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 Kotas, and this institution may possibly soon become little
178 more than a name. If it were not for the Kotas, it would undoubtedly be as near extinction as the *ti* of Nidrsi. One
234 *palol* of the Pan *ti* has recently ceased to be appointed, and the same difficulty which has led to his disappearance will probably sooner or later vacate the other office, and Pan will follow in the footsteps of the other clans. Many of the dairies belonging even to the more prosperous *ti* institutions are now disused, and some have completely vanished. The legend of Kwoto preserves a tradition of ceremonial accompanying the migration of the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* which has now entirely disappeared, and nothing is known of the special features of ritual which were practised at many *ti* dairies which have become extinct.

Of dairies of other grades, the *poh* of Kanòdrs is now only occupied for a short time once a year, and its ceremonial may soon also become extinct. The conical *poh* of Kars and the seven-roomed *kudrpali* of Nòdrs are dairies which have ceased to exist, and with the extinction of the latter have gone completely all traces of the ritual which was practised in this kind of dairy, and nothing is known as to the meaning of the seven rooms.

Some of these changes are recent, and due to the altered conditions produced by the general invasion of the Nilgiris, but others date back to a time before Europeans came to the hills, and were due to intrinsic conditions, chiefly the hardships connected with the ritual practised in certain of the dairies. The altered surroundings of the Todas are undoubtedly hastening the process of decay, and institutions which would probably have lasted for centuries will now almost certainly disappear in a few decades.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed 764
and redistributed to those who had given them. The people 775
told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body 178
over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the 764
objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is 178
now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face down- 764
wards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall[1] and 775
Walhouse[2] thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston and myself the body was put on the fire with the face upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that if this were not done, the dead person would have to make [772]
the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set towards his future abode.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.
[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

595 The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursütpimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as
842 the father of a child if no other man has performed the essen-
851 tial ceremony.[1]

In the only case in the genealogies in which the husbands of a woman were of different clans, it happened there were only two children, and that one father gave the bow and arrow for the first child and the other for the second.

If the husbands separate, each husband takes with him those children who are his by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 There is no doubt whatever as to the close association of
847 the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given
182 up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.

178 It has been stated by most of those who have written about
182 the Todas that the custom of polyandry is dying out, but a glance at the genealogies will show that the institution is in
595 full working order even in the case of the infant marriages which are being contracted at the present time. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is now less frequent for all the brothers of a family to have one wife only in common. A study of the genealogies shows that often each brother has his own wife, or that several brothers have more than one wife between them. It seemed to me, however, almost certain that in these cases the brothers have the wives in common. In compiling the genealogies, one informant would give me the names of two or more brothers each with one wife, while another would give me the name of one brother with two or three wives, and would say that the other brothers had the same wives. When I pointed out the discrepancy and asked which was the true account, they usually said it made no difference and were almost contemptuous because I seemed to think that there was any disagreement

[1] For an instance, see p. 535.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

519

between the two versions. I think it probable that it has 178
become less frequent for several brothers to have only one 182
wife in common, but I am very doubtful whether this indicates 595
any real decrease in the prevalence of polyandry.

It seems to me that the correct way of describing the present condition of Toda society is to say that polyandry is as prevalent as ever, but that, owing to the greater number of women, it is becoming associated with polygyny. When there are two brothers it does not seem that each takes a wife for himself, but rather that they take two wives in common.

It is probable that this will lead in time to a state of society in which each brother will come to regard one wife as his own; and in a few cases it seemed to me that there was already a tendency in this direction. If this forecast should be fulfilled, the custom of monogamy among the Todas will have been developed out of polyandry through a stage of combined polyandry and polygyny.

One case happened during my visit which seemed to indicate 595
that though several brothers might be regarded as husbands 765
of a woman, the part of husband for ceremonial purposes might be taken only by one or two of them. In this case I was told that four brothers had one wife, but when the wife died only two of the brothers acted as widowers and performed the ceremonies associated with that condition. When I asked for an explanation of this, I was then told that the other two brothers were not husbands, but I strongly suspected that this was a mere device to enable two of the brothers to avoid the disabilities attendant on the condition of widowerhood. I have very little doubt that while the woman was alive, all the four brothers were her husbands, but after her death it became convenient to assume that only two had been husbands, leaving the others free from the restrictions of widowerhood.

Many writers have believed that the widely spread custom 587
of the Levirate is a relic of polyandry. If it were true that 595
the custom of polyandry is dying out among the Todas, this people might have provided material for the study of the relations of polyandry and the Levirate. It will be obvious,

There is often very great disproportion of age in Toda marriages. I have already given two cases in which the woman is the older, in each of which the disproportion of age is due to the custom of marrying a *matchuni*. More commonly the man is much the older, and there are at the present time many cases in which elderly men are married to young girls. This is partly due to the practice of infant marriage. Unless a widower can take advantage of the *tererstthi* custom, which is always expensive, he may have to marry a child and wait till she has reached a marriageable age. Thus, Kòdrner, my guide, lost his wife some years ago, and then married a girl whose present[1] age is only thirteen, Kòdrner being forty-two. The girl is still living with her parents, and will probably not go to her husband for another three or four years. 582 [587]

THE CUSTOM OF 'TERERSTHI

The marriage tie among the Todas at the present time has become very loose. Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old. The amount of the compensation or *ter* is settled by a council, and from this the transaction has received its name of *tererstthi*, or "compensation he tells (decides)."[2] [581] 586 587

There is much reason to believe that this custom has altered its character in recent times. I was told that formerly the custom only applied to cases in which a man had lost his wife by death. If he wished to marry a woman who was already the wife of another or others, he went to the father of the woman and asked for his consent. The father would consult with two other elders, and if they were in favour of the proposed transaction the three elders would go to the woman, and if they obtained her consent they then went to her husband for his. If husband or wife were unwilling to be parted nothing was done, but if both consented, the new and [178]

[1] In 1902.

[2] *Ter* is also used in the sense of 'fine,' but is only used when the fine takes the form of a buffalo or buffaloes. A money fine is called *sazvv*.

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season.

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position.

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans.

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koòtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 178

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
174 when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
178 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Todas were so much isolated that their only iron was that of the tips of their arrows.

The bow and arrow are also mentioned in the legend of

FIG. 67 (FROM BREEKS).—THE FIRST MAN ON THE LEFT IS HOLDING A BOW AND ARROW; THE SECOND A CLUB (PROBABLY THE 'NANMAKUD') IN HIS RIGHT HAND, AND THE 'TADRI' IN HIS LEFT; THE THIRD MAN IS CARRYING A CLUB, AND THE FOURTH MAN IS PLAYING THE 'BUGURI.'

Kwoten. Teikuteidi was killed by an arrow shot by a lame man who lay down when he shot. It is possible that this legend points to an ancient custom of shooting the bow and arrow by means of the legs.

CHAP. XXI.

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.) 234 765 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the *ex*-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.' 764

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless. 183 764 765 775 178

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara-kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of 765 775

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] The bara Kêdu, or second funeral --Analyst

as may be most convenient to them. In either case, the marriage both in name and in fact, is identical. CHAP. XXV.

It is the custom for the husband to give a feast to his nearest relatives on such a joyous occasion.

It will be seen that up to this stage, the woman is married with her own consent to one man—he who pays the dowry, or gives security to society for his own good behaviour. But now, if the husband has brothers or very near relatives, all living together, they may each, if both she and he consent, participate in the right to be considered her husband also, on making up a share of the dowry that has been paid. In fact it was formerly their almost universal custom—in the days when women were more scarce than they are now—for *a family of near relations to live together in one mand, having wife, children and cattle all in common.*

Now if we consider that one or more brothers may each become the husbands of separate wives by virtue of having each paid a dower, and that younger brothers as they grow to age of maturity, and other brothers as they become widowed, may each, either take separate wives or purchase shares in those already in the family, we can at once understand that any degree of complication in perfectly lawful wedded life, may be met with, from the sample of the single man living with a single wife, to that of the group of relatives married to a group of wives. We begin to see also why tribes following polyandrous habits, endeavour to prevent further complications by making widows 'remain in the family.'

All the children of these very promiscuous unions are held to be brothers and sisters. And as, as is manifest, a generation or two of such marriages must produce inextricable confusion in relationships, so we find that the Todas, who like nothing so much as reducing things to simple formulæ, rather ignore the whole subject, terming them anatama.[4] They will

[4] See Note 19 of Chapter VII.

tradition, to retain, in some instances, more than one daughter in a family; thus forming a small reserve of women, with which the vacancies which would arise in other families, from a deficiency in female births, or from girls not having been raised to years of maturity, find a counterpoise.

The exceptional practice of polyandry, which had, in an unpremeditated manner, thus grown, merely from the infanticide which had disturbed the natural proportion of the sexes, might be expected to retain something of the promiscuous ways, which for ages had been so much in consonance with gregarious and primitive tastes. Now that the custom of infanticide has been relinquished, and the discrepancy between the sexes, which was its immediate fruit, has become less remarkable—though very far from having vanished—I observe communism still remaining *de facto*, the loved habit of the people, whilst monogamy grows to be the national form of marriage. It may be that the Todas in this process of change, are merely *reverting* to an ancient usage—that prior to infanticide—instigated by the natural predilections of unaltered dispositions. Perhaps their habits are becoming modified by the influence of surrounding monogamic races.

I very much doubt if the custom of polyandry, taken in the ordinary acceptation of that word, viz., the union of brothers only, to one wife, can anywhere be found as the sole national form of marriage; thus assuming the airs of a respectable, even if eccentric custom; for, bearing in mind the extreme gregariousness of their dispositions, and intimacy of their lives: considering, also, the absolute necessity for every soul to marry, it is evident that the actual nature of the tie must very greatly depend on the living ratio of the sexes; which, of course, could not be maintained at one undeviating level. When the proportions balance, the savage prefers a promiscuous style: but as they widen, and the males preponderate, the practice of monogamy is seen, coexistent with that of a polyandry in which the husbands are *so-called* brothers.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

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262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sālep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sālep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following:—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nīlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[294] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari:—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

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262

Rubus ellipticus.
Rubus moluccanus. } Wild raspberry.
Rubus lasiocarpus.
Fragaria nilgerrensis, wild strawberry.
Elæagnus latifolia. Said by Dr. Mason to make excellent tarts and jellies.
Gaultheria fragrantissima.
Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, hill gooseberry.
Loranthus neelgherrensis.
Loranthus loniceroides. } Parasitic on trees.
Elæocarpus oblongus.
Elæocarpus Munronii.
Berberis aristata.
Berberis nepalensis. } Barberry.
Solanum nigrum.
Vaccinium Leschenaultii.
Vaccinium nilgherrense.
Toddalia aculeata.
Ceropegia pusilla.

To which may be added mushrooms.

A list containing the botanical and Toda names of trees, shrubs, etc., used by the Todas in their ordinary life, or in their ceremonial, is given by Dr. Rivers.*

Fire is, in these advanced days, obtained by the Todas in their dwelling huts for domestic purposes from matches. The men who came to be operated on with my measuring instruments had no hesitation in asking for a match, and lighting the cheroots which were distributed amongst them, before they left the Paikāra bungalow dining-room. Within the precincts of the dairy temple the use of matches is forbidden, and fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks of *Litsæa*

372 [178] [276] 234 372

* *Op. cit.* Appendix IV, 738.

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346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghāt, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [184] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 178 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [164] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which, taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

[113]

* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

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595 851 843 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram). [765]

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nīlgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 178 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulhān bungalow.
† *Op. cit.*

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not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? 847
Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the open- 178
ing of the buffalo-pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were [732]
sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth with a cloth thus—here pantomimic action. It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The
kelachi got a present of four annas for the deed." The [465]
old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance to a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not.* The Missionary Metz † bears out the statement that the Toda babies were killed by suffocation.

At the census, 1901, 453 male and 354 female [162]
Todas were returned. In a note on the proportion of the sexes among the Todas, Mr. R. C. Punnett states ‡ that "all who have studied the Todas are agreed upon the frequency of the practice (of infanticide) in earlier times. Marshall, writing in 1872, refers to the large amount of female infanticide in former years, but expresses his conviction that the practice had by that time died out. Marshall's evidence is that of native assurance only. Dr. Rivers, who received the same assurance, is disinclined to place much confidence in

* Ellis. History of Madagascar.
† Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills. By a German missionary, 1856. [113]
‡ Proc. Cambridge Philosoph. Soc., XII, 1904.

847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

10.Ethnologia L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, nouveau riche attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonises a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:l), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!").

587 588 616 ●178 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kum'ɕja!ɨ made an innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kum'ɕja!ɨ or the children of this union. The example was followed in ku^{m}:ɕja!ɨ's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since ku^{m}:ɕja!ɨ's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

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have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ɛ-jaḷl's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his children though legally they belong to the other moiety. kum:ɛjaḷl, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed. 582 588 616 178

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the 764 554 526 [832] 764 554 887 526 [578]

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the toufiij moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the to:rθaŋ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the to:rθaŋ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the to:rθaŋ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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887 764 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumṇjalf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemodz (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 179 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

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The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunoːṭ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the tiː. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not tōunoːṭ. Some munds also which have dairies are not tōunoːṭ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunoːṭ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunoːṭ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the tōunoːṭ, which are utumḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunoːṭ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuθuṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation. [342] [178] [793]

When a tōunoːṭ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunoːṭ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunoːṭ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn. [791] [614]

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōuθuṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nódrodehi, i. e. noːṭoːḍeɪ-, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōuθuṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (utumḍmoḍ or tōunoːṭ) was created, as we have said, by a tōuθuṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning. [614]

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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771 776 794 234 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs" he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiǫj and the rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθut. Since they are distinct from the töunoɔ̣, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθut. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may probably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kiǫj and the other töuθut for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiǫj and the gods associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods, the töuθut, stories are still told in the vague way of which Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

771 234 794 177 178 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-9 worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nörnmę (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son sirjar; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a tŏu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief already mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is sōmj (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmę (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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177 the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief
[177] in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage [178] customs attempted by kum:ja/f and recorded by Rivers, which [582] would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of [425] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long [426] before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life [659] of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

16 There remains the important question of the effect of outside
177 influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): " The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease.....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe [114] and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women by the polyandrous system combined with the mo:ɔ̃ɔ:tjifoj [831] institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
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841 Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags [178] are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all discarded ones [171] are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community.

841 794 563 177 The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has been made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on 771
pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of
esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of
the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names [776]
and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is 776
that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a
part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now [178]
quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (espe- [115]
cially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something
about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an
intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which [773]
the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same
kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of
buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some
of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living
on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. [114]
Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly
speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very
good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned
by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the
present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Under-
world (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris;
while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife,
Pinakursh, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes;
2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity,
amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear
continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when
Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a [103]
hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however,
omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the
Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover [174]
what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or
so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which
would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world
of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author,
see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter [128]
refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be
584 mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men, their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 234 771 778 793 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial. The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed. 181 234 771 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life. 793

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. 825 234

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*. 234 621 463 778 192

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *paḷthḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *hart* was a shortened form of *harithi*, milking or milked.

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursütpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursütpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 181 831

181 Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,[1] a reason why polyandry
831 is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

[177] The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

[144] That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

143 By means of the genealogical record I was able to work
831 out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

[1] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
234 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 234 611

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect. 842 181

Adoption

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies. 597

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pòlm* of the father. 736 611

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan. 842 618

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXIV

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

181 THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple. The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy. This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the affairs of daily life.

181 The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony that little is left for the development of art, even of a primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the person, and even here we shall find that the methods of wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their amusements again we shall find that the influence of ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely imitations of ceremonial occupations.

821 I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun, moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observations and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

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181
593

It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of [578] grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

CHAP. IV.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful, seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of opposiveness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

[1] The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike persistency; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER V.

THE LAND HE LIVES IN.

The Todas a very ordinary people: the Interest they attract greatly due to Association—Habits and Manners free from Eccentricity—The Scenery of the Country: its Silence and Grace—A cool Morning grows to a Summer Day—Tasteless Toda.

/8/ A MOST interesting people is this to contemplate. The well-marked Assyrian stamp of face, amidst more clumsy types, would, if for no other reason, make them attractive to us. CHAP. V.

But when one has actually witnessed and realised what I am about to describe; the patriarchal mode of life in all its wonderful artlessness: the antique religious usages—effete, the forms remaining, their motives lost: the quiet deam-like lives; the even tenour of which reposes on custom, whose rare simplicity and immemorial practice indicates a strange proximity to primeval man;—then the interest in them redoubles, and one appreciates the fact, that he actually views a state of society more primitive than, though somewhat similar to that of our own Celtic ancestors, who *tilled* British soil. And the traces in his language, of what is cognate to the Celtic, increases the points of curious resemblance.

But it must be acknowledged that the interest we take in the Todas, is chiefly due to these associations: for of themselves, and apart from considerations connected with the evidences of the vast antiquity of their habits, or with their relationship to other races of which we may have especial knowledge, there can, I think, be no doubt they must be held a very ordinary people; whose peculiarities result mainly

CHAP. V.

from combinations of negative qualities, and the contrast they present to all the activities we have been accustomed to.

181 It is humanising, however, to recognise in them—ignorant, dirty, and unkempt—the likeness to ourselves, inheritors of many centuries of civilisation. Their children laugh and play as ours do. Their tricks are the tricks of our own boyhood. Their women display, with direct simplicity, many of the exact same characteristics of ours; even the most refined, even the debased. And they are repositories of family lore—staunch conservatives. The men rule their households on principles of worldly policy as we do, and without any striking point of dissimilarity; and, as I have already noted, are treated somewhat arbitrarily by their wives too, as we are apt to be also. Their natural language is precisely the same as ours; not a sign, not a demonstration of the feelings, not a movement, but may be understood at a glance as well as if we had all been brought up from infancy together.

The customs of the people strangely seem to suggest the germs of many that even now exist among us. Indeed, nothing in their ways surprised me more than to see them act so much as we do; to an extent, even, that deprived them of much interest in my eyes.

133 The country in which we find the Todas, though not by many moves perhaps the seat of his origin, is worthy of notice; for thus we shall better realise how man lived in days when he had advanced scarce more than one step from the period of his rude simplicity; in what style of place he gradually acquired forms and social habits, that he never forsook entirely; and how he multiplied unobserved, until his country could no longer contain his progeny—then migrated and founded nations.

Picture an abrupt-edged table-land, on the apex of a solitary mountain—a very Laputa in its complete isolation of some 7,000 ft. in altitude—whose evergreen surface is one continued intermixture of rounded hills, with tracts of rolling

silent yet speaking, quiet and secluded, forms the *beau idéal* of a breeding-place and nursery for infant races. CHAP. V.

The Toda buffalo has roamed over this land for centuries, and his master, calling his orders to the cattle he leisurely tends, has witnessed the many beauties of nature which I have merely suggested. But I do not find, by his language, religion, or tastes, that they have had any effect on him. He sees the grass. Ha! He sees the dew. Ha! He sees the forest. Ha! But apparently it is only so much cattle's food with water on it, and fuel in the distance. Ha! The sun is shining on it, and the water will soon dry; then the cattle will grow thirsty!

The prevalent idea is that primitive man, uneducated man, working man, is so engrossed in cares and in the occupation of providing himself with food, that he has no leisure for contemplating nature's beauties. The phrenologist knows better; and you, reader, will shortly agree that the Toda has unlimited leisure, as I now show that he has endless opportunity of noting the beautiful.

These hills are covered with good soil—indeed in the moist hollows it is pre-eminently rich and productive, and the land is easy accessible to the plough. There is excellent clay for pottery. A laborious, acquisitive race, conserving the glorious water supply, would render this land a paradise. But the Toda scheme is simpler far. He has cattle who afford him all he wants; why should he work? Why should he plough? And from the lazy man's point of view, perhaps he is right.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAND.

Todas a pastoral Race—Definition of a Nomad—Todas migrate, but are not nomadic—The Mand or Village—Construction of Houses—Interior Arrangement of Houses—The surrounding Wall—The Cattle-pen—The Dairy or Pâlthchi—Typical Plan of a Mand—Selection of Village Sites—Names of Villages.

CHAP. VI.

[181] 231 221

THE TODAS are a purely pastoral race; occupying themselves almost entirely in the bucolic pursuit of herding buffalos, of which they are in possession of a very fine species. They keep no other description of animals, save cats—Kotti.

As they do not attempt cultivation of the soil, they have rather hastily been styled nomads. Taking that term to imply a tribe which, *without fixed place of residence*, wanders in quest of food—whether that be game or pasture for its cattle—the word is a misnomer as applied to the Todas.

Indeed, from the many primitive races found in various parts of the world, which with striking deficiency of development in the organs of Acquisitiveness, Constructiveness, Order, and Number, are also distinguished by the peculiarity, common to them all, of not tilling the soil, we may select links of a complete gradation in idle mode of life; from the lowest, or ever-wandering predatory class which lives by begging and theft: through several varieties of the nomadic shepherd and hunter: up to the *settled* pastoral races, amongst which we class the Todas; who, with a very strong bias in favour of a permanent home, *yet migrate* once a year, compelled

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER IX.

SAVAGE ANTITYPE.

Cause of idleness of primitive Races—Their attributes—Toda qualities, and form of Cranium—The most primitive form of Skull—How to judge of Cannibal heads—Tylor, on the Development of the Human Race—Dolichocephali the natural Inhabitants of warm Zones: Brachiocephali the result of harsher circumstances—Endogamy and Dolichocephaly—Why pure Brachiocephali are not met with—Caste inimical to advance—Brachiocephaly the counterpoise to Dolichocephaly—Correlation between Brachiocephaly and Broad Shoulders.

CHAP. IX.

It will no doubt appear phenomenal to many of my readers, much in the same way as surprise has been excited in myself; that notwithstanding the example of certain tribes living contiguous to the Todas, and cognate to them in blood as in the stage of their barbarism, who earn a living by various modes of occupation, pursuit, and industry, the Toda should persist in maintaining an isolation of idleness so complete, that not one of the many means which these other tribes have adopted for improving their circumstances, and none of the impulses to action by which they have been moved, should in the least have commended themselves to this remarkable people living in their very midst.

The North-American Indian is well known to be receding before the advance of the white-man; from an inability to adapt his wild habits to the too-rapidly changing times, so absolute as to give the appearance of his having deliberately and proudly elected to accept extinction, rather than compromise with civilisation by altering the pristine customs of his race. And we greatly—and with much apparent justice—

CHAP. IX.

clever, and persevering through ages of strife with fellow-man, and conflict with difficulties presented by nature, had either risen in civilisation by means of a preliminary course of cultivation of the soil, and become great nations, or, on the contrary, had—like the North-American Indians under other and less favourable circumstances—developed qualities which, whilst retaining the primitive dislike to profitable labour, and the innocence of commercial skill displayed by the Todas, superadded other traits so ferocious as to render their immediate civilisation almost as hopeless as the taming of wild animals. The Toda is merely a simple, thriftless, and idle man, who will never, so long as his blood remains unmixed with that of superior tribes, or, by selection, is improved almost beyond recognition, work one iota more than circumstances compel him to do: but without taint of the ferocity of savagery.

I proceed now to compare the known qualities of the Toda with the form of his cranium: for if my supposition be correct; that in his general inefficiency, and callousness to wealth, combined with intense gregariousness and domesticity of character, we have prominent physiologic evidence of extreme primitiveness in condition of race, then it will prove most interesting and valuable, if, in addition to the objects of our immediate study, I may be successful in demonstrating even one practical means, by which, in judging of ancient skulls, we may be competent to decide between two chief candidates; of late years styled the brachycephalic and dolichocephalic—terms which, owing to want of definition, are unsatisfactory to the phrenologist, but which I use as being well understood by ethnologists—which is the oldest, most primitive form.

I feel the conviction that aboriginal man must, like the Todas, have been eminently gregarious, fond of children, and practical; for the simple reason, that without such combination of valuable qualities, he must, in the days of his ignorance and inexperience, have been killed off in detail,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BELL-GODS.

A religion based on the care of the Cow—Milk a Divine fluid—The Cattle-bell, a God—The Bell-cow—Her ancestral line—The Bell-god—Installation of the Bell-cow—The Tiritri—The sacred Herd—Bulls of the Herd—Sanctification of Bulls—Agnate law amongst the Todas; Female succession for their Cattle—Antiquity of Bell-gods.

CHAP. XIII.

181 231 234

NOTHING amongst the peculiarities of this very peculiar people is more striking than the absorbing importance they attach to all duties connected with the management of the buffalo and her chief product. The animal is the focus of all village life; the nucleus or centre upon which their entire religio-social system is based. One cannot imagine the Toda apart from a consideration of his buffalo; and when we reflect how entirely dependent the man is upon the animal—how, with only a light and pleasant expenditure of patience and perseverance, he finds the coarse grass of his hills turned into good nutriment; the care of the buffalo, so far from appearing anything extraordinary, only fits into its natural place as a necessary sequence. We are reminded, too, that the milk-giver and the bull have been, and still are, objects of especial care and of worship amongst other races that own Western Asia as their cradle-land. It also carries us back to the time when man depended upon his flocks and herds for existence. We actually see him in process of forming a religion, based upon the care of the cow.

'Few,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'who will give their minds to master the general principles of savage religion, will ever again

said Madge Wildfire, 'ye ken[3] very weel it's buried—but that signifies naething. I have had it on my knee a hundred times and a hundred times till that, since it was buried; and how could that be were it dead, ye ken? it's merely impossible.' CHAP. XVIII. 200

It is somewhat remarkable that the Todas should not only feel so confident in their immortality, but be without apprehension as to the future state; in the possibility that individually they may not attain to it. No such doubts arise to perplex their simple minds. Death is not a leap in the dark, but the contrary. The mode of thought—if thinking, it may be termed—by which they seem to set at rest this difficulty of more advanced and religious races, is too curious to be lost. 761 775

Their belief appears to be based on two considerations; one, what they know: the other, a sort of self-consciousness. 181 775

As regards the first, they *know* that they and their cattle were raised from the earth by the Great Unseen. This with them is a faith assured, as if the true story had been handed down from incontrovertible sources. They find themselves living, existing, breathing: they note the breath-life to leave the clay which returns to earth. But where does this breath-life go? The reply is contained in their *knowledge*. 'Tis a little sophistical perhaps, but an illogical jump is nothing with such people. They know that Todas and cattle live in amnôr; hence they are certain, with an absolute certainty, that this departed breath has gone there to join their forefathers. In this there is nothing more wonderful than that they rose from the soil! The subject is not worth thinking about! it has long been known! Thinking is difficult to the primitive mind. Best not to think! [773]

If with all our accumulated stores of information, we find the subject of a future state but little further advanced than it was ages ago, we can sympathise with a very simple people who have so few facts to work upon, and with whom the

[3] I would invite a comparison between this word ken, and the Toda words for I see, I dream, I smell, *et cetera*, in Chapter XXIX.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

●181 775

process of thought is little more than the instinctive stringing and restringing of those very few and very stale facts together. With a deeply domestic, excessively conservative and practical race, void of talent for generalisation, employed in working out its own problem; what could its theory of a future state be, than an exact copy of circumstances it had witnessed in this?

The self-consciousness to which I have ascribed one of the reasons for their viewing the future entirely without apprehension, appears to me to be an *intuitive but unobtrusive appreciation of the simplicity and harmlessness of their own natures:* unsensitive doubtless as to abstract right and wrong, but whose tendencies to the commission of crime are the very smallest; small indeed, in proportion to the inefficiency of their character, rather than in any ratio to moral qualities.

It is acknowledged that they commit without much remorse, as a matter almost of habit and nearly with impunity, acts which, with races that have long been exposed to the influence of a public opinion, are scouted as degraded though secret vices, but which the unrefined Toda sense does not censure as anything very heinous; rather as peccadillos punishable in a quiet way amongst themselves.

If all Toda society is unanimous in holding such acts as of small importance, where from such a race are we to meet a Toda of the unusual moral stature to consider himself alone criminal? Todas in addition to much real harmlessness of life are never troubled by moral scruples or remorseful feelings; such as would give their consciences trouble, leading to the hope of a purer future life, or one in which those who had escaped merited punishment for crimes committed in this world, would yet suffer hereafter.

If they have words for sin and hell, they have to all appearance, merely been adopted from the Hindus; the former perhaps in its milder sense, of a trespass, to supply a want, the latter to apply to other people. But Todas all go to amnôr.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XIX.

346 778

under the same general ideas, and apparently for similar purposes as the dairy of a tirièri or the pâlthchi of any Mand. Then it holds a vat—which no other building does—whose use is not understood by the vorshâl in charge, and whose very existence is, I feel nearly certain, unknown to the people. If the vat was constructed for sacrificial purposes, then its use has been discontinued and forgotten, though the priest in charge is a vorshâl or sacrifice man.[4]

It is situated on an exposed site bearing the outlines of stone walls, built on a largeness of scale, and in a form, nowhere else found amongst these people—with a Kromlech and numerous Kairns dotted close about.

The specific name by which it is known—boath[5]—is peculiar, and applicable solely to that style of structure.

181 346

Now it should be borne in mind, if we would form an opinion on the origin of this edifice, that the Todas are unimaginative creatures of one idea; having one way of doing everything: intolerant of change or deviation from custom, unless for some manifestly practical advantage. How then do we find such a race in occupation of an eccentric building which does not fit in with any of its other institutions? Not a tirièri—for it is of lower grade in Toda estimation; its servant a vorshâl, not a God. Not an ordinary pâlthchi, for one of the largest size exists apart, within a few paces of it.

172

As there is nobody who can give an explanation of the phenomenon, I will submit a theory of my own for consideration. May the boath not be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to, the Todas, which, taking refuge like them on these hills, died out in their presence—

[4] See Note 4 of Chapter VIII.

[5] Boath. An enclosed Jain temple is basti.

It may be deemed fanciful to refer to booth or bothy. The Welsh is bwth, the Gaelic is both. This word is of very extensive use. The Tamil vîḍ and Kanarese bîḍ = *house*, may be compared.

The Todas and Drâvidians generally, have much in common with the Celtic tribes. [POPE.]

were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9. CHAP. XXVI. 589 183 582

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation. 582 595 181

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety. 181

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe. 144

CHAP. XXVII.

Whether polyandry was the anticipated effect of a preconcerted design, in which infanticide was the logical preliminary step, or whether this peculiar relation of the sexes was its unforeseen consequence; it still could not have continued in force amongst a people, unless it were in unison with many of their inherent feelings. The same, or parallel personal qualities or propensities, must have led to the perpetuation of both these eccentric customs, or one of them must have fallen into disrepute. And the discontinuance of infanticide must have eventuated in the abandonment of polyandry, in consequence of the intimate nature of the alliance existing between them.

Now if the Todas had been an exact contrast of what we know them to be; had they been a people possessing a strong sense of personal property, and of dislike to publicity: had they been warlike and quarrelsome: had they, in fact, possessed large Acquisitiveness, Secretiveness, Destructiveness, and Combativeness—had they been brachycephalic, in fact—and withal been amorous, we could readily have imagined their taking to a *polygamous* style: but it would be contrary to our actual experience of men, to suppose that with such energetic personalities, families could have continued in harmony where one woman was the common wife of many men.

I maintain therefore, that whilst a general deficiency in power of the propensities—and conspicuously so of the acquisitive organ—dictated the indolent measure of infanticide, in the very face of the counter action of large Philoprogenitiveness, as the best means of escaping annihilation, I am equally forced to the conviction, that the tameness of the same group of deficient organs, combined with the moderate expression of an amativeness not above the average, enabled polyandry to maintain its position when once established.

I have no means of ascertaining that the organs, upon whose sizes and combinations have depended the allied and

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
421 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nīlagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *pattah* or *pattah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{7}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket*, *nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the 197
languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it.

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to everyday life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thought- 157
ful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, 262
which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agri- 241
culture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is 181
not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Aw60 Toda Aw60

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, number- 114
ing, according to the latest census returns, 807 [161]
individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and [127]
other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi- 233
domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products 234
(butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a [943]
less extent than in bygone days before the establishment [178]
of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been 556
said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the 233
number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral 648
life. But I have met with more than one man who had 464
served, or who was still serving Government in the [181]
modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of [233]

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people"[18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 105.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
231

CHAPTER XI

THE DAIRY RITUAL

In the preceding chapters I have given an account of an elaborate ritual wholly connected with the buffalo and with the dairy. This ritual is certainly of a religious character, and, though there is much in the nature of the dairy formulæ which is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Toda deities. 182 771 783 785 796

It seems most probable that the general idea underlying the dairy ritual is that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance, the milk of the buffaloes. This sacred substance is to be converted into other substances, butter and buttermilk, which are to be used by the profane. At the present time much of the butter goes to those who are not even Todas and are regarded by the Todas as inferior beings.

It seems most probable that the elaborate ritual has grown up as a means of counteracting the dangers likely to be incurred by this profanation of the sacred substance, or, in other words, as a means of removing a taboo which prohibits the general use of the substance.

Similarly the migration ceremonies have the general underlying idea of counteracting any possible evil influence which may accompany the passage of the buffaloes through the profane world from one sacred place to another. During the migration, objects may be seen by the multitude which under ordinary circumstances are strictly screened from the general gaze, and objects may be touched, or be in danger of being touched, by people who ordinarily may not even see them.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

182 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
783 him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
776 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

Comparison of the Procedure of Different Dairies

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
788 the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this 771
domination has taken a form in which ritual has become 788
all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarzam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degener- 771
ated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason 778
to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly 782
present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the 785
gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of 182
the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I
182 made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been
784 recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *wursol* goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. Probably the behaviour of the *kaltmokh* in the sleeping hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous custom. 183 771 784

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them, may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration of religion. 771 182 788

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were 182 771 174

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 absent in the new country. At the same time, it is perhaps
182 not without significance that the Todas are allowed to eat the
771 flesh of the sambhar. In their former home, in the low country, it is almost certain that this animal would not have been a totem, and therefore it would be natural that on their reaching the Nilgiris they might be permitted to eat it.[1]

771 It is doubtful how far the Todas have an idea of a supreme
776 god. At the present time they speak of and constantly appeal to Swami, and they will say that Swami is above all the gods, but I have very little doubt that this is a recent idea. Swami was chiefly spoken of and reverenced by the younger men, and it is quite clear that the name should not properly occur in the formulæ of any Toda ritual. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that the idea is old. It is probable that at one time there existed direct appeal to gods in the Toda prayer, and this direct appeal may have been to some supreme being who was addressed as Swami.

Apart from this question of the meaning of Swami, two deities stand out from the remainder of the Toda gods. One of these is Meilitars, whose cunning was able to deceive the gods, and who was able to perform miracles which were regarded as beyond the powers of the other gods. His story seems to show one way in which a god might rise above his fellows, and might become a supreme god, but this has certainly not happened in his case. There is not the slightest evidence to show that Meilitars is in any way worshipped as a supreme god. There is a much stronger case for the supremacy of the goddess Teikirzi. Teikirzi is said to be the foundress of many of the Toda institutions; the final explanation of all things in the Toda mind is that "it is the will of Teikirzi." She is said to be all-pervading, and

[1] I do not wish to lay any stress on this argument, for, as I have already indicated, it is possible that the eating of sambhar is a recent innovation, which has arisen since the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiris. Also I do not wish to indicate by the above that I commit myself to a belief in the universality of totemism as a stage in religious development. I only wish to point out that if this has been so, the Todas furnish a good case in which we might expect all traces of this descent to have disappeared or to have become so blurred and scanty as to be of little value.

128 *Straits Expedition*, with the modifications rendered necessary
601 by the presence of polyandry and infant marriage among the Todas. In any one table the descendants in the male line only are given, descendants in the female line being recorded in the genealogies of the husbands. Thus, if one wishes to ascertain the descendants of Pilivurch in Table 1, it is necessary to turn to Table 20 recording the genealogy of Teithi, the husband of this woman. The names of males are in capital letters, those of females in ordinary type, and the name of a wife always follows the name of her husband or husbands. Under the name of each individual is placed, in italics, the name of the clan to which the individual belongs, or, in the case of a married woman, of the clan to which she had belonged before marriage. The names of those now living are given in Clarendon type, of which Mudrigeidi and Savdur in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviation i.m. stands for "infant marriage." The abbreviations d.y. and d.n.n. stand for "died young" and "died before being named" respectively. The latter implies that the child died within a few weeks of birth.

When the names of men are enclosed in square brackets, polyandry, and when the names of women are so enclosed, polygyny, is indicated.

006 In the *Torres Straits Reports* I have shown that there are definite reasons why the people should have preserved their pedigrees so fully. The pedigrees are not preserved for amusement nor out of idle interest in the doings of ancestors or neighbours. In Torres Straits the complex and far-reaching nature of the marriage regulations form the chief motive for the preservation of the pedigrees, while the transmission of property is perhaps of almost equal importance.

182 Among the Todas we shall see that the marriage regulations
423 are far simpler than among the Papuans of Torres Straits, and in their case the chief motive is probably connected with the inheritance of buffaloes, the only form of property in which the Toda takes much interest. In the succeeding chapters we shall find several examples of social transactions in which the knowledge derived from the genealogical record has determined the issue.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative. 162 184

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk. 847

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children. 114 847 182

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which 161 847

[1] Pp. 194-5.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

595 The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursütpimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as
842 the father of a child if no other man has performed the essen-
851 tial ceremony.[1]

In the only case in the genealogies in which the husbands of a woman were of different clans, it happened there were only two children, and that one father gave the bow and arrow for the first child and the other for the second.

If the husbands separate, each husband takes with him those children who are his by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 There is no doubt whatever as to the close association of
847 the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given
182 up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.

178 It has been stated by most of those who have written about
182 the Todas that the custom of polyandry is dying out, but a glance at the genealogies will show that the institution is in
595 full working order even in the case of the infant marriages which are being contracted at the present time. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is now less frequent for all the brothers of a family to have one wife only in common. A study of the genealogies shows that often each brother has his own wife, or that several brothers have more than one wife between them. It seemed to me, however, almost certain that in these cases the brothers have the wives in common. In compiling the genealogies, one informant would give me the names of two or more brothers each with one wife, while another would give me the name of one brother with two or three wives, and would say that the other brothers had the same wives. When I pointed out the discrepancy and asked which was the true account, they usually said it made no difference and were almost contemptuous because I seemed to think that there was any disagreement

[1] For an instance, see p. 535.

between the two versions. I think it probable that it has 178
become less frequent for several brothers to have only one 182
wife in common, but I am very doubtful whether this indicates
any real decrease in the prevalence of polyandry. 595

It seems to me that the correct way of describing the present condition of Toda society is to say that polyandry is as prevalent as ever, but that, owing to the greater number of women, it is becoming associated with polygyny. When there are two brothers it does not seem that each takes a wife for himself, but rather that they take two wives in common.

It is probable that this will lead in time to a state of society in which each brother will come to regard one wife as his own; and in a few cases it seemed to me that there was already a tendency in this direction. If this forecast should be fulfilled, the custom of monogamy among the Todas will have been developed out of polyandry through a stage of combined polyandry and polygyny.

One case happened during my visit which seemed to indicate 595
that though several brothers might be regarded as husbands 765
of a woman, the part of husband for ceremonial purposes might be taken only by one or two of them. In this case I was told that four brothers had one wife, but when the wife died only two of the brothers acted as widowers and performed the ceremonies associated with that condition. When I asked for an explanation of this, I was then told that the other two brothers were not husbands, but I strongly suspected that this was a mere device to enable two of the brothers to avoid the disabilities attendant on the condition of widowerhood. I have very little doubt that while the woman was alive, all the four brothers were her husbands, but after her death it became convenient to assume that only two had been husbands, leaving the others free from the restrictions of widowerhood.

Many writers have believed that the widely spread custom 587
of the Levirate is a relic of polyandry. If it were true that 595
the custom of polyandry is dying out among the Todas, this people might have provided material for the study of the relations of polyandry and the Levirate. It will be obvious,

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[591] 618 766 While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture. 174 771

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great. 172 174 182 [517 53]

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.[1] Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show. [461]

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

[1] The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

172 furnishes us with another example of material objects which
174 have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and
here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken
182 place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas *have had no enemies, either* human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded by all.

174 In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration
the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with
182 an example of a people who once have possessed a higher
771 culture of which some features have undergone degeneration.
If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that
788 the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district, and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have been on much the same general level as that of the dominant castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because in their very simple environment this was the most accessible object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris; and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most probable that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect of their religion.

171 If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of
one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have
174 in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation, the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

2: Marshall Toda

182
595
847

[For the author's theories of the origin and development of polyandry and infanticide, see category 116, pp. 223-232.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IX.

attribute this failure in self-adaptation, in general terms, to the immensity and abrupt nature of the change he is called on to make, if he would pass from his free and thriftless hunting and warring life, to the quiet of a frugal cultivator of the soil or trader.

But this aversion to all forms of *profitable* labour, and incapacity for commercial pursuit, is not more conspicuous in the untamed Red-Indian than in the self-restrained domestic Toda, surrounded as he is by industrious tribes not far elevated from his own primitive status; from whom—had he felt desire to change—he could at once have adopted simple expedients, as sufficient for his own purpose as they have been for theirs. I will endeavour to account for this persistency in idleness, of primitive and unprogressive races.

In the first place, and as regards the Todas, I assume as if a fact established, what indeed has every appearance of truth; that their present mode of life precisely suits the constitution of their minds—any important change appearing to them to be for the worse—that however much they must certainly, at some early periods of their career, have suffered from the failure of supplies, owing to the increase of their own numbers, and to their having depended on one source of food—which must have failed—yet as we find them, their natures and surrounding circumstances are practically in a condition of equilibrium. That is to say, they have perfected a dairy system enabling them to live entirely at ease and without labour: and which, owing to there being a ready market for surplus produce, now places them in a considerable degree of homely comfort—a happy state, which is likely to last so long as the land affords room for the people to expand.

Although in the estimation of many, this perfect contentment with a very little may be considered a proof of good sense, and be held a great virtue, yet it must be acknowledged that the phase is not one the best races of the world would

000 think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'[1]

322 532 Our friends appear to *dream* buffalo. Sitting, apparently 'thinking of nothing at all,' a man will pick up a bit of cane or forked twig from the ground, and like the typical Yankee is supposed to whittle a stick while he speculates, so the Toda will employ himself for an hour at a time, splitting his bit of cane or rounding the little branches of his twig into the likeness of buffalo horns, as he muses. Children may be seen coming in from cattle-driving, with strings of these small horns. And these treasures are found lying about their houses and haunts. Two of them are shown in Photograph No. 15.

182 771 234 In the history of most, if not of all nations, savage and civilised alike, we may trace the alliance, more or less intimate, of religion, in its various rites and performances, with food; in its nature, source, or care, or in the occasions or symbols of its use. This correlation is certainly a marked feature in Toda customs. Though the Todas have no actual religion or system of faith leading to the performance of duties to a God, yet they hold to certain practices and certain habits in daily life, which are to them in the place of a religion; being performed with all the strictness and certainty that should be bestowed on sacred observances.

234 778 These performances or habits are intimately allied with the care and distribution of the *divine fluid*—milk. The buffalo is to a certain degree held sacred, as being the

[1] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 21.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXII.

RELIGIOUS CULTURE.

Toda Religion, a development from a Material Nucleus—The Milk-giver an object of Deep Reverence—Milkmen are Priests, then Gods—Todas have a bias in favour of Light as the Manifestation of Divinity—Not Idolatrous—Do not make offerings to a God—Believe in Transmigration—Callous on Demonolatry—Influenced in religious matters by other Races—Todas of Turanian stage of culture.

CHAP. XXII.

182 771 105

WHAT we have seen in Toda rites and ceremonies, is little else than the arrangements which a pastoral and communistic people have made for the provision and care of an article of food, doubtless at one time essential, not merely for due sustenance, but to their very existence in the land. These customs having through the course of ages so mellowed as to have acquired all the effect and influence of sanctity, we find ourselves now in the interesting position of actual witnesses to the growth of the earliest germs of religious belief and observance, as they develop in the mind of primitive man from the material nucleus whence they originated.

We note that stage, when the cow, the milk-giver and support on which the people have depended almost from all time, has grown from an object of the greatest solicitude, to become one of deep reverence, and—so far as they have yet learnt to express themselves—of worship. The flesh is not eaten. Its milk is almost sacred. The chattels of early herds—the cow-bell in particular—have matured into Gods, and dairies bear the conception of temples.

We find that common milkmen have, by virtue of the

sacred nature of such office, advanced in popular estimation until they are viewed in the aspect of priests. The high priest, from being a servant of certain Gods, has become confused with Godhead itself. A family styling itself 'sons of the Gods,' has developed—though without arrogation to caste pretensions—into a Levitical clan, inheritors of the highest priestly office; its males being prepared and chastened thereto in sacred groves, by the use of a plant set apart for the purpose, and by abstinence from sensual pleasures; the females of the entire tribe, being not only excluded from participation in such duties, but debarred approach to all holy precincts.

These points appear to me to embrace the whole of what may be held to be Toda—performed—religion unadulterated.

They acknowledge the existence of Gods, *perhaps* even of a Supreme God—Ûsuru[1] Swâmi—but their ideas on the subject are quite undeveloped. I think I trace in them a partiality to the regard of *light*—apart from fire—as *par excellence*, the manifestation of divinity. Their beliefs, whatever they may be, are so little attended with formal signs of adoration, that we cannot, with any degree of confidence, assert this or that to be their creed. Still I believe I have grounds for the opinion that these people have a strong bias in favour of *light*;[2] the natural bent of their mind being such, that if any other race would work out for them the idea, connecting Ûsuru Swâmi with some such attribute of divinity as light, they could soon be brought to exalt Bêl into 'a king above all gods:' the more readily if deference to the cow was inculcated with such a teaching.

I submit the suggestion as one having a possible value in determining the ethnic affinities of the Toda race: and as

[1] See note 3 of Chapter XII.

[2] Note the Toda words in Chapter XXIX., showing how frequently the word 'bel' occurs, even in my small vocabulary; see *dawn*, *light*, *silver*, *bird*, *white*. Also, the names of men, and of Gods, given in previous Chapters.

CHAP. XXV. describe the connection between such brothers as follows: 'Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their mothers being sisters, they are brothers.' An uncle is styled 'my little father'; most significant.

595 602

595 182 The marriage system I have described is elastic. It is capable of being modified in its internal working without change in the actual principle. Thus, when women are scarce, several men have to be content with one wife between them. But as women become more numerous, a greater proportion of men are able to procure a wife a-piece. This condition of permanent routine is supremely satisfying to the Toda mind.

192 The general expression for marriage is represented by the word kûdiken — I join.[5] Thus, 'Beliani is married to Nastufi' would be translated Beliani Nastufig kûdthchi, or they are joined to one another. But in addressing a man with the casual question of, 'Are you married?' the ordinary way of putting it, would be to say, 'Is there a son?'—Mokh vathchya? He would reply, Ha, mokh vathchi, 'Yes, there is a son:' or if married, but childless, he would detail, Ân kukh kûdthbini, mokh illade—'I joined a woman, a son is not.'

Similarly, the enquiry made of a woman would be, Belthta gavthchya?—'Is the neck-ring tied?'[6]

[115] 843 Mr. Metz has been so good as to describe for me a singular custom connected with weddings, which he learnt subsequently to my having left the Nilagiris: of which no sort of explanation can be supplied by the Todas.

When the wife has gone seven months with her first child, she retires with her husband alone, to the depths of the village wood, where at the foot of some tree she places a

[5] I am not certain that in the word 'join,' we have got the most primitive meaning of kûdiken. The Hindustani word kûdna, and its Sanskrit root kurdd=*play*, might be compared.

[6] For the modes in which husbands and wives address one another, see Chapter VII.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kiśker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low
797 status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime.
794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the aban-
[177] doned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the
[341] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the
[346] more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts
[182] themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final
[162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[13] [2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small
[104] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ʂ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [ś] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [c] and [ʒ] are affricates of *ts* and *ds* type respectively. [ö] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯiɪ] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [iɪ].

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaroɪn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuɪsodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

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9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

794 animals which have not yet reached the milch stage and which otherwise
833 would unprofitably use up the community's scanty pasturage. It seems
184 also that the Christians still retain some of their original feeling that
[437] wealth is to be measured by possession of cattle. They tend to acquire
more and more head of cattle and because of the pressure on their own
[556] pasture area the superfluous beasts are kept with the tribe almost permanently or in alternation with unproductive animals. In these cases the man who provides pasturage gets the produce, milk and the resulting products. In all cases when cattle are pastured on tribal lands, it seems
[184] that it is the buffalo that is so treated; cows are kept at the Christian colonies, since the tribal Todas do not own cows.

648 The Todas live in economic symbiosis with the other aboriginal tribes
437 of the Nilgiris, viz. the Kotas and the Kurumbas, and with the Badagas, who settled in the Nilgiris perhaps five centuries ago. The mechanism of the economic interchanges has not yet been described in detail,[6] but an outline of the Toda relations with the Kotas will be given here. The Kotas are blacksmiths and potters, and all the Toda needs in these departments are supplied by them, as well as music for the Toda funerals. In return the Kotas receive the carcasses of all Toda buffaloes that die or that are slaughtered at funerals, as well as certain other minor perquisites, such as cane for house-building, bamboo churning-sticks, and a certain amount of clarified butter. The interchanges are made between individuals, who are in a permanent and usually hereditary relationship to each other, referred to by the Todas as [keɹ], by the Kotas as [keɹ]. The relationship includes also the right of the Kota to obtain by purchase from his Toda opposite number such buffaloes and buffalo calves as he may need for his own economic purposes. In most cases one Toda has several Kotas who supply him, the relative numbers of the tribes and the Kotas' similar relationships with the Badagas making such an
648 arrangement necessary. This economic relationship has broken down
437 formally so far as the Christian Todas are concerned. But in spite of
184 this, there is a tendency among the Christian Todas to retain the relationship with their hereditary Kota partners. They obtain their iron tools and pots from these Kotas and recompense them on a more strictly commercial basis than the original one. *E.g.* [kanfuɹsodj] retains such relationships with the Kota who was his father's partner and has in addition formed a new relationship with another Kota. He at least still uses the term [keɹ] in referring to his relationship with these two men, though my Kota linguistic informant was insistent that the Kota

[6] Reference may be made to Rivers, chap. 27. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has made more extensive notes on the subject and it is hoped that his account will soon appear.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

term [kel] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas. 648 437 184

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing.

797 535 [562] [184]

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[7] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc-

797 533

[7] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 543-620. [113]

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Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɪsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaɪsmonguɪɪʀ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuɪf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuɪʟ] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piɪʟjiɪʒfuɪf] "silver-flower" and [tyɪʟjiɪʒfuɪf] (the first member [tyɪʟj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaʀoɪn] has a son called [asojxuɪɪrn] from [asojuɪr], the buffaloes of the [tiɪ]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuɪɪʀ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɪɪʀ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuɪɪʀ] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iɪɴxuɪɪʀ] (21, Idrshkwôdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 26–8, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iɪʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

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797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
582 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iṣxuuɪR]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuuɪR]. His sister [sindafuɪL] (Sindavul) married [tuaɪsmonguuɪR] (59, Tormungudr) [14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuɪf]. [iṣxuuɪR] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough,
[601] Mary was married to [nasoɪn] (son of [teɪpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [nasoɪn] and [sindafuɪL] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasoɪn] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this mar-
[584] riage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iṣxuuɪR], a clear carry-over from tribal custom,
797 and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
184 ried to [pumxuuɪR]. When she came of age however, [pumxuuɪR],
686 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
627 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [tōumuṣkuLN]. [iṣxuuɪR] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuuɪR] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tōumuṣkuLN] and [sotjabuɪf] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peɪθoɪR]
[692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iṣxuuɪR]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaɪsmonguuɪR] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iṣxuuɪR]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.

♂ [iṣxuuɪR] ♀ [sindafuɪL] = ♂ [tuaɪsmonguuɪR]

♂ [pumxuuɪR] ♀ Mary = ♂ [nasoɪn] ♂ [tōumuṣkuLN] = ♀ [sotjabuɪf]

[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

[15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

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The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [KANfuisodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [KUUIN], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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797 has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ultz), his wife [sirmɯl] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuɯiʀ] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanɯs] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kaɴfuɯsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [pɯnog] (14, Punog) and [kiškeɯ] (14, Küshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnɯs] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paɯiʒfiɩj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kaɴfuɯsodj]. Her brother [noɯmuʀj] (Nonmudri) and [kaɴfuɯsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnɯs] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noɯmuʀj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kaɴfuɯsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoɯ] (20, son of [teɯpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kaɴfuɯsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noɯmuʀj] should pay to [kaɴfuɯsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
585 and five rupees; these are the [kökuɯlj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [aʀpɯn] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

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He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kišker] gave one buffalo to [keɪnoʒ] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keɪnoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoɪn] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdiɪfj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kišker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kišker]'s father's sister [tuarfuɪnemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjoɪnaɪf] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kišker] by the latter and [kišker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuaɪoɪn], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it.

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for

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its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people" [18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 105.

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worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nōrnmę (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son airjar; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a tōu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief alreay mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is sōmj (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kinmę (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

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with the special study that is the result of my second visit to south India in 1949. 114 128

A. GENERAL STUDY: THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

A general study of the culture of the Todas of the Nilgiris has been presented so well by Dr W. H. R. Rivers in his book that it is quite unnecessary to repeat it here. Readers who are interested in getting to know these people thoroughly are referred to the work, which they will find quite absorbing reading.

In the following paragraphs I propose to give only an outline of the principal traits of Tota culture so that what follows should be intelligible. Some of the Toda institutions are so unique, or as we would say anthropologically, aberrant, that it is absolutely essential to have at least some idea of what they are like in order to understand the nature of the whole. 128

I will, therefore, first give this outline of Toda culture with a brief description of the habitat and social organisation of the tribe, and go on next, in a second paragraph to describe those customs of the Todas which, in my opinion, have a direct bearing on their institution of polyandrous marriage. Being by inclination functionalist in anthropological outlook, I can quite see that their marriage customs are linked to the entirety of their culture, and even, to some extent, to those of their immediate neighbours, with whom their ties are very close. But it would be too long and too complex to attempt to give so vast a picture of the whole intricate and inter-related pattern, and I would ask my readers to content themselves with the choice of those items of culture which I consider relevant in this connection. [182]

A third paragraph, before we go on to the special study of one Toda polyandrous family, which I reserve for Part B of this section, will deal more closely with Toda polyandry, treating in a general description, all those aspects of it which I was able to gather during my first stay in the Nilgiris in 1939.

1. DESCRIPTIVE OUTLINE

The mountainous district of the Nilgiris is part of the State of Madras, in south India. The name, which means "Blue Mountains" in Sanskrit, is derived from the fact that, seen from the plains, the nearly 9,000 133

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married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

K 131 595 596 428 591 Tiva Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

Ti 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

Ti 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 122 To 595 122 Ti 595 122 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

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stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

To 174 595 182 162 K 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [847]

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

To 114

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

To 829 595 121 182 would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally T: 829 595 121 182 poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the K [121] Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes Ti 595 114 [182] [593] them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

527 (iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women
784 from other places come to the village.

621 (v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

234 Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of
527 the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day
784 or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *pohnol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

527 There are various recognised methods of evading the rules
784 for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

183 Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave.[1] Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law. 527 784 183

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days. 527 784 688 626 787

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*. 527 769 787

1 [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days. -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

cairns and take their contents, and will even assist in the demolition. When I asked the Todas what they thought of the rifling of the *pun* they showed just the same indifference. They did not seem to think the matter any concern of theirs, and yet they believe in a definite association between the presence of a *pun* and the abode of a deity. 172

There seem to be three chief possibilities. One, that the cairns are Toda remains and that the association of the stone circles above them with the presence of a god is the last surviving relic of the fact. The second is that when the Todas came to the Nilgiri hills they found mysterious stone circles on certain hills, which marked out these hills as possessing features out of the common, and that this gave them a sanctity which led to the idea that they were inhabited by gods. A third possibility is that the same peculiarities which led the original builders of the circles to choose certain hills also led the Todas to choose them as the abodes of their deities, and that it was only later that they came to recognise the association between the circle and the presence of a god.

Whichever possibility may give the true explanation, one would have thought that the Todas would have objected to the disturbance and excavation of the cairns. There is little doubt that they were ignorant of the fact that objects were buried beneath the stone circles, but they are quite intelligent enough to know that there is a connexion between the stones and the objects beneath them when once these have been found.

I have very little doubt that the true explanation of the indifference of the Todas towards these monuments is that they have no definite traditional injunction against interfering with the circles. The Todas are the slaves of their traditions and of the laws and regulations which have been handed down to them by their ancestors. Till the Europeans came to the hills, it had never occurred to anyone to meddle with these stones or explore the soil beneath and around them. In consequence there was no reason why injunctions against interference should be handed down, and when the European arrived with his spade and pickaxe the Todas found nothing in their traditional laws telling them that it was wrong to 172 183

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference
183 which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.[1]

776 Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

769 There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as
771 heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of
776 the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

[1] I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I
182 made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been
784 recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *wursol* goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. Probably the behaviour of the *kaltmokh* in the sleeping hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous custom. 183 771 784

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them, may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration of religion. 771 182 788

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were 182 771 174

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

586 the old husband, the father of the woman, and the two elders
587 met and decided on the number of buffaloes to be given as *ter* or compensation. This meeting was called *tererstbi*. The *ter* had to be paid within a month, and all the buffaloes given had to be females. The man who was giving up the woman went to the village of the new husband and received his buffaloes, of which he was allowed to choose a certain number. If he had been awarded more than four buffaloes, he might choose three, if four or less, he might only choose two. Among the Tartharol, a man would usually choose *wursulir*, and among the Teivaliol, *pasthir*.

At the present time the number of buffaloes given as *ter* varies very greatly; the most frequent number is three, but often more are given, and in one case, about ten years ago, a man had to give twenty-five. The number seems to depend largely on the size of the herd possessed by the man taking a new wife. The more buffaloes he has, the more he has to pay.

[574] When the buffaloes are given, the new husband has to give a feast, after which the old husband drives away his buffaloes. In a recent case Teigudr of Nòdrs (4) had taken Uwer from Nertolvan and Palpa of Pan (16) for nine buffaloes. These two men went to the village of Tedshteiri, where Teigudr was living, and were feasted, the food being cooked on nine ovens, corresponding to the number of the buffaloes. This correspondence between the number of the ovens and of the buffaloes given as *ter*, suggests that there may have been some definite ceremonial in connexion with this feast of which I failed to obtain an account.

183 The custom of *tererstbi* has some reason on its side.
586 Wherever infant marriage exists in a small community, it must often happen that a widower finds all the women of his
587 community married, and without some machinery by which he is allowed to take the wife of another, he must remain unmarried or be content with marriage to a mere child. Even at the present time, we have seen that an adult man who has lost his wife may marry a girl only a few years of age.[1]

[1] For an instance in the past see p. 538.

At the present time the custom of *terersthi* has a far wider range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age. It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *terersthi* should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.[1]

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *terersthi* custom should be remedied.

DIVORCE

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the transference of wives just considered.

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

[1] For an instance see p. 535.

428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends
428 on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known.
851 Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by
428 a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would
611 arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which
671 would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony was performed several generations ago. When the eldest
183 child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

421 himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the
428 buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of
611 Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become
671 extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and
183 Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

[601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

157 The history is also very interesting in showing that a
184 century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

CHAP. IV.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful, seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of opposiveness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

[1] The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike pertinacity; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

'We call a midwife merely old woman—kelachi'[1]—said my informant—an elderly gentleman with a large family—'why give a name for midwife when every woman can act?' This, though from the male point of view, is nevertheless a statement whose truth is borne out by facts. 844

'The umbilical cord—pokku—is severed by laying it on a piece of wood, and cutting with a knife.'

'What! tie it with string first!' raising his eyes roguishly to the roof, as if looking for a piece of string projecting from the thatch. 'I have plenty of children, but have never heard of such a thing! ha! ha! ha! Tie it with string! ha! ha! ha!' Here the old man turned the laugh against us, protesting that such a thing was never done. Whether the cord is tied, but that he had for so many years remained in ignorance of the fact: or if it is really never bound, in savage life, I had no further opportunity of enquiring: but leave the narration as it was given to me by a great authority.

On the morning after the child has been born, the mother is removed to a shed—purzârsh[2]—which has been erected for her in some sequestered spot of the village wood, in anticipation of the approaching event. There she remains till the next new moon—muttu[3]—whether that phase occur in the course of 3 or of 30 days. These people cannot explain the reason for this removal: but possibly they may suppose the monthly aspect or reappearance of the moon to have some periodic effect on women. I did not succeed in eluci- 846 343 183

[1] Kelachi = *old woman*; Kelâl = *old man*. Tamil: kirra = *old*. Kirra van = *old man*; Kirra tti—*old woman*—tti pronounced chi—Âl = *man*. Keladi, in ancient Kanarese = *a female friend*. [POPE.]

[2] Purzârsh. In Tamil we have purra = *outer*. Sansk. âlayam = *dwelling*. Any termination may be converted in a Toda mouth to a guttural sound made up of l, r, and sh. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz is of opinion that purzh = *mud*; and that purzârsh means a *mud hut* or *temporary house*.

[3] Muttu, new moon = *jewel*, *pearl*, in Sansk. and Drâvid [POPE.]

Tiggalu, full moon, the moon. Ti is a part of dina = *day*. Glau = *the moon*, Sansk. In Tamil, tingal. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VII.

343 dating any expression of such belief from them: but the profound ignorance in which they are steeped is amply sufficient to account for all want of knowledge of reasons. The
846 custom is probably an extremely ancient one. Some notion,
183 of the nature I have described, may have founded the practice, though all trace of its origin or cause, may have been forgotten long ages ago.

846 For a month after her return home, she appears to have the house to herself: her husband remaining indebted to friends for shelter meanwhile.

I had the pleasure of being introduced to a woman just after her return from the purzârsh. In the course of my inquisitorial visits, which will be more fully described in Chapter X., I had ascertained in a certain village, that there was a young female infant which had not been shown to me: and this might be an infanticide! Almost hoping such might be the case, and that I had discovered a mother red-handed, I enquired after its health. 'Oh,' said the women, airily, and with the true maternal interest in young babies, 'they are both in the house round the corner.' Thither accordingly I went, and found the young mother awaiting a visit, hoping to receive for her small one—kin-minthki[4]—one of the little silver-bits she heard were circulating so freely amongst the children of the Mand, from whose society she was still debarred.

Studying the Frontispiece and the pictures of Toda women in this book, anyone of artistic taste can fancy the little picture; which in its way was pretty and interesting. Scene; an old-looking and water-stained log hut, belonging to a primæval tribe of the glacial period: summer time: brilliant sun: green herbage: forest background. The imagination is now sufficiently developed to appreciate the tableau! A

[4] Kin-minthki = *female infant.* Kin = çin = *little*: a Drâvidian root. Minthki is probably a corruption of manujâ or manushî = *woman*—Sansk. [POPE.]

Popen = *male infant.* This is a mere term of endearment. Drâvidian pomma is a *puppet*; with which it may be compared. [POPE.]

CHAP. XXI.

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.) 234 765 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the ·ar-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.' 761

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless. 183 764 765 775 178

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of 765 775

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] The bara Kêdu, or second funeral -- Analyst

which our own British forefathers in Celtic days—before the nation had become English through suffusion of Teutonic blood—used to form, has been read by every school-boy. 'It was common,' writes Cæsar, 'for a number of brothers or other near relations to use their wives promiscuously.'[2] It is not perhaps, quite pleasant to be told that such was the custom of our own ancestors, and efforts have in consequence been made to throw doubt on the correctness of the statement; but that it was indeed the habit of the Celtic portion of the inhabitants, I see no cause for doubting. If, as I believe to be the case, the custom of the ancient Britons, and of the Todas, is in this respect, identical, any light which these pages may bring to bear upon the curious and ancient practice, cannot fail to be accepted with greatly enhanced interest.

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Polyandry prevails also amongst tribes now occupying divergent tracts of the Indian Peninsula, but which, speaking various dialects of the same Drâvidian language, which is the mother-tongue of our Todas, were manifestly at one time, close neighbours—viz. in the mountains of Ceylon, and along the Southern Ghats.

It exists at this day amongst the Kalmuks, and has only just died out with the last of the Tasmanians.

It is known to be the practice of 'some families of the Iroquois.'[3]

We shall be better placed, to understand all the conditions of this venerable institution, on perusing the following few simple customs—partaking of the full force of laws—in regard to the management and inheritance of property; such as land, cattle, food and chattels, which obtain amongst the Todas;—

183 421

I. It has already been told that the tribe is divided into clans—kôleh.[4]

[2] J. Cæsar, 'De Bello Gallico.'
[3] Lubbock, 'The Origin of Civilization and Primitive Condition of Man.'
[4] Kôleh is a Drâvidian—Kanarese—word, which, though used by the

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183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 621 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 423 234 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

851 595 428

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Brooks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

the dowry is received, not given, by the damsel's parents. 'Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.' Genesis xxxiv., 12. The girl's father may reply, 'We are all relations. I don't want your property. You have proved your sincerity. I will give you in exchange one, two, three, or four buffalos.' This return present, may be more or it may be less than that offered by the wooer. Such, as I am assured by my friend, Mr. Metz, is actual Toda method of managing these affairs.

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583

I am not prepared to supply a reason for this custom. It may be a survival of some more ancient practice, or it may be a method suggested by self respect. The girl has been asked in marriage. She is not to be had for nothing. The young man is in earnest, and it is going to be a wedding and no mistake.

We notice that the transaction is not the payment so much as the exchange of dowers. Seemingly it is a worthless arrangement, binding on neither party. But worked in a simple way by simple minds, it appears to be held as a test of honesty of intention. And—as we shall shortly have opportunity of observing—becomes a security for good behaviour, by affording the means for punishing breaches of matrimonial compact.

183 583

When the bargain has been struck, the damsel's father intimates his formal consent to the marriage by placing his foot on his son-in-law's head, after the mode described in Chapter IV., saying, 'I give'—tashken. Affairs may now be held to have reached that stage on the road to matrimonial happiness, somewhat corresponding to the point in the negociation of French marriages, when the only remaining step to be taken, consists in consulting the young lady's sentiments on the proposed union.

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The dowry is now due from the bridegroom, and he may not recede from his part of his compact; that is to say, if the

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

000 remain unchanged in habits, almost through all time: but in the presence of a superior civilisation, action may be observed to commence; habits improve, though perhaps only up to a certain low stage, almost insensibly, and much as a flower expands, chemically influenced in the light of the sun.

581 The combined institutions of the dower and inheritance, 183 afford as strong guarantees for the stable nature of the marriage tie as any race of inferior moral culture could well give. Indeed, no social customs redound more to their credit for practical sagacity than these. The young man makes his offer of marriage, which being accepted, the bargain, so far as he is concerned, is closed, and his dowry is *held to be due.* The girl, after sufficient deliberation, accepts this man: when the father is liable for her portion, to the man who has now become her husband.

Women, as we have seen, not being able to inherit property, the husband and father of the family is alone responsible for the food supply.

582 If then at any time the wife should be discarded, the whole 183 of her family would be interested in the question of 'who is to feed her,' and thus naturally as it were, become guardians of the law. Or if, on the other hand, the wife should leave her husband's protection, he would claim from her father, restitution of the dowry he had paid. Had it been their custom that women could inherit property, men might wash their hands of the duty of supporting wife and family, and women would have encouragement to separate from their husbands, taking their children with them. Of course, such simple traps for restraining the sexes, could never hold, except in conditions of much honesty and good faith. A child left to starve, or a woman to beg or earn a separate livelihood, are sights absolutely unknown in such a united community.

Instances have occurred, but are acknowledged to be rare; of the bridegroom not having found the means of fulfilling his part of the compact; not having paid the dowry, even by

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586 the time a child had been born of his marriage. Had this been a hard-working people, such a difficulty could have been surmounted by his acting as Jacob did for Rachel, whose proposition, accepted by Laban, was 'I will serve thee for seven years' for her.—Genesis xxix., 18. But no circumstance has yet induced the dolichocephalic Toda to labour.

In such a case as has been described, the marriage is simply cancelled, both parties being competent to marry again. But mark the decision as regards the child; whether son or daughter it remains the property of the father. The mother nurses and cares for it during infancy: but when it can take care of itself; when in fact it requires food from the family stock, it goes to its father's home. Here we recognise the influence of the property law. Some one must feed and clothe the child: but women have no property; hence the father must take charge of it. Such would be the judgment of the kûtacaram.

586 As regards the national feeling on such an affair[1] it would
626 be looked on as a mishap, an unfortunate occurrence, and the
684 defaulter would lose in public estimation. He might be fined a buffalo or two: but there the matter would end, in sedate quiet. The child born of the union would not suffer in any way; it is the son of so and so: there is the father, whose heir he is, and that, his mother.

562 If the Toda mode of inheriting property should give the impression that women are not of much account in the family, such a view would be quite incorrect. Woman's influence in the mand, through her husbands and children, is real. By the great tolerance and moderation of the men, aided by a very sufficient mental power and mastery of her subject, she maintains a good position in the house. It is not so much that the two sexes are equally balanced, for even if of like mental power, the muscular ability to enforce a requirement must always remain with the man, as that the women have settled into a position which gives ample scope

[1 i.e., failure of the bridegroom to pay the dowry, resulting in termination of the marriage.—Analyst]

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183 577 I confess to a feeling of great astonishment that barbarians should conduct their household arrangements with the staidness and good sense of members of the Teutonic family of nations. Yet, though free from taint of fickleness, Toda social morality can scarcely be defended. We find him bound down to keep the peace, and behave himself as a Toda should, and not throw his wife and children on the parish. But for the rest we find him still a gross savage.

In the outward behaviour of the sexes, I have been amused to notice how much the custom and etiquette observed in civilised life is derived from *their* model. I have never seen any among our list of the proprieties in the slightest degree overstepped by them in ordinary daily intercourse, except 562 perhaps in their habit of calling a spade a spade. Modest-looking women are by no means rare. They remain habitually at home, keeping together as demure as cats. They have their own places of private resort, on which members of the opposite sex would not presume to intrude. They manage their cumbersome garments to perfection. But it must not be supposed that they are moral, or have scruples. It is the human animal in its wild state.

589 No unmarried class exists, to disturb society with its loves 183 and broils. More's the pity! for that same society much 582 needs to be startled into energy out of its hum-drum life! The warm breath of poetry and romance never passes through these people. It must long ago have been quenched with the introduction of infanticide and polyandry. Defects lie entirely the other way; it is a 'very much married' people. Every man and every woman, every lad and every girl is somebody's husband or wife; tied at the earliest possible age, and bound by grinding social law, in the bonds of unpoetic matrimony, extending almost over the entire term of adult life. Sacred characters, such as the pâlâl and pâlkarpâl, are merely husbands off duty. With the exception of a cripple girl, and of those women who, past the child-bearing age,

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were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9. 589 183 582

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation. 582 595 181

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety. 181

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe. 144

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period. 841 778 234 [793]

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poły). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoły, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper. 764 841 778 [614]

One mund, kuu:sy of the sib called mö:r was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti:-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti:-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund. 778 183 562 [841]

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle). [113]
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the toɪtjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[24] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjuɪr (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister ɛzog (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[25] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[24] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's toɪtjfoj-oɪ̨. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Moknɪr (Makner), wife of tulkɪrθj of the noɪ̨ patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tōōfurɪ (Tevō), looked like his mother's toɪtjfoj-oɪ̨, nobuɪ of the piɪtoɪ! patrilineal sib (Nabura, 64), also called kuɪtj (he reared the children after tulkɪrθj died). In a quarrel tōōfurɪ might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobuɪ-moɪ "son of nobuɪ" or kuɪtj-moɪ "son of kuɪtj," or as nobuɪ or kuɪtj.

[25] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Tāluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (Biṭṭiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeeveram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melqarsh Village]

complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by asking me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not accede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even being tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mutnarsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The Todas*, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was unusual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite un-
[865] orthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[789] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quick-
[793] est way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

1: Rivers
184

Toda

[See category 616 for additional information about cultural differences between the Tarthar and Teivali divisions]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

124 satisfactory from the point of view of Toda veracity. The
184 general agreement of the accounts obtained from different individuals was very striking, and, whenever discrepancies occurred, it was nearly always found that they were due either to misunderstanding or to differences in the practices of different sections of the Toda people. These differences are so great that in many cases it made a rigorous application of the method of direct corroboration impossible. There are distinct differences in the ceremonial and social customs of the two chief divisions of the Todas and some differences in the practices of different clans. In the investigation of the dairy ritual, there were found to be great differences in the practices of different dairies, and, for the practice of any one dairy, I had sometimes to be content with the information of one native only; but I did not content myself with such independent accounts till I had satisfied myself of the trustworthiness of the witness, and had learnt enough of the customs in question to be in a position to weigh the evidence. As regards the differences in the customs of different sections of the community, many of my informants were able to describe the practices not only of their own section but also of others.

124 After a time I managed to put myself on such terms with my chief informants that they were always ready to confess any deficiencies in their knowledge and would refer me to others whose special experience would make them more satisfactory informants. Occasionally, however, they carried this a little too far and pleaded ignorance of a subject when they were really only reluctant to reveal the more esoteric knowledge.

Still more important than this method of direct corroboration of independent accounts is what I may call the method of indirect corroboration. By this I mean the method of obtaining the same information in different ways. Often this indirect corroboration occurred accidentally. The whole of Toda ceremonial and social life forms such an intricate web of closely related practices that I rarely set out to investigate some one aspect of the life of the people without obtaining information bearing on many other wholly different

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tusi*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *vashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudsipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan. 234

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 621 773

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER V

THE TI DAIRY

THE *ti* is the name of an institution which comprises a herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing districts tended by a dairyman-priest or priests called *palol* with an assistant called *kaltmokh*. Each dairy with its accompanying buildings and pasturage is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village. 234 793

In most cases there are two kinds of buffaloes at each *ti*, and each kind should properly be tended by its own *palol* and *kaltmokh*. There is, however, only one *ti* which possesses two *palol* at the present time, and they share a *kaltmokh* between them, though a second is appointed on certain ceremonial occasions. In other cases one *palol* tends both kinds of buffalo, and in others, again, the dairies are unoccupied for the greater part of the year and the office of *palol* is only filled for certain limited periods.

Each *ti* is regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, but the *palol* has to be taken from the Teivaliol, the choice being in some cases restricted to one or two Teivali clans; thus, the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must belong either to Piedr or Kusharf. The *palol* is chosen by the Tarthar owners, but the latter do not seem to gain any material advantage from their possession. In fact, it involves them in some expense owing to the necessity of giving certain feasts, and this expense was put forward as one reason why a *ti* is often unoccupied. Never- 184 234 616

184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*On*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
793 times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfnav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

786 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns
793 to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining
wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going
833 to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia*!" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *pohvelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *papun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Karkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*.
554 It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his
793 sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social
234 importance from having held the sacred office. I could find no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women only refer to this ceremony.

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *piil* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvu*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitutkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 784 793

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THE MÒROL

I have said that no ordinary Toda is allowed to approach the *palol* except on certain days, and then may only go to a certain place in the surroundings of the *ti*. There is, however, one very remarkable exception to this rule, the members of certain clans having the privilege of going to the *ti* at any time and taking buttermilk (*mòr*). Owing to the latter privilege they are always known as *mòrol*.

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The most important *mòrol* are the members of the Melgars clan, and at the Nòdrs *ti* they are the only people possessing these peculiar rights. A Melgars man may go to the *ti* on every day of the week, when he enters the small enclosure in which the dairy is situated, going, however, by a special opening at the back so that he does not actually pass the dairy and sits down in front of or may enter the sleeping hut. He is given buttermilk by the *kaltmokh* after it has been given to the *palol*, and he also receives food. At the Nòdrs *ti* the two *palol* divide the responsibility of providing food between them; if four *mòrol* come, each *palol* gives food for two men.

The rights of the Melgarsol appear to be exercised very constantly. I rarely visited the Mòdr *ti* without finding several *mòrol* present, and so far as I could observe they made the most of their privileges and enjoyed themselves well. It was very remarkable to see several Todas making themselves quite at home at the *ti*, while other Todas were standing outside wholly prohibited from entering into the life of the place. On one occasion when I visited Mòdr, the brother of one *palol* was standing without at the appointed spot waiting till the business of the morning was over, while several *mòrol* were within enjoying their privileges to the full.

The Melgarsol have certain other rights and duties in connexion with the *ti*, and especially on the occasion of the procession which takes place when the buffaloes migrate from one place to another (see Chap. VI), after which ceremony the *mòrol* sleep at the *ti mod*. At some dairies members of other clans may act as *mòrol*, but in no case do they occupy quite so privileged a position as the people of Melgars. Thus, at

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursàs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karkülu, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursàs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

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polvelkars in front of the dairy. The *palol* asks three times, "*Tunitusthpacha?*"—"Have you returned from washing the *tuni?*"—and each time the boy replies, "*tunitusthpuspini*"—"I have come from washing the *tuni*." Then both *palol* and boy go to the front of the *kadr* in which the calves are kept and the *palol* puts into the gate three bars (*tasth*), which shut the opening of the enclosure. The boy asks three times, "*Tasthvatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tasth?*"—and each time the *palol* replies "*Tasthvat!*" The boy, who hitherto has been *perkursol*, now touches the *tasth*, and by so doing attains the full rank of *kaltmokh*, and at once goes and pours buttermilk (*kaishvatiti*) for the *palol*.

The latter parts of the ordination ceremonies of the *kaltmokh*, from the point at which he receives *petuni* from the *palol* to the touching of the *tasth*, are always performed whenever the *kaltmokh* returns to the *ti* after a journey in which it has been necessary to degrade himself to the rank of *perkursol* (see p. 100). The initial stages of becoming a *kaltmokh* are known in general as *nirôdibudunâr*.

The Ordination of the Palol

In accordance with the fact that the *palol* belongs to the highest and most sacred grade of the dairy-priesthood, we find that the ceremonies preceding his entrance upon office are far more elaborate and prolonged than for the minor grades.

In order that a Teivali man may become a candidate for the office of *palol* he must first have gone through a preliminary qualifying ceremony called *tesherst*. When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the people of the clan to which the *ti* belongs are restricted in their choice to those men who have been through this ceremony. When one of these qualified men has been selected, he then goes through the proper ordination ceremonies, known as *nirôditi*.

In the case of a *palol* of the Nôdrs *ti*, the *nirôditi* ceremonies are performed partly at Nôdrs, partly at Ôdr, one of the most sacred villages of the Nôdrs clan, and finally at the *ti mad* where he is to hold office.

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234x 793 and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234x 184 783 778 788 793 The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli;* the dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *poh* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark, while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *mu*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tasth*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmokh* also touches a *mu* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

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this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy.

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both *wursol* and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmokh*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

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234x 373 771 782 788

both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

234x 782 788

The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

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In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x 184 788 782 621

Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

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refused to discuss it. One point seemed quite clear, at any rate among the Teivaliol, viz., that the different villages of a clan had different prayers, though often with many clauses in common. 234x 184 621

In general, the prayer of the *ti* is longer and more elaborate than that of the village dairy. Different prayers are used at different dairies of the same *ti*, though here again they may have many clauses in common. 782 788

In all cases the prayer consists of two distinct parts: a preliminary portion consisting chiefly of names known as *kwarzam*, followed by a portion which may be regarded as the prayer proper.

The prayer proper should be the same in every dairy, but it seemed to me that there was a good deal of laxity as regards this portion, and there is no doubt that it is often slurred over hastily and is less strictly regulated than the preliminary portion of the prayer.

The following is the most generally accepted form: 788

Tânenmâ; may it be well or may be blessed;	*târmâmâ;* may it be well or may be merciful;	*i- kark tânenmâ;* with the buffaloes and calves may it be well;
nâv ârk mâ; may there be no disease;	*kazun ârk mâ;* may there be no destroyer;	*nudri ârk mâ;* may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects);
kâvel ârk mâ; may there be no wild beasts (tigers, &c.);	*per kârt pâ mâ:* may be kept from (falling down) steep hills;	*pustht kârt pâ mâ;* may be kept from floods;
tût ârk mâ: may there be no fire;	*mâ un mâ;* may rain fall;	*maj eu mâ;* may clouds rise;
pul pâv mâ; may grass flourish;	*utr ûr mâ.* may water spring.	

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence, followed by the words:

âtham them	*idith* for the sake of	*emk* for (or to) us	*tânenmâ.* may it be well.

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of the 782 788

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782 given above were omitted, while others were added, especially
788 requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *pîrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

234 X It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

192 "May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer
782 from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals
788 and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en îdith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

234 X The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several
184 groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes,
782 of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels
788 and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence
621 given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place
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[1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate. 234x 184

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated. 782 788 621 192

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer. 234x 192 788

Prayer of Kuudr

Atthkhàr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
òners	Kuudr village.
palitûdrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*tûdrpali*).
palikidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*kidpali*).
tûdrpalshpelk	lamp (*pelk*) of large dairy.
kidpalshpep	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

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Atioto	Atioto (see p. 210).
Kurindei teu	Kurindo (see p. 192).
Konteu	Konteu or Konto (see p. 211).
Anteu	Anto (see p. 188).
Pòrzo	Pòrzo } see p. 211.
Kòdrtho	Kòdrtho } see p. 211.
Kârzo	Karzo } see p. 211.
Teikhunteu	Teikhun } see p. 211.
mânpôk	Kanòdrs village.
wutîrzkpôk	ditto.
tûnertû	the pen.
kânîr	the sun ? (see p. 206).
kuteikurs	the stone chain used by Kwoto (see p. 207).
aners	Kuzhu village.
tûtaskki	Pishkwosht village.

This prayer is quite unlike those of the other village dairies and was much more like that of a *ti* dairy. As we have seen, the *pok* of Kanòdrs resembles a *ti* dairy both in the elaborateness of its ritual and in the high degree of sanctity of its dairyman, and this resemblance is now seen to extend to the prayer used in the dairy ritual. [778]

Other dairies of the Tartharol which have an especial degree of sanctity are the *kugvali* of Taradr and the conical dairy of Nòdrs. I made great endeavours to obtain the prayers used in these places, but without success.

The ti Prayer

The prayers offered at the *ti* dairies are as a general rule longer and more complex than those of the ordinary village dairy. The latter portion of the prayer, or the prayer proper, does not seem to differ from that of the ordinary dairy, the differences being in the *kwarzam* recited at the beginning. The different dairies of the same *ti* may have different prayers; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti* there is a special prayer for the dairy at Anto which is longer and more complicated than that used at Mòdr, but it is probable that this is exceptional and is owing to the great antiquity and sanctity of Anto. The other dairies of this *ti* probably use much the same prayer as at Mòdr, though there may be certain slight modifications at each.

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CHAPTER XII

DIVINATION AND MAGIC

THIS chapter will furnish a very good example of specialisation of religious and magical functions among the Todas. We shall find that certain Todas have the power of divination, others are sorcerers, and others again have the power of curing disease by means of spells and rites, while all three functions are quite separate from those of the priest or dairyman. The Todas have advanced some way towards specialisation of function in this respect, and have as separate members of the community their prophets, their magicians and their medicine-men in addition to their priests.

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DIVINATION

Certain men among the Todas are reputed to have special powers as diviners, and are known as *teuòdipol*, "god-gesticulating men," or more commonly as *teuol*. Samuel, my interpreter, always spoke of their performances as devil-dancing and evidently regarded the *teuol* as like those whom he called the devil-dancers of his own people.

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In several cases these men are said to have inherited their powers from some near relative, often a grandfather, but it seems that anyone who showed evidence of the necessary powers might become a *teuol*. All but one of the present diviners are Teivaliol, but the divining power is not limited to this division. There is no relation between the various offices of the dairy and the power of divination, and, in

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

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accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative. 162 184

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk. 847

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children. 114 847 182

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which 161 847

[1] Pp. 194-5.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another. 618

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter. [623]

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers, who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source. [578]

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted. 618 184 554 463

The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

618 *monegar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in
184 government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council
554 are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and
463 *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavòdiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

Laws of Descent

611 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male
851 line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursütpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.[1] I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

[1] Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuh*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

The history is also very interesting in showing that a century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

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621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the 778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion 609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsikòdri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of 618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a 234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the 554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

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an account has been already given. They are still capable of holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which are wholly unshared by other clans. 184 618 234 554

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi.* "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad oiiti.* "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti.* "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug putz nitz ithtothi.* "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ithtothi.* "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part. He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning 564 796

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554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduthti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The
618 Melgars people themselves believed that their exceptional
773 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan. They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so
234

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that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the *tarvali* of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other than that of Melgars.

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some special relation between the people of Melgars and those of Kwodrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòdrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was
killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars*
773 *ama, kuòdr nòdr ama*," "may the Tamil stone become; may
618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people
who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes
were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people
who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living
at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to
live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence
of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name
from this village.

KULHEM

184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior
position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol
554 among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to
618 sit on the *meitün* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are
not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr*
773 bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*,
kaltmokh, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnörtitı* to Kuudr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulthlem*, is near Kanòdrs.

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588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
514 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokkithodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
793 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol.
184 This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
554 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

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they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, the moment he ceases to hold office. 184 616 793 184

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive. 554

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very striking point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the Tartharol that there were certain differences in language between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was 198 616 554

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
234 sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol. 184 234 616

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*. 616 764

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *kootiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said 616 765 184

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
184 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo call for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tâzâr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other. 616

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali. 796 852 765 769

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division. 184 846 616

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another [272]

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
616 ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
796 differences between the two divisions may be regarded as secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual
174 and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
184 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived
192 from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the
199 interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

now proceed to give some evidence which points to this 174
having really happened. 184

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the 192
existence of the differences of language to which I have
already referred. The chief differences are as follows:— 197

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*kîrstegi* 616
Basket	*tôdri*	*putukîri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tôdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kônipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pôdîtch*	*pôtch*
Comb	*tîrkôli*	*siekhkôli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pôdri*	*idrnpôdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkôni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkôni*
Mushroom	*kiûn*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipôti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*telikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect 184
many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two 194
divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself 616
—that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *pûli*.

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes
184 which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
616 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning
775 the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by
621 their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which
616

174 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference
616 in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

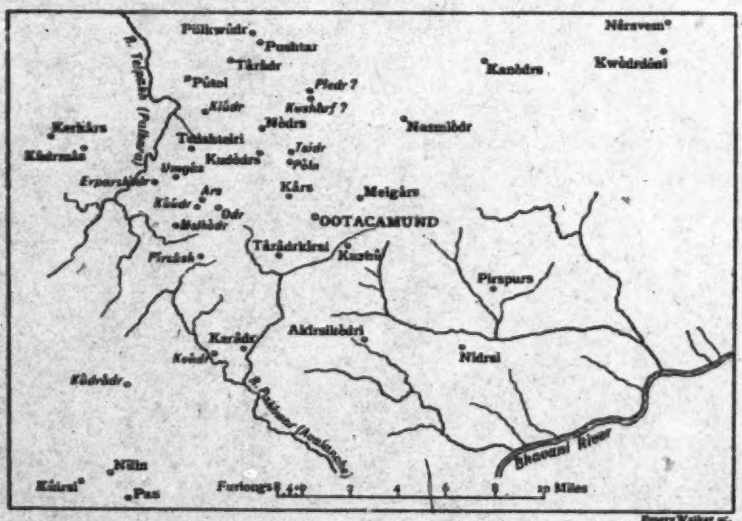

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnödr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a com-
616 munity, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards
791 of the community. At the present time the majority of the *teuol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other. 184 616 791

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills. 174 184 616

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out some interesting differences between the two divisions. The data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1] would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol. 174 184 616 847 177

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 and the greater freedom from external influence is probably
177 an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide
616 among them at present, though it will not explain the greater
847 prevalence in the earlier generations.

184 The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.

162 The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Mekanâd in 1835 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are div[illegible]d into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz. :—

66 1. Dêvalyâl.

124 2. Tarserzhâl.

184 The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

142 "ETHNOLOGY.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
" possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
" with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
" self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
" at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
" Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
" darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
" the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
" the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
144 " strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
" features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
142 " *forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2½ inches from the root of the nose
" to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
" moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
" colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
" in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
" measuring from root to tip 2½ inches, and height from base of alæ to ridge 1½ inches,
" breadth of alæ from side to side 1½ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
" full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

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* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1835.

Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 20th August 1835, says:—

" This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
" total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
" Captain Harkness counted 800 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
" girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Breeas' Table, No. 28.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Breeas' Tables.

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
193 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
796 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
618 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of
777 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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CHAPTER XXVII

RELATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

101 177 186

In this chapter I propose to put together the chief facts with which I am acquainted which throw light on the very difficult problem of the relations between the Todas and the other tribes of the Nilgiri Hills. The chapter could only be written with any degree of completeness by one who had studied the question from the point of view of each of the Nilgiri tribes separately. I have only been able to do so, and that incompletely, from the Toda point of view. My information is derived almost wholly from the Todas themselves, and gives their way of regarding the relations between themselves and the other tribes.

The five tribes inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills are shown in Fig. 68 (taken from Breeks), the Todas in the centre with the Badagas on their right and the Kotas on their left. Next to the Badagas are the Irulas, and next to the Kotas are the Kurumbas.

The tribes with which the Todas come into contact habitually are the Badagas and Kotas, while their points of contact with Kurumbas and Irulas are much less important. The Badagas are not only the agriculturists of the Todas, but are the constant intermediaries between the Todas and the extra-Nilgiri world. The two tribes regard each other more or less as social equals. The Kotas, on the other hand, who are the artisans of the Todas, are regarded by them as social inferiors. The relations with the former may be considered first.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 Badaga. While a Toda regards a Badaga as his equal, or
186 perhaps even as his superior, he looks down on the Kota as
609 inferior, as hardly to be classed as a man with himself. In their secret language, a Toda speaks of a Kota as *kimas ithzvai*, "he that is beneath," and in the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) the Kotas are the only hill tribe which is not thought worthy of mention—they are not thought to be of sufficient importance to be able to cast the evil eye. When a Kota meets a Toda, he raises both hands to his face and salutes from a distance. The two people do not touch one another in general, though I do not know that contact is definitely prohibited. A Toda will not sleep or take food at a Kota village in general, but makes an exception in the case of Kulgadi in the Wainad (see p. 200). It is usually supposed that the contempt of the Toda for the Kota is due to the flesh-eating, or even carrion-eating, habits of the latter, and this is certainly one of the elements which influence the relations between the two peoples.

177 The Kotas supply the Todas with the larger part of their pottery and ironware.[1] All the earthenware vessels of the
437 dairies, except those of the inner rooms of the *ti* dairies, are supplied by the Kotas, and the various knives and other metal objects of the Todas are chiefly obtained from these people. The Kotas supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals and they supply the music on these occasions.

Just as the Badagas do not supply grain to the Todas only, so the Kotas do artisan work for Badagas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Kotas are the artisans, not of the Todas only, but of the whole hill district.

101 The relations between the Todas and Kotas are strictly regulated, each Kota village supplying certain Toda clans.
177 There are seven Kota villages on the hills, of which the following are the Toda and Badaga names:—
437 In the Todanad district:—

Tizgudr, Tizgadr, or Tizgwadr (Badaga, Tirichigadi), between Ootacamund and Kanòdrs, near the Toda village of Ushadr.

[1] According to Breeks, the Kotas who supply the Todas are known as *mutfu* Kotas.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

.161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

●186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and
563 original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
651 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

The adult members of the
794 community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation
184 however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and
563 in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an
177 admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is
[867] carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the
184 Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken
564 caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have
783 adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste,
564 though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their cul-
648 ture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the
186 Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with
[574] the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and
[184] does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than
[794] any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

[113] [15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonises a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

101 gods, are very close indeed; so close in fact that to know them really
648 well it would be necessary to make a special study of them from the
121 point of view of each of the five communities in turn. As others who have worked solely on the Todas before me, I am, however, only acquainted with these relations from the Toda viewpoint, and consequently can only briefly account for them here as described to me from that angle.

648 Of the four, the Badaga community is the largest. It is said, too, that it is the latest to have arrived in the Blue Mountains, but even so, this must have been quite a long time ago, as there are Portuguese descriptions of it going back for more than three centuries. The Todas [186] consider the Badagas as practically their equals, and their name for them is *Mav*. They depend on them for much of their livelihood, as [439] they are the agriculturists who supply them with grain, and all relations with the outer world are conducted to a large extent for the Todas through their intermediary. They pay a specified grain tribute called *kur* (Rivers' *gudu*) to the Todas, and the priests of the latter's most important temples may eat only Badaga grain (which includes rice) and none other. Furthermore a Badaga from the village of Tuneri is by right a member of the Toda tribal council, when it decides questions of inter-tribal importance, and at certain ceremonies in the principal temples, a Badaga, known as a *tikelvmav* has to be in attendance.

[186] The Kotas, called *Kuv* by the Todas, are looked down upon by them [439] and considered low-caste. They are the artisans who supply metalware and pottery to their neighbours, and, as is often the case with smiths in India, also music at festive occasions. They are indispensable at Toda funerals, where they have very distinct duties such as providing a band, giving cloth, grain, ceremonial bows and arrows, money etc. for the proper disposal of the corpse, besides taking away the sacrificed buffaloes which they eat.

The Kurumbas and Irulas are slight, dwarf-like aborigines who inhabit the forest-clad, malarial southern and western slopes of the Nil-[186] giris. They are known respectively as *Kurub* and *Erl* by the Todas, who fear them greatly as sorcerers and magicians. It is on them, and [439] principally the Kurumbas, that the tribe is dependent for its supply of bamboo vessels, of a certain long pole, the *tari*, used at funerals, and more especially of medicine, which appellation includes poison. The Todas make habitual use of the latter when they want to fight each other in personal or inter-clan feuds. In Toda mythology, the two last named of their neighbours as well as the Kotas, but not the Badagas, are mentioned.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen
[513] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation. 114 127

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people. 114 177 192

The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of 103 114 191

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the Todas, and similarly with the names of institutions such as clans, dairies, or ceremonies. The practice of giving Badaga names in their intercourse with Europeans has become so engrained that a Toda invariably uses these names when speaking to a European. During the first few weeks of my work, I received exclusively Badaga names, and to the end of my visit, whenever I visited a new district, the Badaga names would crop up till the people found that I wanted Toda and not Badaga. Kiunievan, who was the chief informant of Mr. Breeks in 1872, is still alive, and when I asked him why he gave Mr. Breeks the Badaga names in every case, he answered "He did not seem to want anything else," and this answer seems to me to give the clue to much of the error which has found its way into many of the accounts which have been given of the Todas.

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One of the most serious errors which has arisen in this way is one connected with the Toda clans. Every account which has been given of the clan-system of the Todas is that of a system which is current among the Badagas as the Toda system, but has only a limited correspondence with the actual system as it is in use among the Todas themselves. Every Toda, if asked by a European to what clan or division he belongs, will promptly give his division according to the Badaga classification, and this has led to the incorporation of this classification in all the accounts of the Todas which deal with their social organisation.

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Some words are necessary about the general plan of the book. I should have preferred to begin with the social organisation, and to approach the religious aspect of the life of the Todas through the ceremonies accompanying the chief incidents of life, including birth, marriage, and death. The ideas borrowed from the ritual of the dairy, however, so pervade the whole of Toda ceremonial, that I have been obliged to consider the ritual of the dairy at an early stage. After a preliminary chapter sketching the general character and life of the people, I have therefore given a full description of the elaborate ceremonial which centres round the dairy; and on this follow the accounts of other ceremonies and sacred institutions and a general discussion of the

791 fact, a diviner necessarily gives up his divining if he becomes
787 a *palol*.[1]

191 Each of the *teuol* is believed to be possessed by a
198 special god when he falls into the divining frenzy, and when
797 in this state it is said that the diviner does not, as a rule,
791 speak in his own language, but in some other, most commonly in Malayalam or one of its dialects. The following are those who are at present credited with the power of divination :—

Midjkudr (63) of Piedr, who is inspired by the gods Kulinkars and Petkon. He speaks in Malayalam, and he does not appear to have succeeded anyone else as *teuol*. He is the most successful of those who are at present practising the art, and played the chief part in all the divining which took place during my visit.

Tadrners (60) of Kuudr, inspired by Ethrol and Arivili, succeeded his mother's father, Kasorivan (66) of Kusharf. He is said to speak the language of people whom the Todas call Mondardsetipol living in the Wainad, a language which appears to be a dialect of Malayalam.

Pangudr (66) of Kusharf, also succeeded Kasorivan, his grandfather, and is inspired by Petkon and Meilitars. There was some doubt as to the language used by him.

Ethgudr (52) of Kuudr is inspired by Arivili, and, like Tadrners, speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

Terkudr (63) of Piedr, inspired by Teipakh, the river god, succeeded his grandfather Keitolv. When inspired, his speech is like the babbling of a running river, "like the river's voice," and cannot be understood.

Kangudr (62) of Piedr, who lives at Kavidi in the Wainad, is inspired by Meilitars and speaks Malayalam. He succeeded Tarsvan (62), his father, and Tarsvan had succeeded his father Keithiolv.

Kobuv (61) of Kuudr, is inspired by Meilitars and Kuderol and speaks Malayalam.

Pöteners (54) of Kuudr, is inspired by Petkon and speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

[1] From the account of Finicio (Appendix I), it would seem that at one time the *palol* and *wurzel* possessed the power of divination.

Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a *teuol*, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 191 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a god connected with the division to which the majority of the diviners belong. 787 791

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas. 177 787 791 198 776

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobuv is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda 787 791

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

themselves. I have already pointed out that the great majority of the names of Toda places and institutions which have been recorded by previous writers are the Badaga names and not the Toda names, and, as might have been expected, many Badaga words have found their way into previously published Toda vocabularies. 191 192

In my own work my procedure was to take down a sentence first through the interpreter, then to go through the words of the sentence one by one asking the Toda to say each word carefully, and often he had to repeat it many times before I could satisfy myself about the nature of the sounds. Often I would get a second or third Toda to say the word, and I have frequently spent many minutes over one word, and have perhaps then been baffled in my attempts to write the word satisfactorily. 126 194

I noticed continually that the Toda words as pronounced by my interpreters were quite different in sound from those which came from the mouths of the Todas themselves. This was especially the case with the vowels, and in the addition of the initial *y*, so well known in the Tamil pronunciation of English. So far as I could detect, there was no trace of this initial *y* in Toda, although it occurs occasionally in some of the previously recorded Toda vocabularies.

These differences between the pronunciation of my interpreter and that of the Todas may often be the source of inconsistencies in my record, for on some occasions, owing to lack of time, I was unable to listen carefully to the Todas themselves, and had to content myself with the words given to me by the interpreter.

PHONETICS

In order to indicate the sounds of the Toda language, I have kept as closely as possible to the generally recognised system in use in India, but have been obliged to adopt many more signs than those usually employed.

The vowel sounds which I distinguished were very numerous. The following vowels and diphthongs certainly occurred:

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXIX.

OUTLINES

OF THE

TUDA GRAMMAR.

I. THE ALPHABET.

§ 1. THE TUḌA LANGUAGE has no compositions, written or unwritten, not a ballad nor a scrap of anything to indicate intellectual activity. The Tuḍas, like their buffalos, are fine animals; but they are the least cultivated of the Drâviḍian races. CHAP. XXIX. 212

No trace remains of the employment by them of any written character: it is probable, therefore, that they separated from the other Drâviḍians before the 'ur-sprache' of those tribes was reduced to writing.

§ 2. This language, of which but a very scanty fragment remains in use, has more sounds than any other Drâviḍian dialect, and some of these are peculiar to it, seeming to have been modified by the position and habits of the tribe. 194

The Tuḍas chiefly converse in the open air, calling to each other from one breezy hill-top to another. Their speech sounds like Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind. 191

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWGO Toda AWGO

221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
563 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced
651 by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

177 fellow tribesmen. To this man finger-prints came as no novelty, since his impressions were recorded both in England and America.

212 Writing in 1870,* Colonel W. Ross King stated that
197 the Todas had just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. At the present day, a few write, and many converse fluently in Tamil. The Nīlgiri C.M.S. Tamil
797 mission has extended its sphere of work to the Todas, and I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a Toda version of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The English say that once upon a time a rich man and a poor man died. At the funeral of the rich man, there was a great tamāsha (spectacle), and many buffaloes were sacrificed. But, for the funeral of the poor man, neither music nor buffaloes were provided. The English believe that in the next world the poor man was as well off as the rich man; so that, when any one dies, it is of no use spending money on the funeral ceremonies. Two mission
797 schools have been established, one at Ootacamund, the
871 other near Paikāra. At the latter I have seen a number of children of both sexes reading elementary Tamil and English, and doing simple arithmetic.

797 A few years ago a Toda boy was baptised at Tinnevelly, and remained there for instruction. It was hoped that he would return to the hills as an evangelist among his people.† In 1907, five young Toda women were baptised at the C.M.S. Mission chapel, Ootacamund. "They were clothed in white, with a white cloth over their heads, such as the Native Christians wear. A number of Christian Badagas had assembled to witness the ceremony, and join in the service."

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* Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills.
† Madras Diocesan Magazine, November, 1907.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

of this, the rule was made that the body should always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the sn̄ōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

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At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near

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9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

THE CHRISTIAN TODAS *

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ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianized communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling [1] and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Dawn in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, ?1933). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
●191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[241] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others 114
except on special occasions when my own information is 127
lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation.

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe 114
to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the 177
Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the 192
Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people.

The names by which the Toda villages are known to 103
Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of 114
191

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed. 181 234 771 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life. 793

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. 825 234

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*. 234 621 463 778 192

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *paḷtḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or
621 young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh*
463 is in far more general use, and is often employed even when
778 the dairyman is an elderly man.

At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies;
192 a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursutir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

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the dairyman, or *wursol*, must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpalikartmokh* and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the *wursol* must be taken either from the members of the other chief division of the Todas or from one special clan of the Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between Tartharol and Teivaliol.

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The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali*, meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh*, who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh*.

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs*, which is called a *poh*, and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol*. The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti*.

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali*. The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli*, and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, and *wursuli*. Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli*, others *kudrpali* and *wursuli*. At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali*.

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must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudeipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wurzalir* of Pan. 234

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 621 778

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782 given above were omitted, while others were added, especially
788 requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *ptrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

234x It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

192 "May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer
782 from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals
788 and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

234x The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several
184 groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes,
782 of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the
788 *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence
621 given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place
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[1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

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consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate. 234x 184

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated. 782 788 621 192

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer. 234x 192 788

Prayer of Kuudr

Atthkòr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
òners	Kuudr village.
palithdrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*thdrpali*).
palikidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*kidpali*).
thdrpalshpelh	lamp (*pelh*) of large dairy.
kidpalshpep	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

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tûtòdrtho	large buffalo-pen (*tû*) at Kuudr.
tîkidtû	small buffalo-pen (*tû*) at Kuudr.
kadrtorikkadr	calf enclosure (*kadr*) at Kuudr.
keishkvet	sacred buffaloes (*pasthîr*) of Kuudr.
tarskivan	ordinary buffaloes (*putilr*).
kânpep	portion of buttermilk (*pep*) originally given by Teikirzi for *pasthîr*.
âtthpep	portion of *pep* for *putilr*.
mutchudkars	stone in buffalo-pen at Kuudr where the vessels of the large dairy are purified.
tarskikars	stone in pen where the vessels of the small dairy are purified.
nîrkiznîr	sacred dairy spring of Kuudr.
Eikisiov	a buffalo whose milk was the origin of the spring.
Pûlmâlpûl	a hill near Kuudr.
Emalpûv	a buffalo which once lived at Kuudr.
Kokathâmûk	a hill near Kuudr.
Karstum	a buffalo which once died on this hill.
teikhkwadiki	a tree by which the dairy vessel called *mu* is buried (see p. 170).
manikiars	the *kiars* tree by which the sacred bell (*mani*) is laid when the dairy things are being purified.
Keikars	a hill near Kuudr.
keitnòdi	hill near which the *erkumptthiti* ceremony is performed (see Chap. XIII).
petût pati pethût ir	chief buffaloes given when Teikirzi divided the buffaloes with wand in hand (see p. 186). Literally, "wand with divide chief buffaloes."
pûthion nâkh tarzâr maj	calf which was the ancestor of the Kuudr *putilr*.

Thus, the prayer would run, "*Atthkâr idith; òners idith; palitûdrpali idith;* . . . . . and the translation would run, "For the sake of the village and clan of Kuudr; for the sake of the village of Kuudr; for the sake of the large dairy of Kuudr; . . . ." as far as the end of the *kwarzam* given above, and then would follow the prayer proper, "*tanenma, tarmama,* . . . ."

This prayer begins with two *kwarzam* of the village or clan, followed by others referring to the dairies and dairy vessels, buffalo pens and buffaloes. Then follow certain *kwarzam* of the *pep* or buttermilk which is of so much importance in the dairy ritual, and those of stones which play a part in the ceremonies attending purification of the dairy vessels. After the *kwarzam* of the dairy spring, there follow a number of *kwarzam* referring to certain incidents in the history of the dairy.

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history of the dairy. *Eikisiov* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuudr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground became swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring and is called *kisnîr*. The two following *kwarzam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. *Karstum* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathûmûk when it began to bellow and could not be induced to stop; the people tried to take it back to the pen, but it would not go and died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarzam* are followed by two referring to trees of ceremonial importance—one the tree by which is buried the *mu* on the integrity of which the continuity of the dairy procedure depends, while the other is connected with the sacred bell.

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Then follow the *kwarzam* of a hill on which there are cairns and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarzam* of a different kind. The first refers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi, who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing we have seen that she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the form, "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes with the wand." The last *kwarzam* is that of the calf, from which the ordinary buffaloes or *putitr* of Kuudr are descended, but I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the words, except *nakh*, which is the name of a three-year-old buffalo.

In the Kuudr prayer several of the *kwarzam* refer to incidents of a more or less miraculous nature which are believed to have happened at the village where the prayer is used, while the last *kwarzam* but one refers to one of the chief events of Toda mythology.

It will be noticed that many of the *kwarzam* used in this prayer correspond very closely to the names in ordinary use. Some, such as *keitnòdi* and *teikhkwadiki*, are the same words as those in general use, while others differ from

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234* 192 788 the ordinary words in the reduplication of part of the name, *tûdrpali* becoming *palitûdrpali* and *kisntr* becoming *nîrkisntr*.

PRAYER OF KIUDR

234* 192 The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used at Kiudr, which is one of the most sacred of Toda villages.

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	Kwarzam of
Kîtvôh	the dairy at Kiudr.
kerâni	one of the *patatmani* of Kiudr.
môdrâni	the other *patatmani*.
pongg	one of the *ertatmani*.
nongg	another *ertatmani*.
pelteirzi	the lamp of the dairy.
irtîrzi	also the lamp.
kînmûv	the way by which the dairyman goes from the dairy to milk; the *punetkalvol*.
uirtâkh	the dairy stream.
uirtîrshki	also the dairy stream.
keitu	the buffalo-pen.
tûlivaners	the posts at the entrance of the buffalo-pen
taskipâlûv	the bars of the entrance of the pen.
kadrtûlikkadr	the calf enclosure.
arhatchar	the household stream.
inerti	also the household stream.
ârsvilchhârs	the house (*ars*) at Kiudr.
eivilchâv	also the house.
nersâdrvel	the milking place.
keikûdr	the stream which runs between the house and the dairy (see 307).
kwoteiners	all of Kiudr village.
kwelthipuskol	all of Kiudr village.
atamûdri	all of Kiudr village.
araikin	all of Kiudr village.
kârmus	all of Kiudr village.
pârvakûdr	all of Kiudr village.
arsptm	slope of hill (*pem*) near Kiudr.

The special features of the Kiudr prayer are the large number of *kwarzam* of the village and the inclusion of the *kwarzam* of the house and household stream. The prayer of Kiudr is the only Toda prayer in which either the house or household stream is mentioned, and this fact is in accordance with the high degree of sanctity which has become attached to this village. It will be noticed also that

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the buffaloes are not mentioned, and that nearly all the clauses of the prayer apply to the buildings and their contents or to other parts of the village or to the village itself. Only the last *kwarzam* of the prayer applies to a place not actually in the village itself, and I could not ascertain why this place was so favoured. With this exception, the Kiudr prayer is one in which the *kwarzam* are entirely limited to those of the village and the dairy.

It will be remembered that when the buffaloes of the Nódrs *ti* migrate from Mòdr to Anto they pass by the village of Kiudr, and that the occasion is observed in various ways by the people of the village (see p. 135). I was told that certain *kwarzam* referring to this occasion are used in the Kiudr prayer. According to one man, these *kwarzam* are always recited in the prayer before those which have been already given, but others denied that they were so used. It is possible that these *kwarzam* are only said on special occasions, such as the day of migration, or it may be that they were formerly used, but are now being forgotten.

These *kwarzam* are as follow:

unar pâgit nòdr	*ti* buffaloes, come near country.
unken pâgit nòdr	bell of *marz* dairy, come near country.
eupalol pâgit nòdr	god *palol*, come near country.
eutuni pâgit nòdr	god *tuni*, come near country.
eitît pâgit nòdr	hair done up, come near country (this has reference to the practice of tying the hair which is followed by the *palol* when engaged at his sacred work (p. 92).
Teigun ûrpit nòdr	horn (of *marzir*) blow country.
Kiudkudr ûrpit nòdr	horn (of *ftir*) blow country.

Then follow the *kwarzam* already given.

These *kwarzam* are of a different form from those used in the general form of prayer, and the various persons or objects mentioned are referred to either by their usual names or by slight modifications of them, as in *eupalol* or *euvalol* and *eutuni*. There seemed to be no doubt that these words were abbreviations of *teupalol* and *teutuni*, the omission of an initial *t* being not uncommon in the Toda language. Thus in this prayer the dairyman is called "god *palol*," and his garment "god *tuni*."

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Prayer of Kwirg

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Kwirg is one of the villages of the Kuudrol and is the place to which their buffaloes go when it is necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

Kwatakwirg	Kwirg village.
kûlpudshol	Kwirg village.
palikeithiolv	the dairy.
tûmadshô	the pen.
kadrkeirí	the *kadr* (calf enclosure).
nîrtiûdsh	the dairy stream.
pinpunûv	a hill.
pilkârs	a hill.
âthpep	see Kuudr prayer.
kânpep	
mutchudpep	
keithkvat	
tarshivam	
petût patí pethât îr	
pûthion nâkh tarnâr maj	

It will be seen that many of the clauses are common to this prayer and that of Kuudr.

The three *kwarzam* of *pep* were said to be used in every dairy of the Kuudrol, but it did not appear that they were used at Kiudr. The third, *mutchudpep*, is not included in the Kuudr prayer, but *mutchudkars* appears in its place. Two hills are mentioned in the Kwirg prayer, but there are none of the references to special events connected with the village such as exist in the prayer of Kuudr.

The Prayer of the Kanòdrs Dairy

When I was staying at Pishkwosht and visited the conical dairy at Kanòdrs with Neratkutan, he told me that the prayer of this dairy had forty *kwarzam* referring to the gods, as well as many of other kinds, but on going into detail I could only obtain the following:—

Pîr nâr teu	the 1600 gods.
pût nâr teu	the 1800 gods.
Kwoto	Kwoto or Meilitars (see p. 203).

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Atioto	Atioto (see p. 210).
Kurindei teu	Kurindo (see p. 192).
Konteu	Konteu or Konto (see p. 211).
Anteu	Anto (see p. 188).
Pòrzo	Pòrzo
Kòdrtho	Kòdrtho } see p. 211.
Kàrzo	Karzo
Teikhunteu	Teikhun
mänpkh	Kanòdrs village.
mutlrzhpkh	ditto.
tänerth	the pen.
kòudr	the sun ? (see p. 206).
kutsikurs	the stone chain used by Kwoto (see p. 207).
aners	Kuzhu village.
tätashki	Pishkwosht village.

This prayer is quite unlike those of the other village dairies and was much more like that of a *ti* dairy. As we have seen, the *poh* of Kanòdrs resembles a *ti* dairy both in the elaborateness of its ritual and in the high degree of sanctity of its dairyman, and this resemblance is now seen to extend to the prayer used in the dairy ritual. [778]

Other dairies of the Tartharol which have an especial degree of sanctity are the *kugvali* of Taradr and the conical dairy of Nòdrs. I made great endeavours to obtain the prayers used in these places, but without success.

The ti Prayer

The prayers offered at the *ti* dairies are as a general rule longer and more complex than those of the ordinary village dairy. The latter portion of the prayer, or the prayer proper, does not seem to differ from that of the ordinary dairy, the differences being in the *kwarzam* recited at the beginning. The different dairies of the same *ti* may have different prayers; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti* there is a special prayer for the dairy at Anto which is longer and more complicated than that used at Mòdr, but it is probable that this is exceptional and is owing to the great antiquity and sanctity of Anto. The other dairies of this *ti* probably use much the same prayer as at Mòdr, though there may be certain slight modifications at each.

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THE ANTO PRAYER

234X ●192 788 This prayer is characterised by a very large number of *kwarzam* referring to the dairy, its contents and surroundings. On ordinary days a shortened form of the prayer is used which consists wholly of *kwarzam* of this kind. On special days, such as the occasions of *ponup* and *irnödrthiti*, other *kwarzam* are said, including those of gods and buffaloes.

The following *kwarzam* are those in daily use, each being followed by the word *idith* as in the village prayer :—

	Kwarzam of
Anto	the *ti*.
eithipôh	ditto.
mödrpôh	the *ti poh*.
pôhtîrzh	the *wars poh*.
ûv	the milking place (*pepharmus*).
pero	the special pen used on the night before the *ponup* ceremony.
keirv	the pen used on the night before the migration of the buffaloes.
kâtû	the ordinary pen.
Teirz	a hill near the dairy on which Anto lives.
tilkav	the back of the dairy (*pohpalikef*).
irbâr	the way by which the *kaltmokh* goes to and from the dairy.
Pithipôh	the cave where Pithi was born (see p. 184).
mersâvul	sacred path to the dairy by which the *mani*, *pep*, &c., are taken.
karkadr	path by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadipül	ditto.
einpül	path by which the *palol* goes to draw water.
panpül	path by which the *palol* returns from drawing water.
Kiûln	a hill near the dairy.
Keini	another hill.
titkln	stream at which the *palol* bathes and washes his garments.
titôr	stone by this stream marking the spot by which the *palol* bathes, &c.
teirpül	spot at which the *palol* halts and prays for the third time during the procession to Anto (see p. 135).
teirpôh	ditto.
nirkâli	place at which *palol* and *kaltmokh* defæcate.
Katthvai	hill near Anto (see p. 188).
Kubul	ditto.
Kôdrs	place near Anto (see p. 188).
Twirs	ditto.
teibithikhars	stone rolled by Anto.
teibithival	lower part of the hill *Katthvai* (see above).

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On ordinary days these *kwarzam* are followed by the prayer *tanenma tarmama*, &c. On special occasions the following *kwarzam* are inserted between those already given and the prayer proper :—

	K'warzam of
Ekîrzam meidjam	Teikirzi, Tirshti.
Kûdreij	Kudreiil dairy.
tîdj	ditto.
Kûlâdrtho	Kuladrtho dairy.
Perithi ti vaners	*ti* dairy at Perithi in the Wainad.
Kôti	One of the hills at which fire is lighted by the *palol* at the *tentûtusthchi* ceremony (see p. 291).
pagvôh	ditto.
Pûthi	another hill at which fire is lighted.
ônul	ditto.
Kûlinkârs	Kulinkars (see p. 188).
Nôtirzivan	Nôtirzi (see p. 189).
Kuzkârv	Korsteu (see p. 190).
unir	one group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
unken	*mani* of *wars* dairy.
Persin	*mani* of *ti* dairy.
kûdrs mani	bells of *punir*.
tadsth	axe which came from Amnôdr with the buffaloes.
îâpâr	an iron bar.
âier	the second group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
teiter	the third group of *tiir*.
Keirz	the buffalo which has the *mani* called Keu put on its neck.
pîlli	buffaloes (*unir*).
persv	ditto.
Keirv	buffalo which drinks *pep* on day of migration (see p. 135).
Kîthi	buffalo which wears the *kudrs mani*.
kudîvôdrs	the path at Môdr by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadrpôrs	place near Môdr at which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* defecate.
tarikipûl	place near Môdr where the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony is performed.
kidhadr	calves' hut (*karanpoh*) at Môdr.
penpôh	*ti* dairy at Môdr.
kidpôh	*wars* dairy at Môdr.
Ôdrtho	*ti* dairy at Ôdrtho.
Kûdreiil	*wars* dairy at Kudreiil.
munârten	a *ti* dairy.

The following is all I was able to obtain of the prayer used at Môdr :—"*Ekîrzam meidjam idith, Anto eithipôh idith, Kûlinkârs idith, Nôtîrzivan idith, Kûlâdrvan idith, Teukuteithi idith, Kûdreij tîdj idith, Kuzkârv idith, Alvoi Kalvoi*

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idith, tanenma tarmama," &c. Two of these *kwarzam*, "*Teukuteithi idith*" and "*Alvoi Kalvoi idith*," are not mentioned in the Anto prayer. I have no doubt that the list of *kwarzam* is very incomplete.

THE PRAYER OF MAKARS

The following is the prayer used at Makars, the chief dairy of the Kars *ti*. The *kwarzam* of the dairy are here comparatively few in number, but the prayer is especially rich in the *kwarzam* of gods and buffaloes, and it furnishes a very good example of the relation of the prayer formulæ to the Toda legends.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer run as follow :—

Anto	The god Anto.
Nôtrzivan	Nòtirzi.
Kûlinkârz	Kulinkars or Teikhars.
Kuzkârv	Korateu.
Onkonm	Onkonm who lives on a hill in the Kundahs.
Ektrzam meidjam	Teikirzi and Tirshti.
Azo } *Mazo* }	Azo and Mazo.
Katadrvanpok	place near Kûlinkars.
Peigwa	god living on hill near Makurti Peak.
Karmunteu	Karmunteu.
Kotzgârth	the Paikara river (Teipakh).
Koudilteu	Kondilteu, a god opposite the hill of Kòti.
Môndilteu	a god on a hill near the last.
Onûbypok	place near Majodr.
Kûlâdrazenteu	god on a hill near Kuladrtho.
kaban adi arten teu	"iron door shut god."
kaban kâl aiten teu	"iron stick held god."
mòrz ver arten teu	"*mòrz* tree under event god."
kûghîr kâdr kwaten teu	"crooked horned buffalo horn cut god."
tebkâter ai, tan mun madrik teu	"imitation buffalo horns took, his mother's brother's lap god."
mâvel kâritan teu	"sambhar from calved god." (The last six *kwarzam* refer to the story of Kuzkarv (see p. 190).
pûlnerkârz	buffaloes of *ti* called *pûrstr*.
teinirkan	ditto.
pirsk munaki potitth ir	"sun to facing that came buffalo."

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nerk muneki potitth ïr	"bell to facing that came buffalo."
putûdr mun kekitth ïr	"*tûdr* tree back (face ?) rubbed buffalo."
Kitheri kûtk ethkitth ïr	"Kitheri stream to jumped buffalo."
pâtâsh kattith ïi	"desolate pen from made buffalo."
Warwark ethkitth ïr	"Warwar (stream) to jumped buffalo."
ö khuberam kitj erdittâ ïram	"seven heaps buffalo-dung fire set buffaloes."
pörnûr	bell (*mani*) or *pürs* dairy.
unûr	ditto.
persagun	*mani* of *pars* dairy.
talg	ditto.
mârvûls	lamp.
poikar	*pürs* dairy.
pârsvôh	*pars* dairy.
tînnudri	pen.
kakûnnudri	ditto.
nîrkar	dairy spring.
tûlintr	ditto.
pûnpôh	dairy at Enòdr.
kâtû	pen at Enòdr.
pûnnîr	spring at Enòdr.
Enòdr	Enòdr *ti mad.*
mêdrpôh	dairy at Pars.
peiltû	pen at Pars.
tûlintr	spring at Pars.
Pars	Pars *ti mad.*
âtârnudri	dairy at Neradr.
nêrieners	pen at Neradr.
Neradr	Neradr *ti mad*
pûlvôh	dairy at Kòn.
aners	ditto.
tedrvôs	pen at Kòn.
pûvîrsnîr	spring at Kòn.
Kòn	Kòn *ti mad.*

Then follow "*tanenma tarmaina*," &c.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer given above are arranged in a definite order. First come the *kwarzam* of sixteen gods or of hills or places closely connected with gods, then follow six *kwarzam* referring to various incidents in the life of the god Korateu. These are followed by two *kwarzam* of buffaloes, and then follow six referring to various features of the founding of Makars, of which an account has been given on

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p. 116. Then follows a *kwarzam* relating to an incident which is probably recent. The *palol* of this *ti* used to make seven heaps of the dung of the buffaloes. There is a law that the dung should not be sold, which the *palol* disobeyed, and soon after a fire broke out suddenly from the seven heaps, and this event is commemorated in the prayer by means of the *kwarzam* meaning "seven heaps of buffalo-dung, fire set buffaloes," and is included among the *kwarzam* relating to buffaloes, probably because there was a belief that the anger of the buffaloes was the cause of the fire.

The buffalo *kwarzam* are followed by eleven referring to the bells of the *ti* and to the dairy, pen and spring of Makars, and these are followed by *kwarzam* referring to the other places of the *ti*—viz., Enòdr, Pars, Neradr, and Kòn. In each case there are said the *kwarzam* of the dairy, pen, spring, and place except in the case of Neradr, where for some reason the *kwarzam* of the spring is omitted.

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The feature of the Makars prayer which is especially interesting is the reference to legend in the *kwarzam*. This reference occurs in the Kuudr prayer and in those of Kanòdrs and Anto, but the references are far more elaborate in the Makars prayer. These references were very useful in providing incidental confirmation of the details of legends previously obtained, while in other cases they put me on the track of stories which I might otherwise have failed to obtain. One point of interest connected with them is that, in the absence of the legends, they might easily be supposed to be meaningless sentences. We have seen that there is reason to believe that the Todas are forgetting much of their mythology, and if the legends referred to in the Makars prayer should be forgotten, these *kwarzam* would become meaningless formulæ. This appears to have happened already in some cases; there were certain *kwarzam* of which I could obtain no translation; thus, all the *kwarzam* of the clans and villages were of this nature and could not be explained, though they almost certainly had a definite origin. A good instance of a *kwarzam* which is on its way towards a similar fate is that at the end of the Kuudr prayer. The meaning of only one word was clear —viz., *nâkh*—while *maj* was probably the word for cloud, and

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the *kwarzam* appears to refer to some incident of legend in which a three-year-old calf and a cloud were concerned, but I could obtain no record of the incident, nor of the legend of which the incident was a feature.

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I have treated these formulæ of the dairy as prayers, and I think there can be very little doubt that they are of the nature of supplications, and are believed to invoke the aid of the gods in protecting the sacred buffaloes. It must be confessed, however, that there is no actual evidence in the formulæ of direct invocation of the gods. The name of no god is mentioned in the vocative form. In some prayers there is barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' be limited to the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops.

The exact relation between the formula and the gods largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is not quite clear. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is evident that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned, followed by the words *âtham idith emk tânenmd*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

There is little doubt that the Todas offer prayers to their gods in their ordinary daily life, altogether apart from the dairy ritual. I was told by one man that when anyone leaves an *etudmad* he should pray that he may return safely, and in this case my informant said that he prayed to Teikirzi. Unfortunately I did not ask the exact form of the prayer, and do not know whether the goddess was invoked by name or whether *kwarzam* were uttered of the same form as in the prayer of the dairy. We may, however, be confident that the idea of supplication to the gods is not foreign to the Toda mind.

We shall see later that in the formulæ used in Toda sorcery, the names of gods are mentioned, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formulæ. In the magical formulæ the evidence of appeal to deities is somewhat stronger than in the case of the dairy formulæ,

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which are certainly of a religious character. It seems most likely that the word *idith* was at one time used especially in connexion with the names of gods, and carried with it some idea of supplication. Gradually other sacred objects were included in the prayer, the same form being used for them as for the gods, this inclusion being prompted by the belief that the mention of any sacred object might help to promote the efficacy of the prayer. Later, when any mysterious and seemingly miraculous incident occurred at a village, it seems to have become the custom to commemorate it in the prayer.

It is quite clear that at the present time the earlier portion of the prayer, consisting of the *kwarzam*, is regarded as more important than the latter portion, which reads like the actual prayer. I suspect even that in practice the prayer proper is often omitted, or that only the first two words, *tanenma, tarmama*, are said. There certainly seemed to be no very rigorous laws as to the exact number or order of the clauses of this part of the prayer. The earlier portion, on the other hand, is very strictly regulated, and the order in which the *kwarzam* are to be uttered is definitely prescribed. Certainly there is far more reticence in connexion with the *kwarzam*, and this may safely be taken to indicate that a higher degree of sanctity attaches to them than to the words of the prayer proper.

It is probable that the alteration in the relative importance attached to the two parts of the prayer would have to go little further in order to produce a state of things in which the Toda dairyman would use the first parts of the formulæ only, and an anthropologist visiting the Todas at this stage would find them using formulæ which would not be recognisable as prayer.

If, at the same time, the process of forgetting their mythology should also have advanced, the Todas would then provide an excellent example of a people using in their religious ritual meaningless forms of words, and the Toda *kwarzam* seem to furnish one way in which people may come to use such meaningless forms.

234 778 788 The use of *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies is only allowed to the members of the Teivali division and of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol.

Special kinds of dairy or special dairies may have features peculiar to themselves; thus the *pepeirthti* ceremony, in which the dairyman beats on the *patat* with a piece of *tudr* bark, is only performed at the *kudrpali*; the prescription of nakedness when milking is confined to the *kudrpalikartmokh*; the special method of wearing the *putkuli* open in front when going to the buffaloes is only practised by the *wursol*, and the method of taking food sitting on the wall of the dairy and throwing the food into the mouth is peculiar to the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs.

One feature of interest in the dairy organisation is the existence of different names at different dairies for the dairy products, and for the various objects used at the dairy or in connexion with the dairy ceremonies. The chief differences are found on comparing the village dairy with the *ti*, nearly every object having a different name in the two places, though occasionally a peculiarity of nomenclature may be confined to one dairy, as at Kanòdrs, where milk is called *persin*, the name of the churning vessel of the *ti*. As a general rule it seems that the name used in the village dairy is the same as that in ordinary use; thus, the dairy vessels used in the house for the milk of the ordinary buffaloes are known by the same names as those of the village dairy.

192 234 778 788 The use of special names in the more sacred dairies is probably connected with their high degree of sanctity. The names of the dairy vessels of the village are in common use, and it would doubtless seem sacrilegious that the names of the vessels of the *ti* should be thus in everyone's mouth. Consequently nearly every object used in the ceremonial of the *ti* dairy has a special name, and in the ordinary life of the Todas these words are probably never uttered.

One striking feature of the dairy ritual is the use of the syllable *On*. With one exception (p. 177) this word is always uttered thrice, and it seems to be especially connected with the act of putting curds or milk on the bells. It has a suggestive resemblance to the mystical syllable *Om* of the Hindus. It is

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also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, [192] or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which 234 the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other 778 examples have been given. 788

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitün* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

The Sanctity of Milk 234

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different 778 dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating 272 the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that 784

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this

754 chapter have the same general form as the prayers of the
788 dairy ritual. They consist of sentences ending in *mâ*, which
192 seem to be of the nature of supplications that certain things
771 may come to pass, preceded by the names of certain deities followed by the word *idith*, occasionally with other sentences allied in meaning to these. The two parts of the prayer are represented, but the first part, consisting of the *kwarzam*, does not appear to have acquired the same degree of importance as in the prayer. Thus the magical formulæ of the Todas have precisely the same general form as those used in their religious ritual. In the case of the prayer, I have pointed out that the actual words leave one in doubt as to whether there is anything of the nature of a direct appeal to the gods. In the magical formulæ, on the other hand, the case for an
[776] appeal to the gods is stronger. In all the formulæ, whether used by sorcerers to bring evils on their enemies or by medicine-men to remove sufferings of various kinds, the names of the same four deities are mentioned, and these four deities, Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti, are undoubtedly four of the most ancient and sacred of the Toda gods. It is noteworthy that the sorcerer does not say the names of these gods when he is removing his spells, but simply refers to them as "those gods," and it is clear that he does this because he does not wish his victim to learn the names of the gods by whose power his misfortunes have been brought about and are now to be removed. This procedure leaves little room for doubt that it is through the active intervention of the gods that the sorcerer is believed to work.

There still remains the question whether the words of the magical formula imply anything of the nature of supplication, or whether the sorcerer is not rather using forms of words which will compel the gods to exert their powers in the way the sorcerer wishes. I have no definite information as to the belief of the Toda sorcerer on the point, but the almost contemptuous tone of the two clauses which follow the names of the four gods might perhaps be held to point to the latter conclusion, and to indicate that the sorcerer can use the gods as his instruments of wrath much as seems to have been the case with the magicians of our mediæval times.

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On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*â teu sati udâsnûdr, an nòdr nòdr udâsnûdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnûdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct. 192 788

The nature of the words used makes it clear that the remedies employed by the Toda *utkòren*, or medicine-men, are of a magical kind. The words are essentially the same as those used by the *pilikòren*, or sorcerers, to remove the evils they have brought about by their previous magical incantations. The same formulæ are used to remove ills supposed to be due to natural causes as are used to remove those due to the workings of magic. It seems clear that the Todas have advanced beyond the stage of human culture in which all misfortunes are produced by magic. They recognise that some ills are not due to human intervention, but yet they employ the same kind of means to remove these ills as are employed to remove those brought about by human agency. The advance of the Todas is shown most clearly by the differentiation of function between *pilikòren* and *utkòren*, between sorcerers and medicine-men, and we seem to have here a clear indication of the differentiation between magic and medicine. The two callings are followed by different men, who are entirely distinct from one another, but both use the same kind of formula to bring about the effect they desire to produce. It seems that the powers of the *utkòren* are less definitely passed on from father to son than in the case of the *pilikòren*. There is no doubt that these powers depend largely on a knowledge of the words to be used, and especially on a knowledge of the names of the four gods, but it 755 788 753 754 756

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these
192 formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

782 796 *ernkar*, and the *palikartmokh* goes to cut a log of *tudr* wood and three small branches of *tudr* leaves. The calf should be fifteen days old and must be without blemish. Its ears must not be split, its tail must not be cut, and its eyes must be clear.

The log of *tudr* wood is for the killing of the calf and is about four feet in length and about three inches in thickness. Such a log is usually called *tudrkud*, but on this occasion is named *erkumptthkud*. The three branches of *tudr* must consist of perfect leaves. Such branches are usually called *tudrkwunak*, but on the occasion of this ceremony they receive the name *toashtitudr*.

[12] The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the calf, holding the log and leaves in his right hand. He raises the log and leaves to his forehead as a salutation, and then recites the appointed prayer. This prayer is different for each clan and consists of clauses in each of which the *kwarzam* of one of the villages of the clan is followed by "——*k per mâ*." Thus the first clause of the Kuudr prayer is *atthkârk per mâ*; *atthkâr* is the *kwarzam* of Kuudr, *k* is the suffix, meaning "to," and *per mâ* is "may increase" or "may there be increase." All the clauses of the prayer are of this form except the last two, which are *karsêram parsêram*; *Nòtirzk êr usht mâ*; the first of which is a *kwarzam* of Kulinkars, *êram* probably meaning buffaloes, while the second means, "may the buffalo appear to Nòtirzi." The calf is supposed to appear to Nòtirzi and then to go from the hill of this goddess to the hill of Kulinkars. The complete prayers of Kuudr and Kars are given on pp. 288, 289.

The *palikartmokh* touches the head of the calf with the *erkumptthkud* (Fig. 38) as he utters each *kwarzam* till he comes to the penultimate clause of the prayer, at which point he begins the following series of actions. He draws the three branches of *tudr* leaves along the back of the calf from head to tail and then drops one of the three *toashtitudr* on the ground behind the calf. The two remaining branches are drawn along the back of the calf from tail to head in the reverse direction to the first, and on reaching the head one of the two branches is dropped on the ground at the head of the animal.

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773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
796 know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Erkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned:
788 *Atthkâr* and *Ôners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
601 *Moskar* and *Manêthi* (Ôdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Thindenk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karstram parstram*, *Nòtlrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Ôdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kingners* (Keshker), *Külnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Edstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòdshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tüli*, *Sing*, *Keitaz*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ektrzam meidjam*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ektrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

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CHAPTER XV

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

THE funeral ceremonies of a Toda may be prolonged over many months. Soon after death the body is burnt and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is *etvainolkedr*, the first day funeral (literally, "first which day funeral"). After an interval which may vary greatly in length, a second ceremony is performed connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The rites on this occasion are more elaborate than at the *etvainolkedr*. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is *marvainolkedr*, the second day funeral, or "again which day funeral." The final scene, in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried, takes place before daybreak on the morning following the *marvainolkedr*, and this part of the ceremony is known as *azaramkedr*, the name being derived from the *azaram*, or circle of stones within which the final cremation takes place.

The funeral ceremonies are open to all and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institution of the Todas, however, they have become known to Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas *hase kedu*, the fresh or green funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills, but has been widely

192 adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral
764 is called by the Badagas *bara kedu*, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted. I never heard these terms used by the Todas themselves, who always spoke of the *etvainolkedr* and the *marvainolkedr*, though it seemed that the first funeral might sometimes be called *karchokedr*, which probably means fresh or green funeral.

177 The funeral ceremonies have undergone some modifica-
764 tion in recent times owing to the intervention of the Government. Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person. This has had most influence on the second funeral ceremonies, which, largely owing to this prohibition, are now much less elaborate and prolonged than in former times.

764 The funeral ceremonies are held at certain appointed places called *kertnòdr*, different for each clan. Sometimes these places are at, or close to, villages where the people are now living; sometimes they are at places which were formerly inhabited; while in other cases, again, there is no evidence that the funeral places have ever been inhabited. In every case, whether inhabited or not, the place where a funeral is held is called a *mad*, the same name as is used for a village.

Each clan has at least two funeral places, one for males and the other for females, and in several cases a clan has more than one funeral place for each sex. Some clans have different places for the two funeral ceremonies, and the Piedrol, who have one outlying branch of their clan at Kavidi in the Wainad, have special funeral places for the first funeral of members of this branch, the second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, being held at the chief funeral place of the clan. Others, again, have a special place for boys who have not passed through the ear-piercing ceremony.

349 In general, a funeral hut (see Fig. 48) is specially built for
764 the reception of the dead body, this hut being usually erected within a stone circle found at the funeral place. At the funeral of a male, this hut is called *kertnòdrpali* or *neilpali*. It is

775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Taradr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panîpikârs, nor do they cross Püvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

Origin of Funeral Customs

773 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly
763 ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrûvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

764 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

●192 [1] *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

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234 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is
778 possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea
534 in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas.
174 We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more
771 and more attached to the bell, less and less to its possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

Relics

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

The Buffalo and its Milk

234 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies
778 we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

and expensive for the *mokhthou'vaiol* than for the husband. 588
Further, in some cases the *sedvaitasmokh* of a Teivali man 837
may live with him exactly in the same way as a wife. Except for the prohibition against Teivali women living at Tarthar villages, and the important difference in the mode of descent of the children there seems to be little essential difference in some cases between the *mokhthoditi* union and marriage. In describing the institution, one of my informants laid great stress on the disability of a man of one division to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a woman of the other division and treated this as the essential point of difference. He seemed to regard this ceremonial disability as primary and the other differences as the secondary results, but I do not know how far this is the general Toda view.

Sexual Morality

From the foregoing account it appears that a woman may 831
have one or more recognised lovers as well as several 837
husbands. From the account given of the dairy ritual, it
appears that she may also have sexual relations with dairy- [192]
men of various grades—that, for instance, the *wursol*, on the nights when he sleeps in the hut, may be the lover of any Tarthar girl. Further, there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse. I was assured by several Todas not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong. It seemed clear that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. My interpreter, Samuel, had translated the Commandments shortly before my visit, and only discovered while working with me that the expression he had used in translating the seventh Commandment really bore a very different meaning.

When a word for a concept is absent in any language it by no means follows that the concept has not been developed, but in this case I have little doubt that there is no definite idea in the mind of the Toda corresponding to that denoted by our word 'adultery.' Instead of adultery being regarded as

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is determined entirely by the *pursütpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife. 611 851

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *tererstthi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two *rôles* he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote. 611 604

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *maunokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy 192 593 577

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192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
234 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

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themselves. I have already pointed out that the great majority of the names of Toda places and institutions which have been recorded by previous writers are the Badaga names and not the Toda names, and, as might have been expected, many Badaga words have found their way into previously published Toda vocabularies.

In my own work my procedure was to take down a sentence first through the interpreter, then to go through the words of the sentence one by one asking the Toda to say each word carefully, and often he had to repeat it many times before I could satisfy myself about the nature of the sounds. Often I would get a second or third Toda to say the word, and I have frequently spent many minutes over one word, and have perhaps then been baffled in my attempts to write the word satisfactorily.

I noticed continually that the Toda words as pronounced by my interpreters were quite different in sound from those which came from the mouths of the Todas themselves. This was especially the case with the vowels, and in the addition of the initial *y*, so well known in the Tamil pronunciation of English. So far as I could detect, there was no trace of this initial *y* in Toda, although it occurs occasionally in some of the previously recorded Toda vocabularies.

These differences between the pronunciation of my interpreter and that of the Todas may often be the source of inconsistencies in my record, for on some occasions, owing to lack of time, I was unable to listen carefully to the Todas themselves, and had to content myself with the words given to me by the interpreter.

PHONETICS

In order to indicate the sounds of the Toda language, I have kept as closely as possible to the generally recognised system in use in India, but have been obliged to adopt many more signs than those usually employed.

The vowel sounds which I distinguished were very numerous. The following vowels and diphthongs certainly occurred:

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126 doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as
194 Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

Sacred Language

192 There are three varieties of sacred language in use among
198 the Todas. There is the *kwarzam*, the word or clause used in prayer and other sacred formulæ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwarzam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwarzam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwarzam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwarzam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwarzam* of the Tarthar clans:—

The Nòdrsol, *Nòdrstharkûtthars*; the Karsol, *Kârstharkunnadrpêdr*; the Panol, *Pandârpeshdthvaimokh*; the Taradrol, *Pülkudutharpeithar*; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdrkûtan*; the Kanòdrsol, *Munantharpinnantho*; the Kwòdrdoniol, *Adutharathiars*; the Pämol, *Pämûtharkathar*; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwarzam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

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clear, is that of Pan, in which case the *kwarzam* gives the names of the two *kudr* of the clan (see p. 652). The latter part of the *kwarzam* of the Keradrol means a horn or son of Keradr, and is also the name of a man, and with further knowledge there is little doubt that the other *kwarzam* would be found to have some meaning.

192 198

The following are the *kwarzam* of the buffaloes of the different clans:—

Nòdrs, *karûdchîrkünâkh*; Kars, *inâtvidshti inâtvan*;[1] Pan and Taradr, *Mutchôthvanmodethokvan*; Keradr, *miniapîr mâvelkar*; Kanòdrs, *Tîrztashkkarzikunp*; Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi, *Keitankeikar*; Päm, *Arzomolkutchi*; Melgars, *Narzulnatülnnâkh*; Kuudr and Pedrkars, *Kishvettarskvan*; Piedr, *Kûzherikwelvpurserthunm*; Kusharf, *Nulkarsîrnazhuv*; Keradr, *Nelppârsîrkudeipar*; Kulhem, *Pelthrîrkan*.

The *kwarzam* of the Keradr buffaloes refers to the tradition of their creation (see p. 192), and here again with further knowledge there is little doubt that most of the *kwarzam* would be found to have a definite meaning, probably derived from legends concerning the buffaloes or the villages to which they belong.

The second kind of sacred language, in use at the *ti* dairies, has been already considered. Every kind of dairy vessel or other object used in the dairy ceremonial has a name at the *ti* different from that used in the house or village dairy. These different names have been given in describing the dairy ceremonial, but I have not hitherto referred to certain other differences of language, especially in verbal forms. Different words are used in the two kinds of dairy for the verb 'to drink'; thus, when a village dairyman orders another to drink buttermilk, he says "*Maj ûn!*" while at the *ti* the *palol* says "*Kaizhvat!*" This latter formula is interesting in that *kaizh* is not the usual *ti* word for buttermilk (*mòr*) and only occurs, as far as I can ascertain, in conjunction with the verb *vat*. A village dairyman uses the verb *part*, pray, while at the *ti*, the verb *pôhvetnört* is used. Thus the question "have you prayed?" would be "*partikudricha?*" at the village and "*pôhvetnörtikudricha?*" at the *ti*. Similarly

[1] See story of Kwoto.

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192 different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have
198 milked" at the village would be "*îrkartkudrvispimi*," often shortened into *îrkartspimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvukkudrivispimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*îrkarami*" at the village and "*îrkarpûkhami*" at the *ti*.

There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *irnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar tûrzhodthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*[1] was said to be the *teu* word for 'man.' The words *kwudrpedrshai* and *kaipedrshai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *teu* language.

Secret Language

177 The Todas have a large number of expressions which they
198 use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the
195 Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkelv* or "front fact."

[1] The last syllable of the name Meilitars given to Kwoto is probably this word, so that the name means 'superior man.'

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
616 ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
796 differences between the two divisions may be regarded as
174 secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some
184 time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived
192 from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if
197 the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

now proceed to give some evidence which points to this 174
having really happened. 184

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the 192
existence of the differences of language to which I have 197
already referred. The chief differences are as follows:— 616

	Tarthar.	Teivall.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*kîrstegi*
Basket	*tòdri*	*putukîri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tòdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kònipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pòditch*	*pòtch*
Comb	*tîrkòli*	*siekhkòli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pòdri*	*idrnpòdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkòni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkòni*
Mushroom	*kiân*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipòti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*telikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect 184
many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two 194
divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself 616
—that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *pîili*.

CHAP. XII.

and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[8] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; *that this man in his simple belief should be* so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[8] See note 2 of Chapter V.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XII.

the Hindu Badagas, with whom they have for several generations been on intimate terms: whose mode of worship they have had opportunities of noticing: and with whom they have often conversed on elementary religious topics. Thus, as I have noted, they have seized on a few words, and the names of a score of small Gods connected with maladies and diseases, of whom they know nothing but their names; but without having adopted a religion.

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2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DRY FUNERAL.

The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.

CHAP. XXI.

If the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of the bara kêdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance. 764 765

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable numbers at the kêdu Mand, and display their ornaments on these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1] 765 177 533

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' 000

[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.' [192]

CHAP. XXV. describe the connection between such brothers as follows: 'Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their mothers being sisters, they are brothers.' An uncle is styled 'my little father'; most significant.

595 602

595 182 The marriage system I have described is elastic. It is capable of being modified in its internal working without change in the actual principle. Thus, when women are scarce, several men have to be content with one wife between them. But as women become more numerous, a greater proportion of men are able to procure a wife a-piece. This condition of permanent routine is supremely satisfying to the Toda mind.

● 192 The general expression for marriage is represented by the word kûdiken — I join.[5] Thus, 'Beliani is married to Nastufi' would be translated Beliani Nastufig kûdthchi, or they are joined to one another. But in addressing a man with the casual question of, 'Are you married?' the ordinary way of putting it, would be to say, 'Is there a son?'—Mokh vathchya? He would reply, Ha, mokh vathchi, 'Yes, there is a son:' or if married, but childless, he would detail, Ân kukh kûdthbini, mokh illade—'I joined a woman, a son is not.'

Similarly, the enquiry made of a woman would be, Belthta gavthchya?—'Is the neck-ring tied?'[6]

[115] 843 Mr. Metz has been so good as to describe for me a singular custom connected with weddings, which he learnt subsequently to my having left the Nilagiris: of which no sort of explanation can be supplied by the Todas.

When the wife has gone seven months with her first child, she retires with her husband alone, to the depths of the village wood, where at the foot of some tree she places a

[5] I am not certain that in the word 'join,' we have got the most primitive meaning of kûdiken. The Hindustani word kûdna, and its Sanskrit root kurdd = *play*, might be compared.

[6] For the modes in which husbands and wives address one another, see Chapter VII.

618 539 order to strengthen a new-born child, they smeared it all over with butter and put it in front of the fire; as a result the child died. Another is called mukoṛðɯrktoɪṛjvmɨvojvol̠joɪl̠, "people of the house of those who carried large baskets to the mukoṛ swamp" or moɪvγoɪṇoðmöl̠γüɑrtvojvol̠joɪl̠, "people of the house of those who ground pepper without seeing the deer." It is told that seeing carrion-eating birds circling over a swamp they assumed that there was a dead deer there and went off with large baskets to bring back the flesh, telling the women meanwhile to grind a large heap of [83] pepper for the curry. Of the other two, more indelicate stories are told. One is called pikukveṇvotsvojvol̠joɪl̠, "people of the house of one who put butter on the navel." A woman covered her navel with butter and made a dog lick it and have intercourse with her. The other is called pɯltʃvol̠joɪl̠. It is said that formerly a man and woman of this pol̠joɪl̠ had sexual intercourse with one another. The women of this line are said to be particularly strong in their sexual passions; the verb with this meaning ɑrtsti, "she is [182] passionate," and the noun ɑrikn, "passionate woman" are tabooed under the conditions described below, and it is said that the element pɯltʃ–, not otherwise found, has the meaning of these tabooed words.

Six pol̠joɪl̠ of the töüvil̠j survive: one other is known to have become extinct some years ago with the death of küɯɪsjγümɪṛ of the kol̠emoɪl̠ (Kurikudr in Rivers' Table 72). The others are as follows. The üɑɨvɑγðɯrɪspodjvæɪṭoɪḍjvojvol̠joɪl̠," people of the house of one who hunted the pig in the üɑɨvɑx swamp" are so named because one of the line hunted a pig which he had seen for a whole day and night and yet let it escape him. Another is called nöɪṇgoɪṭkvɑrɨγɑrtjvojvol̠joɪl̠,"people of the house of those who sent fuel to nöɪṇgoɪṛ." Men of this line saw a hare, and intending to hunt it for food, set the family to work to collect fuel to roast it for three days. A third is called oɪrvmṭγeɪrjvol̠joɪl̠. The story is the same as for the oɪrvɯṭγɑɪkvol̠joɪl̠ of the other division, except that the cakes were in a basket mukeɪrj, to which the element keɪrj in the name is equivalent. Another, the pevɯɪtγolɪjvol̠joɪl̠, "people of the house of the stealer of a large piece of meat," are so named because one of the line stole a large piece of meat at the sacrifice of a calf (æɪrγɯmtt, "act of killing male buffalo").[9] A fifth is called kɯðɯrγoɪlvɑɨjtʃetɑpel̠köökjvojvol̠joɪl̠, "people of the house of one who seizing a horse's leg pole-vaulted." It is told that a man, finding a dead horse, cut off the leg and vaulted with it until he reached the door of a house where he was beaten by the occupants. The last is called ömɨöükörkojvɯṇæɪtpuɪṭvɯrkɯṭvojvol̠joɪl̠, "people of the house of one who taking the milking-pot in his left hand at the tɪj dairy called ömɨöü broke

[9] See Rivers, p. 274.

4 [Sets of poljoɪl̠ among the toɪtôas -- ANALYST]

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by
[269] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poɭjoɪɭ of the opposite sex.

602 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens,
533 and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poɭjoɪɭ of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as
602 decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have
196 had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which
● 192 both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to
[333] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is
[522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯɽγŭɑrt-, "neck-cut," and kŭɑrtγŭɯɽt-, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪdjvöɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

196 521 192 602 Thus aḍð–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also ku ʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nuṛtj–, "make walk," is permitted when ur, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb paʃj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪtj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again avut is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way pun, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [849] [304] Similarly poɪðj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kiṛpoṇt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 521 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of üüdmortkvæidvoj or poʃjoɪʃ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

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[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[167] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
● 192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only 764
become the generally recognised name among the 192
European inhabitants of the Nilgiri hills, but has been widely adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas bara kedu, the [765]
'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted." The various forms of the funeral ceremonies are discussed in detail by Dr. Rivers, and it must suffice to describe those at which we have been present as eye-witnesses.

I had the opportunity of witnessing the second 765
funeral of a woman who had died from smallpox two months previously. On arrival at a mand on the open downs about five miles from Ootacamund, we were conducted by a Toda guide to the margin of a dense shola, where we found two groups seated apart, consisting of (*a*) women, girls, and brown-haired female babies, round a camp fire; (*b*) men, boys, and male babies, carried, with marked signs of paternal affection, by their fathers. In a few minutes a murmuring sound commenced in the centre of the female group. Working themselves up to the necessary pitch, some of the women (near relatives of the deceased) commenced to cry freely, and the wailing and lachrymation gradually spread round the circle, until all, except little girls and babies who were too young to be affected, were weeping and mourning, some for fashion, others from genuine grief. In carrying out the orthodox form of mourning, the women first had a good cry to themselves, and then, as their emotions became more intense, went round the circle, selecting partners with whom to share companionship in grief. Gradually the group resolved itself into couplets of mourners, each pair with their heads in contact, and giving expression to their emotions in unison. Before

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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55 patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions
[614] the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondɑriidz. One of these is the daughter of iimuxfuin (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxŭuiɪ (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondui̯r to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary
791 to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of
234 munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and
[192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töü "god" or ńoiɪ "sacred place" or by the compound töünoiɪ, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and
796 noiɪ when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some
798 extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the
[179] gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god öm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töünoiɪ, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

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[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–60, 1937).

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -küwtṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in pwtʃofxüwtṇ (a son of sirjair 20) <pwtʃof, a mountain near the mund toiroiɾ, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in twipwsxüwtṇ (20; referred in §6) <twipwsforü, the kogfoʃj dairy at toiroiɾ; kæinxüwtṇ, son of toilirθj and nertnwɪ (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners) <kæinoʃf, the üwɪsoʃj dairy at the mund korkoɪ. A son of küɾrom of the pwɪgoiroʃ (34, Kwodron) is named asojxüwtṇ <asojwɪ, the buffaloes of the tii of this sib. köikisjxüwtṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the [177] Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüwtṇ in table 25) <köikisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toiroiɾ.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fwn; e.g. in korofwn (21, Karadrvan) <korofüwt, name of a mountain (twt) near toiroiɾ; wɪrküwɪrfwn (24, Idrkudrvan) <wɪrküwɪrfaɪw, a river (paɪw) near Mt. korof; pwtʃefwn (24, Pachievan) <pwtʃof, a mountain near toiroiɾ (cf. pwtʃofxüwtṇ in §9); kergæɪrfwn (25, Kerskedrvan) <kergæɪrfaɪw, a stream near the mund pɑʃtaɪr; asojfwn <asojwɪ, the buffaloes of the tii belonging to the pwɪgoiroʃ, is another name of poiɾwɪ (35, Patirsh; cf. asojxüwtṇ in §9); mupwɪfwn (16, Mopüvan) <mupwɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pærθoiʃ or pærθoiʃfwn, kæmodz or kæmodzfwn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mwn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pwn, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. 831 192 The three meanings given for pwn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fwn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of küasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. myɪnj of the kuɪtüuṭoɪ̯ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first küasm is paɪrnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪs) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭṇuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nuɪl- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the küasm komuɪs of the mund nyɪḷṇ of the meḷküɪsoɪ̯ is to be interpreted as kom-nuɪs "the place of the god kom;" kom or komsöü is the mountain near this mund. The first küasm of the mund meḷgaɪs is naɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two küasm of the people of this sib, naɪsθoɪr, naɪsfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrθasoɪ̯ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first küasm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsɪ̯ṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪs, naɪsüuɪ (i.e. naɪs-tüuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪs is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kluɪr of the kuɪtüuṭoɪ̯ and küaɪrθynj of the puɪrgoɪroɪ̯, have küatæmuɪs as their first küasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of küatæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the möɪroɪ̯ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not küasm, with this element are poɪ̯jnuɪs "the place of the funeral-ḫut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪtüuṭoɪ̯, and masnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the möɪroɪ̯, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and küasm of munds. A brother of momgiröj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kluɪdnuɪs, whose name is the first küasm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kaɪsnuɪs (56, Karsners) < the first küasm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kimuɪs (26, Kiner) is derived from kimuʃnuɪs, the first küasm of the mund köɪroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

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is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboos work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 110).

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8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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when I recorded such names. The tendency appears to use words that have song-associations, and one may refer especially to the large class of names with pun "gold," a word used in this sense in songs and not so used in ordinary speech. It may be that this tendency is even more powerful than appears to the non-Toda observer, since it is extremely difficult for him to know what connotations a word may or may not have and informants are inarticulate on this matter. It may be, again, that the feeling that an outsider receives, that Toda women's names are generally rather poetical in the Western sense, i.e. in their reference to objects with aesthetic associations, is not entirely in accordance with Toda feelings. I can only adduce a small bit of evidence which I have already used in *The Songs of the Todas*.[11] In composing a song lamenting the death of the late King George V, the composer changed kiŋsoɪrdʒ, the Toda form of the king's name, into siŋsoɪrdʒ. He gave as the reason for this change that the former is not "poetical" and the latter is; my interpreter explained that kiŋ- suggests the word for "small" while siŋ- suggests the word for "gold," i.e. sin. This being so, we may conclude that women's names with the element sin "gold" are poetical to the Todas, i.e. they suggest to them the vocabulary of song. We have already seen that those with pun "gold" are poetical in the same sense, and I think that it is possible to conclude that women's names in general have for the Todas much the same connotations that they have for us. They are connected with the expressions of song and derive their connotations from the songs, and so may be justly said to be poetical.

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[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 553.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the tōuθuṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tuṭ) which are gods (tōu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tō·kiṭ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noṭ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these tōuθuṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 776 114 794 [777] [791] [688] 794

The tōunoṭ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the tōunoṭ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as aṭ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noṭ "sacred place." Within the noṭ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noṭ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as tōu "god" or noṭ "sacred place" or tōunoṭ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which 777 234 [361] [782] [783] [562] 776 234 778 794 [192]

794 776 234 778 [192] is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːʈ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

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noːʈoːselm	kuːtjuθnoːʈ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tōuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːʈ), the sacred place to which the goddess tōːkiɲj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθarm	kumʈtuθnoːʈ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mʈeθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noʈexuːḍtk	piːuθnoːʈ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tōuenoːjtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tōuθut, the tōunoːʈ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tōunoːʈ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tōunoːʈ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair: paːrnuːrθu, puːʈuːrθu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kuaɲm)" of the mund myːnj, which is paːrnus, said to mean "the standing-place (nus) of the 1600 gods (represented by paːr for paːrnuːr)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation. [576]

There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated. [114]

A further note should be added on the words mox and kuɪx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuɪx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuɪxjuɪ in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ-, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuɪx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯsaxuɪxjuɪ, containing kuɪx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯsamoxjuɪ, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmoxubuɪ, enmorjubuɪ, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, morj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuɪx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯsamoxjuɪ "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained. 192 601

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4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
193 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
796 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
618 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of
777 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

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A BRIEF OUTLINE

OF THE

GRAMMAR

OF THE

TUDA LANGUAGE

BY THE

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[*From a collection of Tuḍa words and sentences presented by the Rev. Friedrich Metz, of the Basel Missionary Society.*]

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NOTICE.

193 114 These outlines are the result of a good deal of personal intercourse with the Tuḍas, during a residence of twelve years on the Nílagiris. With the kind assistance of the late lamented J. W. Breeks, Esq., the First Commissioner of the Nílagiris, the subject of the Tuḍa language was investigated a few years ago in connection with a small Archæological Society in Ootacamund. At the request of Colonel Marshall, I have put the results into this shape, to be printed in his work on the Tuḍas. I think that the facts of the language are here gathered together. It is becoming daily more difficult to ascertain what is originally Tuḍa and what is borrowed by that people from the later immigrants.

In one or two matters, I have ventured to differ from the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, whose Drávidian Grammar has invested such researches with a new interest. I advance my opinions with unfeigned diffidence. While agreeing in the main with that profound scholar, I yet think that the remarkable analogies between the Keltic and the Drávidian languages merit a more thorough investigation.

§ 12. In Tuḍa **v** or **w** is optionally pronounced before **o** initial; thus, **vodd**=*one*; but in the compound we find **oddi-adi**= *alone* (lit. one-step); and **on** or **or** is the Drâviḍian root. So in English 'one' is pronounced 'won.' CHAP. XXIX. 194

The possession of this sound of **w** is one of the many noteworthy analogies between the Keltic languages and the Drâviḍian.

So **y** may, as in the other Drâv. dialects, be prefixed to any word beginning with **e**. Thus, **enak** or **yenak**=*to me*.

This, too, is found in English, and is probably due to Keltic influences: *ewe* is pronounced *yew*.

NOUNS.

§ 13. Tuḍa nouns have no inflections for number or gender. 173

§ 14. The Nominative, Accusative, Vocative, and Genitive cases are alike, being the unaltered root.

§ 15. The inflectional particles in use are, (1) for the dative, **g** or **k**; (2) for the instrumental ablative and the ablative of remotion, **end** (or **edd**); and (3) for the local ablative **orsh**.

These correspond very exactly to the Old Kanarese, *ge*, *inda*, and *of* (comp. § 43).

§ 16. The following is a **Paradigm** of a Tuḍa noun:

	âl, *a man*
N. Acc. Voc. Gen.	**âl**, *a man*
Dat.	**âlg**, *to* or *for a man*
Abl. (instrum. and remotion)	**âlend** (**âledd**), *by* or *from a man*
(place)	**âlorsh**, *in a man*.

§ 17. Since the nominative, accusative, and genitive cases are alike, it is chiefly by position that the syntax of a Tuḍa sentence is regulated. A noun immediately before a transitive verb is the object; while a noun before another noun is in the genitive case, or qualifies it like an adjective.

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In the latter case **ad**, the root of the epicene pronoun of the 3rd person, appears to be sometimes inserted, making what looks like a genitive case.

This resembles the Kan. usage. In that language, certain nouns add **d** to the root to form the inflectional base, which is used for any case. The Tamil adds *thu* (*th* flat) to the root to form a genitive.

§ 18. The Tuḍa pronouns are irregular, but correspond very closely to those of the other Drâviḍian dialects.

§ 19. THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

(1) The pronoun of the 1st person.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	**ân**, *I*	**ôm, âm**, *we*
Acc.	**yen**, *me*	**yem, âm**, *us*
Gen.	**yen** ; **yen-adu**, *my, mine*	**yem** ; **yem-adu**, *our, ours*
Dat.	**yen-ak**, *to* or *for me*	**yem-ak**, *to* or *for us*
Abl.	**yen-end** / **-edd** *from me.*	**yem-end, âm-end, âm-edd** *from us*

Note.—The original form of the Drâviḍian pronoun of the 1st person is uncertain.

(1.) In the oldest dialect of Tamil and in Tulu it is *yán*, in Old Kanarese án, in Old Telugu ênu, in Malayalim njân.

(2.) The inflections of this pronoun in nearly all the cognate languages have *en* ; and in the oldest forms *y* is prefixed at pleasure to all cases beginning with *e*.

(3.) The pronoun when appended to the Drâviḍian verb in *en, en*, ini, eni, én.

(4.) In later Tamil Kanarese and Telugu we find forms nân, nâm, and nénu, in the Nom. Singular ; and nâm, mému in the Nom. Plural. This *n* or *m* I do not regard as primitive, since it is wanting in all the old forms. The Drâviḍian languages prefix *n* to several words which they have received from other languages. Thus the Sanskrit *yuga* is in Tamil *nugam* ; and *nangûram* is the form in which the word *anchor* has settled down in the Drâviḍian dialects. I can see how *n* might have crept in ; I cannot imagine its disappearance from every ancient dialect.

(5.) This is not the place for a full discussion of the subject ; but I would compare *ân* with the very ancient form S. *aham*.

Nor can I think it clear that ôm is not related to the Sanskrit **vayam**, or to the Greek ἡμεῖς or ἄμμες, and Védic *asmê*.

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§ 20. (2) The pronoun of the 2nd person.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom. Voc.	nî	nim-a
Acc. Gen.	nin	nim
Dat.	nin-ak	nim-ak nim, nim-adu
Abl.	nin-end or nin-edd, *by* or *from thee* nin-orzh, *in thee*	nim-end, nim-edd nim-oṛzh

This closely resembles the ancient Kanarese and Tamil.

I do not know whether it is of use to point out the Drâviḍian root *nil*, 'stand,' with its past part. in Kan. *ninu*, as the possible origin of this pronoun.

Here **n** is, I think, undoubtedly radical.

§ 21. The pronoun of the 3rd person in Tuḍa (which is really a demonstrative pronoun, or adjective) has the peculiarity, that like the Latin *se*, it has no inflection for gender or number.

Thus **atham**=*he, she, it, they.*

[Generally **m** is an indistinct nasal, the anuswâra of the Sanskrit.]

It is declined like âl (§ 16).

N. A. G.	atham
Dat.	athan-g
Abl.	ath-end, atham-edd, athamend atham-orzh, ath-orzh.

The resemblance to S. **adas** is remarkable.

Kan. **âtanu**=he ; **adu**=it.

It will be remarked that the verbal forms of the 3rd person make no distinction of number or gender. (Comp. § 26.)

This is a remote demonstrative (ille, &c.) ; **itham** is used for the proximate (hic, &c.).

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Besides this oldest form the Tuḍa uses the pronouns

avan (ille); **ivan** (hic)
aval (illa); **ival** (hæc)
with their plurals
avar; **ivar**, which are declined like **âl**, with the addition of a kind of genitive in *du*: avandu, &c.

Here **avan**, &c., are the remote demonstratives, and **ivan**, &c., the proximate demonstratives.

These appear to be forms recently introduced, or, it may be, reintroduced into Tuḍa from Kanarese or Tamil.

Avandu = avan + du, and is prefixed to a noun adjectivally, and so forms a kind of genitive case: *avandu kukh* = his wife. (§ 17.)

The use of **a** and **i** as demonstrative prefixes is thoroughly Drâviḍian.

The root of this pronoun is evidently **d**.

§ 22. TUḌA ADVERBS.

(1) Words answering to English adverbs exist in Tuḍa. Some of them are also used as nouns, some are parts of the verb.

(2) The following list includes nearly all that are in use.

1. *yes*	**hâ**	These seem to be really interjections.
2. *no*	**âha**	
3. *here, there, where*	**ite, ata, ete**	Here the *i, a, e*, as demonstrative and interrogative particles appear.
4. *why*	**ôte**	T. and K.
5. *how*	**yetete**	Reduplicate of ete. (3.)
6. *who, what?*	**athario**	Atham = *it*, âr = *who?* ô an interrogative particle.
7. *above*	**môl, mok**	*Môl* is Drâviḍian. Mok from Sansk. = *before*.
8. *below*	**kli, erk**	Kan. keḷa, irrida. Tam. kîr, irrakka.
9. *before* (place)	**mud**	Drâviḍ. *mun*, mundu.
before (time)	**mueh**	Kan. *munche*.

10. *behind*	pinnə	A. Kan. *pinde.*
11. *outside*	porram	A. Kan. pora. purram in T.
12. *inside*	ulg	Ul, *within*, in the dative case.
13. *much*	upâm	A. K. *ubbarige.* In Kan. Tam. and Tel. *up* or *ub* is a root signifying increase. Comp. Sansk. upari.
14. *more* [comp. (23)=*yet much*]	innupâm	
15. *near*	kakhuri	This seems to be a corruption of Kan. *kaige* ol=*in hand* or *at hand.*
16. *far*	bathki	*Badike*=near, in K.
17. *also, together*	kûḍa	Infin. of Kûḍu, *come together.*
18. *alone*	oddi-aḍi	Odd=one. aḍi=*step, a time.*
19. *frequently*	upâm-aḍi	Comp. (13)=more-step.
20. *soon, suddenly*	birnd	Kan. biri-biri (§ 34.)
21. *again*	tarigi	Kan. *tirige.*
22. *enough*	ettana	In Tamil=*this much.* Kan. ittani=the whole.
23. *yet*	in	Kan. *innu*, more, yet.
24. *when*	etwan	Compare (3).
25. *then*	atwan	
26. *now*	itwan	
27. *for ever*	etwan-etwan	Lit.=when- when.
28. *another*	in odd=yet one.	

§ 23. TUḌA ADJECTIVES.

(1) There are a few words which appear to be adjectives by nature; but the majority are merely nouns placed before other nouns to qualify or limit their meaning.

(2) The following list contains some of the adjectives now in common use.

1. *good*	uḷthə	*ol, olli, olliḍa*, in Kan. *thi*=*thu* or *du* or *di*,
2. *pretty*	nal	*nal* in O. Kan., and Tam., and in the other Drâv. dialects.
3. *old*	kəḷ	*Kiṛu* in Tam., *kerr* in O. Kan.

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4. *big*	·êt-ud	*êtt*=elevation, in Tamil. In Kan. *ẽḷda*=having risen	*ud* in *êtud* and in *kirud* is evidently *atham* =it.
5. *little*	kin, kir-ud	Tam. *çin*, *çirridu*. Kan. *kin*, *kir*	
6. *hot*	bîrsh	Kan. *bisi*, *bishi*, *bisilu*	
7. *cold*	kor	Drâviḍian root is *kuḷ*	
8. *wet*	nâd	This is Kan. *nâd*, *nân*, *nând*	
9. *dry*	voṇag	K. *oṇa*, *oṇagu*. In Tam. *uṇa*	This *g* or *gu* a strengthening part. in K. and T.
10. *male*	têk-an	*an* is the Drâv. masc. term.	Here seems to be an internal modification of a root to distinguish gender.
11. *female*	tôkh	These words cannot be traced to any Drâviḍian root. *dêham*= body. *tô-gai* is a poet. word for woman	
12. *white*	bel-thi belp	Kan. *beḷ*	
13. *red*	chen bâkh-gudi kandati kepu	Kan. *chen*, kudi, *kanda*, *kempu*	
14. *yellow*	majjal	Tam. *manjal*	
15. *black, blue, green*	kar-thti	Kan. *kari*	
16. *other*	vêr	Kan. *bêre*. Tam. *vêrru*.	
17. *great*	perud		

(3) These roots, probably among the oldest in the language, are, with hardly an exception, common to all the Drâviḍian languages; but the peculiarities of the Kanarese are found in the Tuḍa.

§ 24. Forms answering to the comparative and superlative degrees are obtained by putting a noun in the 'ablative of

remotion' before the adjective; and by prefixing the adverb *upâm* = much. CHAP. XXIX. 193

Thus: **athumed-kirud**, *smaller than it*
âḷed-êtud, *greater than a man*
upâm-êtud, upâmkirud, *greatest, smallest*

§ 25. THE TUḌA VERBS.

(1) The Tuḍa verb has I. an affirmative form consisting of an indicative mood and an imperative mood; II. a negative form, with the same two moods.

(2) It has two tenses: I. An indefinite tense, which is present or future; II. A past tense.

(3) There are fragments of other forms which can only be conjecturally restored.

§ 26. The verb '*to be*' is thus inflected.

Root er.

I. Affirmative Form.

Indicative Mood.

(I) Indefinite Present.

Singular.	Plural.
1. (ân) er-sh-k-en, *I am*	(ôm) er-sh-k-imi
2. (nî) er-sh-ch-i	(nima) er-sh-ch-i
3. (avan) er-sh-ch-i	(avar) er-sh-ch-i.

(II) Indefinite Past.

Singular.	Plural.
1 (ân) edd-er-sh-p-ini, *I was*	(ôm) edd-er-sh-p-imi
2 (nî) } edd-er-sh-ch-i	(nima) } edd-er-sh-ch-i
3 (avan). }	(avar) }

This is evidently a compound form obtained by prefixing edd to the present tense: edd being for erd. (§ 30.)

The 1st pers. sing. takes what seems to be an alternative form in p-ini: ershpini=ershken.

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Sh is the Tuḍa substitute for k: shk=kk
Ch is a softened form of k: so in Saxon, spæc=*speech*
sceal=*shall*.

Imperative Mood.

èru, *be thou*
ir-mâ, *let it be*.

Of this mâ I can give no explanation.

II. NEGATIVE FORM.

(I) Indefinite Present: *I, &c., am not.*

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. ir-emi	ir-emi
2. ir-e	ir-e
3. ir-adi	ir-adi

(II) Indefinite Past: *I, &c., was not.*

1. er-th-emi	er-th-emi
2. er-th-e	er-th-e
3. er-th-adi	er-th-adi

§ 27. The Verb âḍ, *dance*, is thus inflected.

I. AFFIRMATIVE FORM.

Indicative Mood.

(I) Indefinite Present: *I, &c., dance.*

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. âḍ-k-en	âḍ-k-emi
2. âḍ-ch-i	âḍ-ch-i
3. âḍ-ch-i	âḍ-ch-i

(II) Indefinite Past: *I, &c., danced.*

1. âḍ-th-b-imi	âḍ-th-b-imi
2. } âḍ-th-ch-i	âḍ-th-ch-i
3. }	

Imperative Mood.

pui, *strike!*
pui mâ, *let him strike!*

II. NEGATIVE FORM.

Indicative Mood.

(I) Indefinite Present: *I, &c., dance not.*

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. âḍ-eni	âḍ-emi
2. âḍ-e	âḍ-e
3. âḍ-adi	âḍ-adi

(II) Indefinite Past: *I, &c., danced not.*

1. âṭa ger-th-eni	âṭa ger-th-emi
2. âṭa ger-th-e	âṭa ger-th-e
3. âṭa ger-th-adi	âṭa ger-th-adi

Imperative Mood.

pui ad iru } *strike not!*
pui âṭu }

N.B. Of these, one is Kan. and the other Tamil.

§ 28. It will be seen from these paradigms that the Tuḍa, like the other Drâviḍian dialects, has *temporal particles*, which are inserted between the root and the personal terminations. In the present tense affirmative the temporal particle is K, which is softened into CH (as in *Church*), before I.

In the 1st persons S. and P. a *p* or *b* (it is pronounced both ways) is occasionally found. This may have some connexion with the temporal particle found in the present, in Old Kanarese, which is DAP.

This is almost the only part of the Tuḍa language that seems to indicate great antiquity. It is, however, Old Kanarese.

In ordinary Kanarese there is scarcely a trace of the *k*, which being softened into *h*, or *v*, has finally disappeared.

In Tamil it remains in the temporal particle of the present *Kirru* or *Girru*; in a strengthening particle *gu* added to many roots; and in some old poetical forms, such as *çey-gu* = I will do; *çey-gum*, we will do.

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In Malayalim it is still found in the present of many verbs, in the form of *kunnu*.

In the old form Kanarese *bê-ku*, 'must,' it is preserved; as also in *çâ-ku*, 'it is enough.'

In Old Kanarese *kum* and *gum* may be appended to any root to form an aorist. This admits no variation for number or person. Thus *avar mâḍugum* = they do.

In the past the *temporal particle* is TH (as in *thin*). This is *d* in Kanarese.

The negative mode is obtained by joining the root to the personal termination without the intervention of any temporal particle. This is common to all the Drâviḍian languages.

§ 29. The personal terminations are for the

	Singular.	Plural.
I. Pers.	*en, eni, ini*	*imi, emi*
II. Pers.	*i, e*	
III. Pers.	*i, adi*	

These are shortened forms of the pronouns. See §§ 19–21.

§ 30. There are also in Tuḍa traces of other verbal forms which are peculiar to the Drâviḍian family of languages.

The relative participle, or adjective form of the verb, is one of these.

In the day when I joined, is in Tuḍa:

ân kûḍid nâḷorsh
[*I joined day-in*].

Here *kûḍid* is in Kanarese *kûḍida*, and is called a 'relative participle,' qualifying *day*, and being equivalent to *when (I) joined*, thus including in itself the relative adverb.

So, **ân âḍid nâḷ**, *the day I danced.*
Thus **edd** is = Kan. *idda*, 'which was.' (§ 26.)

§ 31. Tuḍa also forms a verbal noun, a kind of infinitive, from verbs ending in a flat consonant by changing the flat into its corresponding sharp, as in all the other Drâviḍian languages.

Thus âḍ, *dance* or *play*, makes

âṭa, *dancing* [Tam. aḍu, aṭṭam; Kan. áḍu, áṭa, and in Tel. the same].

The past tense of the negative form is thus:

âṭa ger-ṭh-eni
dancing did-(not)-I. (§ 27.)

And here (1) Is not *ger-th* singularly like the Sanskrit *krita*, done? Surely this is the KAR of the Indo-Germanic 'grundsprache.'
(2) May this not throw light on the Tamil temporal particle *kirra*? and probably on the K. (§ 28.)
(3) Does it not seem that the negative particle in such forms is really dropped? The emphatic 'dancing-did-I' remains, and the formula of negation has perished. (Comp. Earle's Philology of the English Tongue, p. 427.)

§ 32. In examining the forms of the verb still surviving among the Tuḍas, it becomes evident that many verbal inflections have been dropped. We have, it seems, but the débris of an elaborate inflectional system. There was probably a future tense with *temporal particle* **v**, **p**, or **b**, as in Kanarese and Tamil. This has disappeared, as in Saxon, and the present (like the English indefinite present) is now used as a future with an adverb. The forms **âḍ-th-b-ini** and **er-ah-p-imi** are probably remnants of it. (§ 27.)

§ 33. An infinitive mood in **a** perhaps existed; for the adverb **kûḍa** is the infinitive of **kûḍ**, unless indeed this is a word of recent importation. (§ 22.)

§ 34. The adverb *birnd*, 'suddenly,' seems to be from a root which is found in Old Kanarese, *biri*, 'burst,' and in

CHAP. XXIX. Tamil *viṛu*, 'fall,' from which, in the latter dialect, the past adv. participle, *viṛundu*, is formed. There is, therefore, a trace of a *past adv.* part. (§ 22.)

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§ 35. There is no passive inflection in Tuḍa.

§ 36. The interrogative forms are obtained by adding **â**, which, as in Tamil and in Old Kanarese, is the chief interrogative particle.

Thus *has Beḷiâni joined?* is, **Beḷiâni kûḍthiyâ?**

E and **ô** are also interrogative letters in Tuḍa.

§ 37. It is not easy to decide whether the Tuḍa retains any trace of a subjunctive mood.

The following sentence seems to contain something equivalent to it.

Atham Nastufig kûḍâ vaḷi, kukh in odd âḷk ûdthchi
He to Nastufi not joining (marrying) when, (the) woman yet one man has married.
If he do not marry Nastufi, she will marry another man.

Here **kûḍâ** is apparently a negative participle qualifying the noun **vaḷi**=time (Kan. *vêḷe*).

The forms **pôk-âdi** and **pôk-ârzh** are found with the meaning *of go.* Here **âdi** and **ârzh** are joined to the root. They seem to be the Kan. **arê** or Tam. **âl.** But they are probably borrowed from Tamil.

The verbal root is the imperative of 2nd pers. sing.; thus, **âḍ**, *play thou.* Another form adds **mâ** to the root; thus, **pui-mâ**, *strike thou.*

§ 38. The Tuḍa has neither prepositions nor conjunctions. This want of 'link words' is an index of the entire absence of the habit of reasoning.

§ 39. By way of illustration, I added a few sentences.

SENTENCES.

(The words are in the subjoined lists.)

(1) When I married Beḷiâni I was a widow.
ân Beḷiânig kûḍid nâḷorzh ân barudi.
I to-Beḷiâni joined in-day I widow.

(2) Is Nastufi married?
Nastufig beḷthta gavthyâ?
to-Nastufi silver tied?
beḷthta=*silver badge.* (In Kan. beḷḷe=*silver*+ (?) tâli=*marriage token.*)
gavthyâ=*gavth*+à or yà.
This seems to be an adv. part.=*having tied* (§ 34), followed by the interrog. (§ 36).

(3) Is Beliâni married?
Beḷiâni kukhag kûḍṭhyâ?
Beḷiâni to-a woman joined?
kukhag. Here *a* is inserted to connect **kukh** with its case ending *g*.

(4) Your wife walks not with my wife.
Nin kaṭṭ-vodi-kukh yen kaṭṭ-vodi—kukh naḍevadi.
nade vadi (§ 27). Kan. nade=*walk.*
v is a Euphonic insertion.

(5) My uncle's sons are my brothers.

Yen perudên	**kirudên mokh yen**	**aṇan**	**taman**	
My great-father	*little-father son*	*my elder-brother*	*younger-brother*	
				erhsohi.
				are.

yen (§ 19) **perud, kirud** (§ 23).
aṇan (K. aṇa=*elder brother.* The R. seem to mean *above.*)
taman (K. tamma=*younger brother*).
ên (K. ayya=*father, priest*).
erahchi (§ 26).

The final **n**, as the termination of masculine nouns, here seems to be fairly in the language; but I suspect it is only an obscure nasal, not differing from the epicene ending **m** in **atham.**

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(6) That one's father and this one's father are brothers-in-law (relatives).

atham ên itham ên bêâḷ
That father this father related-man
atham, itham (§ 21)
bêâl (bê the root of the Kan. Impersonal verb *bêku*+**âḷ** (§ 16)).

It will be seen that the Tuḍas now use no conjunctions, a sign of their degeneracy. 'Link words' of all kinds are wanting. In fact, Tuḍa has scarcely any 'symbolic' words, except pronouns, and the smallest possible supply of these.

(7) Beḷiâni is married, but has no son.

Beḷiâni kukh kùḍthchi, mokh illaḍe edd
illade (Kan. *illada*=what is not)
edd=*having been* (§ 30)

The finite verb **ershchi** is understood.

§ 40. LISTS OF WORDS.

I. Verbal Roots.

1. *am, sit*	er	Dr. *ir, urr, uḷ* (Sansk. ṛi).
2. *see*	kân-th	K. *kâṇ.*
	nôḍ-th	K. *nôd.*
3. *hear*	kêḷ-th	K. *kêḷ.*
4. *feel, touch*	muṭṭi	K. *muṭṭ.*
5. *taste*	bâi kâṇ-th	=see (with the) mouth.
6. *smell*	mittuf kâṇ-th	=see (with the) nose.
7. *dream*	kanas kâṇ-th	=I see a vision. K. *kanas.*
8. *laugh*	kar-th	K. *chiri-chu.*
9. *weep*	âḍ	K. *aḷu.* T. *aṛu.* (S. *aṛru.*)
10. *sing*	ka-th âḍ	=I play a story. K. *kaṭhe.* S. *kathâ.*
11. *shout*	A ! U ! bishar-th	=I cry A ! U ! K. *bicchâd.*
12. *talk*	arvorkh	K. *alavûke*=loquacity.
13. *dance, play*	âḍ	K. *âḍ.*
14. *stand*	nil-th	K. *nil.*
15. *walk*	naṛ	K. *naḍ.*
16. *run*	voḍi	K. *ôḍ.*
17. *lie down*	vori	probably a variation of 25.

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18. *give*	tash	K. *tar-u.*
19. *clean*	ârzp	K. *ûḷdu*=to dip; *alaṣu*, to rinse.
20. *bow, salute*	kombuddi	K. *kumbu*+iḍu.
21. *ask*	bind er-th	K. *bêḍ.* Tam. *vênḍ.*
22. *strike*	pui	K. *poḍe.* Old Kan. *poy-u.*
23. *kill*	kôḍigidviti	K. *kêḍ*=destruction. O.K. *geidu*, made. Is vi a causal inflection?
24. *die*	kôdiverti	(? Sansk. VRIT. Dr. padu.)
25. *sleep*	vorikh	K. *orag-u.*
26. *do, make*	gei	Ọ. K. *gê, gei.*
27. *take*	va-th, ba-th	K. *hatt* or *patt.*
28. *join*	kûḍ-th	K. *kûḍ.*
29. *tie on*	gav-th	K. *kaṭṭ* (but ? *kavi*=put on).
30. *negative verb*	il	K. *il.*
31. *it thunders*	yêr-th-ti	K. *yere.*
32. *go*	pôk	K.

§ 41. II. NOUNS.

1. *a span*	gên	(Kan. *gêṇu.* Tam. *sâṇ.*)
2. *a foot*	eddgên, aḍi	(K. *aḍi*).
3. *a cubit*	mlâ, mlâgei	(K. *moḷa*).
4. *a pace*	kandaf	(?)
5. *a name*	pêru, hesru	(Kan.)
6. *a nickname*	porra-hesru	(=outside name) (Kan.)
7. *a collection*	kûṭu	(Kan.)
8. *medicine*	maddu	(K. *maddu.* Tam. *marunthu*).
9. *dowry*	kâikuli	
10. *friend*	yenkûḷ	(Lit.=a man to me, §§ 16, 19).
11. *old man*	keḷâḷ	(A. K. *heṛiva*, § 6).
12. *old woman*	keḷachi	(K. *heṛ.* Fem. term. *ti* or *chi* is Dr.).
13. *family*	kûṭasâram	(Sansk.)

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14. *relation*	aṇatama	(K. *ana*=elder brother; *tama*=younger brother).
	pâltiâl	(K. *pâl*).
	pêyâl	(K. *bê*+*âl*).
15. *ancestor*	mûpu	(K. *mûppu*=old).
16. *clan*	(No Tuḍa word)	
17. *man, person, husband*	âl	
18. *a young man*	varsh	(S. *bâla*).
19. *son, boy*	mokh	(K. *maga*); popen. (?) tîj mokh=daughter (§ 23).
20. *woman, girl, daughter, wife*	kukh	(? Comp. S. *guhya*. Tam. *kokku*, *kongu*. Perhaps a depreciatory word connected with the root *kuṅ*).
21. *father*	appn, êyan, ên	(Kan.)
22. *mother*	avv	(Kan. *avva*).
23. *wife*	kâṭvoti	(Kan. *kattubaḍi* = one bound).
24. *bachelor*	mokh-varsh	
25. *child*	kin-mokh (m.), tîj-mokh (f.) (§ 23)	
26. *child* (infant)	popen (m.) (?) kin-minthki (f.)	(*Kin.* § 23, *minthki* is of uncertain origin; ? *manushi*: probably a pet word).
27. *twins*	mor-mokh	(perhaps *mor* = *marr* = other).
28. *orphan*	tobbâri	(K. *tobbili*).
29. *widower*	baruḍa	(A. K. *baraḍa*=empty).
30. *widow*	mudegitti, barudi	(K. *muṇḍe*).
31. *great-grandfather*	pêvian	pî or pêvi +21, 22 {*pî*, *pêvi*, forms of *piri*, 'great.'
32. *great-grandmother*	pêviavv	
33. *grandfather*	pîyan	
34. *grandmother*	pîyavv	
35. *brother* (younger)	emnorvet	(en=my, or=one, vet=*petta*, which in A. K.= brought forth).
36. *brother* (elder)	ennaṇ	(*en*+*aṇ*. Kan.).
37. *brother* or *sister* (younger)	enta	(Lit.=that one).

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38. *sister* (elder)	en akka	(Kan.).
39. *mother-in-law, father's sister*	mâmi	(Kan.).
40. *father-in-law, mother's brother*	mâman	(Kan.).
41. *son's wife*	mortwirth	(? Tam. *maru-magal*).
42. *daughter's husband*	enman mokh	
43. *father's brother* (elder)	ennan perud	
44. *father's brother* (younger)	ennan kirud	
45. *mother's sister* (elder)	perud avv	
46. *mother's sister* (younger)	kirud avv	
47. *husband's brother* (elder)	yen âl ennan	
48. *husband's brother* (younger)	yen âl norvet	
49. *wife's sister* (elder)	yen kâtvoti akkan	
50. *wife's sister* (younger)	yen kâtvoti norvet kukh	
51. *wife's brother*	pâyâl	
52. *spear*	ît	(Kan.).
53. *bow*	virsh	(§ 7).
54. *arrow*	âbu	(Kan., Tam., Tel., Mal. *ambu*. Here the Tuḍa has dropped *m*, and lengthened the vowel, as compensation.)
55. *knife*	tûri	(K. *dûru*, go through).
56. *club*	kunḍu	(K. *guṇḍu*).
57. *net*	balle	(K. *bâle*).
58. *axe*	meaht	(? A. Tam. *maṛi*).
59. *hatchet*	kûrvâl	(K. *kûr*=sharp; *bâl-u*=knife. This is the exact Tamil; a Poligar word?).

N. B.—No Tuḍa word for *cow*, *plough*, *sword*, or *shield*.

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60. *buffalo* (male)	êsht	(*ĕrru*=ascend, is the Drâv. for the male of any animal).
61. *buffalo* (female)	er	(Kan. *emme*. Tam. *erumai*. Mal. *erima*. Tel. *enumu*).
62. *calf* (male)	koan	(Kan. *kand-u*=a calf).
63. *calf* (female)	karr	(K. *karu*=a calf.)
64. *deer*	mâf	(Dr. *mân*).
65. *dog*	nai	(Kan.)
66. *dog* (wild)	chen-nai	(Red-dog § 23).
67. *cat*	kotti	(Kan. *kotti*).
68. *tiger*	pürsh	(§ 7).
69. *bear*	karsh	(§ 8).
70. *snake*	pàb	(Kan. *pâv-u*. Tam. *pâmb-u*. Tel. *pâm-u*).
71. *mouse*	irzh	(Kan. *ili*=a rat).
72. *bird*	bilti	(Kan. *bel* seems to be the root of it).
73. *crow*	kàk	(Kan.).
74. *sparrow*	gubbi bilti	(See 72: Kan. *gubbi*= sparrow).
75. *fish*	mîn	(Kan.).
76. *insect*	pûf	(§ 9).
77. *butterfly*	kappan	(?).
78. *louse*	pên	(Kan.).
79. *bird's nest*	bilt-gûdu	(Kan.).
80. *bird's egg*	much	(Tam. *muṭṭai*. Kan. *guḍḍu*).
81. *village*	mand, madd	(K. *mande*=herd).
82. *house, room*	ârsh	(*âri* = ring, circular enclosure, or *arrai*=room, in Drâv.).
83. *cattle-pen*	tuel	(Dr. *toṛu* = fold. A. K. *turu*=cow).
84. *dairy*	pâlthchi	(*pâl*+?).
85. *village-wall*	tuar	(Tam. *çuvar*; *ç* and *t* are interchangeable).
86. *fire-place*	vorsh, vorsh-kâll	(K. *ole*. § 6).
87. *milk-pail*	honnu	(? Tam. *pânl*).
88. *cattle-bell*	konku or kong, gette	
89. *milk*	pâl	(A. K. *pâl*).

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90. *ghee* (clarified butter)	nei	(A. K. *neyi*).
91. Affixes to names of villages	gadu, gudu, iri, ari	Drâ. *kuḍi*=tenancy, habitation. iri, ari, from root *er*.

92. *head*	madd	(K. *maṇḍe*).
93. *skull*	madd-uvar	
94. *face*	konmun	
95. *eye*	kanṇu	(K.).
96. *nose*	mituf	(*miṭṭe*, a projection+?).
97. *mouth*	bâi	(K.).
98. *ear*	kevi	(K. *kivi*).
99. *tooth*	parsh	(K. *pal-lu*, § 6).
100. *hand*	kei	(K.).
101. *foot*	kâl	(K.).
102. *finger*	beḷh	(K. *beraḷ-u*).
103. *toe*	kàl belh	(=foot-finger).
104. *navel*	pokku	(A. Kan. *pokkuḷ-u*).
105. *blood*	bâkh	(?) The word means *red*; comp. *râg*.
106. *membrum virile*	boḍḍ	(Kan.).
107. *pudendum muliebre*	âkukh, kuk	(= a receptacle; comp. 20).

108. *God, Lord, High Lord*	dêr, swâmi, ûsuru swâmi	(K. *dêvar-u swâmi* (S.)).
109. *demon*	bhût	S.
110. *ghost*	bhût	S.
111. *idol*	(No Tuḍa word)	
112. *heaven*	amnôr	(? *a*=that; § 21; *nâd*=region).
113. *right*	sari	(Kan.)
114. *sin*	pâpam	(S.).
115. *life*	daivl	(? S. and Dr. *jîva*: also the organs of generation in a polite way).
116. *breath*	dîv	
117. *relic*	kurpu, maṇi	(A.K. *kurupu*=sign, *maṇi*=bell. Every maṇi is a kurpu, but every kurpu is not a maṇi).

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118.	*Toda sanctum*	tirièri	(K. *tiru* = sacred, *are* = place. Comp. Saxon *dry*=a magician, druid).
119.	*temple* (conical)	boath, boa	(? The words *boath* and *bothy* present a curious resemblance).
120.	*sacred shrub*	tûre, tûde, zhûre	(S. *tulasi*, the 'Ocymum sanctum').
121.	*bell-god*	maṇi-dêr, konku-dêr, get-dêr	(Comp. 88, 108, 117).
122.	*head priest*	pâlâl	(=milkman).
123.	*sacrificing priest*	vorshâl	(=man of the fireplace).
124.	*sacred dairyman*	pâlkârpâl	
125.	*sacred herdsman*	kâvilâl	
126.	*religious custom*	shâstr	(S.).
127.	*a kairn*	vinn	(A. K. *vind-u*=a heap).
128.	*a kromlech*	(No Tuḍa name)	Termed 'stonedairies' or 'little houses.'
129.	*funeral*	kêḍu	(Kan.=destruction).
130.	*place of final obsequies*	âthârm, âthâre, âthârb	(? S. *âdhâram*).
131.	*ashes* (human)	nîrrah	(Drâ. *nîrru*).
132.	*ashes*	bûdi	(Kan. *bûdi*, from S. *vib-'hûti*).
133.	*day of 24 hours*	nâḷ	(Drâ.).
134.	*to-day*	êddu	(Kan. *ind-u*).
135.	*yesterday*	ennêr	(Kan. *ninne*. Tam. *nêttu*).
136.	*to-morrow*	makâl	(? + S. *kâla*=time).
137.	*a week*	eṭṭnâḷ	(=eight days).
138.	*a month*	mupath nâḷ	(=thirty days).
139.	*a month*	deltu	(? A. K. *tingalu*=moon).
140.	*a year*	vâr	(K. corruption of *varusha*).
141.	*dawn*	belkâshk	(=when the morning star is seen. Comp. 146, 153).
142.	*dawn*	êrigitâshk	(=rising time. Comp. 146. K. *êru*=rise).
143.	*sunrise*	bîrshabât, bîrshkâshk	(Comp. 148).
144.	*noon; daytime*	pachal	(S. Kan. *pagal-u*).

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145. *sunset*	ṡkarvâshk	(Comp. 146. ? *ḷgu*=go).
146. *night, bedtime*	ṡr, ṡrzh, ṡrzhṡâshk	(Drâv. *irulu* = darkness. *âshk* in all these words is of uncertain origin. It is probably a corruption of *kâlam* = time, and seems to be *kâshk*).
147. *midnight*	nadujâma	(Kan.=middle watch).
148. *sun*	bîrsh	(K. *bisul-u*).
149. *moon*	tiggalu	(Comp. 139).
150. *new moon*	muṭṭu	(? *muttu*=pearl ; *muṭṭu*=[touch).
151. *star*	mîn	Dr.=the twinkler).
152. *sky*	bân	(Kan.).
153. *light*	beḷak, beḷk	(Kan. *beḷa-k-u*).
154. *darkness*	irzh	(Comp. 146).
155. *lightning*	mijju	(Kan. *minug-u*).
156. *rainbow*	kvarvarvirsh	(Comp. 53, 159).
157. *rain*	ṃlâ	(K. *maḷe*).
158. *wind*	kâtu	(Tam. *kâttu*. K. *gâḷi*).
159. *storm with rain*	kvar	(K. *kâru*=the wet season).
160. *shadow*	naḷ, nerzh	(K. *neḷal-u*, *neralu*).
161. *smoke*	pokh	(A. K. *poge*).
162. *thunder*	yerthti	(=it thunders).
163. *fire*	nebbu, diṭṭh	
164. *mantle*	putkuḷi	(A. K. *podda-kambaḷi*=a blanket in wear).
165. *cloth to pass under the legs.* The lingoti	kûvn	(S. *kaupina*).
166. *bracelet*	pall, ebball	(K. *baḷe*).
167. *armlet*	tâḷwaji	(K. *toḷwanki*).
168. *necklace*	kavioh	(Drâv. use of S. *kavacha*).
169. *neck-ring*	beltkta	(Comp. 170).
170. *finger-ring*	belth	(Comp. 102, prob. from *baḷe*=a fillet. The Kan. roots *baḷ*, *beḷ*).
171. *ear-ring* (silver)	kev-belth	(=ear-ring).
172. *ear-ring* (gold)	dein, dsetṭi	K. *chinna*=gold).
173. *tattoo marks*	gurta	(K. *kuruh-u* ; *gurtu*)

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174. *hill*	diṭu	(K. *tiṭṭa*).
175. *valley*	kḷi	(K. *kḷi*).
176. *river*	par	(A. K. *pari-yu*, flow).
177. *forest*	koar, mên	(K. *kâḍ-u*; *mara*).
178. *tree, wood*	mên	(K. *mara*).
179. *bush*	tapi, tîre	(Comp. 120).
180. *grass*	pullu	(A. Kan.)
181. *flower*	pu	(A. Kan.)
182. *fruit*	pôm	(A.K. *pang-u*. Tam. *paṛam*. S. P'HAḶAM).
183. *juice*	kar, nîr	(K. S. *sâra*. 184).
184. *water*	nîr	(K. *nîru*).
185. *mud*	purxh	(K. *burude*, § 6).
186. *soil*	mannu	

187. *gold*	dsin	(K. *chinna*).
188. *silver*	beḷthti	(K. *beḷḷi*).
189. *iron*	kabban	(Kan.).
190. *brass*	tembu	(K. *chembu*).
191. *lead*	disal	(S. Drâv. *sîsa*).
192. *stone*	karsh	(K. *kall-u*).

193. *north* } 194. *south* }	The Tuḍas have no word for 'north' and 'south,' but say only 'here' and 'there'; ite and ate.	
195. *east*	kîrsh, mûralu	(Kan. *mûda*, *kîḷ*).
196. *west*	blni	=place of the sun's setting.
	mok	=above. (Tending to show that the Tuḍas originally lived on the eastern or lower side of the ghâts).
197. *wet season*	kuar	(K. *kâr*).
198. *dry season*	baram	(Kan. *bara*, dry).

Here vom=*vâram*. (S.)

199. *Sunday*	âsvom	*âs* (?)
200. *Monday*	tuvom	*tu* (?)
201. *Tuesday*	âm	(?)
202. *Wednesday*	budavom	*buda*=Mercury (S.)

203. *Thursday*	tâm	(?)	
204. *Friday*	bellivom	*belle*=silver, a name of Venus.	
205. *Saturday*	thanivom	*thani*=*sani*. (S.)	

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A few of the words in this list defy all attempts to trace their origin. And this is not surprising. If in English such words as *boy*, *girl*, *dog*, and *pig*, though modern, cannot be traced, a tribe like the Tuḍas may well have invented a few terms.

§ 42. TUḌA NUMERALS. 802

I. vodâ	(K. *ond-u*)
II. odâ	(K. *eraḍu*)
III. mûdu	(K. *mûr-u*)
IV. nânku	(K. *nâlk-u*. T. *nâng-u*)
V. ttah	(K. *eid-u*)
VI. ûr	(K. *âru*)
VII. êlah	(K. *êl-u*. T. *ê-u*)
VIII. ett	(K. *eṇṭ-u*. T. *ett-u*)
IX. ompath	(K. *om-batt-u*)
X. pattu	(A. K. *pattu*)
XII. ponodâ	(A. K. *panoraḍ-u*)
XVI. pûrah	(A. K. *padinâr-u*)
XX. êvoth	(K. *ippattu*)
XXX. mûpath	(K. *mûvattu*)
XL. nâlpath	(K. *nâlvattu*)
L. epath	(K. *eivattu*)
C. nûr	(K. *nûru*).

§ 43. A few subjects for discussion may be indicated here. 193

(1) In examining these lists I think it will become evident that the 'lingual' or 'cerebral' letters in the Drâviḍian languages are all corruptions of one letter, a kind of l. This seems to be the one Vêdic cerebral.

Kan. *maḷal-u* is Tam. *maṇal*; so
Kan. *maḷai* is Tam. *maṇai*.
Kan. *nâḷ* is Tuḍa *nay*.

Comp. §§ 6–8.

CHAP. XXIX. The Drâviḍian languages had originally one cerebral, as had the Sanskrit and the Welsh.

193 (2) The Tuḍa *temporal particles* (§ 28) are

k for the *present* (ch, sh, h)
th (sharp) for the *past* (d)
b for the *future* (p, v) (only obscurely indicated).

It is perhaps in vain to form conjectures as to the origin of these, but k seems allied to ge or ke=do;

th may be connected with the root tâ, dâ, d'hâ=*give, place, establish.*
b is possibly allied to S. *bhû* and its cognates.

(3) The Tuḍa nominal inflectional particles, or case endings, are (§§ 15–17) at the most four:

g (k); edd (end); ad; orsh.

Of these g I connect with ge=do;

edd (end=erd) is past of er=be;
ad (ath) is adj. pronoun;
orsh (or) is the root of a verb, signifying *absolute existence.*

§ 44. On the whole I venture to think that

194 (1) The Tuḍa is a language which was once highly inflectional; but, having lost most of its inflections, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South-Indian tribes; and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

197 (2) The language seems to have been originally Old
174 Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tuḍas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country; and have dwelt on the Nîlagiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by

1 [The Reverend G.U. Pope, author of this chapter -- Analyst]

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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778 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this
551 is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has
614 been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæθj in §12 and tæθjxæm, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tuɪpuɪxūuɪṭṇ, son of tæɪpox (20, Teipakh), and tuɪifnuɪ (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogiloj dairy at the mund toɪroɪŋ, which is named tuɪpuɪxfotū. In the case of one man pənuɪ (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is kənuɪ, which is the first kūəɪm of the mund pəʃtuɪr of the toɪroɪroɪ, but that a real kūəɪm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name pənuɪ is based on the second kūəɪm of this mund, pəɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged kūəɪm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. ōɪkjəʃf (24, Irkiolv) after the kūəɪm ōɪrṇuɪ, ōɪkjəʃf, and oɪxūuɪlṭ (24, Orguin) after the kūəɪm oɪrṇuɪ, oɪxūuɪlṭ; the kūəɪm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
796 existent is clear, for kiɪrṇuɪ of the nɪrjoʃ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second kūəɪm of the mund nɪrj, and orjəuɪ of the
614 mōɪroʃ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second kūəɪm of the mund pən. *In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be re-*occupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always
551 clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of
103 compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. tōūmod (24, Teimad) <a valley (pəʃ) called tōūmodfəʃ. məgoj (24, Mogal) <məgojnæɪs "cubit (məgoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtsūuɪ of his sib.[9] kakəɪr (20, Kakar) <kakəɪrxūut, an open place in the middle of thickets (kūut) near the mund toɪroɪŋ. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiθjmuɪrj (20, Kidimudri) <kiθjmum, a mountain; mum is the peak of a hill and muɪrj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

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[9] Rivers (p. 612) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of every-day life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

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§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -kūmɪŋ. This is clearly the noun kūmɪŋ "stream," "path," or "horn." One man kōɪngūmɪŋ (63, Kwongudr) is named after kōɪngūmɪŋ, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. noɪrgūmɪŋ (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tōgoɪ. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iɳxūmɪŋ (21, Idrshkwòdr) <iɳxʃaʃ, a valley (paʃ) near the mund toɪroɪŋ; idzxūmɪŋ (23, Idjkudr) <idzʃaʃ, a valley near the mund paʃtoɪr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. tōɪzxūmɪŋ (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund æpuæɡoɪŋ. In many other names however -kūmɪŋ can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word kūmɪŋ has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyse the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæmxūmɪŋ (62, Kangudr), where kæm refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxūmɪŋ (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoɪ, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms kūmɪŋ "stream" or "path" and kūmɪŋ "horn."[7]

[7] I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

pudyunitʃ	puɡk æfuu
flower-like fruit	crowd-for I became
teɡjonaʃ	tuɡk æfuu
pole-who are-men	bushes-to they became

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The teɡʃa a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

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●193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -kūmṭṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in pmtʃofxūmṭṇ (a son of sirjmr 20)<pmtʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in tmɪpmɪsxūmṭṇ (20; referred in §6)<tmɪpmɪsforū, the kogfoʃj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæmxūmṭṇ, son of toɪlirīj and nertnmɪ (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners)<kæmoʃf, the ūmɪsoʃj dairy at the mund korkoɪ. A son of kūoroɪm of the pmrgoɪroʃ (34, Kwodron) is named ɑɪojxūmṭṇ<ɑɪojmr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib. köɪkisjxūmṭṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the [177] Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxūmṭṇ in table 25)<köɪkisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fmn; e.g. in koroɪfmn (21, Karadrvan)<koroɪfmt, name of a mountain (tmt) near toɪroɪr; mɪrkūmɪrfmn (24, Idrkudrvan)<mɪrkūmɪrfɑɪm, a river (pɑɪm) near Mt. koroɪ; pmtʃefmn (24, Pachievan)<pmtʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. pmtʃofxūmṭṇ in §9); kergæɪrfmn (25, Kerskedrvan)<kergæɪrfɑɪm, a stream near the mund pɑʃtmr; ɑɪojfmn<ɑɪojmr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the pmrgoɪroɪʃ, is another name of poɪfmɪ (35, Patirsh; cf. ɑɪojxūmṭṇ in §9); mupmɪfmn (16, Mopuvan)<mupmɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoɪʃ or pæɪθoɪʃfmn, kæmodz or kæmodzfmn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mun, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pun, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. 831 192 The three meanings given for pun belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fmn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of kūasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. mymj of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̯ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kūasm is paɪrnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪs) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭṇuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nul- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kūasm koɪnuɪs of the mund nyɪḷṇ of the meḷgaɪsoɪ̯ is to be interpreted as koɪn-nuɪs "the place of the god koɪn;" koɪn or koɪnśū is the mountain near this mund. The first kūasm of the mund meḷgaɪs is naɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two kūasm of the people of this sib, naɪsθoɪr, naɪsfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrθasoɪ̯ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kūasm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsɪ̯ṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪs, naɪsūuɪ (i.e. naɪs-tūuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪs is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kīuɪr of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̯ and kūaɪrθyṇj of the puɪrgoɪroɪ̯, have kūatæmuɪs as their first kūasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of kūatæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the möɪroɪ̯ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not kūasm, with this element are poɪ̯jnuɪs "the place of the funeral-ḥut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̯, and masnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the möɪroɪ̯, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and kūasm of munds. A brother of momgiɪθj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kīuɪdnuɪs, whose name is the first kūasm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kaɪsnuɪs (56, Karsners) < the first kūasm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kimuɪs (26, Kiner) is derived from kimuʃnuɪs, the first kūasm of the mund köɪroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

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is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboos work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 119).

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55 193 suitable ending for personal names. E.g. panuɯ and tuɯinuɯ (§6); küuɯrjnuɯ (25, Kudeners) < the relic-burning place küuɯrjonsoɯm at the funeral-place tyʃtsüuɯ; piɭdjnuɯ (21, Püldenir) < piɭdjxaɯfem, the slope of a hill near the mund küuɯrmaɯ; nertnuɯ (24, Nertiners) < nerpaʃt, an alternative name, or unerpaʃt, the first küaɯm, of the mund tæɭgüuɯr.

[103] §12. Another suffix of quite unknown meaning, but probably originally at home in place-names, is -irθj. ertsirθj (20, Ircheidi) is taken without change from the name of a hill near the mund kaɯkoɯ. All the other names with this suffix that I can derive show it as a suffix or as a substitute for some other element; e.g. tuɯsirθj (20, Tirseidi) < tuɯkisjxöir, a pool at the mund toiroir. He was a brother of ertsirθj, but his eldest brother, and so his name was not influenced by the latter's, but vice versa, and both were probably influenced either in formation or in choice by that of their father tærθj. This last name is puzzling, but is said to be derived from tæif, the name of the mountain near the mund toiroir, and we may suspect that -θj is related to the suffix -irθj. Two other brothers of tuɯsirθj have names with the same formative -irθj, tuɯnpirθj (Tanpeidi) < küuɯiṭθuɯnp, the raised grassy mound (tuɯnp) where the corpse is laid at the funeral-place tyʃtsüuɯ, and muɯḍbirθj (Madbeithi) < muɯḍboiɯθuɯṭ, a mountain near toiroir. paɯkirθj (21, Parkeidi) < paɯkefem, the slope of a hill near the mund kaɯkoɯ. toiɭirθj (24, Tòleidi) < toiɭfaɯm, a stream (paɯm) near the mund tæɭgüuɯr. It was said that puɯlkirθj (22, Pulkeidi) was named after the mund puɯlküuɯr and the mountain kirθjmuɯn near the mund küuɯrmaɯ; this is possible, but derivation from puɯlküuɯr alone is possible in view of the preceding examples. kydsirθj (21, Kudztheidi) < kyd, a male funeral-place of the toiroiroiʃ. küuɯiṭirθj (21, Kuteidi) < küuɯiṭθuɯnp, see tuɯnpirθj above. These two men were brothers, an elder brother was paɯkirθj (explained above), their father was petüuɯirθj and another elder brother was oirdüuɯirθj; the similarity of endings is striking, and is paralleled by various similarities of ending (such as that given earlier in this paragraph) or of beginning in various families. The ending found in the last two names is probably -tüuɯirθj. I know it in these names only. oirdüuɯirθj (Arthothi) derives from oirθoiʃ, an open stretch of ground (toiʃ) near the mund artoiʃ. The origin of petüuɯirθj (Peratuthi) is unknown.

§13. Another ending is -ods; e.g. kaɯnods (21, Keinods) < kaɯnaʃN, the üuɯoʃj dairy at the mund kaɯkoɯ. This ending appears preceding another suffix in the name of tyʃjodsxüuɯr, son of toiɭirθj (24), named after tyʃjpuɯʃ, a path through a thicket near toiroir; tyʃjxüuɯr would have been possible, but this name is borne by another man, as is also tyʃjods (62, Tiliods), which is derived from katyʃj, the küaɯm of the gateposts of the pen at the mund piir.

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§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nasom (a son of tæipax [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. kūarom of the puŋgoiroɭ (34, Kwodron), who is named after the mund kūarθyŋj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. panus in §6). The suffix -air is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ar "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinair (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. sirjair (20, Siriar) <sirirangam, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piɭjair (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun piɭj "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kurfoɭj dairy at the mund kurūur, which has as kūasm piɭjog, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag). 551 193 [614]

§15. Rivers took -aɭf (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So toisjaɭf in §5, and ökjaɭf in §6; the latter is one kūasm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one kūasm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are kūuisjaɭf (52, Kuriolv) and parukisjaɭf (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from kūuisurn, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at pirts, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from punaisaɭf, the second kūasm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. parukisjaɭf<parukisjair, the watering place of the kurpoɭj dairy at the mund kais, with the ending from toisjaɭf, the name of the kurpoɭj dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in poiū used as a personal name, viz. tyɭjpoiū (12, Tilipa), which is derived from poiūθyɭjpoiū, the kūasm of the ūusoɭj dairy at the mund noesminoir. Usually some change is made, as in tuispuaxūuiṭn and tuisfaus in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piɢɭjxūuir in §21. 551 193 234

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. puaur (23, Puaer)<panarūū, the second kūasm of Mt. 551 193 [553]

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55 193 [553] pairθotj near the mund karkos. edzen (22, Idjen) < iidzfal, a valley near the mund paʃtair; this man was afterwards called küarxas, from a rocky ground near the mund tæilgüuir, since there was another man called edzen. natylj (25, Natuli) < kinxatylj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund paʃtair; kinxatylj = "small (kin)-stone (kas)-deep pool (tylj)," and natylj = "beauty (nas)-deep pool (tylj)." I could not discover that natylj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæiθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæiθj and kæm, a brother of tæiθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmalf, cf. kæmgüuṭṇ (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkiriθj, for which see §12.

55 552 614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or küasm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjair in §14. Others are 55 796 177 moiraus, a son of töüθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moiramn, i.e. Mariamma; noixoroidzn, a son of sirjair (table 20), < noixuir "Nagore" or noixuirxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roidzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noixor or noixoroif "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ardʒoṇ "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ṇ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ardʒ. The other name is idjoin (a son of tæipax, table 20). This is from idroidzn "king (roidzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in öingüuṭṇ (20, Enkutan); öin, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes küaföü, who belonged to the sib of the melgaisoil, had another name mæiltarz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

55 177 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. kointsarz, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (arz is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa arasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

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55 614 very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tōɪn, a son of piʃjog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because [237] honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kuɪrūuṭoɪʃ, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tōɪn) has just been analyzed, and one, piʃjaɪr, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the tōūfiʃjoɪʃ moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toɪroɪṭoɪʃ sib, belonging to the toɪrθaɪroɪʃ moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toɪrθaɪroɪʃ sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kuɪrūuṭoɪʃ and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piṭoɪʃ have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the tōūfiʃjoɪʃ moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any [124] definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association [533] with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

551 193 §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

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of female-denoting significance, is -ɪdz. E.g. arlɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from arl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noṇoɪ; it was at noṛṣ that the goddess töɪkisj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

maxarxoj	potsuɪθnoɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
maxararl	oɪkjuɪθnoɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noṛṣ) the sacred place where töɪkisj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that arl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with töɪkisj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moṇɪdz (7, Manidz); moṇ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—iṇefæɪdʒ, moṇefæɪdʒ "quarrels (pæɪdʒ) about women (iṇ, a Badaga word) and land;"

iṇexüɪṭ	kotjoθik
woman-bungalow	you built
moṇexöɪr	kertoθik
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tarmɪdz (44, Termidz) < tarm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nüuɪṭɪdz (3, Notidz) < nüuɪṭ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪṭ, koṇenüuɪṭ "dancing (oɪṭ) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koṇ)." poṇɪdz, daughter of küuɪlpax (52, Kulpakh) < poṇ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otsodjfoṇ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sinɪdz (21, Sinidz) < sin "gold." laɪbɪdz, daughter of töɪküuɪr (63, Teikudr), < laɪbm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). ruɪpojɪdz (also ruɪpoj), daughter of kömanɪs (34, Kemners), < ruɪpoj "rupee." raɪmɪdz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. roɪdʒɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), < roɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪdz (28, Pirkidz) < pɪrkitsa, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nilgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmɪdz (63, Sanmidz) < sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

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551 name is possibly made with thought of the song-pair: kuɪɹefaɹ, keresonm
193 "a crowd such as has not gathered before, the people in a crowd such as has
533 not assembled before." motʃiɪdz (21, Matchidz) < motʃ "cot," with thought of the song-unit sinaθmotʃ "golden cot," which occurs in descriptions of the possessions of a wealthy man or of his wife. ofuliɪdz (16, Ovalidz; 24, Ovelidz) < ofuɪ "rice puffed over the fire."

551 §25. The suffix -aɹ is found in several names; e.g. koɪsaɹ (57, Kosar)
193 < koɪs "coin, rupee" and piʃjaɹ (21, Piliarh) < piʃj "silver." noɪxoremj (10, Nagerami) contains a suffix -emj found in several other names; the first part of the name is to be compared with the first part of noɪxoroɪdzn (§17). In sinag (27, Sinakh) we have sin "gold" and a suffix -ag. In several names there is a suffix -ul; e.g. sinul (28, Sinul) < sin "gold."

§26. Many names are compounds. Frequent first members are sin "gold," pum "gold" (used in this sense in songs and proper names only), piʃj "silver." E.g. sindaɹm (10, Sindarm) with taɹm "charity" (for the song-association cf. taɹmiɪdz in §24); sindagaɹ (62, Sintagars) with tagaɹ "chain," with special reference to a chain as a neck-ornament; sinboɲm (63, Sinpanm) with poɲm "4-anna piece;" singüaɹ, daughter of töɪküɪɪɪ (63), with küaɹ "umbrella," a frequent word in songs; sinbydj, daughter of the same man, with pydj "wisdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit buddhi); sinmal, daughter of tuɪbxüɪɪɪ (68, Tebkudr), with mal "mountains, esp. the Nilgiris," a frequent word in songs; sindoḍ (38, Sindod), with toḍ "army," a frequent word in songs (indirectly from Sanskrit daṇḍa); siniɪɹ (56, Sinir), with niɪɹ "water;" sinuɪɹ (41, Sinur), with uɪɹ "town, city;" singupj (14, Sinkupi), with kupj "the cowries or beads dangling in a bunch from a woman's armlet;" sinduɪfj (58, Sinduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" sinbeθuɪfj (65, Sinbuthuvi), with pa(θ)-tuɪfj "eagle's feather;" sineɹ (8, 40, Sineɪs), with eɹ "leaf;" sindaɹx (3, 25, 56, Sinderg; 53, Sinterg), with taɹx "plate from which food is eaten," and singöb (43, Singib), with köb "small bamboo cup from which milk is poured to drink," probably have reference to feeding visitors in the song-pair: taɹxümɹaʃkj, köbüɪɹfoɪs "rice in a plate, milk in a cup;" sindumɹp (68, Sintharap), with tumɹp "key." In a number of names the vowel -a- is inserted between the two parts of the compound: sinamut (43, Sinamut), with mut "pearl;" sinamoɲj (24, Sinamani), with moɲj "bell" (see note 10); sinabuɪf (8, Sinabuv), with puɪf "flower;" sinaʃiʃj (1, Sinaveli), with piʃj "silver." Names with pum "gold" are: pundufj (68, Punduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" punbeθuɪfj (8, Punbuthuvi), with peθuɪfj "eagle's feather;" punuɪɹ (66, Punur), with uɪɹ "town, city;" pundaɹx (26, Pündergh), with taɹx, cf. sindaɹx above. punabuɪf (10, Punabuv), with puɪf "flower," contains the inserted vowel -a-. pundüm-

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ṭeuj (10, Punduteimi), with tüuṭ "handle of a bamboo vessel" (frequently found in songs), has also the suffix -emj mentioned in §25, piḷj "silver" is found in piḷjmoʃt (54, Pilimasht), with moʃt "ax;"[10] piḷjnitr (55, Pilinir), with nitr "water;" piḷjmut (35, Pilimut), with mut "pearl." 551 193

§27. As first member of a compound is found nas- 'beauty;" nastutfj (49, Narstufi), with tutfj "feather;" naspiḷj (35, 52, Naspilthi), with piḷj "silver." It is found in the form nal- with insertion of -a- in nalabutf, daughter of panus (23, Paners), with putf "flower." putf "flower" is found as first member of a compound in putfiḷj (20, Puveli), with piḷj "silver;" with inserted -a- in putfamut, daughter of sirjair (20), with mut "pearl;" with suffix -iidz and piḷj "silver" in putfiidzfiḷj (65, Puvizveli).

§28. Other compounds are found with more sporadic members. koismailj, daughter of oitjarz and udjoisn (34, Atiurz and Udiosan), from kois "rupee" and mailj "garland;" koisafiḷj (11, Kosaveli), from kois "rupee" and piḷj "silver" with inserted -a-; cf. koisar §25. nitrfiḷj (63, Nirveli) from nitr "water" and piḷj "silver." arznitr (16, Arsner), from arz "European" and nitr "water." mutnitrfiḷj (51, Mutnirveli), from mut "pearl," nitr "water" and piḷj "silver," is rather exceptional in having three members. pumes (23, Pumers), from pum "fruit" and es "leaf;" cf. sines §26. Several contain English words: soipnitr (6, Sapnir), from soip "shop" and nitr "water;" pofuurmut, daughter of oitjarz and udjoisn (34), from pofuur "power," referring to the electric power line across the hills, and mut "pearl." Three refer to Miss C. F. Ling who was formerly a missionary among the Todas.[11] ligmisj (23, Lingimishi) represents Ling Missy (i.e. Miss Ling), which is the ordinary way in which a South Indian would refer to this lady; ligjabutf, daughter of üusoir (48, Ushadr), has putf "flower" with an inserted -a- and an unwarranted j; misjamut, daughter of kömnus (34, Kemners), is misj "missy" and mut "pearl" with an inserted -a-. 551 193

§29. Uncompounded words without any suffix are found as names: tuguḷ, daughter of küusjaḷf (52, Kuriolv), "moon;" sæifer (62, Sever) "1000;" ysmitʃ (12, Irsimitch) "lime (the fruit)," cf. the appendix to note 7; mumes (56, Munat), "affection." poṭoṃ (34, Paton) is the word found in Sanskrit as paṭṭana "city" and is the usual Toda word for Madras city. kopol (41, Kapal) seems to denote the compound of a bungalow and refers especially in the songs with its pair kotæirj to the law-courts in Ootacamund. A few English words have been taken as names changed only to such 551 193

[10] Moʃt "ax" and mosj "bell" (cf. alammosj §36) form a song-pair, denoting two of the objects found in dairies.

[11] See *The Songs of the Todas*, footnote 2 and p. 354.

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551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæıbj, daughter of öıknuɜ (8, Arkners), < "baby;" pentʃ, daughter of korxüuṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæısn; a woman's name tæıs is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kojniır, 3, Kainir).

[177] §30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiıfj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandiıfj, daughter of küuılpox (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 614 778 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and küɜm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. öıngüuṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 193 614 §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[12] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

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[12] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the küɜm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

[562] [533] [778]

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601 561 114 [576] Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as EGO. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as EGO. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɨ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɨ or en-goɨ "my friend" (in address -ɛs is added), nun-goɨ "your friend," an-goɨ or tan-goɨ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193] When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocxoɨ/jaɪ, eningoɨ/jaɪ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These [114] [126] songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[601] [561] in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister forms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as EGO the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496–98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of EGO is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 943–60, 1937), especially pp. 949–49. [114]

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526–29.

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APPENDIX

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Reference terms, classificatory

A pefiin

B pefiaf; members of preceding generations may be referred to exactly as muɪd-tal-fiin, muɪd-tal-fiaf (great-great-grandparents), noɪn-tal-fiin, noɪn-tal-fiaf (great-great-grandparents), or they and the great-grandparents may all be referred to by grandparent terms.

C piin

D piaf

E in, ejir
F af, afuf
G mun, mumum
H mimj, mimimj
I oṇ, oṇoṇ
J okn, okok

The second entries are reduplicated forms which do not differ from the simplex forms in denotation; they are in connotation somewhat less formal, and no trace of them has been found in the song-language or in the address terms, formal or otherwise. For a preliminary discussion of the linguistic structure of the forms, see my paper *Echo-words in Toda* (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. 1, pp. 109–17, 1938), p. 112.

K -üur-fed (-mox, -xuɪx; see p. 159)

L močinj (-oɪl or -mox, -ßozmox or -xuɪx)

M mox

N kuɪx

O man-mox } (see pp. 161, 164)
P man-guɪx }

Q moɪt-fil0 (see p. 165)

X oɪl

Y tozmox

Z mod-okn (see p. 164)

Reference terms, descriptive

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1. The husband of a female relative is referred to by -n-oɪl suffixed to the term by which she is referred to; e.g., okn(n)-oɪl "elder sister's husband," en-üur-fedn-oɪl or en-üur-fed-xuɪxn-oɪl "younger sister's husband" (in both cases if the husband is not 200's cross-cousin, and permissively if he is), močinj-xuɪxn-oɪl "female cross-cousin's husband" (if he is not 200's brother), kuɪxn-oɪl "daughter's husband" (otherwise pojoɪl), man-guɪxn-oɪl "sister's daughter's husband (man speaking), brother's daughter's husband (woman speaking)" (unless he is 200's son), moɪt-xuɪxn-oɪl "son's daughter's husband," kuɪxn-guɪxn-oɪl or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-xuɪxn-oɪl "daughter's daughter's husband," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-okn-oɪl "my wife's elder sister's husband," en-oɪlṇ-dan-okn-oɪl "my husband's elder sister's husband" (see 4 below for discussion of -dan- = tan), etc. In most cases explicit description could be carried further, as okng-fæɪdfoj-xuɪxn-oɪl "elder sister's daughter's husband."

2. The wife of a male relative is referred to by -(k)-koɪtfoj (or -(g)-goɪtfoj, depending on certain grammatical rules) suffixed to the term by which he is referred to; e.g., on(g)-goɪtfoj "elder brother's wife," en-üur-fed(k)-koɪtfoj or en-üur-fed-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "my younger

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brother's wife" (in both cases if the wife is not ɛoo's cross-cousin, and permissively if she is), močiŋ-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "male cross-cousin's wife" (if she is not ɛoo's sister), man-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "sister's son's wife (man speaking), brother's son's wife (woman speaking)" (unless she is ɛoo's daughter), moɪt-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "son's son's wife," kuɪxn-mox(k)-koɪtfoj or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "daughter's son's wife," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-oŋ(g)-goɪtfoj "my wife's elder brother's wife," en-oɪ/n-dan-oŋ(g)-goɪtfoj "my husband's elder brother's wife," etc. Explicit reference can be carried further, as okŋ-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "elder sister's son's wife."

3. The son or daughter of a relative is referred to (a) by suffixing -n-mox or -n-guɪx (-n- need not be found) respectively to the term for the relative, or (b) by suffixing -k-fæɪdfoj-mox or -k-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx respectively (-k- may be replaced by -g- depending on certain grammatical rules as in 2); e.g., oŋ-mox or oŋg-fæɪdfoj-mox "elder brother's son," oŋ-guɪx or oŋg-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx "elder brother's daughter," en-ūwr-fedn-mox or en-ūwr-fedk-fæɪdfoj-mox" my younger sibling's son," kuɪx[n]-mox or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "daughter's son," man-mox[n]-mox or man-moxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "sister's son's son (man speaking), brother's son's son (woman speaking)," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-okn(n)-mox or en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-okŋ-fæɪdfoj-mox "my wife's elder sister's son," etc. Permissively for explicit reference we may find, e.g., en-okn(n)-mox or en-okŋ-fæɪdfoj-mox "my elder sister's son." A son's son is moɪt-mox (moɪt- = moxn; cf. p. 165), a son's daughter moɪt-xuɪx; a son's son's son is moɪt-mox-mox.

4. Other relatives of relatives may be referred to by suffixing -n- (which need not be found) plus the appropriate term. Most frequently -dan- or -ðan- (= tan; the variation depends on grammatical rules) is inserted after -n- or after the member which may end in -n-; e.g., en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-on "my wife's elder brother," en(k)-koɪtfojn-[dan]-ūwr-fed "my wife's younger sibling," en-in-[dan]-močiŋ "my father's cross-cousin." This tan is originally the reflexive pronoun of the 3rd person; it is used often enough in this sense, but more often with kinship terms as in the examples just given without any meaning that I have been able to discover (never, however, when a 1st or 2nd personal pronoun form would immediately precede it). Though it might mean in these uses "(his) own" there are some contexts where no question of the persons being "own" brothers or the like can arise. The reflexive force seems to have been lost in this [illegible] with kinship terms, and one is tempted to think that kinship terms are on the way to a grammatical state in which they will not occur without a pronominal reference, i.e. inalienable possession (in reference only, not in address). The reduplicated forms of E-J do not occur with tan preceding. A few other examples may be given: kūatæm-dan-of "kūatæm's mother," pi/jaɪr-ðan-biin "pi/jaɪr's grandfather," i-oɪ/-ðan-man-mox "this man's sister's son," iðam-dan-mun "the maternal uncle of these men," in-dan-mun-öö-m "all the seven maternal uncles of this man," an-dan-oɪ/ "her husband," e(m)-muɪd-om tan-oŋaɪm-oɪfemí "we (exclusive) three are brothers," iðæɪd-m tan-oŋ-m tan-ūwr-fed-m-uk-oĕ uæum "these two were living like brother and sister;" in one passage a snake's coming is referred to and the snake, not referred to previously, is called tan-a(f)-foɪb "the mother snake" and later on tan-in-foɪb "the father snake" comes. Cf. for other examples 1–3 above and pp. 159, 164.

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] [illegible]don, 1868.

[2] [illegible]dras Journ. Lit. and Sci., 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] [illegible]ese sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

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themselves. I have already pointed out that the great majority of the names of Toda places and institutions which have been recorded by previous writers are the Badaga names and not the Toda names, and, as might have been expected, many Badaga words have found their way into previously published Toda vocabularies. 191 192

In my own work my procedure was to take down a sentence first through the interpreter, then to go through the words of the sentence one by one asking the Toda to say each word carefully, and often he had to repeat it many times before I could satisfy myself about the nature of the sounds. Often I would get a second or third Toda to say the word, and I have frequently spent many minutes over one word, and have perhaps then been baffled in my attempts to write the word satisfactorily. 126 194

I noticed continually that the Toda words as pronounced by my interpreters were quite different in sound from those which came from the mouths of the Todas themselves. This was especially the case with the vowels, and in the addition of the initial *y*, so well known in the Tamil pronunciation of English. So far as I could detect, there was no trace of this initial *y* in Toda, although it occurs occasionally in some of the previously recorded Toda vocabularies.

These differences between the pronunciation of my interpreter and that of the Todas may often be the source of inconsistencies in my record, for on some occasions, owing to lack of time, I was unable to listen carefully to the Todas themselves, and had to content myself with the words given to me by the interpreter.

PHONETICS

In order to indicate the sounds of the Toda language, I have kept as closely as possible to the generally recognised system in use in India, but have been obliged to adopt many more signs than those usually employed.

The vowel sounds which I distinguished were very numerous. The following vowels and diphthongs certainly occurred:

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126 *â, a, ä, ê, e, ê, i, ô, o, ö, ò, û, u, ü, ai, au, ei, eu, oi.*[1] I am doubt-
194 ful, however, whether in some cases a distinction between two sounds was not due to individual differences of pronunciation or to dialectical differences. This is almost certainly the case with the distinction between *ai* and *oi*. Some other cases which are more complex may be considered in detail.

A, *ò*, and *o*. The first two sounds are often interchanged with one another. There is no doubt that the usual *â* of some Dravidian languages becomes *ò* in Toda, as in the change from *nâd̤* to *nòd̤r*, and most previous writers have regarded this change as constant, and have used the sign *â* for the sound which the Todas undoubtedly pronounce like the *aw* of the English word 'law.' I should much have liked to follow their example, and by so doing could have avoided the introduction of a new sign for the Toda sound, a sound for which there appears to be no generally recognised symbol in the phonetic systems used by anthropologists. I could not do so, however, because the Todas sometimes use the true *â* sound. There are certain words which are always pronounced with exactly the same sound as in the English word 'father,' and I never heard these words pronounced otherwise. In some cases there is a definite reason why this should be so. Thus the Toda word for 'again' is *mâr*, and I never heard this word uttered otherwise than as I have written it. If it had undergone the common transformation it would have become *mòr*, the *ti* word for buttermilk, and in one case at least there would have been occasion for misunderstanding, for one of the salt-giving ceremonies is called *mârup* or 'again salt,' while another is called *mòrup* or 'buttermilk salt.' The syllable also occurs in the words *pâtatmâr* and *ertatmâr*, and is never pronounced in these words otherwise than as I have written it. On the other hand, there are certain words in which the sound is always that of *ò*, and in other cases the two sounds are undoubtedly interchanged, and in the latter case I have usually adopted the spelling in *â*. A good example of this is *pârs* or *pòrs*, milk, for which

[1] For equivalents of these signs in English words see the Phonetic System at the beginning of the book.

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I have throughout adopted the former spelling, though it is quite as often called *pórs*. 126 194

The *ó* is often shortened into *o*, and this is especially the case with the word for 'man.' The general Dravidian form of this word is *ól*, but in Toda it becomes *ól* or *ol* (which I write as *ol*), and in compound words, such as *palol* and *wursol*, it is always, or nearly always, pronounced so as to be indistinguishable from the *o* of the English word 'olive.' The long *ó* is not a very frequent sound in Toda.

A and ä. The sign *a* is used, in accordance with the general Indian practice, for the sound of the English word 'hut,' one of the commonest of Toda sounds. It is undoubtedly interchanged sometimes with the sound of the English word 'hat,' for which I use the sign *ä*. In such cases of interchange, I use the sign *a* in preference, but when I always heard the *ä* sound, I have used it. It seemed to me that this sound was especially frequent in proper names, as in that of the village Päm and in such words as Kän.

Ü and u. These are used for the sounds of the words 'moon' and 'full,' and both are of frequent occurrence. The short form seems occasionally to be changed into *a*; thus, the word *mun* means 'maternal uncle,' but the word for 'sister's son' is *manmokh*. This is a good instance of the value of vowel sounds in Toda; the *munkugh* is the sister's daughter, but the *munkugh* is the name of the daughter of a maternal uncle. The two words which resemble one another so closely have two very different meanings, those of niece and cousin.

É and ei. I use *é* for the sound of the *ei* in the English word 'their.' *Ei* is the sign which I use for the long *ä* of the English word 'date.' A sound for which I often use this sign is one which gave me a great deal of trouble. In it the vowel sound is prolonged so as to form almost a dissyllable, and in my earlier records I wrote it *ée*, the first *é* having the sound of the *ei* in 'their.' I decided later to use *ei*, though I acknowledge it is not at all a satisfactory representation of the sound I heard.

I. The only point on which I have to remark about this sound is that it is sometimes prolonged so as to become a dissyllable as in the example already mentioned. In one

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126 case, the word *mlis*, used in the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony,
194 this prolongation of the sound is so marked and so constant that I have preserved a record of it in the spelling, but in most cases I have been content to indicate it by *l* only.

Eu and ö. I use the former sign for a sound which seemed to me very much like the French *eu*. It often resembled very closely the German *ö*, and in some cases, as in that of the word for the numeral 7, I was doubtful which was the right sign. The sound for which I use *eu* is, however, more prolonged, and approaches a dissyllable. It occurs in the most definite form in the word for god, *teu*. This is undoubtedly derived from the Sanscrit '*deva*' in general use in Southern India, and it is therefore very interesting that this word, which has become '*Dieu*' in French, should have become the very similar *teu* in the Toda language.

U, ü, and *i.* The *ü* sound, almost exactly like that of the German language, was common, though in many cases I was doubtful whether to write *u, ü,* or *i.* Thus it was difficult to say whether the word for bow was *purs, pürs,* or *pirs*; the last named would bring it in line with general Dravidian orthography, but the first seemed to me the most frequent, and I have therefore adopted it.

Ai and *oi.* The sound *ai* is not very frequent in Toda, and when it occurs is often on the way to *oi.* Thus the *naim* or council was often *noim*, and *mogai* and *mogoi* were said indifferently.

I had very much difficulty in writing the consonants, being especially troubled by my lack of familiarity with linguals. The following were those which I heard:—*b, ch, d, ḍ, f, g, gg, gk, h, j, k, kh, l* and *ḷ, m, n, ṇ, p, r, s, sh, t, th, v, w, z, zh.*

In the text of the book I have not attempted to distinguish the lingual consonants, and I have also omitted the very common euphonic insertions, especially of *ch, sh,* and *th.*

B, p, v, w, and *f.* The sound expressed by *b* was heard very rarely, and I am doubtful whether it really occurs in true Toda. It is a common letter in Badaga, but when a Badaga word is pronounced by the Todas, the letter usually becomes *p*. In a few words I had much difficulty in making up my mind whether a given sound was *b* or *p*, and this was especially

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the case with the word *kudupel* or *kudubel*, which is probably a Badaga word. 126 194

One of the most frequent consonants in Toda is *p*, which often changes into *v*, especially when *p* is the initial letter of the latter part of a compound word; thus the word *pet* or wand in *pôkpet* became *pôkvet*, *kugpali* became *kugvali*, and *uedrpol*, *uedrvol*. Occasionally *p* would become a distinct *w*, as in the name of the flower *kargwûv* for *kargpûv*.

The letter *f* undoubtedly occurs in Toda, though not very frequently. It is sometimes changed into *v*, but in some cases, as in the name of the ancient village Kusharf, I never heard any sound other than a distinct *f*. I did not hear *f* and *p* interchanged.

As already mentioned, the letter *w* may occasionally occur as a variant of *p* or *v*, but it also occurs in words where it is never interchanged with either of these letters. The most frequent example of the occurrence of the letter is in the word *wursol*, and here the sound was so elusive that for a long time I hesitated whether to write the word as *wursol* or *ursol*. Breeks wrote this word *varzhol*, and we may take it that he distinctly recognised the initial letter as allied to *v* and *p*.

D, *d*, *t*, *th*. I have used the sign *d* for two sounds in the text. One I could not distinguish from the English sound expressed by this letter. It is sometimes the representative of *nd* of Badaga, *mand* or village becoming *mad* in Toda,[1] while the Badaga form of Pidati is Benduti. The *d* of other Dravidian languages often becomes *t* in Toda; thus *pandava* becomes *pateva*, and the Teivaliol almost certainly derive their name from some form of the word *deva*.

More frequently, however, *d* is used for the lingual consonant *ḍ*, which is one of the commonest sounds in Toda. Very often this letter is immediately followed by the letter *r*, and the combination *ḍr* (which in the text of the book I have written *dr*) is an extremely frequent sound. Often to my ear it was quite indistinguishable from the simple *r*, and usually I had to refer to my interpreter to know whether a given sound was *ḍr* or *r*. Neither of my interpreters

[1] *Mad*, or more usually *madit*, is also the Toda word for churn, and this word is probably derived indirectly from the Sanscrit *manthe*.

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126 194 seemed ever to be in any doubt, and they were so consistent on this point that wherever this spelling occurs it is probably correct. So far as I can tell the *ḍr* is the representative of *ḍ* in other Dravidian languages; thus, *nâd* of Canarese becomes *nâḍr*, and the *kêdu* of Badaga becomes *kêḍr*. On reference to the list of Badaga and Toda names of villages given in Appendix III. it will be seen that the *ḍr* of the Todas is usually the equivalent of the Badaga *ḍ*, Telkodu becoming Telkudr, and Kudimal becoming Kudrmas.

The sound which I express by *dr* has been very variously spelt by previous writers; thus, the Toda future world has been written *Humanorr* or *Omnorr* by Harkness, *Amundd* by Breeks, *Amudr* by Marshall and Pope, and *Amnor* by Thurston, and the sacred plant *tudr* has been written *tûd*, *tûde*, *tiurr*, *tûre* and *têr*.

When the sound *ḍ* occurs before letters other than *r*, I am afraid I may have often omitted it. Thus till nearly the end of my visit I wrote the word *teḍshk* as *teshk*, and the name of the village *Teḍshteiri* as *Teshteiri*, and I have little doubt that this letter, the presence of which I had so much difficulty in recognising, may have been omitted in other cases.

There seems to be no doubt that *ḍr* and *t* might sometimes be interchangeable. Thus the termination of personal names, *kûtan* seemed to be the same word as *kûḍr*. A horn is *kûḍr* and imitation-horns are *kûter*. An assembly is *kût*, and the corresponding verb is *kûḍriti* (3rd person singular). Sometimes *ḍr* becomes *rt*; thus the word *kêḍr* becomes *kêrt* in the compound word *kêrtnadr*, and the names of the clans Kuuḍr and Piedr often become Kuurt and Piert in the words Kuurtol and Piertol.

I failed to distinguish between *t* and *ṭ*, and it is probable that my *t* includes both letters. My interpreters used the sign *th* for *ṭ*, as is common in the transliteration of missionaries and others in India, and I am afraid that in a few cases my *th* should stand for the lingual *ṭ*. It is very unfortunate that *th* should be used for *ṭ*, for the true *th* not only occurs among the Todas but is a very frequent consonant. It is frequently inserted euphonically in words which are at other times pro-

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nounced without it, and this is especially the case in connexion with the letter *l*. The consonant *th* also occurs frequently apart from any other consonant, in such words as *pûthi*, *pathanmul*, &c. 126 194

I think it probable that under the sign *th* I have included two sounds, that of the English word 'though' and that of 'throw,' but I could not make up my mind whether the two sounds were definitely distinguished. The softer sound is undoubtedly the more common, and often it seemed to me to be even softer than this sound is ever heard in English.

K, kw, g, kh, gh, k. Perhaps the commonest Toda consonant is *k*, which often becomes *kw*, and it seemed to me that the two were sometimes interchanged, *kûḍr* becoming *kwûḍr*, &c.

The consonant *g* is less frequently heard, but *kûḍr*, especially as the termination of the names of men and places, is often pronounced *gûḍr*, and it seemed to me that this pronunciation is somewhat more common among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The sound *g* occurs very definitely, sometimes at the ends of words as in the names of villages, as in Kwirg and Perg, and in the word *kug*, and in these cases there is no doubt that it is a true Toda consonant.

The sounds which I have expressed by *kh* and *gh* are fairly common, though I do not feel quite confident that the two sounds are definitely distinguished from one another. I heard them very frequently in the words *mokh* and *kûgh*, and it certainly seemed to me that the final sound of the latter was always softer than that of the word *mokh*. When one or other of these sounds occurs at the end of a word, it is probable that I have in some cases omitted to notice it. A man named Perpakh was called by me Perpa till nearly the end of my visit, and it is probable that I made similar errors which were not detected. Similarly *kh* in the middle of a word may easily escape attention, and this has probably happened in some cases.

I also had much trouble about a sound occurring at the end of a word for which I have used the sign *h*. Its chief

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126 occurrence is in the word *pôh*, and the same or a closely
194 similar sound sometimes occurs in the middle of the word *pali*. The word *pôh* has usually been written *boath*, following Marshall, or *boa* (Breeks). The word certainly often sounded like a dissyllable, but I was doubtful whether this was anything more than the prolongation of vowels to which I have already referred in the case of *ei* and *i*. There is some kind of consonantal sound at the end of the word, but it is certainly not the ordinary *th* nor is it *kh*, and I have adopted *h* as the nearest equivalent though I recognise that it is not the right sign.

R, l. I have already considered the letter *r* in connexion with *d*, but it also occurs frequently by itself. At the end of a word it is sometimes distinctly rolled. When used after a short vowel, as in such a word as *persin*, it was sometimes not easy for me to detect its presence, and occasionally it is possible that I have omitted it from words in which it should occur.

The letter *l* is of fairly frequent occurrence, but has certainly often been lost in Toda in words which contain it in other Dravidian languages; thus the word *ktl*, lower. inferior, becomes *kt* in Toda, though the *l* has been retained in *meil* or *mel*, meaning upper or superior.

There are almost certainly two different *l* sounds in Toda which I failed to distinguish definitely. I have written the word for dairy *pali*, but the second consonant of the word is certainly a different sound from that of the *l* in *meil*, and is probably the representative of the *l* of Tamil. It is in connexion with this letter that the euphonic *th* is so often inserted, and I believe that the proper name for a Toda dairy is *paſthſi*. When this *l* occurs at the end of a word, it is sometimes hardly audible, and to my ear bears a very close resemblance to the French *l*. The end of the word Kudreiil seemed to me to be pronounced almost exactly like the end of Auteuil.

It appears that *r* and *l* may sometimes pass into one another; thus, the name of the bow and arrow ceremony is *pursütpini*, but the buffalo given on this occasion is called *pulkwadr*.

M and n. The letters *m* and *n*, indistinguishable to my

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ear from the corresponding English letters, are of frequent occurrence. They are, however, often omitted in the Toda forms of Tamil or Canarese words; thus, as we have already seen, the word *mand*, village, becomes the Toda *mad*; the Tamil *ambu*, arrow, becomes *ab*; and the Toda form of Kurumba is *Kûrub*. 126 194

The *n* may also disappear from the Toda names of villages when it exists in their Badaga names; thus Tarnard becomes Taradr and Korangu, Kwirg. The omission of the letter *n* and other changes which words undergo in Toda are very well shown in the word *padjpateva*, which is the Toda form of the *Panchpandavas*. Although my ear failed to separate the *n* of the Todas from the English *n*, it is probably different and represents the *ṇ* of Tamil.

In addition to the ordinary *n* the Todas have another consonant which is extremely like the final French *n* for which I have used the sign *ñ*. The sound only occurs in certain exclamations or greetings; the *Oñ* which occurs so frequently in the dairy ritual is pronounced in this way, and so is *bañ*, which is uttered by the *palol* as a greeting to the Tartharol. The sound also occurs in the various kinship greetings. The commonest of these, *tioñ*, offered to an elder brother, is a corruption of *itian*, but I never heard the nasal pronunciation when the word *an* or *anna* was uttered in the ordinary way. In this case the sound I have expressed by *n* is undoubtedly the letter *ṇ* of Tamil, this word being *aṇṇa* in that language.

S, sh, z, zh, dz, j. The sound for which I have used the letter *s* is a somewhat harsh sound, harsher, I think, than is heard in English, but much like the sound which I have heard in English words pronounced by Scottish Highlanders. Breeks wrote *zh* for this sound, but I have used this sign for a different sound which was exactly like the *si* in the English word 'occasion.' It occurs not uncommonly in Toda in such words as *push*, earth, and in the verbal form *kaishvat*.

The sound *z* occurs frequently. I was often doubtful whether to write *dz* or *z*, especially at the ends of personal names, and in other cases what was obviously the same termination was pronounced more like *dj*; thus I was often

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126 doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as
194 Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

Sacred Language

192 There are three varieties of sacred language in use among
198 the Todas. There is the *kwarzam*, the word or clause used in prayer and other sacred formulæ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwarzam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwarzam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwarzam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwarzam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwarzam* of the Tarthar clans:—

The Nòdrsol, *Nòdrstharkûtthars*; the Karsol, *Kârstharkunnadrpêdr*; the Panol, *Pandârpeshdthvaimokh*; the Taradrol, *Pülkudutharpeithar*; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdrkûtan*; the Kanòdrsol, *Munantharpinnantho*; the Kwòdrdoniol, *Adutharathiars*; the Pämol, *Pämûtharkathar*; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwarzam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivihanmokhkûtmeilteu* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

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now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened. 174 184

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:— 192 197 616

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*kîrstegi*
Basket	*tôdri*	*putukêri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tôdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kônipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pôditch*	*pôtch*
Comb	*îtrkôli*	*siekhkôli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pôdri*	*idrnpôdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkôni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkôni*
Mushroom	*kiûn*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipôti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*selikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself —that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *piili*. 184 194 616

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CHAPTER XXIX.

OUTLINES

OF THE

TUḌA GRAMMAR.

I. THE ALPHABET.

§ 1. THE TUḌA LANGUAGE has no compositions, written or unwritten, not a ballad nor a scrap of anything to indicate intellectual activity. The Tuḍas, like their buffalos, are fine animals; but they are the least cultivated of the Drâviḍian races. CHAP. XXIX. 212

No trace remains of the employment by them of any written character: it is probable, therefore, that they separated from the other Drâviḍians before the 'ur-sprache' of those tribes was reduced to writing.

§ 2. This language, of which but a very scanty fragment remains in use, has more sounds than any other Drâviḍian dialect, and some of these are peculiar to it, seeming to have been modified by the position and habits of the tribe. 194

The Tuḍas chiefly converse in the open air, calling to each other from one breezy hill-top to another. Their speech sounds like Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind. 191

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§ 3. The vowels are:

Short.	Long.
1. a, as in 'America.' Ex. atham, *he.*	6. â, as aw, in 'bawl.' Ex. âl, *a man.*
2. i, as in 'pin.' Ex. nim, *your.*	7. î, as in 'pique.' Ex. nî, *thou.*
3. u, as in 'Cook.' Ex. ulg, *within.*	8. û, as in 'School.' Ex. mûdu, *three.*
4. e, as in 'hem.' Ex. yenak, *to me.*	9. ê, as a in 'pale.' Ex. êt, *why?*
5. o, as in 'opinion.' Ex. k[illegible]ld.	10. ô, as in 'opium.' Ex. ôm, *we.*

Some of these are occasionally modified; thus,

ö sounds as in German, or as eu in French, in 'fleur.'

Ex. tökh, *female.*

ü, as in German, or as u in French, in 'pur.'

Ex. ütah, *five.*

u, at the end of a word, has a very fine sound, approaching to an i. The Drâviḍian 'half u.'

a, in the last syllable of a word, sounds like a very short a

ô and â are almost always interchangeable: thus, the Kanarese *kâl* is in Tuḍa kôl.

§ 4. The Consonants are:

1. k, as in 'kalendar.'	Ex. âḍken, *I play.*
2. g, as in 'gun.'	Ex. avalg, *to her.*
3. k'h, as in 'blockhead.'	Ex. mokh, *a son.*
4. g'h, as in 'loghouse.'	Ex. any final g may be aspirated
5. j, as in 'jam.'	Ex. majjal, *yellow.*
6. ch, as in 'chin.'	Ex. chen, *red.*
7. t, as in 'ten.'	Ex. terigi, *again.*
8. th, as in 'this.'	Ex. atham, *he.*
9. th, as in 'thin.'	Ex. nilthken, *I stand.*
10. d, as in 'dog.'	Ex. nâd, *wet.*
11. ṭ, lingual.	Ex. muṭṭiken, *I feel.*
12. ḍ, lingual.	Ex. kûḍa, *together.*
13. p, as in 'pen.'	Ex. pui, *strike.*

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14. f, as in 'fun.'	Ex. pûf, *an insect.*
15. b, as in 'bull.'	Ex. boath, *a conical temple.*
16. v, as in 'very.'	Ex. vêr, *another.*
17. b'h.	Ex. bhût, *a demon.*
18. m, as in 'man.'	Ex. âm, *Tuesday.*
19. n, as in 'no.'	Ex. tani, *Saturday.*
20. l, hard, lingual.	Ex. beḷḷi, *Friday.*
21. r, hard, lingual.	Ex. âṛ, *six.*
22. s.	Ex. âsvom, *Sunday.*
23. sh.	Ex. ittsh, *five.*
24. zh.	Ex. êlzh, *seven.*

§ 5. It is difficult to decide whether all these sounds belong to the Tuḍa itself. The aspirates especially, except kh and ch, are, it may be suspected, foreign to it.

§ 6. Some of them seem to have arisen from the lingual ṛ, which is found in all the South-Indian languages, and which existed in the oldest forms of the Drâviḍian. In Madras it is sounded y, and in Tinnevelly l. In Telugu it is softened into r, or changed into t or d. It is a kind of triple r, sounded very far back in the throat, thus seeming to be a mixture of r, l, and z.

It resembles the Welsh ll. (Comp. § 43.)

Thus Kan. *ḷlu*	and Tam.	êṛu, *seven,*	make in	Tuḍa	elzh.
" *kḷ*	"	kiṛ, *under*	"	"	kirzh.
" *burude*	"	puṛuti, *mud*	"	"	purzh.

§ 7. It may be stated as a rule that the Tuḍa sh and zh, (which are strong linguals) generally represent a final l or ḷ of the Kanarese:

Old Kan. and Tam. *pal* (*lu*)			in Tuḍa	parsh.
"	"	*âḷi, âri,* circle	"	ârsh.
"	"	*bil* (*lu*), *vil,* a bow	"	virzh.
"	"	*puli,* tiger	"	pürsh.

§ 8. Sometimes sh is the equivalent for the other linguals; thus,

Old Kan. and Tam. *karaḍi,* a bear, is karsh.

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§ 9. The letter f is pronounced by the Tuḍas full and clear, while any other Drâviḍian race would pronounce 'first' as *pirsht*, the sound of sharp f being unknown to them; as are some other sharp sounds, such as *th* in *thin*, and *s* in *sin*.

I think the Tuḍa f sound has arisen, as in English, from the corruption of a guttural or lingual.

Enough has become with us *enuf*.

So the Tuḍa pûf, 'an insect,' is probably Old Kan. *purlu*.

It must, however, be stated that the words in which f is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace. Thus,

mituf is 'nose' (? Kan. *mitte*, 'projecting').
mâf is a 'Baḍagan' (? (Kan.) *mâva*, 'father-in-law,' (used as a term of respect).
or a 'deer' (? *mân*).

§ 10. The lingual ḍ of the Kan. is in Tuḍa sometimes represented by r; thus,

nar-k-en, 'I walk.' (Kan. root *naḍ*).
nôr, 'district.' (Kan. nâḍ).

§ 11. Th (as in *thin*) and sh (lingual) are often euphonically (?) inserted in Tuḍa words. This is quite a Tuḍa peculiarity.

The former sound is not at all Drâviḍian (though it is Keltic); and the latter is only found in the other D. dialects in Sanskrit derivatives.

Sh is, however, quite the favourite Tuḍa sound.

Thus, nilthken, *I stand*. (§ 26.)
K. Nil + temp. part. k + inflectionable part. en.

Here th is a mere euphonic insertion.

Ershken, *I am*.
R. er + K. + en.

Here, too, sh is probably a mere euphonic insertion.

§ 12. In Tuḍa **v** or **w** is optionally pronounced before **o** initial; thus, **vodd** = *one*; but in the compound we find **oddi-adi** = *alone* (lit. one-step); and **on** or **or** is the Drâviḍian root. So in English 'one' is pronounced 'won.' CHAP. XXIX. 194

The possession of this sound of **w** is one of the many noteworthy analogies between the Keltic languages and the Drâviḍian.

So **y** may, as in the other Drâv. dialects, be prefixed to any word beginning with **e**. Thus, **enak** or **yenak** = *to me*.

This, too, is found in English, and is probably due to Keltic influences: *ewe* is pronounced *yew*.

NOUNS.

§ 13. Tuḍa nouns have no inflections for number or gender. 193

§ 14. The Nominative, Accusative, Vocative, and Genitive cases are alike, being the unaltered root.

§ 15. The inflectional particles in use are, (1) for the dative, **g** or **k**; (2) for the instrumental ablative and the ablative of remotion, **end** (or **edd**); and (3) for the local ablative **orzh**.

These correspond very exactly to the Old Kanarese, *ge*, *inda*, and *of* (comp. § 43).

§ 16. The following is a **Paradigm** of a Tuḍa noun:

	âḷ, *a man*
N. Acc. Voc. Gen.	**âḷ**, *a man*
Dat.	**âḷg**, *to* or *for a man*
Abl. (instrum. and remotion)	**âḷend** (**âḷedd**), *by* or *from a man*
(place) . . .	**âḷorzh**, *in a man*.

§ 17. Since the nominative, accusative, and genitive cases are alike, it is chiefly by position that the syntax of a Tuḍa sentence is regulated. A noun immediately before a transitive verb is the object; while a noun before another noun is in the genitive case, or qualifies it like an adjective.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Drâviḍian languages had originally one cerebral, as had the Sanskrit and the Welsh.

193 (2) The Tuḍa *temporal particles* (§ 28) are

k for the *present* (ch, sh, h)
th (sharp) for the *past* (d)
b for the *future* (p, v) (only obscurely indicated).

It is perhaps in vain to form conjectures as to the origin of these, but k seems allied to go or ko=do;

th may be connected with the root tâ, dâ, d'hâ=*give, place, establish.*
b is possibly allied to S. *bhû* and its cognates.

(3) The Tuḍa nominal inflectional particles, or case endings, are (§§ 15–17) at the most four:

g (k); odd (ond); ad; orzh.

Of these g I connect with go=do;

odd (ond=ord) is past of or=be;
ad (ath) is adj. pronoun;
orzh (or) is the root of a verb, signifying *absolute existence.*

§ 44. On the whole I venture to think that

194 (1) The Tuḍa is a language which was once highly inflectional; but, having lost most of its inflections, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South-Indian tribes; and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

197 (2) The language seems to have been originally Old
174 Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tuḍas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country; and have dwelt on the Nîlagiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by

[The Reverend G.U. Pope, author of this chapter --Analyst]

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The Toda words given in this paper are written in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association with some changes. The language has three t-phonemes: t a tongue-tip dental, *t* a tongue-tip alveolar, and ṭ a retroflex; there are three d-phonemes with the same positions, d, *d*, ḍ; only two n-phonemes are found, n alveolar and ṇ retroflex. The language has a peculiar sibilant phoneme, which is homorganic with the alveolar stops and has the body of the tongue well flattened and lowered from the roof of the mouth, thus differentiating it from ʃ in the same position, while its position differentiates it from s. For this sibilant I write *s*. Three r-phonemes are to be distinguished: *r* a one-flap sound at the roots of the upper teeth (the IPA symbol for this sound is not available), r a trill in alveolar position, and ṛ a trill well behind the alveolar ridge, i.e. in retroflex position. The symbol j represents the English y-sound except when between voiceless consonants or final after a voiceless consonant, when it also is voiceless. Of the vowel symbols, ɯ is high, back, unrounded, ö mid, mixed, rounded. Four l-phonemes have to be distinguished, and the limitations of the printer's stock have forced me to write them as follows: l alveolo-dental voiced, *l* alveolo-dental voiceless, ḷ retroflex voiced, *ḷ* retroflex voiceless.

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Terms of address

Ordinary		*Formal*	
		Used by men	*Used by women*
a peβaɪ		a and b same as for c and d	
b peβafaɪ	or pia:ɪ / piafaɪ		
c piaɪ		timbjeɪʔ	(e)tjβaʔ
d piafaɪ		timbiafaʔ	(e)tjβiafaʔ
e ejaɪ		tjęɪʔ, tjɪʔ	(e)tjejaʔ
f afaɪ		tjafaʔ	(e)tjafaʔ
g mumaɪ		tjuɪʔ	(e)tjmumaʔ
h mimjaɪ		tjmimjaʔ	(e)tjmimjaʔ
i oŋaɪ		tjǫɪʔ	(e)tjoŋaʔ
j okaɪ		tjokaʔ	(e)tjokaʔ
k endaɪ			
l enaɪ			
x oɪʃjaɪ			
y toɾmoxjaɪ, kuɪxjaɪ			

[194] (The formal terms contain extra-phonemic phonetic material, the glottal stop, nasalized vowels, and initial consonant groups.)

601 In formal address a man, to a man whom he calls endaɪ or enaɪ, uses the latter's name plus -es; e.g., kūoɾomes.

576 A man who is addressed formally by another man with the salutation timbjeɪʔ, tjęɪʔ, or tjuɪʔ, answers tæɪm.

Older man or woman to younger woman when putting feet to the latter's forehead in salutation, i.e. in formal address: (e)tjfuneʔ.

Woman to younger male related to her within a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage or by "lover-mistress" relation, says, if he is of:

tōōń/j moiety	(e)tjfakeʔ
toɪrβaɪ moiety	
meḷgaɪ patrilineal sib	(e)tjfakeʔ
kaɪ patrilineal sib	(e)tjxenaʔ
noɪṣ, möɪr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjβuɾβeʔ
toɪroɪr, köɪroɪr, nirj, uṇkitj, kerur, puɾgoɪr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjxūuṭeʔ

601 Corresponding to these salutations, in a lament for her husband a woman uses the vocatives: uuafakaɪ, uuafakaɪ, uuxenaɪ, uuβūuɾβaɪ, uuxūuṭaɪ; cf. with these terms the Badaga classification of the Todas given by Rivers, pp. 341–42. A man in a lament for his wife uses the vocative uuafenaɪ; cf. the salutation (e)tjfuneʔ used by older man or woman to younger woman.

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234x 373 771 782 788 both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

234x 782 788 The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195] In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x 184 788 782 621 Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

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both into a vessel. An incantation is said, the same as, or similar to, that already given, while the *utkòren* strokes the sick man with the corner of his cloak. After the incantation the sufferer drinks the juice. 755

Various Magical Remedies

The *utkòren* also practise various other methods of treatment. 755

Headache. This is called *madersnûdr*, "if head aches." For this the *utpol* places his hand on the head of the sufferer, and says the following incantation in a low voice, so that the patient may not distinguish what is being said.[1] After the names of the four gods, as in previous formulæ, it runs:— 825 [195]

mâkkerw	*mad*	*tatki*	*han*	*tath md;*	*ker*	*mad tathi*
cobra	head	broken into pieces		not break may;	a snake	&c.

han tath md;

and the same formula is repeated, substituting first the names of other kinds of snake and then of other animals. The following are the animals mentioned: *kûrûpatz*, a black poisonous snake; *putpob*, a variegated snake, which is called the foolish snake, because it will not get out of the way; *taverûni*, a green snake; *pâlipob*, another green snake; *uitch*, a kind of lizard reputed to suck blood; *antli*, a squirrel; *kapan*, a frog; *tugûli*, a crayfish (?); *kadrmad*, a water animal of some kind; *mîn*, a fish; *tgal*, an earthworm; *nelnpüf*, an insect found under stones; *âpipüf*, an insect found in buffalo dung. After all these animals have been mentioned with the same formula, the names of Pithioteu and Ön are again uttered, followed by the words *tathkhma*. The *utpol* flicks the corner of his cloak first against the ground, and then against the forehead of the sufferer, and then, if the man is sitting, he says, "*ateuk ir*," "sit there off!" and the man moves a little way from the place where he had been sitting. If the man is unable to sit, and is lying down, the words will be "*ateuk padr*," "lie there off!" or "lie a little way off!"

[1] I think it is probable that all the incantations are said in this manner, but I only had it specifically mentioned in this case.

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524 *Purkārṇūdr adutpolṭki? Kūdi kāgiti.*
539 Calls out if why that says no? Cock crows.

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

Nelu tiri kai, pon tiri pāv? Elu.
Earth goes round fruit, sky goes round flower? The tip-cat game.

Mudāl pīr vatvai, pin marsvati; pin pīr
First pregnant who becomes, later is delivered; later pregnant

vatvai, mudāl marsvati? Tāmi, kodj.
who becomes, first is delivered? A grain, barley.

Tami or *samai* (*patm*) is the grain from which *patcherski*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

Poetry and Music

533 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter
538 on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kunedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are
[195] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarzam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarzam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have
198 milked" at the village would be "*trkartkudrvistpimi*," often shortened into *trkartspimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvakkudrivistpimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*trkarami*" at the village and "*trkarpókhami*" at the *ti*.

There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *irnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar türzhodthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*[1] was said to be the *tex* word for 'man.' The words *kwudrpedrshai* and *kaipedrzhai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *tex* language.

Secret Language

177 The Todas have a large number of expressions which they
198 use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the
● 195 Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkely* or "front fact."

[1] The last syllable of the name Meilitars given to Kwoto is probably this word, so that the name means 'superior man.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The following are the chief instances of which I was told. 195 198

Ordinary Language.	Secret Language.
Pîrshî *ufr* *ai* *kwadr!* Milk to water mix give. *i.e.*, give milk mixed with water.	*Nauk* *udr* *pashwink* Four sides which came from *ñ* *kagfr* *pîrt* *ai* *kwadr!* old buffalo milk mix give! *i.e.*, give milk mixed with what comes from the four teats of an old buffalo.
Pîrt *kâr* milk cook *i.e.*, cook food in milk!	*Nauk* *udr* *pad* *mûdu* *kartk* Four sides come three on up *ikhki!* put *i.e.*, Put what comes from the four teats upon the three (stones of the oven).
Tîr *tidhkia!* Have you taken food?	*Kîdi* *nîrth* *karzhia!* Teeth between did you throw?
At *sokh!* There (or away) go!	*At* *ord* *ej!* There (or away) two (legs) get!
Iran *ahaik* *ud!* The buffalo in the wood hide!	*kâdr* *vahpai* *kwz* *âlâr* *ki!* Horn crooked wood into go!
Kan *adthi!* Is he not blind?	*Kîdren* *pam* *adthinû* Black fruit has he not?

When a man is thought to be dying, the Todas may ask "Is this man going from one place to another?"

Whenever a Toda first sees a man, he looks at his feet, and, correspondingly, when a Toda asks another his opinion of a man, he says "*Kal pel ilâdinû*, "What sort of leg and nail has he?" In secret language the leg may be called *metipol*, "walk thing," also used for footprints or *pûmi âlâr pî pol*, "thing that goes into the earth."

Many other things and persons have secret names; thus, a rupee, or money generally, is called *atchertvai*, that which is stamped; butter is called *pelthpol* or white thing; clarified butter (*nei*) is called *kârtpol* or melted thing; sugar and honey are called *tichedpol* or sweet thing; rice is called *peitpudwai*, that which comes from Peit, a place near Kavidi in the Wainad from which rice used to be procured; arrack (*saraim*) is called *îrthpol* or *pûshetpol*, each meaning "drink thing." The sun is called *ethâol*, "great man."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 The various tribes on the hills have secret names; thus,
551 both Badagas and Tamils are called *tutâr katvai*, he who wears or ties the turban; a Kota is called *kîmas ithvai*, he who is beneath; a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, the man who watches the way; a European is called *pelthpol*, or white man. A forest guard is called *petuni ütvai*, *petuni* being here used as a term for uniform, so that if a forest guard has come, they will say, *petuni ütvai podvuchi*.

195 Several of the words used in the secret language do not appear to have any other meaning and are not ordinarily used.
198 Thus the ordinary word for tooth is *pars*, but in secret language *kâtô* or *kâtû* is used. This word is the name of the wall of a buffalo-pen and it is possible that it may mean stones, but I could not ascertain whether this was the derivation, and could only learn that it was another word for tooth. Similarly the ear, of which the ordinary name is *kevi*, is called *pertars*; and the question "Did you wear gold earrings?" becomes *pertarsk ütshia*? "to ear did you wear?"

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTERISTICS.

Talking Voices—Modes of Salutation—Home Life—Frank and obliging Natures—Colour of the Skin—Tattoo Marks—Ornaments—Boys distinguished from Girls—Apparel—Toilette.

CHAP. IV.

THE Toda talking voice is peculiar; particularly so that of the women. Whilst on the part of the men it is strikingly grave and sedate, spoken almost *sotto voce*: the women's voice, on the contrary, is rather high, appearing to come altogether from the region at the back of the ear—the 'mastoid process.' In both sexes, but particularly with the female, the sound of the voice is somewhat musical and refined, though fatiguing to listen to from its monotonous tone. Indeed, it is somewhat astonishing that some harsh syllables of their language should come so softly from such mouths. The refinement arises doubtless, from the gentleness of their dispositions—void of asperity; its friendliness, accompanied by desire to please. Not from any innate sense of tune, for they have no more ear for music than so many crows.

Their amiability shows itself also in their observance of courteous customs. The salaam of the East, performed amongst the Todas by raising the thumb-edge of the right hand vertically to the nose and forehead, is a respectful form of address; used in addressing superiors, and on approach to sacred places, and other like occasions. When asked by what name they styled that form of salute, they replied: 'Itvâ eshken, swâmi eshken,' or, 'I say, come! I say, Lord!'

That mode of salutation which is most employed amongst

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the neces-
443 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
417 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE DAIRY

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There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarsòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

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The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv.

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity.

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*.

[1] This word, in the forms *hos*, *hoath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 616 618 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *puzhut*, and incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *puzhut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

 Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more than any other, and may be termed his ruling passion, is that of *necessity for* children.

CHAP. XXIV.

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The first instance which came to light of the serious—everything with the Toda is taken *au sérieux*—nature of this topic, was when the women of a certain village had collected round us, in obedience to summons; one was noticed sitting conspicuously apart, giving the impression that she was in some way tabued. 'What is the matter with her? Is she sick?' 'No.' 'Mourning?' 'No, not that.' 'She is a barudi'* they said quietly, and in the pitying tone in which one would apply the word 'crazy.' A handsome woman of forty, with the eyes and nose of a hawk. She had committed no fault; had added several boys and girls to the population. She was not ill, nor deformed, or sulky. She was merely a barudi, a widow. Now, it is a reproach to be a widow, unless quite old: or to be childless; the word barudi, in the Toda language, bearing the triple meaning of old woman, widow, and barren woman. This person, we have seen, was neither old nor sterile, yet as a widow who should be, but was not, producing children, she was put to shame.

[196]

To be a baruda, or widower, is equally a term of reproach for men.

Another illustration. We met with two brothers—men past sixty years of age, whose joint wife had died. In order to avoid the disgrace of being styled baruda, as well, doubtless, as to obtain the services of some one who could cook their meals, they had forthwith married again. But being elderly gentlemen, joint fathers of nine children, including twins, and not caring for further additions to their family, they had selected to be their joint wife, a woman of fifty, who, having been *discarded as sterile*, was then living a single and neglected life.

I have ascertained positively, that so great is the disgrace

* The derivation of this word has already been given in Chapter VII., Note 15.

582 601 618 114 some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poɭjoɪɭ are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

196 A note on the semantics of the word poɭjoɪɭ may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the poɭj." The most usual meaning of poɭj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called aɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom üɯd-voɭjoɪɭoɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (üɯd) poɭj (i.e. poɭjoɪɭ)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poɭjoɪɭ institution. The semantic development of poɭj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poɭjoɪɭ and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poɭjoɪɭ. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate poɭɪi, "building, temple."

613 539 As was said above, there are at present five sets of poɭjoɪɭ among the toɪrðas. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinuɪl of the keruɯoɪɭ (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The küatæmboɭjoɪɭ or oɪrvɯtγaɪkvoɭjoɪɭ is said to be descended from küatæm (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poɭjoɪɭ make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oɪr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɯt). A crow (kaɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moγðɯtkoɪtʃvojvoɭjoɪɭ, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by [264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poɭjoɪɭ of the opposite sex.

602 533 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poɭjoɪɭ of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 602 196 192 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to [833] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is [522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯrɣŭɑrt–, "neck-cut," and kŭɑrtɣŭɯrt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪdjvöɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

196 521 192 602 Thus adð–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also kuɯ ʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nartj–, "make walk," is permitted when ɯr, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb pɑtj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪtj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again ɑtvɑt is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way pɯn, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [841] [304] Similarly poɪðj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kiɪpont, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 521 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ʊɯdmortkvæːdvoj or poɟjoɪɟ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

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[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoɪ̨ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɪ̨ŝkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɪr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɑrlɪɪz had married pɪɪ̨/kor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mɔ̀ɪr patrilineal sib, whose mund pɑn is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kɔ̀r(k)-kɔrpoɪ̨ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 11 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pɑɪs-mɪt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

196 539 614 [775] [114]

pormaxθur,[*] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kojniɪr asked what it was he was told: il-θon-uji puɪrotj-noij yst "It is just here that the puɪrotj-noij [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poljoɪ̯-xuɪrjfojoɪ̯ ütud-mortk-fæɪdfoj-xuɪrjfojoɪ̯ɲ puɪrotj-noij ysti; poljoɪ̯ ɲomjti; oɪtoɪ̯ xorsti' udng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The puɪrotj-noij chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poljoɪ̯ feel shame; the oɪtoɪ̯ laugh.' " The word poljoɪ̯ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɪ̯ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poljoɪ̯ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɪ̯, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poljoɪ̯ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poljoɪ̯ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪškj (cf. the verb nomjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffalo[illegible]portant man of the kuɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuit[illegible]rom epite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

[764] [578]

puɪlkütuɪrθoɪr	poljoɪ̯-noɪškj	oɪjxütütun
pæɪθoɪr	oɪtoɪ̯-noɪɲ	oɪjxütütun
noɪdoɪ̯k-noɪškj	oɪjxütütun	
sɪɪmjoɪ̯k-sɪg	oɪjxütütun	

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poljoɪ̯, the oɪtoɪ̯, the people of the country (noɪdoɪ̯), the people of the district (sɪɪmjoɪ̯; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poljoɪ̯ and the oɪtoɪ̯ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poljoɪ̯ and oɪtoɪ̯ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[*] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Padmakhtair: pp. 398–400); his account is in general incomplete.

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539
614

In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says:

poʃjoɨ̯-ṇoɨ̯ɨ̯kj	æɪfʊnen
oɪɪoɨ̯-foṇt	æɪfʊnen
noɪɪoɨ̯-ṇoɨ̯ɨ̯kj	æɪfʊnen
ii̯ɪmjoɨ̯-ɨig	æɪfʊnen

"I have become ashamed before the poʃjoɨ̯; I have become a word [i.e. a subject for ridicule] before the oɪɪoɨ̯; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of pont "word" with oɪɪoɨ̯ seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's poʃjoɨ̯ would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The poʃjoɨ̯ and the oɪɪoɨ̯ together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

poʃjoɨ̯k-noɨ̯ɨ̯kj	æɪfʊnen
oɪɪoɨ̯k-foṇt	æɪfʊnen

"I have become ashamed before the poʃjoɨ̯; I have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɨ̯." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by poʃjoɨ̯ and oɪɪoɨ̯, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way. [777]

Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

poʃjoɨ̯-ṇoɨ̯ɨ̯kj	æɪfʊnum
oɪɪoɨ̯-foṇt	æɪfʊnum

"We have become ashamed before the poʃjoɨ̯, we have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɨ̯." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, poʃjoɨ̯ and oɪɪoɨ̯ seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we feel that the poʃjoɨ̯ relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

196 539 614 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

nɑlkonɯsk	sydj-mil-sydj	pɯɨɯθik		
poljoɨl-xoɪrjm	oɪtoɨl-fonɨ	öštjɯdoɪ	ɯdɯθik	
om arjen'	enk öštoθ	sotj-moɪdkin	ɯdɯθɯng	noɪrnɯsfɯn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgɯs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poljoɨl.' Noɪrnɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.'" The pair poljoɨl, oɪtoɨl is used as demanded by convention, as is also ponɨ "word," but to fit the pertinent word poljoɨl (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪrjm,[23] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɨl-fonɨ, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, noɪrnɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poljoɨl, is to be explained. 115 609 114

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poljoɨl, oɪtoɨl did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poljoɨl, oɪtoɨl may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 835 It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪrnɯs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[23] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him, [otherwise] there are no objections. (Emeneau, 1937, p. 105) 114 602 614

Emeneau's examples are clear enough. In fact, he also provides internal and conclusive evidence that the Toda disagree with him. About the use of the term *puliol* he says, in a later work (1941, p. 171): "Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and this branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before the matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way." And, he goes on, "we feel that the pūliol (Rivers' spelling) relation between mother and daughter is perhaps is point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it." In fact, the Toda merely say that *puliol* includes all the relatives without reference to matri-sib.

The matter is not really very complicated. Emeneau comes surprisingly near but entirely misses the point. He notes (1937, p. 106) that the semantics of the word *puliol* means "man of the puli or palli," but, saying that "will not explain our word," he goes off in an entirely different direction trying to find exogamous "houses." In fact, the semantics are quite eloquent: *puliol* are the people who are sacred like the *palli* (dairy)—that is, no "entrance" is permitted. They are precisely all the prohibited categories of kin; hence the term appears to stand opposed to *paiol* or "affines." Rivers does not juxtapose the two but makes the meaning of *paiol* abundantly clear in his treatment of Toda funerals (e.g., 1906, p. 358). The *paiol* (pp. 450, 459) are precisely the persons such as MB (or father-in-law), cross-cousins, ZS (or son-in-law) whom Dumont (1957*b*) has singled out as "affines." 114 602 196

Hence we see in the Toda case that Dumont's highly interesting structural juxtaposition of "kin vs. affine" is noted and culturally recognized by the Toda themselves in the opposition of *puliol* or *paliol* vs. *paiol*, or kin/affine. 114 602

It seems clear that what Rivers wrote in 1906 accords well with some of the best recent analyses of South Indian kin structures. Whatever we finally arrive at as the real meaning of the term *puliol*, we

[a] Prince Peter of Greece in a very interesting paper also notes these semantics and links the *puliol* with prohibited categories of kin which he describes, following Emeneau, as "matrilineal sibs." Yet the line of argument from the prohibition of sexual relations between children suckled by one mother to "matrilineal sib" is by no means clear. The Sinhalese, too, have similar ideas on milk kinship" (see above, p. 159) without corporate matrilineages. The evidence for "sibs" such as names which connote obscenity, joking, and simple myths seems curiously meager. This case, too, really rests on the sexual prohibitions which, as we have argued, permit interpretations of a nonlineal kind. I came across this material too late to incorporate it into the chapter. See Peter, Prince of Greece (1951). [614]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXV

LANGUAGE

121 My chief purpose in writing this chapter is to give information which, I hope, may increase the value of the linguistic material which is scattered throughout this book, and especially to describe some of the doubts and difficulties which I encountered in my attempts to reduce the Toda language to writing.

At the end of the chapter I give some new facts relating to the sacred and secret languages of the Todas, and I will begin with a brief sketch of the views commonly held on the linguistic position of the Toda language.

197 The Nilgiri Hills are situated at the point of junction of three of the chief linguistic districts of Southern India. In the country on the South and East, Tamil is spoken; on the West, the language is Malayalam, and the people of Mysore to the North speak chiefly Canarese. The Todas live at this meeting-place of three languages, but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these, but has very definite and distinctive characters of its own, as might, indeed, be expected from the character of the people. The Badagas with whom the Todas have much intercourse speak a corrupt form of Canarese, and the Todas have undoubtedly borrowed many words from their language.

114 Previous writers have differed in their views on the special
197 affinities of the Toda language. No one has now, I think, any doubt that the language is Dravidian. Bernhard Schmid,[1] who wrote in 1837, appears to me to have known more of

[1] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1837, vol. v. p. 155.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the true Toda language than anyone who has written since, and he ascribed two-thirds of the Toda vocabulary to Tamil and was unable to trace the remaining third to any other language. Caldwell[1] believed the language of the Todas to be most closely allied to Tamil. According to Pope[2] the language was originally old Canarese with the addition of a few Tamil forms, but he has included in his vocabulary words which have probably been borrowed from the Badagas. 114 197

The linguistic material which I have collected is far more extensive than that which was available at the time Pope wrote his sketch, and though the material is in one way less satisfactory since it has been collected after thirty more years of Toda intercourse with the outside world, it is in another way more satisfactory than any previous material in that by far the larger part of it is derived from the formulæ used in the religious ceremonies and in magic. It is, of course, well known that an ancient language may linger on in religious and magical formulæ long after it has disappeared from ordinary speech, and when I discovered how many of these formulæ were preserved by the Todas, I made a point of collecting as many as possible in the hope that they might preserve relics of the ancient speech of the Todas.

In collecting this material I suffered under grave disadvantages; firstly in not being a phonologist, and secondly, in my ignorance of any Dravidian language. I had had, however, a fairly large experience in taking down unwritten languages phonetically, and, whatever the errors into which I have fallen, I hope that they are consistent throughout my record. As a matter of fact, I find my spelling to be fairly constant, words taken down from different individuals and on different occasions being written in the same way. 114 126

From one point of view my ignorance of Dravidian languages is not an unmixed evil. When anyone hears a language which is allied to one he knows, it is almost impossible to avoid being influenced by this knowledge. This

[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 557.

[2] *Outlines of the Toda Grammar* appended to Marshall's *Phrenologist among the Todas*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
616 ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
796 differences between the two divisions may be regarded as secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual
174 and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
184 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived
192 from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the
197 interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened. 174 184

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:— 192 197

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*kîrstagi*
Basket	*tòdri*	*putukêri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tòdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kònipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*hashtat*
Iron instrument	*pòditch*	*pòtch*
Comb	*tîrkòli*	*siekhkòli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pòdri*	*idrnpòdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkòni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkòni*
Mushroom	*kîûn*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipòti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*selikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

616

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself —that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *piili*. 184 194 616

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes
184 which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
616 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning
775 the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
621 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which
616

171 used by the Tartharol. The Nairs of Malabar have a ceremony at the ninth month called *pulikuti*, in which the woman drinks tamarind (*puli*) juice which has been poured over a knife by her brother.[1] The Toda word for the sour taste is *pülchiti*, derived from tamarind, and I have suggested that the name *pülpali* may mean 'tamarind dairy,' and be a survival of community between the Toda ceremony and that of Malabar.

171 I have now enumerated a number of points in which there is a close resemblance between the customs of the Todas and 174 those of the people of Malabar. In some cases, as in that of the cloth ceremony of the funeral, the resemblance is so close that we seem almost bound to seek its explanation either in identity of origin or in borrowing. We may be confident that if there has been any borrowing from the inhabitants of Malabar, it has not been recent, and we may also be fairly confident that the physical barrier in the past must have prevented any but the most infrequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the Nilgiri plateau and those of Malabar. If we attach any significance to the resemblances I have indicated, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that the Todas at some time lived in Malabar and migrated to the Nilgiri Hills, and it remains to inquire whether there are any other facts in favour of this view.

174 On one line of evidence I cannot speak with any authority, but I strongly suspect that there is a very close resemblance 197 between the Toda language and Malayalam.

I think there is little doubt that the Toda language is much more nearly allied to Tamil than to Canarese, and I believe that the contrary opinion of Dr. Pope was due to the inclusion in his material of many words borrowed by the Todas from their Canarese-speaking neighbours, the Badagas. Malayalam is closely allied to Tamil, differing from it chiefly in its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and in the large number of Sanscrit derivatives,[2] and I should like to make the suggestion, for the consideration of Dravidian philologists,

[1] *Madras Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 242.

[2] Cf. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 23.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 175

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

The Toda tongue is entirely apart from that of the Kôl family. It is, indeed, now known with absolute certainty to be a dialect of the development of Turanian speech styled Drâvidian;[7] the language of a group of primitive, illiterate, and perhaps warlike tribes who, between three thousand and four thousand years ago, migrated from tracts of Western Asia, and penetrating India, probably through Beluchistan and the natural water lines[8] of the country, filled all its western and southern districts, pushing before them, in some period of their advance, the various tribes of the Kôl aborigines, some of whom, in slavery or menial conditions of life, survived as subjects of their conquerors.

174

197

The Rev. Dr. Caldwell[9] has drawn attention to the remarkable circumstance that the closest and most distinct affinities to the speech of this race are those which have been discovered in the languages of the Finns and Lapps of Northern Europe and of the Ostiaks and other Ugrians of Siberia: and consequently that the Drâvidian is proved, by 'language alone, in the silence of history, in the absence of all ordinary probabilities, to be allied to tribes that appear to have overspread Europe before the arrival of the Goths and the Pelasgi, and even before the arrival of the Celts.'

The characteristics of the Toda branch of this race, form the burden of the following pages. In the process of writing 174

[7] A term which, applied by the Brahmans apparently in supercilious envy and contempt of the people they could not conquer—the word Drâvida implying the condition of being beyond the pale of the castes—is now used ethnologically, to designate that which has grown to be a distinct race of man.

[8] It would seem an absolute necessity, that primitive tribes should maintain the water-lines of the country they penetrated. 'If such be the case, noticing the geographical peculiarities of the west frontier of India, this Turanian race would have divided at the Desert of Scinde; one branch following the course of the Indus and its tributaries to the Land of the Five Rivers: the other, turning south, would have both crossed and followed the many watercourses which drain into the Arabian Sea, on their way towards the Dekkan.

[9] Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of the Drâvidian Languages.' I beg here to acknowledge my debt to the above valuable work for much of the information I have incorporated in this chapter.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. I.

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Turanian tree had first been biassed through the superior religious instinct of the Ârya.

If we consider that the many tribes of these three dominant races, brought into India the various habits, religious observances, and dialects of the diverse tracts of Asia whence they emigrated. When we further reflect on the different results which must have ensued during their residence in the country of their adoption, from the contiguity of certain of them to the progressive Brahmanical race, with its refined and copious vocabulary, its elevated moral code, with idealised pantheon of heroes and heroines; and the proximity of others to the carnivorous Kôl, his tutelary deities and bloody rites. Further, bearing in mind the isolation of tribes kept asunder by the lawlessness of the times, the pathless nature of the country, and the conservative nature of tribal barbarians;—we can readily comprehend why Drâvidian tribes have now concreted into separate nationalities, whose dialects are 'distinct though affiliated languages,'[11] and whose religion varies in every shade, from the simple but senseless, or perhaps cruel, observances introduced by original immigrants, to the complex rites of corrupted Hinduism.

102 197

The accompanying sketch map of the Indian peninsula describes the position in the country which the Drâvidians hold at the present day; when, after their wanderings and their wars, the various tribes of which the race is composed had settled down, then expanded into important nations, speaking distinct dialects, of which the following are now highly cultivated:—

i. Tamil. iii. Kanarese.
ii. Telugu. iv. Malayâlam.
v. Tuluva.

Three others, viz.,

vi. Toda. vii. Gónd. viii. Ku or Khond,

[11] Caldwell.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

remain in their pristine barbarous state; innocent even of written characters; and there are said to be several other minor dialects or corruptions belonging to small sylvan families holding unimportant geographical positions in the Drâvidian area. CHAP. I. 102 197

Remnants of the ejected Kôls are shown on the eastern limits, and Âryanised peoples are closed in on the entire northern boundary.

The Rev. Dr. Pope, in his contribution to this book,[12] gives it as his opinion that the Toda language was originally old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. He thinks that the language has dwindled to a mere skeleton, as a result of isolation and consequent degeneration of the people. 197

The early Indian history of the Todas has been as completely lost as that of the long protracted period which preceded their migration to the Dekkan. 173

We know, indeed, with a tolerable degree of certainty, both from their own legends and from those of neighbouring tribes, that until the last few hundred years they inhabited a jungle tract of inferior hills situated between the Kanarese and Tamilian districts, in the direction of Hâsanûr; which, on E. longitude 77° 20′ and N. latitude 11° 45′ form portion of the Eastern Ghats. And that they then divided into two or more parts, of which one settled in a northerly direction, near Kôlegâll, and the other migrated or was driven in the direction of the Nilagiri Mountain;[13] the greater number 101 131 173

[12] Vide Chapter XXIX., 'Outlines of the Tuḍa Grammar.'

At the time of recording this opinion, Dr. Pope had not had opportunity of perusing any portion of my descriptions of Toda life. Had he done so, it is possible he might have modified his views. I, who judge the Todas physically and through their antique customs and practices, fail to discover any degeneracy in the people; rather regarding them as not only without evidence of having been better, but with little appearance of having been materially different from what they now are, within any period whose length may be fixed or even approximated.

[13] Mr. Metz, who obtained this information from the Todas, is my authority for this paragraph.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Drâviḍian languages had originally one cerebral, as had the Sanskrit and the Welsh.

193 (2) The Tuḍa *temporal particles* (§ 28) are

k for the *present* (ch, sh, h)
th (sharp) for the *past* (d)
b for the *future* (p, v) (only obscurely indicated).

It is perhaps in vain to form conjectures as to the origin of these, but k seems allied to ge or ke=do;

th may be connected with the root tâ, dâ, d'hâ=*give, place, establish.*
b is possibly allied to S. *b'hu* and its cognates.

(3) The Tuḍa nominal inflectional particles, or case endings, are (§§ 15–17) at the most four:

g (k); edd (end); ad; orth.

Of these g I connect with ge=do;

edd (end=erd) is past of er=be;
ad (ath) is adj. pronoun;
orth (or) is the root of a verb, signifying *absolute existence.*

§ 44. On the whole I venture to think that

194 (1) The Tuḍa is a language which was once highly inflectional; but, having lost most of its inflections, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South-Indian tribes; and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

197 (2) The language seems to have been originally Old
174 Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tuḍas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country; and have dwelt on the Nîlagiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by

1 [The Reverend G.U. Pope, author of this chapter -- Analyst]

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174

the Poligars. Intercourse with the Baḍagars has probably modernized a few of the forms and introduced some words. Of Telugu influences I see no trace. It is true that the Tuḍa for *tree* is **mâa**, and in Telugu *mânu*, while in Tam. and Kan. it is *mara*; but the soft *r* is always avoided by the Tuḍas, who turn *vôram* into *vôm*.

Nor can I trace any resemblance in Tuḍa to Malayalim, in any of the points where that dialect differs from its sisters.

NOTE. Some words have been added to the above list, since the 'outlines' left Dr. Pope's hands. If, in consequence, a few errors have crept into the Chapter, I alone must be held to be responsible for them.—W. E. M.

ADDENDA.

(Translation of Deuteronomy, chap. xxv. 5.)

000

vodd emnan athum enorvet-mokh vodd-
An elder-brother (and) *his other-born* (younger brother) *in one*

ârruloh uddâdi, vodd, âl mokḥ illâde,
Toda house if they are, one Toda-man a son is not, (childless)

kôdag-pôkadi kôdag-pôkan kâtvodi-kukh en-odd-
if he goes to death (dies) *the dead-one's bound-woman* (wife) *to another*

âlg kaṭṭaṭi, â kukh-âl, enorvet-mokh
man must not join, that woman's man's (husband) *younger-brother*

illaveniâdi, pâyâl â kukh kekhuri vorgma,
or if not, the brother-in-law (near relation) *that woman near shall sleep,*

athum kudma, kâtvodi-âlg enorvet âdi.
her shall join, as a wife's man's younger-brother shall he do.

[p. 270 is blank]

775 The Todas, as we have said, believe in a Heaven and Hell, the latter represented by a river or swamp full of leeches. The road to *Âmunâd* (Heaven) lies across this stream, and those who have already reached their Paradise, make for new-comers a bridge formed of a single thread, which will bear a good man, but breaks under the weight of a sinner, and precipitates him into *Pâférigén** (Hell) (from *pâf*, leech; *éri*, place; *gén*, water), where he remains until he has expiated his offences. I asked particularly what became of the slaughtered buffaloes meanwhile, but my informant had evidently taken this economical question into consideration, and replied that they crossed higher up, and were utilized by the dead man's family until his penance was over.

[776] *Âmunâd* is presided over by Ēn, a deified Toda, on whose authority the Todas believe it to be "a good place." Their description of it however does not seem attractive. They say that here men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that in *Âmunâd* the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism† between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of *Âmunâd* probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. *Cf. Institutes, X.* 84. "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame: for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

The bridge of thread recalls the Mahomedan Al Sirât, and the Badagas have a similar tradition, which receives a curious illustration from the actual practice of the Khâsias, when carrying home the remains of any of their number who may have died at a distance. "The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade through water, and if they trust themselves to it, would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and, if the breadth is great, this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow, merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the 'string bridge'"‡

Our own old superstition about the inability of witches to cross running water seems a reproduction of the same idea.

guage. 212 ● 197 The Todas have no written language. Captain Harkness§ speaking of their dialect says, "It appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries. With the Sanscrit it has not the least affinity in roots, construction, or sound, and if I may venture to say so, as little with any Asiatic language of the present day."

Major Ross King gives a similar account in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.

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* Dr. Pope (*Outlines, &c.*) says "pûf, an insect, is probably old Kanarese-puru. It must, however, be stated that the words in which *f* is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace."

† Compare *Genesis* i. 28, and iv. 12; also *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, page 248, story of Prithu and Prithivi.

‡ *On the Stone Monuments of the Khâsi Hill Tribes*, by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen. *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, October 1871, Vol. I., No. II.

§ *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 25.

● 197 Little was known of the Toda language in Captain Harkness' time. Since then it has been studied and analysed, and both in grammatical structure and inflexional forms, it is found to resemble closely the other Dravidian* languages of Southern India.

Tamil and Canarese derivatives form the bulk of the language. Out of a hundred words commonly made use of by a Toda, Mr. Metz finds at least eighty to be identically the same with, or derived from, words used by his Dravidian neighbours: other philologists might find more.†

000 Mr. Metz has kindly furnished me with a vocabulary (Appendix A.) 1 giving the correct rendering in Toda, Kota, Kurumba, Irula, and Badaga, of all the words contained in Dr. Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan languages of India and High Asia.*

To this vocabulary Mr. Metz and I have prefixed a table of letters with the corresponding sound of each in some European language. We have followed, as far as possible, Dr. Pope's *South Indian Alphabet,* to which however a few additions have been found necessary, in order not to sacrifice the sound or the derivation of words;‡ for instance, Todas for the most part pronounce the long *a* like *a* in *all.* To have rendered the *a* by *ŏ* or *au* would have obscured the derivation in many cases: ex. gr., Tamil pāl milk = Toda pāl (paul).

Dr. Pope's object was the simple transliteration of South Indian written characters, not the representation of the sounds contained in all the dialects written and unwritten. For philological and ethnological objects, which presumably the Government have in view in ordering inquiries such as I am conducting, simplicity is less important than the accurate rendering of every sound by a distinct character, so as to facilitate comparison and analysis by philologists personally unacquainted with the dialects. Moreover at present none of the systems of transliteration proposed by Sir W. Jones, Drs. Wilson, Caldwell, Pope, and others, have commanded universal acceptance; and the result is that even the various written characters are not always uniformly rendered, while the unwritten dialects depend for their orthography on the taste and fancy of the speller. The consequences of this are well illustrated in Dr. Hunter's work. He has necessarily compiled his Dictionary from various vocabularies, spelt upon no uniform system, and has wisely refrained, as he says, "from corrections in languages of which he was ignorant."

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* With regard to the theory propounded by Mr. Gover in *The Folk-songs of Southern India,* of the Aryan origin of Dravidian languages, an extract from a letter of Dr. Gundert's, with which Mr. Metz has favoured me, may be interesting:—

"Thus much I think I myself know, that no one acquainted with both families of speech will ever make "Dravidians into Aryans. How much the former have borrowed from the latter is well known. That the "latter in turn have borrowed words from the Dravidian, I have, I think, proved in greater detail than is to "be found in Caldwell."

† Dr. Caldwell (*Comp. Gram.* p. 16) says, "Of all the Dravidian idioms the Tamil is that to which the "Toda language is most nearly allied."

Mr. Metz thinks that it is more nearly connected with old Kanarese, but that it is as distinct a dialect as Tula.

Dr. Pope ("*Outlines of Toda Grammar,* § 44") says, "The language seems to have been originally old "Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect."

Mr. Burnell has noted the large proportion of Sanscrit words in the Toda vocabulary.

‡ Since the above was written, Dr. Pope's "Outlines of the Toda grammar," written for Colonel Marshall's book, has been printed. The vocabulary, however, contains different words; the spelling also is rather different, as is inevitable, when no recognised system exists.—*Ed.*

1 [Not reproduced --analysis]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
563 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced
651 by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it. 197

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to everyday life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thoughtful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agriculture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers

157 262 241 181

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I
614 judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find
[197] at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal
sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[26] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[27] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
197 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
174 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the
[79] Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[28] that the model house
[787] or dairy used in the uɪr-foṭt ceremony, and called poɪl-poḷj (Rivers' pülpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyḷj) has no possible connection.

Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
174 some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
595 fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be
[114] trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Furthermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas
[171] of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[29]

The toɪṭjfoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
174 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women
837 that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[26] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123–47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611–40, 1907). [27] Pp. 693–718, especially pp. 698 ff. [28] Rivers, p. 702.

[29] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 379–83, 1938).

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[24] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

791 fact, a diviner necessarily gives up his divining if he becomes
787 a *palol*.[1]

191 Each of the *teuol* is believed to be possessed by a
198 special god when he falls into the divining frenzy, and when in this state it is said that the diviner does not, as a rule,
787 speak in his own language, but in some other, most commonly
791 in Malayalam or one of its dialects. The following are those who are at present credited with the power of divination :—

Midjkudr (63) of Piedr, who is inspired by the gods Kulinkars and Petkon. He speaks in Malayalam, and he does not appear to have succeeded anyone else as *teuol*. He is the most successful of those who are at present practising the art, and played the chief part in all the divining which took place during my visit.

Tadrners (60) of Kuudr, inspired by Ethrol and Arivili, succeeded his mother's father, Kasorivan (66) of Kusharf. He is said to speak the language of people whom the Todas call Mondardsetipol living in the Wainad, a language which appears to be a dialect of Malayalam.

Pangudr (66) of Kusharf, also succeeded Kasorivan, his grandfather, and is inspired by Petkon and Meilitars. There was some doubt as to the language used by him.

Ethgudr (52) of Kuudr is inspired by Arivili, and, like Tadrners, speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

Terkudr (63) of Piedr, inspired by Teipakh, the river god, succeeded his grandfather Keitolv. When inspired, his speech is like the babbling of a running river, "like the river's voice," and cannot be understood.

Kangudr (62) of Piedr, who lives at Kavidi in the Wainad, is inspired by Meilitars and speaks Malayalam. He succeeded Tarsvan (62), his father, and Tarsvan had succeeded his father Keithiolv.

Kobuv (61) of Kuudr, is inspired by Meilitars and Kuderol and speaks Malayalam.

Pöteners (54) of Kuudr, is inspired by Petkon and speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

[1] From the account of Finicio (Appendix I), it would seem that at one time the *palol* and *wurtol* possessed the power of divination.

Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a *teuol*, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 191 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a god connected with the division to which the majority of the diviners belong. 787 791

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas. 177 787 791 198 776

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobův is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda 787 791

126 doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as
194 Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

Sacred Language

192 There are three varieties of sacred language in use among the Todas. There is the *kwarzam*, the word or clause used
198 in prayer and other sacred formulæ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwarzam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwarzam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwarzam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwarzam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwarzam* of the Tarthar clans:—

The Nòdrsol, *Nòdrstharkûtthars*; the Karsol, *Kârstharkunnadrpêdr*; the Panol, *Pandârpeshdthvaimokh*; the Taradrol, *Pülkudutharpeithar*; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdrkûtan*; the Kanòdrsol, *Munantharpinnantho*; the Kwòdrdoniol, *Adutharathiars*; the Pämol, *Pämûtharkathar*; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwarzam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

clear, is that of Pan, in which case the *kwarzam* gives the names of the two *kudr* of the clan (see p. 652). The latter part of the *kwarzam* of the Keradrol means a horn or son of Keradr, and is also the name of a man, and with further knowledge there is little doubt that the other *kwarzam* would be found to have some meaning.

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198

The following are the *kwarzam* of the buffaloes of the different clans:—

Nòdrs, *karûdchtrkündkh*; Kars, *indtvidshti indtvan*;[1] Pan and Taradr, *Mutchôthvanmodethokvan*; Keradr, *miniaptr mdvelkar*; Kanòdrs, *Tirztashkkarzikunp*; Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi, *Keitankeikar*; Päm, *Arzomolkutchi*; Melgars, *Narzulpnatülnndkh*; Kuudr and Pedrkars, *Kishvettarskvan*; Piedr, *Kûzherikwelvpurserthunm*; Kusharf, *Nulkarstrnazhuv*; Keradr, *Nelppârstrkudeipar*; Kulhem, *Pelthrtrkan*.

The *kwarzam* of the Keradr buffaloes refers to the tradition of their creation (see p. 192), and here again with further knowledge there is little doubt that most of the *kwarzam* would be found to have a definite meaning, probably derived from legends concerning the buffaloes or the villages to which they belong.

The second kind of sacred language, in use at the *ti* dairies, has been already considered. Every kind of dairy vessel or other object used in the dairy ceremonial has a name at the *ti* different from that used in the house or village dairy. These different names have been given in describing the dairy ceremonial, but I have not hitherto referred to certain other differences of language, especially in verbal forms. Different words are used in the two kinds of dairy for the verb 'to drink'; thus, when a village dairyman orders another to drink buttermilk, he says "*Maj ân!*" while at the *ti* the *palol* says "*Kaishvat!*" This latter formula is interesting in that *kaish* is not the usual *ti* word for buttermilk (*nòr*) and only occurs, as far as I can ascertain, in conjunction with the verb *vat*. A village dairyman uses the verb *part*, pray, while at the *ti*, the verb *pôhvetnört* is used. Thus the question "have you prayed?" would be "*partikudricha?*" at the village and "*pôhvetnörtikudricha?*" at the *ti*. Similarly

[1] See story of Kwoto.

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192 different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have
198 milked" at the village would be "*îrkartkudrvispimi*," often shortened into *îrkartspimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvukkudrivispimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*îrkarami*" at the village and "*îrkarpûkhami*" at the *ti*.

There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *irnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar tûrzhodthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*[1] was said to be the *teu* word for 'man.' The words *kwudrpedrshai* and *kaipedrshai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *teu* language.

Secret Language

177 The Todas have a large number of expressions which they
198 use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the
195 Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkelv* or "front fact."

[1] The last syllable of the name Meilitars given to Kwoto is probably this word so that the name means 'superior man.'

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The following are the chief instances of which I was told. 195 198

Ordinary Language.

Pârshk ntr at kwadr!
Milk to water mix give.
i.e., give milk mixed with water.

Pârs ûdr
milk cook
i.e., cook food in milk!

Tôr tidshia?
Have you taken food?

At vokh!
There (or away) go!

Iren akaik ud!
The buffalo in the wood hide!

Kan edthi?
Is he not blind?

Secret Language.

Nonk nâr pudvaink
Four sides which came from

kagîr pârs at kwadr!
old buffalo milk mix give!
i.e., give milk mixed with what comes from the four teats of an old buffalo.

Nonk nâr pud mûdn tarsk
Four sides come three on up

idshi!
put
i.e., Put what comes from the four teats upon the three (stones of the oven).

Kûû nôrth kershia?
Teeth between did you throw?

At erd af!
There (or away) two (legs) get!

kûdr valwpoi tôrs ûlâr kî!
Horn crooked wood into go!

Kûdren pom edthinû
Black fruit has he not?

When a man is thought to be dying, the Todas may ask "Is this man going from one place to another?"

Whenever a Toda first sees a man, he looks at his feet, and, correspondingly, when a Toda asks another his opinion of a man, he says "*Kal pel ilûdinû*," "What sort of leg and nail has he?" In secret language the leg may be called *metipol*, "walk thing," also used for footprints or *pûmi ûlâr pî pol*, "thing that goes into the earth."

Many other things and persons have secret names; thus, a rupee, or money generally, is called *atchertvai*, that which is stamped; butter is called *pelthpol* or white thing; clarified butter (*nei*) is called *kârtpol* or melted thing; sugar and honey are called *tichedpol* or sweet thing; rice is called *peitpudvai*, that which comes from Peit, a place near Kavidi in the Wainad from which rice used to be procured; arrack (*saraim*) is called *îrthpol* or *pûshetpol*, each meaning "drink thing." The sun is called *etûdol*, "great man."

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101 The various tribes on the hills have secret names; thus,
551 both Badagas and Tamils are called *tutâr katvai*, he who wears or ties the turban; a Kota is called *kîmas ithvai*, he who is beneath; a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, the man who watches the way; a European is called *pelthpol*, or white man. A forest guard is called *petuni ütvai*, *petuni* being here used as a term for uniform, so that if a forest guard has come, they will say, *petuni ütvai podvuchi*.

195 Several of the words used in the secret language do not
198 appear to have any other meaning and are not ordinarily used. Thus the ordinary word for tooth is *pars*, but in secret language *kâtô* or *kâtû* is used. This word is the name of the wall of a buffalo-pen and it is possible that it may mean stones, but I could not ascertain whether this was the derivation, and could only learn that it was another word for tooth. Similarly the ear, of which the ordinary name is *kevi*, is called *pertars*, and the question "Did you wear gold earrings?" becomes *pertarsk ütshia*? "to ear did you wear?"

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they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while 184
holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be 616
touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by 793
his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an 184
ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, 554
the moment he ceases to hold office.

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive.

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very strik- 198
ing point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the 616
Tartharol that there were certain differences in language 554
between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the *monegar* is the collection of the assessment made by the Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
234 sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 775

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

CHAP. XIII.

234 778 [198] chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

177 234 262 431 But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

234 778 There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[8] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

[8] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, mani dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

ringlets precisely such as ladies in this country wore about 302
twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and the long ringlets hang on either side of the oval face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life; the hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. The female dress on ordinary occasions consists 291
simply of a single robe similar to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand. This, as one very soon learns, generally constitutes the sole garment of the wearer, for the Toda women have a habit, even in the presence of strangers, of throwing open the mantle to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting it on the shoulders. Some of them indeed hardly take the trouble to hold it together in front at all, and this was especially the case at a *mund*, near Coonoor, which, as I was quartered in the immediate vicinity, I had frequently to pass. I 202
used to notice that the men watching their herds on the opposite heights, separated by a wide glen from where I was, would announce my coming by shouting across to the women at home, who were accordingly always on the *qui vive* at the roadside prepared to greet me with their usual begging cry *Enam Kurroo*, "give me a present." The way that these men carry on conversations with one another across wide intervening valleys, and apparently without effort, reminded me of the Kaffir herdsmen, every word of whose voices I have heard from hill-tops at distances that seemed incredible.

I have on occasions of ceremony seen the women with under- 292
clothing fastened round the middle in addition to the above 531
everyday costume. I may observe that they often embroider the corners of these robes with blue thread, and shew very considerable taste in the devices.

Neither slippers nor sandals are ever seen among them, men, 291
women, and children alike, going barefooted. The young children are generally pleasing in their appearance. I noticed that the 142
boys up to eight or ten years old are of the same light colour as the girls, the dark hue of later life being gradually developed with each year's exposure to the sun and mountain air until the age of manhood. It is to be noted, however, of the females that, though equally exposed to climatic influences, their complexions remain nearly the same all through life.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

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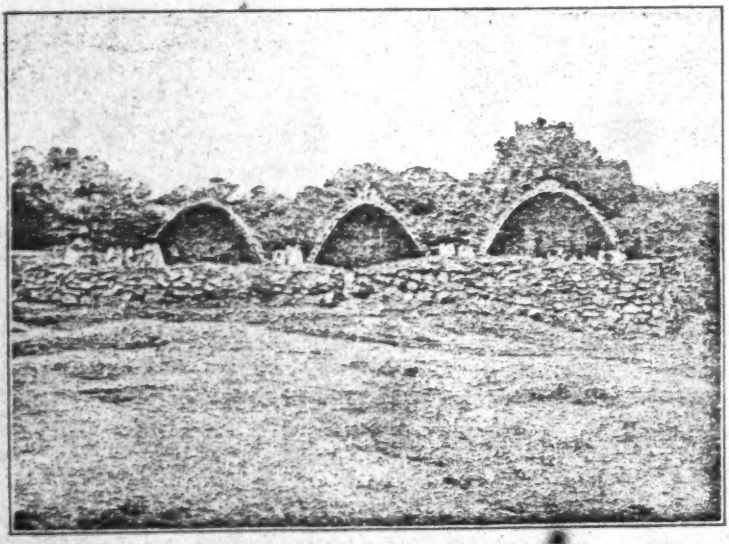

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FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

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363
562

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

211 out by the dairyman, and when going for this purpose they
363 must keep to the *majvatitthkalvol.* This path is sometimes
562 indicated by a stone, the *majvatitthkars*, and the spot where the women stand to receive the buttermilk is called the *majvatvaiidrn.*

At many villages there are other stones which have definite

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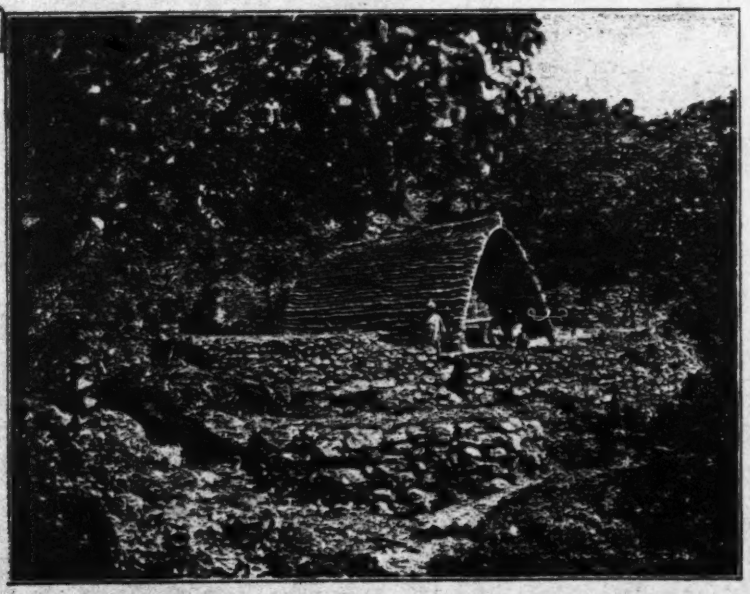

FIG. 7.—THE CHIEF HOUSE OF THE VILLAGE OF KIUDR.

names and mark the sites where certain ceremonial functions are performed.

342 The house is called *ars*, and is of the kind shown in Fig. 7. It is shaped like half a barrel, with the barrel-like roof and sides projecting for a considerable distance beyond the front partition containing the door. The size of the hut is by no means constant; in some cases it is sufficiently roomy to enable people to move about with ease and comfort, while in others it is so small that it is unbearably stuffy, and the smoke from the fire, which is always burning, makes it difficult to believe that anyone can long live in it. The entrance to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

372 is probably also the case at the first funeral ceremony. I did not definitely ask whether fire by friction is ever made by a woman, but I am fairly confident that this would never happen.

I only heard of one case in which men were prohibited from making fire. The Kidmadol and Karshol, who suffer under several disabilities, are not allowed to make fire by friction, and this is due to a quarrel with their parent-clan many years ago.

Whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose[1] the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call *kiaz* or *keadj*, except in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which the wood of *muli* is used.

There are also definite regulations as to the kind of wood which is to be burnt in the fires of all ceremonial occasions. In various ceremonies I have recorded the Toda names of the woods prescribed, and if more were known about their identity, it is possible that some light might be thrown on the original home of the Todas, in the same way as has been suggested in the case of the sacred *tudr* tree.

STONES

778 The Todas have many stones which may be held to have
487 some degree of sanctity; certainly many have their place in the religious ceremonial. All these stones have names, either
211 general or individual, but two stones with the same name need not necessarily have the same function.

At the *ti* there are stones marking the spots where the dairy vessels are taken up and put down during the migration ceremonies, but the most interesting stones at these dairies are those called *neurzülnkars*. At several dairies these stones are anointed, and their appearance indicates that they have undergone the process for very long periods of time; at other places they are so weathered and worn away that they must obviously be of great antiquity. At some dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* these stones take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh* in the ceremonies accompanying migration, but at other places they are said to have different uses.

[1] For the special method employed see p. 581.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At an ordinary village the stones usually belong to one of the following classes :— 778

(*a*) Stones to mark off boundaries or places, such as the *majvatvaikars*, marking the path or spot used by the women in fetching buttermilk from the dairy. 487 211

(*b*) Stones used in the ceremonies in which offerings are made, the *irnörtkars* and the *pilinörtkars*.

(*c*) Funeral stones, at which the buffaloes are killed. These are, of course, only found at funeral villages, but there are certain other stones, such as the *imudrikars*, which may be found in any village. Such a stone may mark the spot where the body is laid, or may even, as in the case of the *imudrikars* of Kars, form a mound on which the body is laid.

(*d*) Stones in or near the *tu* or buffalo pen, such as the *mutchudkars* and *pudothkars*. I do not know the origin or use of these, but in some villages there are stones in the pen marking the places where the *mu* or dairy vessels are buried, and it is possible that the above stones are in some way connected with the buried dairy-vessels.

(*e*) The lifting stone or *tukitthkars*. This is usually a large round stone which sometimes resembles in appearance stones of a ceremonial character.[1]

(*f*) Commemorative stones. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 13), and certain stones with the same name lying between Nòdrs and Teidr, had their origin in events connected with the death of a man belonging to the village of Teidr who was once *wursol* at Nòdrs. When he was told to milk one of the buffaloes, he replied, "If I milk it, the milk will not fill this place," pointing to a small depression on his thumb. Still the people told him to milk, and when he did so the milking-vessel was completely filled. Then the *palikartmokh* was very angry, and, taking the wand which the *wursol* was carrying, he struck him so that he flew in the air and fell down midway between Nòdrs and Teidr. When the people came to the place they found that the man was dead, and they tried to take up his body and carry it to the funeral place. But 211 778 773

[1] Burton (*Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 316) brands the Todas as inveterate liars, because, evidently owing to some misunderstanding, he was told that a "putting stone" was the "grandfather of the gods."

211 the body would not move and so they held the funeral on the
773 spot and made a *tu*. At the entrance of the *tu* they placed
two women carrying pounders[1] in place of the posts or *tüli*,
778 and these women were changed into stones and their pounders
became the *tasth* of the entrance of the pen. The stones
which are now found on the spot are the remains of the pen
and the *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs marks the spot where the *wursol*
milked the buffalo.

In the village of Tovalkan there is a mound shown in Fig.

FIG. 59.—THE MEMORIAL OF KEIREVAN.

59 which is much like the *imudrikars* of Kars, but it is of modern origin, having been made to mark the spot where Keirevan (26) fell out of a tree and was killed.

(*g*) Stones connected with special features of the dairy ceremonial. I only know of one stone of this kind at a village, the *pâtsatthkars* of Nidrsi, on which the *palikartmokh* puts milk every morning and evening.

778 Stones are often used for more than one purpose; thus, the

[1] It will be remembered that at the *azaramkedr* of a woman, two women stand at the entrance of the *azaram* one of whom holds a pounder in her hands.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, 526
and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good performance.

At many villages there is a large globular stone called 147
tukitthkars (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games 526
this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the 778
shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukitthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings.

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed 517
by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of 526
such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking 211
the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, 525
one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream 177
called Kavageir, winning eighteen *nakh* (three-year-old

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts, so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum. 621 351 234

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*. 211 621 778

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among 234 621

Pushtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tesherst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed. 621

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members. 618 621

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pòlm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood. [211]

KANÒDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of [177] 618 234

CHAP. IV. fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

793 124 But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

463 554 793 Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

212 788 793 No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

000 234 788 The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive the existence of any very mystic rites among them. Whatever is done in these tirieris, is known to every intelligent

715 The Todas, as we have said, believe in a Heaven and Hell, the latter represented by a river or swamp full of leeches. The road to *Âmunâd* (Heaven) lies across this stream, and those who have already reached their Paradise, make for new-comers a bridge formed of a single thread, which will bear a good man, but breaks under the weight of a sinner, and precipitates him into *Pâférigén** (Hell) (from *pâf*, leech; *éri*, place; *gén*, water), where he remains until he has expiated his offences. I asked particularly what became of the slaughtered buffaloes meanwhile, but my informant had evidently taken this economical question into consideration, and replied that they crossed higher up, and were utilized by the dead man's family until his penance was over.

[776] *Âmunâd* is presided over by Ēn, a deified Toda, on whose authority the Todas believe it to be "a good place." Their description of it however does not seem attractive. They say that here men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that in *Âmunâd* the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism† between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of *Âmunâd* probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. *Cf. Institutes, X.* 84. "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame: for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

The bridge of thread recalls the Mahomedan Al Sirât, and the Badagas have a similar tradition, which receives a curious illustration from the actual practice of the Khâsias, when carrying home the remains of any of their number who may have died at a distance. "The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade through water, and if they trust themselves to it, would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and, if the breadth is great, this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow, merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the 'string bridge'"‡

Our own old superstition about the inability of witches to cross running water seems a reproduction of the same idea.

page 212 197 The Todas have no written language. Captain Harkness§ speaking of their dialect says, "It appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries. With the Sanscrit it has not the least affinity in roots, construction, or sound, and if I may venture to say so, as little with any Asiatic language of the present day."

Major Ross King gives a similar account in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.

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* Dr. Pope (*Outlines*, &c.) says "pâf, an insect, is probably old Kanarese-purlu. It must, however, be stated that the words in which *f* is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace."

† Compare *Genesis* i. 28, and iv. 12; also *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, page 246, story of Pritha and Prithivi.

‡ *On the Stone Monuments of the Khâsi Hill Tribes*, by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen. *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, October 1871, Vol. I., No. II.

§ *Nilgherry Hills*, p. 25.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXIX.

OUTLINES

OF THE

TUDA GRAMMAR.

I. THE ALPHABET.

§ 1. THE TUḌA LANGUAGE has no compositions, written or unwritten, not a ballad nor a scrap of anything to indicate intellectual activity. The Tuḍas, like their buffalos, are fine animals; but they are the least cultivated of the Drâviḍian race. CHAP. XXIX. 212

No trace remains of the employment by them of any written character: it is probable, therefore, that they separated from the other Drâviḍians before the 'ur-sprache' of those tribes was reduced to writing.

§ 2. This language, of which but a very scanty fragment remains in use, has more sounds than any other Drâviḍian dialect, and some of these are peculiar to it, seeming to have been modified by the position and habits of the tribe. 194

The Tuḍas chiefly converse in the open air, calling to each other from one breezy hill-top to another. Their speech sounds like Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind. 191

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

fellow tribesmen. To this man finger-prints came as no novelty, since his impressions were recorded both in England and America.

Writing in 1870,* Colonel W. Ross King stated that the Todas had just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. At the present day, a few write, and many converse fluently in Tamil. The Nilgiri C.M.S. Tamil mission has extended its sphere of work to the Todas, and I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a Toda version of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The English say that once upon a time a rich man and a poor man died. At the funeral of the rich man, there was a great tamāsha (spectacle), and many buffaloes were sacrificed. But, for the funeral of the poor man, neither music nor buffaloes were provided. The English believe that in the next world the poor man was as well off as the rich man; so that, when any one dies, it is of no use spending money on the funeral ceremonies. Two mission schools have been established, one at Ootacamund, the other near Paikāra. At the latter I have seen a number of children of both sexes reading elementary Tamil and English, and doing simple arithmetic.

A few years ago a Toda boy was baptised at Tinnevelly, and remained there for instruction. It was hoped that he would return to the hills as an evangelist among his people.† In 1907, five young Toda women were baptised at the C.M.S. Mission chapel, Ootacamund. "They were clothed in white, with a white cloth over their heads, such as the Native Christians wear. A number of Christian Badagas had assembled to witness the ceremony, and join in the service."

* Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills.
† Madras Diocesan Magazine, November, 1907.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
● 212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[241] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

[77] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh*
173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.
234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr,
773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given
●221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the
234 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to
621 the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil,
773 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tìdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tìdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *unir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tìdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
123

CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

At certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

234x Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
778 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
783 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
776 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a
month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there
621 is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]
234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
221 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I
796 cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary
221 work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the
796 women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpun*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*ekirzam meidjam*," the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray,
[415 using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the
482] milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütusht*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

[562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x On reaching the new village, the palikartmokh purifies
221
796

the dairy by throwing into it water mixed with *tudr* bark.[1] The dairy things are taken off the sticks at an appointed spot. The *palikartmokh* salutes the sun with *irkarthpun* and *madth* as in the morning, and then all pray. After the prayer, the *palikartmokh* takes some ferns (*taf*) and puts them on the place within the dairy where the things of the *patatmar* are to stand, and these are put in their places on the ferns. The things of the *ertatmar* are then arranged in the same way. The *palikartmokh* makes fire by friction, lights the lamp, and then goes to milk the buffaloes. If he has brought milk with him, he will churn it. Meanwhile a ceremony called *nòtiteiti* will have been performed by a little girl about six or seven years of age in those cases in which all the inhabitants of the village are migrating. Before leaving the village from which the people are coming this girl will have been given food in the dairy. On reaching the new place, the girl plucks three blades of the slender grass called *kakar* and goes to the front of the dairy and sweeps the threshold with the grass. She does this with her right arm outside her cloak, and when she has swept she bows down with her forehead to the threshold three times. If there is more than one dairy, she sweeps the threshold of each. The *palikartmokh* then gives her a small handful of butter and the girl goes to the huts. Up to this time the women will have been waiting near the village, but when they see that the girl has performed her ceremony, they go to the huts and prepare the food called *ashkkartpimi*.[2]

When the *palikartmokh* has finished milking, he also prepares food, and when it is ready he throws some into the fire, *tòrtütrsersthi*, "food into the fire he throws," and then gives out the food to the people, and they eat both this and that prepared by the women.

At some places the ceremonial is more complicated than at others, the degree of elaboration depending on the sacredness of the dairy to which the buffaloes are going. When they migrate to the especially sacred village of Kiudr the extra

[1] This is probably only true of Teivali dairies.

[2] This is a special food used on important ceremonial occasions, the mode of preparation of which is given in Chapter XXIV.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234x
221
796

complexity seems to depend on the presence of the bells of the dairy of that village. When the *palikartmokh* reaches Kiudr, he puts the dairy things he has brought with him at the back of the dairy. Another *palikartmokh* goes into the inner room and brings out the bells called *patatmani* and lays them by stones called *neurzülnkars* at one side of the dairy (see Fig. 31). He enters again and brings out four *ertatmani*, which he lays by the side of another group of stones called *neurzülnkars* (see Fig. 32). The second *palikartmokh* then

[343]

FIG. 31.—THE DAIRY OF KIUDR WITH THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' ETAMUDRI (58); ON THE RIGHT OF THE DAIRY ABOVE AND TO THE LEFT OF THE HEAD OF ETAMUDRI IS THE STONE CALLED 'NEURZÜLNKARS,' BY WHICH THE 'PATATMANI' IS LAID.

purifies the dairy with *tudr* bark and puts the vessels which have been brought to Kiudr in their places on a bed of ferns in the way which has been described. After all the vessels are in their places, he takes the *patatmani* to the dairy stream, while the first *palikartmokh* brings *tudr* bark. The *tudr* bark is pounded and the juice squeezed over the bells. The two *patatmani*, having thus been purified, are then put on a forked stick and carried to their usual place in the dairy. The same

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234x 796 the same procedure is repeated with the *ertatmani*, which are strung on a piece of bamboo and hung on another piece of bamboo which projects from the wall on the *ertat* side of the dairy. Then milk is put on the *patatmani* and buttermilk on the *ertatmani* as usual.

[778]

FIG. 32.—THE 'NEURZÜLNKARS' OF KIUDR, BY THE SIDE OF WHICH THE 'ERTATMANI' ARE LAID.

MIGRATION OF THE TI BUFFALOES

234x 233 221 796 I obtained a very full account of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* and will first give an account of the proceedings for this herd.

The Toda year begins during October with the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* (see Chap. XIII) and at this time the buffaloes should be standing at Mòdr, near Paikara. Soon after this ceremony, the herd goes to Anto, the most important and sacred of the *ti* places. They stay here for a month and then go to Majòdr, not far from Makurti Peak, where they

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

stay during the dry season, stopping about three months or longer, according to the nature of the weather. It is often not until May is reached that the buffaloes return to Mòdr and stay there till August, when they cross the Paikara river to the two dairies, Òdrtho and Kudreiil, on the opposite bank. The *tiir* stay at Òdrtho and the *warsir* at Kudreiil for a month and then both return to Mòdr.

In 1902 this plan was very much disturbed. In order to go from Mòdr to Òdrtho and Kudreiil the herds and their attendants have to cross the river, and under no circumstances is the *palol* allowed to cross by the bridge. He usually watches his opportunity till the river is low enough at a certain ford to allow him to cross, but the summer of 1902 was unusually wet and the river was never sufficiently low to allow the passage, and in consequence Òdrtho and Kudreiil were not visited in that year.

Later it was arranged that the migration to Anto should take place on November 2nd. I was told that I might accompany the procession for part of the way, and was looking forward greatly to the occasion, as it was evident that it was my only chance of seeing and photographing the contents of the dairy. As the day approached, the migration was postponed because Teitnir, who was celebrating the funeral ceremonies of his wife and was therefore *ichchil*, had crossed the way by which the procession would have to pass. The ceremony was next arranged for November 23rd, but was then further postponed till the 30th. This was the last Sunday before the day on which I intended to leave the hills, and again I made arrangements to see the proceedings. No sooner had I done so than I was told that the procession was postponed for a week and was to take place on the day after I had left Ootacamund. I at once altered my plans and arranged to see the procession on December 7th. A new obstacle at once intervened, and I was told that the journey to Anto was deferred indefinitely, and, as I learnt afterwards from Samuel, the buffaloes did not go to Anto at all that year, but went direct from Mòdr to Majòdr on Wednesday, January 7th. All this occurred after the misfortunes had happened to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were
234K believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—
221 and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements
233 and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due
796 to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certainly vanish.

234K As we have seen, the migration to the relatively un-
221 important dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday,
796 but when going to the more important places a Sunday must be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the
197 new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also accompany the procession. [177]

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take part in the procession must go without food on the morning of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual. The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the *pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere, is in or near the wall of the *tu*. 234x 221 796

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*. The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions. 234x 284 415 482

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the *pütusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug* is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar* are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back, one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy, and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi* is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate between those of the inner and those of the outer room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its 796

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The procession then starts with the *mòrol* at its head. In some cases a halt is made when passing certain places, and prayer is offered by the *palol*. In going from Mòdr to Anto the procession stops first at Pòrstib near Tedshteiri village (belonging to the Nòdrsol), where the *wars palol* puts the staff carrying the *mani* on a stone and prays while touching the staff with his hands. The next halt is made at Ponvtüt, where the buffaloes separate from the *palol* and follow a slightly different route, and here the *wars palol* again prays. The procession halts for a third time at a place called Teirpül, near Anto, but this time it is the *ti palol* who prays after having placed the churning stick and bell on a stone.

On its way to Anto the procession passes near the village of Kiudr. When the buffaloes are seen to be coming, the women leave the house and go to the outskirts of the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve and broom, and wait there while the procession is going by. All the people of Kiudr fast on this day till after the buffaloes have passed.

It was said that on this day the *palikartmokh* of Kiudr used to rub clarified butter on the stones called *neurzülnkars*, but there was some doubt about this, and if the custom ever existed it seems to have fallen into disuse.

According to some accounts, certain clauses especially referring to the migration of the *ti* buffaloes are used in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see Chap. X).

On reaching the outskirts of the new place, the Todas who have accompanied the procession go away. The staff carried by the *mòrol* is taken off by the *kaltmokh*, who is again very careful that the vessels do not touch their bearer. Although the *mòrol* is allowed to carry some of the less sacred vessels, care is taken throughout that the vessels shall not be contaminated by touching his body or his clothing.

All the dairy vessels are taken off and laid by a stone called the *perskars*, and then follows the ceremony of *peputi*. Each *palol* has carried with him some milk in one of the *persin*. Some of this is poured into the *peptòrzum*[1] and given to certain buffaloes, one of each kind belonging to the *ti*; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti*, the milk is given to five buffaloes, to three by one *palol*

[1] The vessel derives its name from this ceremony.

234* and to two by the other. The milk may be given to buffaloes
221 directly from the *tòrzum*, or it may be poured into the hands of the *palol* from which the appointed buffaloes drink.

796 The next business is the purification of the dairy, called
415 *nòdrkorsi arspishpimi*—*i.e.*, we wash with *nòdrkorsi*. The *palol* goes to the dairy spring or *kwoinir* with the *karitòrzum*, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm. He throws *tudr* bark into the spring, fills the *karitòrzum* and returns. He puts *tudr* bark into the *karitòrzum* and also into the *idrkwoi* and then pours the water from the *karitòrzum* into the *idrkwoi*, which he takes to the dairy and throws the water with his hands first over the dairy vessels and then well into the dairy itself so that it penetrates to the inner room. He throws the water first on the floor, then to the roof and to the sides, three times to each. Next he takes three sprigs of the plant ordinarily called *kabudri* (*Euphorbia Rothiana*), but at the *ti* called *nòdrkorsi* and ties it over the door of the dairy.

The dairy vessels, which have been untied and placed on the ground near the *perskars*, are then purified and put in their places. The *palol* first takes up the *peptòrzum* with the *persinkudriki* within it, the *kòghlag*, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet*, all in the right hand, and carries them to the front of the dairy, where he repeats certain *kwarzam* of the prayer, then turns to the east and says the whole prayer of the dairy, salutes the dairy holding the four things to his forehead, enters, puts the things except the *kwoinörtpet* in their places, comes out with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without turning his back to the interior of the dairy, and shuts the door of the building. He then takes in the other vessels of the inner room, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without repeating the prayer. One *persin* is taken in first, then the others, the *karitòrzum* and the *tedshk*. Then the *mani* is taken, being carried in the right hand and laid temporarily on the floor near the *persin*; when taking in the bell certain *kwarzam* are said.

234* The wand called *pokvet* is next taken in and laid in its
796 place, and then the things intermediate between the inner and outer room—viz., the lamp, which is hung in its place, and

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Ödrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234* At some time during the day following the arrival at the new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
●221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nödrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nödrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—*i.e.*, "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that *erdpunrs* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the day following the migration. 234x 221 796

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*.

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season, returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*. 234x 221 233 621 796

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *maui* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neurzülnkars*. I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*. [778]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAND.

Todas a pastoral Race—Definition of a Nomad—Todas migrate, but are not nomadic—The Mand or Village—Construction of Houses—Interior Arrangement of Houses—The surrounding Wall—The Cattle-pen—The Dairy or Pâlthchi—Typical Plan of a Mand—Selection of Village Sites—Names of Villages.

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[18] 231 221

THE TODAS are a purely pastoral race; occupying themselves almost entirely in the bucolic pursuit of herding buffalos, of which they are in possession of a very fine species. They keep no other description of animals, save cats—Kotti.

As they do not attempt cultivation of the soil, they have rather hastily been styled nomads. Taking that term to imply a tribe which, *without fixed place of residence*, wanders in quest of food—whether that be game or pasture for its cattle—the word is a misnomer as applied to the Todas.

Indeed, from the many primitive races found in various parts of the world, which with striking deficiency of development in the organs of Acquisitiveness, Constructiveness, Order, and Number, are also distinguished by the peculiarity, common to them all, of not tilling the soil, we may select links of a complete gradation in idle mode of life; from the lowest, or ever-wandering predatory class which lives by begging and theft: through several varieties of the nomadic shepherd and hunter: up to the *settled* pastoral races, amongst which we class the Todas; who, with a very strong bias in favour of a permanent home, *yet migrate* once a year, compelled

to do so, simply in order by change of pasture, to obtain a sufficiency of food for the cattle, on whose milk they almost entirely subsist. CHAP. VI.

221

I make free to assert that no tribe of people, having the organ of Concentrativeness so largely and so uniformly developed as it is with the Todas, will ever be found to be habitual wanderers. Whether it be, that in the early days of the human race, circumstances having forced a family of man to become nomadic, the form of its skull gradually changed in the course of many generations, so as to adapt the man's disposition to his necessities; or if, on the contrary, the wandering habit be largely the result of defective size of that faculty; certain it is, that practice and corresponding cranial form are now in harmony, and that a small development of Concentrativeness will be found ever accompanied by a centrifugal tendency; attachment to a settled home being strong in proportion to the organ's volume, strong even to the extent of producing nostalgia when thwarted, if associated with remembrances of home and landscape. 231 000

Toda families reside in permanent villages—Mand or Madd—having each a certain tract of grazing ground surrounding it. Each minor division of the family has a house —Ársh—in the Mand, and a share of the village land. 621 361 221 132

Nearly every Mand, however, has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire body of the inhabitants migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of situations which become exposed to the west-monsoon rain and wind.

These storms drive at times with such intense severity over the wilds, that although at the time, the actual thermal state may be far from low, yet the evaporation induced by the extreme violence of the rain is known to lower the temperature of the body so as frequently to cause death to man and beast. Wild animals cower during these storms under 000

CHAP. VI. the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tiriêri Mand described—Names of Tiriêri—We visit the Tiriêri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

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343 234 342

A tiriêri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi, in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tiriêris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth Kudar
Mâr Markush
Puzhash.

361 621 221

And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and even triplicates, so these tiriêri Mands have also their corresponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII. on the Bell-gods.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and ●221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWGO Toda AWGO

221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and
563 original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
651 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

825 As we have seen (p. 417), there is a belief that a man who fails in the performance of certain sacred duties may be killed by a tiger, but the Todas do not appear to fear this animal except on behalf of their buffaloes, and I could only learn of one case in which a Toda had been killed, and as his name was not known it must have occurred very long ago, or may have been altogether mythical.

The Jackal.—I was told by my interpreter that he had seen the Todas saluting a jackal, but I did not hear of any beliefs associated with the practice.

825 262 174 *The Sambhar.*—The most interesting point in connexion with this animal is the fact that the Todas are undoubtedly permitted to eat its flesh. Kutadri, who was most scrupulous in his obedience to the customs of his people, had no reluctance in eating sambhar flesh, and when he had fallen ill soon after, he never thought of ascribing his illness to what was probably its real cause, which shows clearly that there could have been no idea that he had done anything forbidden or unorthodox.

The fact that the Todas may eat the flesh of the sambhar while taking that of no other animal, except ceremonially, might well be looked upon as an indication that there may at one time have been totemic restrictions on food. In their earlier homes, before they reached the Nilgiri Hills, it is probable that the sambhar was an unknown animal, and could not therefore have been a totem. Consequently, when they came to the Nilgiris, they would have found there an animal on the eating of the flesh of which there were no restrictions, and the absence of restriction would, on this hypothesis, have continued to the present day. The eating of sambhar flesh would be the proverbial exception that proves the rule.

[224] It seems to me possible, however, that there is a different reason for the absence of any prohibition. The Todas have no weapons with which they could kill a sambhar, and if this animal is ever killed by Kotas or Kurumbas, the mere fact that it had been killed by these people would probably be a sufficient reason why the Todas should not eat its flesh.

It is possible that it is only since the advent of Europeans

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 284 THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 457 439 427 The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swâmi! Swâmi![7] then places it on the ground as a present to bhumi tai[8] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors. 264 788

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonised the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[9]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffalos, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere striplings armed with light wands; knowing that the amimals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe. 136 233 857 411

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of 411 224

[7] Swâmi = *lord.*

[8] Bhumi tai = *earth mother.* It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[9] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog.* May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (one)*?

CHAP. VIII.

224 the processes for driving game known throughout India. No idea of defence appears to have been entertained, or of obstruction, brighter than that of making the doors of their houses so small, that to enter them they must crouch, and crawl through the openings on all fours. No mode of catching game, more skilful than is implied in the beating the wild-dogs off the prey they have hunted down and are worrying, is known to them.

231 Had the Todas felt any disposition to add to the varieties of their food, or to increase the amount of their animal stock, or to indulge in meat diet, the surrounding country at once afforded them precedents and examples of people who had domesticated cows, sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry. Some exception might have been taken by them to the introduction of cows and sheep on pasture land which the august buffalo alone, should be permitted to enjoy : yet, as they narrate, they have brought home young bison, hoping to tame them, though failing in their attempt to do so. But fowls, pigs, and goats would have kept entirely to the woods adjoining the villages.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
765 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which
174 this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āzārams*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bêtikhân,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotê beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
411 are still expert archers.

The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel
224 Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pûtkuli, tharp, kôsu, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tôr* or funeral ear of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

174 mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then
411 expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

224 The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilisation: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by samber* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

174 It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

764 The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat
765 similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkvur* probably represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

784 The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

000 It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Sámber, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilization and primitive condition of Man*, page 331 :—
"The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet "would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!

Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 451 :—
"Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful, "and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly "improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page* 37. He says that among the *Hos* and *Moondahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections as if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of cairns at the end of this volume.

1; Rivers
231, 233, 825

Toda

[See category 234 for complete information about Toda buffaloes]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

his dairy the *palol* always turns to the left, so that he faces north-east as he goes towards his buffaloes. In a few dairies the door faces directly west, and, according to Breeks, this is the case at the conical dairy of Anto. 343

THE TODA BUFFALO

The Toda buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo, but the life on the hills seems to have produced a much finer animal than that of the plains. Although thoroughly under the control of the Todas, the buffaloes are semi-wild and often attack people of a different race from their owners, and Europeans have frequently been severely injured by the onslaught of these animals. 136 231 234 825

The Toda name for the male buffalo is *er*, and for the female *ir*, but either term may be used when the people speak of buffaloes collectively. Calves have different designations at different ages. A young calf is *kar*, one from one to two years of age is *pol*, and a three-year-old calf is *nakh*.

Defective buffaloes, and especially those with only one horn, are called *kwadrir*, and those whose horns bend downwards are *kughir*. Barren buffaloes are called *maiir*.

There are considerable differences of colour among the buffaloes. Those much lighter than the rest are called *nerir* or *pushtir*, and there is a legend about the origin of these buffaloes, which, however, I failed to obtain. The only obvious way in which the animals differ from one another in marking is that some have a black stripe running down either side of the neck very much in the position which would be occupied by the chain suspending a bell.

There do not seem to be any physical differences between the buffaloes of different classes, and, as we shall see shortly, the nature of the breeding of the Toda buffaloes is such as would have entirely destroyed any distinctions of the kind if they had ever existed.

Every adult female buffalo has an individual name, which is usually given when her first calf is born. The number of buffalo names is limited, so that many buffaloes bear the same name. 234 552

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

174 to the Nilgiris, and the extensive slaughter of sambhar which
262 followed it, that the Todas have thought of eating the flesh of this animal, and as no prohibition against the eating of its
825 flesh has been handed down to them, they have no reluctance in satisfying in this way the liking for animal food which the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony keeps in existence, if it does not actually stimulate it.

231 *The Cat.*—This animal, which is called *koti* or *kwoti*, is
825 domesticated by the Todas. The cat is mentioned in the legend of the tiger recorded in this section, and the earliest writers on the Todas speak of them as keeping these animals. I have seen them on the walls of the dairies, and believe that they are allowed to go wherever they please. The only occasion on which they come into ceremonial is at the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, where the spleen is specially put aside to be given to the cat, and is on this account called *kwotinerûf*.

The dog occurs in the story of Kwoten and several other animals are mentioned in the prayers and incantations, chiefly as sources of danger to the buffaloes. In the incantation for the relief of headache given on p. 265, the names of many animals are uttered, probably with the intention that their heads may acquire the pain which is being charmed away from the head of the sufferer.

Trees and Plants

778 The most sacred tree of the Todas is undoubtedly the *tudr*
824 (Fig. 58). This name is given by the Todas to two species, *Meliosma pungens* and *M. wightii*, the two trees resembling one another closely.

The bark is largely used in the dairy ceremonial, and especially in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol* and other dairymen drawn from the Teivaliol and Melgarsol. Its use is especially connected with the people of these sections of the Toda community, but the rest of the Tartharol undergo a ceremony at the second funeral in which *tudr* is used, and this was said to have the purpose that every Toda should be purified with *tudr* before he enters on the future life.

A log and leaves of *tudr* are also used in the ceremony of

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[For the association of buffaloes with Toda funeral rites, see category 116, pp. 174-185.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAND.

Todas a pastoral Race—Definition of a Nomad—Todas migrate, but are not nomadic—The Mand or Village—Construction of Houses—Interior Arrangement of Houses—The surrounding Wall—The Cattle-pen—The Dairy or Pâlthchi—Typical Plan of a Mand—Selection of Village Sites—Names of Villages.

CHAP. VI.

[181] 231 221

THE TODAS are a purely pastoral race; occupying themselves almost entirely in the bucolic pursuit of herding buffalos, of which they are in possession of a very fine species. They keep no other description of animals, save cats—Kotti.

As they do not attempt cultivation of the soil, they have rather hastily been styled nomads. Taking that term to imply a tribe which, *without fixed place of residence*, wanders in quest of food—whether that be game or pasture for its cattle—the word is a misnomer as applied to the Todas.

Indeed, from the many primitive races found in various parts of the world, which with striking deficiency of development in the organs of Acquisitiveness, Constructiveness, Order, and Number, are also distinguished by the peculiarity, common to them all, of not tilling the soil, we may select links of a complete gradation in idle mode of life; from the lowest, or ever-wandering predatory class which lives by begging and theft: through several varieties of the nomadic shepherd and hunter: up to the *settled* pastoral races, amongst which we class the Todas; who, with a very strong bias in favour of a permanent home, *yet migrate* once a year, compelled

to do so, simply in order by change of pasture, to obtain a sufficiency of food for the cattle, on whose milk they almost entirely subsist.

I make free to assert that no tribe of people, having the organ of Concentrativeness so largely and so uniformly developed as it is with the Todas, will ever be found to be habitual wanderers. Whether it be, that in the early days of the human race, circumstances having forced a family of man to become nomadic, the form of its skull gradually changed in the course of many generations, so as to adapt the man's disposition to his necessities; or if, on the contrary, the wandering habit be largely the result of defective size of that faculty; certain it is, that practice and corresponding cranial form are now in harmony, and that a small development of Concentrativeness will be found ever accompanied by a centrifugal tendency; attachment to a settled home being strong in proportion to the organ's volume, strong even to the extent of producing nostalgia when thwarted, if associated with remembrances of home and landscape.

Toda families reside in permanent villages—Mand or Madd—having each a certain tract of grazing ground surrounding it. Each minor division of the family has a house —Ársh—in the Mand, and a share of the village land.

Nearly every Mand, however, has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire body of the inhabitants migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of situations which become exposed to the west-monsoon rain and wind.

These storms drive at times with such intense severity over the wilds, that although at the time, the actual thermal state may be far from low, yet the evaporation induced by the extreme violence of the rain is known to lower the temperature of the body so as frequently to cause death to man and beast. Wild animals cower during these storms under

CHAP. VIII.

224

the processes for driving game known throughout India. No idea of defence appears to have been entertained, or of obstruction, brighter than that of making the doors of their houses so small, that to enter them they must crouch, and crawl through the openings on all fours. No mode of catching game, more skilful than is implied in the beating the wild-dogs off the prey they have hunted down and are worrying, is known to them.

231

Had the Todas felt any disposition to add to the varieties of their food, or to increase the amount of their animal stock, or to indulge in meat diet, the surrounding country at once afforded them precedents and examples of people who had domesticated cows, sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry. Some exception might have been taken by them to the introduction of cows and sheep on pasture land which the august buffalo alone, should be permitted to enjoy: yet, as they narrate, they have brought home young bison, hoping to tame them, though failing in their attempt to do so. But fowls, pigs, and goats would have kept entirely to the woods adjoining the villages.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BELL-GODS.

A religion based on the care of the Cow—Milk a Divine fluid—The Cattle-bell, a God—The Bell-cow—Her ancestral line—The Bell-god—Installation of the Bell-cow—The Tiriṭri—The sacred Herd—Bulls of the Herd—Sanctification of Bulls—Agnate law amongst the Todas; Female succession for their Cattle—Antiquity of Bell-gods.

CHAP. XIII.

181 231 234

NOTHING amongst the peculiarities of this very peculiar people is more striking than the absorbing importance they attach to all duties connected with the management of the buffalo and her chief product. The animal is the focus of all village life; the nucleus or centre upon which their entire religio-social system is based. One cannot imagine the Toda apart from a consideration of his buffalo; and when we reflect how entirely dependent the man is upon the animal—how, with only a light and pleasant expenditure of patience and perseverance, he finds the coarse grass of his hills turned into good nutriment; the care of the buffalo, so far from appearing anything extraordinary, only fits into its natural place as a necessary sequence. We are reminded, too, that the milk-giver and the bull have been, and still are, objects of especial care and of worship amongst other races that own Western Asia as their cradle-land. It also carries us back to the time when man depended upon his flocks and herds for existence. We actually see him in process of forming a religion, based upon the care of the cow.

'Few,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'who will give their minds to master the general principles of savage religion, will ever again

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, 262
except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as
yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as
some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This [462]
consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds,
which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing
the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones,
the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar
to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, 231
though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other
domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of
man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the
equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their
munds. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as
a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the Euro-
pean Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced
towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into 616
two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a 793
better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are
called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*.
These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community
somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as
it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No
marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes,
though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at.
Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry,
and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like
himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to
qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory
ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest,
naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from
wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these
elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his
fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests [292]
are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The
subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

766 the whole were clad in clean, white, soft-looking mantles, and wore ear-rings and necklaces of gold and silver. A plaintive monotonous wail was sustained while each man arriving passed before and bowed towards the dead man's ashes.

766 All the males, except one or two grey-headed old patriarchs
541 who sat with great dignity a little aside, now danced together in
●231 a circle holding hands, the Khota musicians accompanying them
782 with tom-toms and pipes. 1

When this was concluded half-a-dozen young men, evidently selected for their strength and activity, came forward, each carrying a long heavy club made of dark wood and pointed at the thicker end. Having thrown off the usual mantle, they stood in a kind of kilt of thick white cloth, having a red border round the lower edge, or skirt, the upper part of their bodies, as well as the legs, being bare. In this picturesque and most becoming costume they looked exceedingly handsome fellows, models as they were of muscular symmetry. At once advancing towards the cattle enclosure, with all the women and children running after them in the greatest excitement, these combatants leaped in among the buffaloes, the crowd instantly closing round and completely covering the wall, each endeavouring to get as good a view as possible of the coming spectacle.

The buffaloes were, as may be supposed, alarmed by these unusual proceedings, and their alarm became all the greater when the clubmen dancing wildly in their midst commenced striking them with their clubs. When their panic was at its height the men, watching their opportunity, sprang two together on the necks of three of the largest animals simultaneously, seizing them by the horns and nostrils and endeavouring to bear them to the ground, and affix a collar and bell round their necks. This bell is of the kind usually worn by one or more animals in every herd when grazing, and is of the ancient four-sided form, made of a single plate of metal and roughly riveted.

Marvellous was the agility displayed by these gladiators, as we may term them, in avoiding the savage thrusts of the huge sharp-pointed horns and in getting in behind them on to the animal's neck, wrestling in desperate strife as they were borne here and there among the trampling feet, now dashed against the wall, now on the ground.

To escape unhurt in such a combat was impossible, and it was

1 [Second funeral rites -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AU60 Toda AU60

not long before we saw one of the men receive a dangerous wound in the neck from the thrust of a horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. He at once became an object of the greatest solicitude among the women, and was led away as a hero to the small tent, where he received every care and attention at their gentle hands. 766 541 231 782

As, one after another, fresh animals were attacked and borne to the ground with terrific struggles, those already belled and liberated turned on the common enemy, angrily tossing their formidable horns and butting so savagely that, had it not been for the extreme quickness and coolness of these men, some of them must have been killed. Their clubs now swung round and aloft with greater rapidity, and the heavy blows fell thicker and faster, the loud shouts and excited gestures of the male spectators, the exulting *Hau, hau* of the combatants, the weeping and occasional shrieks of the women, the stamping and rushing in the arena, the bellowing of the buffaloes, whose nostrils were covered with blood and foam, and the circling clouds of dust half-hiding the writhing mass, formed a whole more easily pictured in the mind than in words. A bag of the deceased's ashes was now laid at the entrance to the kraal, and the high priest, taking a handful or two of earth, threw some of it on the ashes, and some into the kraal amongst the buffaloes. One of these lay dead in the enclosure, and the rest were one by one led, or rather dragged out to their final doom, struggling violently, and plunging right and left in vain endeavours to escape from their brawny captors, who still clung to their necks. Forced up to a post fixed in the ground, at the foot of which lay the robe, ornaments, and ashes brought from the temple, the battered, bleeding animals were at length despatched there by the high priest's sacrificial axe as an offering to the dead.

Though the women had beheld with interest and excitement the torture of these unfortunate brutes, they now exhibited the greatest grief at their death, sitting and kneeling round the carcases with clasped hands and streaming eyes, addressing them in the most affectionate terms, as "Are you happy?" "Is it well with you?"

The mourners, male and female, next drew near to each other in couples, the man putting out first the right foot and then the left towards the woman he approached, who, dropping on one 766

TODA AW 60
219a

To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kūng. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil kōṅku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koggu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koṅgu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kūng and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

[Melgarsh Village]

511 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following mem-
621 bers of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsod, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby
[23] calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his
428 property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the
[562] latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from
[583] their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Kōji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkîsi, and Òrsum.

234 552 778 Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumpthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

232 234 778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

114 234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

Toda

1: Rivers
231, 233, 825

[See category 234 for complete information about Toda buffaloes]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
123

CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

At certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

234x
221
233
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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
778 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
783 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
796 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a
month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there
621 is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian
motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]
234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
221 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I
796 cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and
for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

234* the same procedure is repeated with the *ertatmani*, which are strung on
796 a piece of bamboo and hung on another piece of bamboo which projects from the wall on the *ertat* side of the dairy. Then milk is put on the *patatmani* and buttermilk on the *ertatmani* as usual.

[778]

FIG. 32.—THE 'NEURZÜLNKARS' OF KIUDR, BY THE SIDE OF WHICH THE 'ERTATMANI' ARE LAID.

MIGRATION OF THE TI BUFFALOES

234* I obtained a very full account of the migration of the
233 buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* and will first give an account of
221 the proceedings for this herd.

796 The Toda year begins during October with the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* (see Chap. XIII) and at this time the buffaloes should be standing at Mòdr, near Paikara. Soon after this ceremony, the herd goes to Anto, the most important and sacred of the *ti* places. They stay here for a month and then go to Majòdr, not far from Makurti Peak, where they

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

stay during the dry season, stopping about three months or longer, according to the nature of the weather. It is often not until May is reached that the buffaloes return to Mòdr and stay there till August, when they cross the Paikara river to the two dairies, Òdrtho and Kudreiil, on the opposite bank. The *tiir* stay at Òdrtho and the *warsir* at Kudreiil for a month and then both return to Mòdr.

In 1902 this plan[1] was very much disturbed. In order to go from Mòdr to Òdrtho and Kudreiil the herds and their attendants have to cross the river, and under no circumstances is the *palol* allowed to cross by the bridge. He usually watches his opportunity till the river is low enough at a certain ford to allow him to cross, but the summer of 1902 was unusually wet and the river was never sufficiently low to allow the passage, and in consequence Òdrtho and Kudreiil were not visited in that year.

Later it was arranged that the migration to Anto should take place on November 2nd. I was told that I might accompany the procession for part of the way, and was looking forward greatly to the occasion, as it was evident that it was my only chance of seeing and photographing the contents of the dairy. As the day approached, the migration was postponed because Teitnir, who was celebrating the funeral ceremonies of his wife and was therefore *ichchil*, had crossed the way by which the procession would have to pass. The ceremony was next arranged for November 23rd, but was then further postponed till the 30th. This was the last Sunday before the day on which I intended to leave the hills, and again I made arrangements to see the proceedings. No sooner had I done so than I was told that the procession was postponed for a week and was to take place on the day after I had left Ootacamund. I at once altered my plans and arranged to see the procession on December 7th. A new obstacle at once intervened, and I was told that the journey to Anto was deferred indefinitely, and, as I learnt afterwards from Samuel, the buffaloes did not go to Anto at all that year, but went direct from Mòdr to Majòdr on Wednesday, January 7th. All this occurred after the misfortunes had happened to

1 [of buffalo migration --Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were
234K believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—
221 and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements
and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due
233 to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred
796 herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certainly vanish.

234K As we have seen, the migration to the relatively un-
221 important dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday,
796 but when going to the more important places a Sunday must
be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the
197 new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the day following the migration. 234x

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*. 221 796

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season, returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*. 234x 221 233 621 796

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *mani* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neursülnkars*. I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*. [778]

but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swâmi! Swâmi![7] then places it on the ground as a present to bhumi tai[8] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors. 264 788

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonised the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[9]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffalos, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere striplings armed with light wands; knowing that the amimals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe. 136 233 857 411

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of 411 224

[7] Swâmi = *lord*.

[8] Bhumi tai = *earth mother*. It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[9] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog*. May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (one)*?

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

417
233
133

TODA BUFFALOES IN KRAAL

[facing p. 117]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351 two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343 is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342] dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193] than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354] place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417 mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233 enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422] possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487 Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562] women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234] the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562] go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

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778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikāra river.

233 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

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Avalanchē to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanchē-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

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about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaroɪn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuɪsodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

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794 animals which have not yet reached the milch stage and which otherwise
233 would unprofitably use up the community's scanty pasturage. It seems
184 also that the Christians still retain some of their original feeling that
[437] wealth is to be measured by possession of cattle. They tend to acquire
more and more head of cattle and because of the pressure on their own
[556] pasture area the superfluous beasts are kept with the tribe almost permanently or in alternation with unproductive animals. In these cases the man who provides pasturage gets the produce, milk and the resulting products. In all cases when cattle are pastured on tribal lands, it seems
[184] that it is the buffalo that is so treated; cows are kept at the Christian colonies, since the tribal Todas do not own cows.

648 The Todas live in economic symbiosis with the other aboriginal tribes
437 of the Nilgiris, viz. the Kotas and the Kurumbas, and with the Badagas, who settled in the Nilgiris perhaps five centuries ago. The mechanism of the economic interchanges has not yet been described in detail,[6] but an outline of the Toda relations with the Kotas will be given here. The Kotas are blacksmiths and potters, and all the Toda needs in these departments are supplied by them, as well as music for the Toda funerals. In return the Kotas receive the carcasses of all Toda buffaloes that die or that are slaughtered at funerals, as well as certain other minor perquisites, such as cane for house-building, bamboo churning-sticks, and a certain amount of clarified butter. The interchanges are made between individuals, who are in a permanent and usually hereditary relationship to each other, referred to by the Todas as [keɹ], by the Kotas as [keɹ]. The relationship includes also the right of the Kota to obtain by purchase from his Toda opposite number such buffaloes and buffalo calves as he may need for his own economic purposes. In most cases one Toda has several Kotas who supply him, the relative numbers of the tribes and the Kotas' similar relationships with the Badagas making such an
648 arrangement necessary. This economic relationship has broken down
437 formally so far as the Christian Todas are concerned. But in spite of
184 this, there is a tendency among the Christian Todas to retain the relationship with their hereditary Kota partners. They obtain their iron tools and pots from these Kotas and recompense them on a more strictly commercial basis than the original one. *E.g.* [kanfuɹsodj] retains such relationships with the Kota who was his father's partner and has in addition formed a new relationship with another Kota. He at least still uses the term [keɹ] in referring to his relationship with these two men, though my Kota linguistic informant was insistent that the Kota

[6] Reference may be made to Rivers, chap. 27. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has made more extensive notes on the subject and it is hoped that his account will soon appear.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kišker] gave one buffalo to [keɪnoʒ] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keɪnoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoɪn] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdiɪfj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kišker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kišker]'s father's sister [tuarfuɪnemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjoɪnaɪf] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kišker] by the latter and [kišker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuaʀoɪn], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it. 794 184 585 [583]

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for 794 184 794 184 171 794 184 [233]

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794 184 [233] [997] [439] its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is 181 possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people"[18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 105.

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for short or longer periods has however been passed and with 177
changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations: whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area.

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an 177
attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on 178
the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments.

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has 177
felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on 233
which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A 262
great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and 262
of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills 648
were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, 437
and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained

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is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonizes a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

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177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
177 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Oot-
233 acamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
425 from the Todas. The sib of the mṇkitjo:ɭ (Rivers' Pam; for
[614] details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ʂo:ɭ and melga:-ʂo:ɭ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
[311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ʂo:ɭ sib, the other of
[797] the mõʂo:ɭ sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ʂo:ɭ sib were sold to Government
[614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
[682] when the sib of the ka:ʂo:ɭ were in need of a large sum of money to settle pɛrkumɛ's liability in the suicide of nõrnmɛ. In general,

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In general, 177 233 425 657

the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and prevent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1] 177 657

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in connexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains. 177 657 241

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few 648 434

[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 5], 125. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθaɛ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the nirjo:ɟ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumɨ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new poɨlm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 194

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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷo:ḷ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nȯdrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nȯdrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nȯdrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the tȯuθmṭ and the tȯuno:ṭ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the mrfo:lfmat, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. ka:θum, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hõ: at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as no:ṭ, after it as mṛ.

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[Melqarsh Village]

(11) PERSHRÖRSHWUTN, abbreviated to PERSHRÖRSH: The eldest boy of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is noticeably proud. He likes to go out to other munds, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mad*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman. 159 621 233

(12) NARJILKHWUTN, abbreviated to NARJILKH: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Munbokwutn, his youngest father.

(13) Pengelam: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friendly. She is gay and playful, and is nearby always in the company of Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris. 159 621 [123]

(14) SODUP: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exceptionally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop. [855]

(15) Sodam: She is as dull and backward as Sodup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) PETEROZN: Called after me (*Rozn* being Toda for Raja = Prince) who am his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived [123] [551]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 621 in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative. [276] He takes snuff and rarely goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being reserved for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-shaven except for a short moustache. [464] He is a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from [291] Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda *putkuli* and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz, [837] whom she helps a lot. She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been accepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, handsome, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at the *mad*'s *tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies [293] the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

(23) PILKHLIVOWUTH: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early [464] twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding moustache.

(24) KIRSHARFWUTH: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershrörsh, and is a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*. 425 428 [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512 [123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514] [296] [293] [234] [264] [291] [356] [515]

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
Toda AW60

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[2]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[2] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[975] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

[For detailed information about religious and ceremonial beliefs and practices associated with the Toda dairies, see the 77, 78 and 79 categories]

1: Rivers
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Toda

[For information about buffalo migrations and ordination ceremonies for dairymen-priests, see category 116, pp. 123-165. For special dairy ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 166-181.]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

291 more fully described in Chapter XXIV. It will be sufficient to say here that when showing reverence, a Toda bares his right arm, this method of wearing the cloak so that the arm is exposed being called *kevenarut*. It is shown in Figs. 1 and 10.

The Daily Life of the Todas

234 463 512 The daily life of the Toda men is largely devoted to the care of their buffaloes and to the performance of the dairy operations. As we shall see later, much of the dairy work is the duty of certain men set aside to look after the sacred buffaloes and the sacred dairies connected with them. A large proportion, however, of the Toda buffaloes are not sacred, and their care falls on the ordinary Todas. The milking and churning is chiefly the duty of the younger men and boys, but the older men also take their part, while the head of the family exercises a general superintendence.

FIG. 10.—KÒDRNER PERFORMING THE SALUTATION CALLED 'KAIMUKHTI.' HIS RIGHT ARM IS BARED ('KEVENARUT'), AND HE HAS REMOVED HIS TURBAN.

512 788 On rising in the morning, the men salute the sun with the gesture called *kaimukhti*, shown in Fig. 10, and then they turn to their work of milking the buffaloes and churning the milk.

512 When the dairy operations of the morning are over, the buffaloes are driven to the grazing ground, the people take their food and go about any business of the day. Some may

1: Rivers E-5 (cd. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

574 576 called *kalmelpudithti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

234 512 788 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddiken*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form
234 the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the
771 Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their
778 buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as
793 more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial. The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed. 181 234 771 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life. 793

The Dairy Organisation

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. 825 234

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*. 234 621 463 778 192

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *paḷthḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 621 463 778 192 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh* is in far more general use, and is often employed even when the dairyman is an elderly man.

At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies; a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursutir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the dairyman, or *wursol*, must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpaiikartmokh* and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the *wursol* must be taken either from the members of the other chief division of the Todas or from one special clan of the Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between Tartharol and Teivaliol.

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The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali*, meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh*, who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh*.

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs*, which is called a *poh*, and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol*. The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti*.

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali*. The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli*, and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, and *wursuli*. Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli*, others *kudrpali* and *wursuli*. At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali*.

234 621 778 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of the *ti* or the *tiir*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mad* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 778 463 793 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmokh* or, more rarely, *kavelol*. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti* should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mad* had two dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmokh* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *poh*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tirieri*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE DAIRY

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There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarsòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

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The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv. 104 196

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity. 234 463

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *haltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*. 621 778

[1] This word, in the forms *hos*, *hosh*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

his dairy the *palol* always turns to the left, so that he faces north-east as he goes towards his buffaloes. In a few dairies the door faces directly west, and, according to Breeks, this is the case at the conical dairy of Anto. 343

THE TODA BUFFALO

The Toda buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo, but the life on the hills seems to have produced a much finer animal than that of the plains. Although thoroughly under the control of the Todas, the buffaloes are semi-wild and often attack people of a different race from their owners, and Europeans have frequently been severely injured by the onslaught of these animals. 136 231 234 825

The Toda name for the male buffalo is *er*, and for the female *ir*, but either term may be used when the people speak of buffaloes collectively. Calves have different designations at different ages. A young calf is *kar*, one from one to two years of age is *pòl*, and a three-year-old calf is *nakh*.

Defective buffaloes, and especially those with only one horn, are called *kwadrir*, and those whose horns bend downwards are *kughir*. Barren buffaloes are called *maiir*.

There are considerable differences of colour among the buffaloes. Those much lighter than the rest are called *nerir* or *pushtir*, and there is a legend about the origin of these buffaloes, which, however, I failed to obtain. The only obvious way in which the animals differ from one another in marking is that some have a black stripe running down either side of the neck very much in the position which would be occupied by the chain suspending a bell.

There do not seem to be any physical differences between the buffaloes of different classes, and, as we shall see shortly, the nature of the breeding of the Toda buffaloes is such as would have entirely destroyed any distinctions of the kind if they had ever existed.

Every adult female buffalo has an individual name, which is usually given when her first calf is born. The number of buffalo names is limited, so that many buffaloes bear the same name. 234 552

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Kōji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkisi, and Òrsum.

234 552 778 Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumpthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

232 234 778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

114 234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the *ti*, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place. 114 234

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by males, and males only are allowed to take any part either in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed. 173 234 462

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, Ön, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan. 234 773

Dairy Procedure

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the procedure. 234 512

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 512 and then the churning is continued till the milk separates into a solid part, which I shall speak of as 'butter,' and a liquid, which I shall call 'buttermilk.' It must be remembered, however, that these do not correspond to the butter and buttermilk of a European dairy. The milk coagulates before the cream has risen in any quantity, and there is no skimming. The 'butter' consists of both the fat and casein of the milk, while the 'buttermilk' ought perhaps rather to be called 'whey.'

In order to avoid this ambiguity in the use of the words 'butter' and 'buttermilk,' it might have seemed desirable to use the Toda terms for these products; but I have not done so, partly in order to avoid the too frequent use of Toda words, partly because the names are not constant among the Todas themselves, different terms being used in different dairies.

When the churning is finished, the butter and buttermilk are put into their appropriate vessels, and the dairyman goes out to milk the buffaloes, using for this purpose a bamboo milking-vessel, into which he has put some buttermilk from the previous churning. The newly drawn milk is poured into the earthenware vessels, in which it stands till the afternoon. By this time the milk will have become solid, and is churned as in the morning.

The 'butter' is used chiefly in the form of ghi, or clarified butter, for which the Toda name is *nei*. The butter is clarified by keeping it over the fire after the addition of grain or rice. The latter sinks to the bottom of the vessel, while the *nei* consists of the liquefied fat of the milk. The *nei* or ghi is partly used by the Todas, but is largely sold at the bazaar. The deposit of grain or rice is called *al*, and is one of the chief Toda foods. It is, no doubt, mixed with part of the proteid constituents of the milk precipitated during the process of clarification.

234 415 The milking-vessel is of bamboo, and several of the small vessels used in the dairy procedure are also made from bamboo of various sizes. The vessels into which the milk is poured and in which it is churned are of earthenware, and the vessels in which the butter and buttermilk are kept are also

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FIG. 15.—ÕD (26) CHURNING.

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234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to
177 the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain
412 a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground
415 outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkati*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There
171 are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

The Care of the Ordinary Buffaloes

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda
463 terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

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234 released from the pen, or *tu*, in which they have been enclosed for the night, and the animals make their way at once to the place where they are accustomed to be milked, the *irkarmus*. At the same time, or a little later, the calves are released from their enclosure, the *kadr*, and each calf runs to its mother. The milk of the previous night is churned in the interior of the dwelling-hut, usually by one of the youths of the family.

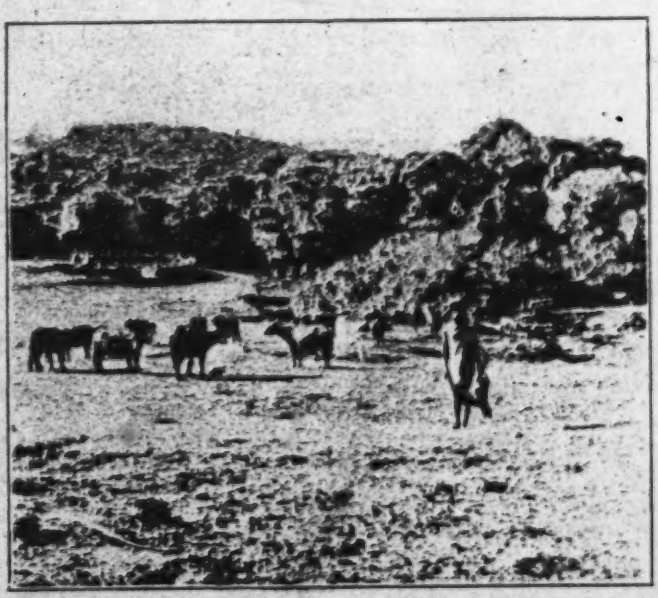

FIG. 16.—THE MORNING MILKING AT THE VILLAGE OF MOLKUSH. IN THE BACKGROUND IS A MODERN 'TU' MADE OF WOODEN PALINGS.

In the dairy one man has to carry out all the dairy operations, and here the churning is always finished before the milking begins; but in the case of the ordinary buffaloes, where many take part in the work, the two operations may go on simultaneously, and while one man or boy is churning, others will be milking the buffaloes and carrying the milk into the hut. Usually it seemed that each of the males of the family was taking his part in the proceedings.

Whenever I watched the milking operations, I saw one

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234 man, the head of the family, walking about and superintending the operations, while several other men and youths were milking the buffaloes or churning the milk within the hut. It seemed as if in general each buffalo gave very little milk, and a man soon left one buffalo to go to another, and as the bamboo milking-vessels are small and have soon to be emptied, there was a constant moving about from one buffalo to another

FIG. 17.

and from the milking-place to the hut. A typical milking scene is shown in Fig. 16. Each man carries a stick, with which he keeps off troublesome calves who may come to suck while the milking is going on (see Fig. 17). If a buffalo and its calf are troublesome, milk is sometimes smeared on the back of the calf, and the buffalo occupies herself with licking the calf, a process which keeps both quiet. At other times, a man may pour milk into his hollowed hand which he gives to one of the buffaloes to drink.

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When the milking is over, the buffaloes are driven to their grazing-ground, where they remain till the afternoon, when they return, often spontaneously, to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated.

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While at the pasturage, one or two small boys are often in attendance to keep the buffaloes from straying beyond the proper grazing-ground.

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CHAPTER IV

THE VILLAGE DAIRY

234 THIS chapter will be devoted to a description of the various kinds of dairy which are found at the Toda villages. An account will be given of the daily course of the dairy operations and of the ritual accompanying it. The description of special ceremonies which occur in connexion with the dairy will be reserved till future chapters, in which ceremonies of the same nature occurring in all grades of dairy can be considered together.

234 343 621 A village dairy is often situated at some little distance from the huts in which the people live, though sometimes it is in their immediate neighbourhood. When of the same form as the hut, it may not at once be distinguished from the latter, but it is usually enclosed by a higher wall which surrounds the building more closely, so that there is very little room between the two. The door seemed to me to be usually smaller than that of most of the huts, and it is always capable of being closed by a shutter on the inner side.

The dairy is usually divided into compartments completely separated from one another by a partition extending to the roof, one room being entered from another by a small door of the same kind as that by which the dairy itself is entered. The majority of dairies have two rooms, an inner room called *ulkkursh* and an outer room called *pòrmunkursh*. Many dairies, especially among the kind called *wursuli*, have only one room. At five Tarthar villages, viz., Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi, Keradr, Akirsikòdri, and Tim, there are dairies which have

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three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tün*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitün* (*meiltün*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitün*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waskal*. [354]

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The room of the dairy which contains the dairy vessels is divided into three parts: the *patatmar*, the *ertatmar*, and the *kalkani*.

The *patatmar* takes its name from the *patat*, an earthenware vessel into which the milk is poured from the milking vessel and in which it is churned. The vessels kept in this part of the inner room, which are known collectively as *patatpur*, are those which are actually used in the milking and churning.

The *ertatmar* takes its name from the *ertat*, a bamboo vessel used to carry buttermilk or butter out of the dairy. The *ertat* and the vessels kept with it, known collectively as the *ertatpur*, are those which receive the products of the churning or are used to convey these products out of the dairy. The lamp and the fire-sticks used for making fire by friction are also kept in this part of the dairy.

In the third part of the room, called the *kalkani*, are kept leaves, firewood, knives, and various sticks or wands. According to some accounts, the vessel called *penpariv* is also kept here.

When the dairy vessels are taken into a new dairy (see Chap. VI.), they are placed on ferns. I do not know whether they always rest on a bed of ferns or whether the ferns are only used when the vessels are first placed in the dairy.

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The following is a list of the *patatpur*, the vessels and other objects which are kept in the part of the dairy called *patatmar*:

Patat or *tat*. Earthenware vessels into which the freshly drawn milk is poured and in which it is churned (Fig. 18, F). There are several of these vessels, one of which may be used to hold water.

Irkartpun or *patatpun*. The bamboo milking-vessel (Fig. 18, I).

Parskadrvenmu or *parskadrpenmu*, *i.e.*, milk churn butter *mu* (Fig. 18, H). This is also sometimes called *kazhmu*, and is a small earthenware vessel in which is kept the butter (*pen*) which is added while churning. Except when the churning is in progress, it is used as a cover for the *patat*.

Adimu. An earthenware vessel (Fig. 18, K) into which

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FIG. 18.—THE CHIEF DAIRY VESSELS.

A. The *palmān*.
B. The *palkāri*.
C. The *mudth*.
D. A *tadikk*.
E. The *ertaipun*.
F. The *palat*.
G. The *pālmachak*.
H. The *parskadrvonmu*.
I. The *irkartipun*.
K. The *adimu*.

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some of the coagulated milk may be poured while churning. It may also be used to fetch water from the dairy stream.

Madth or *parskartmadth.* Churning-stick (Fig. 18, C).

Palkati. Bamboo rings for holding the churning-stick while churning.

Parskurs or *ularwurthkurs.* Stick or wand used chiefly for driving-off calves while milking.

Tatkich. The cut-up ends of a churning-stick, used for cleaning the *patat.*

Tedshk. Rings made of rattan (Fig. 18, D), used in carrying the dairy vessels.

The garment of the dairyman, called *tuni*, is also kept here. and when there is a *mani* (bell), it is kept on the *patatmar*. The churning-stick is kept on a stand called *agar.*

The following are the objects kept on the *ertatmar*:

Majpariv. Vessel in which buttermilk is kept.

Penpariv. Vessel in which butter is kept. (According to some, this vessel is kept in the part called *kalkani.*)

Ertatpun. Vessel used to take buttermilk or butter out of the dairy (Fig. 18, E).

Majertkudriki. A small earthenware pot used like a ladle to take buttermilk out of the *majpariv.* It is also called *ashkiok.*

Pòlmachok. A bamboo vessel (Fig. 18, G) used to hold the buttermilk which is distributed to the people of the village.

Nirsi. The fire-sticks for making fire by friction.

Pelk. The lamp.

Tòratthadi. Cooking vessel which may be used for anything except barley.

Put, a stirring-stick.

When there is only one room, the *masth*, axe for cutting firewood, may be kept on the *ertatmar*; otherwise it is kept in the outer room.

The vessels and other objects of the *patatmar* are those which come directly into contact with the milk of the buffaloes or which may at any time come into contact with the buffaloes themselves.

The vessels and objects of the *ertatmar*, on the other hand, are those which contain the dairy products which are going

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out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412 415

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another.

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often a 618 621

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234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from 463 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted 618 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* 621 is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal 292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or 513 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he 554 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the 558 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time 784 in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves 512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10 788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

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234 512 788

lamp in the morning unless it is dark, nor does he pray. The milk poured into the *patat* overnight will have coagulated, so that it forms a solid mass called *adrpars*. The dairyman puts the churning-stick into the *patat* and churns for a little time till he has broken up the *adrpars*.[1] Then he pours off most of the semi-fluid milk into another vessel (also a *patat*), leaving about one *kudi*[2] in the churning-vessel. He adds to this some butter from a previous churning, which he takes from the *parskadrvenmu*, adds also some water, and churns the mixture till butter is formed. He pours out the buttermilk into the *majpariv*, keeping the butter in the *patat*, adds more coagulated milk and water, and churns again, transferring the buttermilk to its vessel when butter is formed. He continues in this way till all the milk has been churned, and he then transfers the butter which has been formed to the vessel called *penpariv*, also putting a small portion in the *parskadrvenmu*.

The *palikartmokh* then goes out to milk, with the *irkarthpun* and the wand called *parskurs* or *ularwurthkurs*. He puts into the milking-vessel some buttermilk, the buttermilk used for this purpose being called *pep*, and he also smears some butter on the edge of the vessel to put on the teats of the buffaloes. When he goes out, he salutes by raising the *irkarthpun* and *parskurs* to his forehead in the same manner as is shown in Fig. 27. When he has filled the milking-vessel, he goes into the dairy and empties the milk into the *patat* and returns to the buffaloes. This is repeated till all the buffaloes have been milked, after which the dairyman takes food and buttermilk, but with no prescribed ritual as in the case of more sacred dairies. He also gives out buttermilk to the people of the village. After the work of the morning is over, the *palikartmokh* may go out to look after the buffaloes, or may collect firewood, leaves, or other things necessary for his work. During the later hours of the morning the *palikartmokh* may often be seen lying down taking a rest before he begins the work of the afternoon, which is more ceremonial than that of the morning.

[461]

[1] This is literally 'cooked milk.' It probably receives this name because the coagulation is often hastened by heating.

[2] About four pints.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 About three o'clock in the afternoon he goes to the dairy, 512 bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead 788 (*pavnersatiti*, Fig. 20), enters and touches a vessel on the *patat* side, and then a vessel on the *ertat* side. He then lights the fire and inspects the milk drawn in the morning. If it has not become solid, he puts it on the fire for a few minutes to hasten the coagulation. He lights the lamp and prays,

FIG. 20.—THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' SALUTING THE THRESHOLD OF THE DAIRY AT KIUDR 'PAVNERSATITI.'

using the prayer of the dairy (see Chap. X), and then churns as in the morning. When he has finished churning, he clears the churning-stick of the butter clinging to it, and after holding it to his forehead and uttering the sacred word "*Om*," he puts it in the stand called *agar*. He then goes out to milk as in the morning, taking buttermilk in the milking-vessel. When the milking is over, he shuts up the buffaloes in the pen for the night, and as he does so, he repeats the prayer of the dairy, the prayer being exactly the same as that used when lighting the lamp. He then takes food and

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
788 the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
778 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of

FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Oñ*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
513 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,
784

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, *pineipir*; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given being called in general *nòdrodwaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who rule." 173 234 618

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan have passed into the possession of other clans. This has happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds. 425 431

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*. 234 778

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The *nashperthir* of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the *martir*. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be 234 618 621 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 618 621 778 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.

At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 421 618 621 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7)	possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwur	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kuzhu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62). 234 421 618 621

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *püdrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeipir*; at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi. 173 234 618

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 234 463 554 618

[1] See Chapter XXIII.

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary
793 person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters. 562 784 793

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursol* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

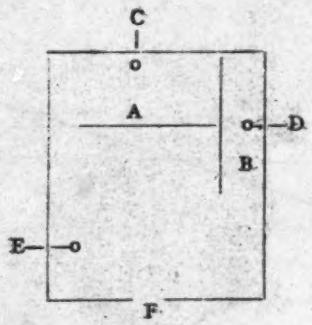
The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokli* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms. 234 343 778 788

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 343 352

343 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made
352 by Kòdrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Patatmar*.
B. *Ertatmar*.
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Waskal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same
512 general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and
788 method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to
272 the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to
415 the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *wursol*
788 and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes. Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPISI (56), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *wursol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *wursol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahman engaged in prayer.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 512 788 In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*, touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursuli* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

THE KUGVALI OF TARADR

234 618 621 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village and the institution to be described in the next chapter—the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*pòlm*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmokh*. This dairyman must be a

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 member of the Taradr clan, but need not necessarily be a
343 member of the family in charge.

618 Each of the chief Taradr villages has a special dairy for
621 the *kugvalir*. It is called the *kugvali* (*kugpali*) or chief dairy (*kug* = *etud* = chief), and it was said to be the chief of all the dairies. All these dairies have one room only, except that at Taradr itself, where there are two rooms. These dairies do not at present differ in form or general appearance from

FIG. 24.—THE 'KUGVALI' OF TARADR. ON ITS LEFT IS THE 'KWOTARS,' AND ON THE EXTREME RIGHT, UNDER THE TREE, IS THE 'KUSH.' THE FLAT STONE TO THE RIGHT OF THE 'KUGVALI' IS THE 'PÜDRSHTIKARS' (see p. 654).

dairies of other kinds. The *kugvali* at Taradr is shown in Fig. 24, and it is the dairy on the right-hand side of Fig. 5.

234 The *kugvalir* have one feature peculiar to themselves. They are never recruited from any other herd. Even the buffaloes of the *ti* often have additions to their number, especially through the ceremony of *irnörtiti* (Chap. XIII), but in no circumstances are any additions from outside made to the *kugvalir*.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

[The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oh*" each time. 234 415 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *penpariv* by means of the same vessel.

The Dairy of Kanòdrs

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph. 343

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those called *nashperthir*. 234 463 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used. 778

234 554 778 784 793 When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 25.—THE 'POH' OF KANÔDRS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tiin*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pohkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

292 793

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudeipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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palikartmokh, and it does not appear to have any special complexities of ritual except in connexion with certain bells which this dairy contains. There are six of these bells, two kept on the *patatmar*, called *patatmani*, and four kept on the *ertatmar*, called *ertatmani*. During the dairy ceremonial these bells are 'fed' by the *palikartmokh*, the *patatmani* receiving milk and the *ertatmani* buttermilk. I only became aware of the existence of these bells incidentally, and had not the opportunity of ascertaining their history or meaning. It is clear, however, that they differ from the *mani* of the Tartharol and from those of the Piedr clan among the Teivaliol in that they are never used at a funeral (see p. 352).

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CHAPTER V

THE TI DAIRY

THE *ti* is the name of an institution which comprises a herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing districts tended by a dairyman-priest or priests called *palol* with an assistant called *kaltmokh*. Each dairy with its accompanying buildings and pasturage is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village. 234 793

In most cases there are two kinds of buffaloes at each *ti*, and each kind should properly be tended by its own *palol* and *kaltmokh*. There is, however, only one *ti* which possesses two *palol* at the present time, and they share a *kaltmokh* between them, though a second is appointed on certain ceremonial occasions. In other cases one *palol* tends both kinds of buffalo, and in others, again, the dairies are unoccupied for the greater part of the year and the office of *palol* is only filled for certain limited periods.

Each *ti* is regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, but the *palol* has to be taken from the Teivaliol, the choice being in some cases restricted to one or two Teivali clans; thus, the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must belong either to Piedr or Kusharf. The *palol* is chosen by the Tarthar owners, but the latter do not seem to gain any material advantage from their possession. In fact, it involves them in some expense owing to the necessity of giving certain feasts, and this expense was put forward as one reason why a *ti* is often unoccupied. Never- 184 234 616

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184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

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The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

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The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *piil*, and there is a special part of the *piil* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

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At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Mòdr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mukadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tülk-kadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

234 343 351 At Mòdr, the diary place I know best, all the buildings and objects of the *ti mad* are shut off from the outer world either by walls or by the natural configuration of the ground or forest. Within this screen, partly natural and partly artificial, there is the large milking-ground which may be entered by the buffaloes from two directions, and on one side of this are the three pens, the two dairies, and other buildings.

The more important of the two dairies has situated close to it the sleeping-hut and two huts for the calves, and this small group of buildings, shown in Fig. 27, is surrounded by a wall like that round the ordinary village dairy, leaving little space between the wall and buildings. These buildings, being within the outer boundaries of the *ti mad*, are already well screened from the world, and in consequence the surrounding wall is low. The other dairy is situated on the boundary, so that it can be seen by anyone outside the *ti mad*, and the wall around it is therefore high, so that a person standing outside can see nothing of the proceedings of the dairyman. At Mòdr the water springs are at some distance from the dairies and there is a special path by which the *palol* goes from the dairy to fetch water.

At another dairy, that of Anto, there is one path by which the *palol* goes to fetch water and another by which he returns, but I do not know if this is so at all dairies.

Although I visited Mòdr on many occasions, I never had an opportunity to investigate the buildings closely. I was never allowed to go within the walls enclosing the dairies, much less to go inside these buildings. If the annual programme of the *ti* had been carried out, the buffaloes would have left this place before the end of my visit, and I intended to make a thorough inspection after they had gone; but owing to various causes I mention elsewhere (see Chap. VI) the herds stayed at Mòdr till after my departure, and I had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact plan of the dairies and their surroundings.

234 343 352 The dairy of a *ti* always has two rooms, an inner room, the *ulkkursh*, and an outer room, the *pòrmunkursh*. These are divided from one another by a screen, or *patun*, which stretches

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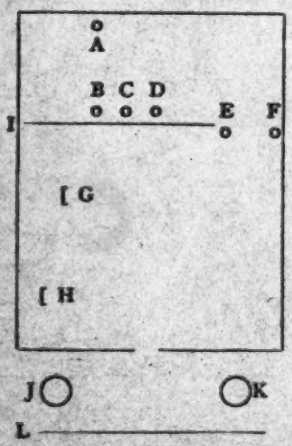
about two-thirds of the way across the breadth of the building and is about three feet high. The *palol* stands in the outer room and performs the dairy operations proper to the inner room leaning over the top of the screen. The object of the screen is to keep the sacred objects of the dairy from the gaze of anyone who may look in, and especially from that of the *kaltmokh*; but in the only dairy of the kind into which I had the chance of looking, the screen was made of vertical sticks with wide intervals between them, so that I could easily see through. This dairy was, however, unoccupied, and if dairy vessels had been there, it is possible that they would



A. *Mani.*
B, C, D. The three *persin.*
E. The *idrkwoi.*
F. The lamp.
G. The *pelkhatitthwashal.*
H. The *ibrutthwashal.*
I. The *patun.*
J, K. The *pokvelkars.*
L. The screen in front of the dairy.

FIG. 26.—SHOWING THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE TI DAIRY.

have been screened from view in some way. In this dairy the screen extended from the right-hand wall as one looked in, but at Môdr I was told that the screen was attached to the left-hand wall, and there were certain facts which make it almost certain that this statement is correct, though I had not the opportunity of confirming it by actual observation.

I did not discover whether there were any differences between the internal arrangements of the conical dairies and those of the dairies of the ordinary form. Breeks has given a description of the conical dairy at Anto, and from this it would seem that the dairy is divided into two rooms by a

1: Rivers Ê-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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partition extending to the roof, the two rooms communicating by a door. There are two possibilities as to procedure. It is possible that only one room of this dairy is used for the ceremonial and that it is again divided by an incomplete screen into inner and outer rooms, or it may be that the dairyman churns in the inner room. I have no information on this point, but the general nature of the churning procedure at the *ti* dairy makes it highly probable that the former supposition is correct and that the inner room is divided into two parts.

In the plan on p. 87, I have adopted the arrangement in which the *patun*, or screen, is attached to the left-hand side of the building, but this is certainly not the case in all diaries. In some dairies also the fireplaces are on the other side.

The Contents of the poh

(*a*) In the inner room.	One *mani*. Three *persin*. Two *tòrzum*. Two *kòghlag*. One *persinkudriki*. One *pohvet* or *pohpet*. One *kwoi*. One *kwoinörtpet*. Several *tedshk*.
(*b*) Between inner and outer rooms.	*Pelk*, or lamp. *Idrkwoi*.
(*c*) In the outer room.	Two fireplaces { *Pelkhatitthwaskal*. / *Tòratthwaskal*. } Several *alug*. *Uppun*. *Mòrkudriki*. *Karpun*. *Turavali*. *Gudubei*. Unused *kòghlag*.

Another vessel, the *mòrpun*, is kept in the sleeping-hut, where two or more horns are also kept which are blown by the *kaltmokh* every night before going to rest.

The things of the inner room correspond in general to those of the *patatmar* in the ordinary dairy, and the things of the outer room correspond to those of the *ertatmar*. The

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234 things of the outer room are sometimes called the *alugpur*,
343 just as those in the village dairy are called *ertatpur*, but I
352 did not hear of any corresponding term for the things of the inner room. I have no record of the place where the fire-sticks (*nirsi*) are kept, but they will almost certainly belong to the outer room, since, in the village, they belong to the *ertatmar*.

234 The nature of each of the vessels and other objects of the
412 dairy[1] is as follows:

415 *Persin*. This is an earthenware vessel containing about five *kudi*, *i.e.*, 2½ gallons. The freshly churned milk is poured into and churned in three of these vessels. The *persin* corresponds to the *patat* of the village dairy.

Tòrzum. This is an earthenware vessel containing two or three *kudi*. Two of these vessels are kept in the inner room, one, called the *karitòrzum*, to hold water, and the other to hold the butter added while churning. The latter is called the *peptòrzum* because it is also used to give butter-milk to the buffaloes on certain occasions. When not in use the two *tòrzum* are placed on and act as covers for two of the *persin*. The *tòrzum* corresponds to the *mu* of the ordinary dairy.

Kòghlag. This is the churning-stick which corresponds to the *madth*. Both *kòghlag* and *madth* are alike in having the peculiar shape shown in Fig. 18 (see also p. 111). The thong by means of which the stick is turned, ordinarily called *palv*, is here called *poinurs*, and consists of a strip of the skin of a male calf. The *kòghlag* is made by the *palol* from bamboo growing on the Nilgiris. In addition to two used and kept in the inner room, five or six new churning-sticks are kept in the outer room.

Persinkudrīki. This is a small piece of bamboo with a handle called *tutth*, used to knock against the *persin* when praying.

Pokvet (*pokpet*). A wand used when praying.

Kwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about three *kudi*. It is the vessel taken out by the *palol* to milk the buffaloes. It corresponds to the *irkartpun* of the village dairy and is made by the *palol* from bamboo obtained by the *kaltmokh*.

1 [The Poh-- Analyst]

234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali,* where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir,* or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun,* kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni,*
292 he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *pòdrshtuni,* is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti,* one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani,* are

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kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions. 234 778

There were several points of interest about the lamps used to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspoh*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *önavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*ponnol*), and on most days only one is used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is butter. 234 354 [314] [177]

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *tòratthwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The

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234 354 other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkafttth-waskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

The Daily Life at the Ti

234 512 788 793 The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say "*ekirzam meidjam*."[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *tòratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *pòdrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the Pan *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

234 prayer, but after I had settled on the foregoing description as
512 correct I was allowed one day by the *kaltmokh* to go near
788 the dairy while the *palol* was praying, and was able to hear
793 the beating on the earthenware vessel with each word of the prayer.

The next step is to take up the *pohvet* and place it against the wall, and then the *palol* begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle *persin*, milk in this state being here called *kudabpol* instead of *adrpars*, as in the ordinary dairy.

In those cases in which the *mani* is 'fed,' the *palol* puts *kudabpol* on the bell shortly after beginning to churn. This is done three times, the syllable *On* being uttered each time. When the *palol* does anything three times in this way, he says that he does it *mushtiu*. This expression for 'thrice' is not used in the ordinary dairy.

The next steps are to pour into the *kwoi* and *karitòrzum* most of the coagulated milk which has been broken up by the churning, to add to the milk remaining in the *persin* some *persinpen*, or butter especially kept for the purpose in the *peptòrzum*, to add water, and to churn the mixture of coagulated milk, water, and butter in the middle *persin*. When the new butter is formed, the *palol* pours out the buttermilk into the vessel called *idrkwoi*, keeping back the butter with his hand. The buttermilk is transferred from the *idrkwoi* to one of the *alug* in the outer room. Some of the milk which had been put into the *kwoi* or *karitòrzum* is then poured back into the middle *persin*, more water is added, and the mixture is churned, after which the buttermilk is again transferred by means of the *idrkwoi* to the *alug*, while the butter is kept in the *persin*. This procedure is repeated till all the milk of the middle *persin* has been churned.

The *persin* on the right-hand side of the *palol* is then taken, and its position exchanged with that of the vessel hitherto used, and the churning is continued in exactly the same manner. The buttermilk is transferred to the *alug*, but the butter when formed is transferred to the *persin*, which had been originally in the middle. When the contents of the second *persin* have been churned, the third *persin* is placed in the middle and the same procedure is followed, so that when

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the churning is over all the butter which has been formed will be in the *persin* which was originally in the middle. Some of this butter is put into the *peptòrzum* to act as *persinpen* on another occasion, and the remainder is transferred to the butter *alug* by means of the *idrkwoi*. The two *tòrzum* are then put on the tops of two of the *persin* as covers, the *peptòrzum* being placed on the middle *persin* and the *palol* takes the milking-vessel (*kwoi*) and wand (*kwoinörtpet*) in his right hand and goes out to milk, having first put some buttermilk, called *pep*, into the *kwoi*.

When the *palol* leaves the dairy, he raises the milking-vessel and wand to his forehead and salutes in the way shown in Fig. 27. The Todas say that he is saluting the sun and the buffaloes. It is probable that, in general, the *palol* faces approximately east as he salutes, but there is no doubt that, at the present time, his salutation is chiefly to the buffaloes. He salutes in the same direction both morning and evening, and certainly pays no attention to the direction in which the sun lies.

This salutation is now often done in a very perfunctory manner. The vessel and wand may be raised hastily to the forehead for a few seconds only as the *palol* goes towards his buffaloes, and I am doubtful whether the salutation is ever performed exactly as shown in the figure, for the vessel contains some of the buttermilk called *pep*, which might be spilt if the vessel were held quite horizontally.

When the *palol* salutes, he says "*Oñ*" three times, and repeats two or three clauses of the dairy prayer, usually the *kwarzam* of the more important gods of the dairy.

When going to milk and when going from one buffalo to another, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* are always held together in the right hand. When the *kwoi* is filled, it is taken into the dairy. If it is the custom of the dairy to put milk on the *mani*, this is now done three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and then the milk is poured into the middle *persin*, the *kwoi* being held in the left hand, and the *palol* goes out again to refill the *kwoi*. When all the *persinir* have been milked, the milk of the three *persin* is mixed together by pouring from one to the other. The reason for this is that the buttermilk, called *pep*,

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234 is only taken out in the *kwoi* on first going to milk, and
512 in consequence the *pep* would affect the milk of the middle
788 *pettin* only if its contents were not mixed with those of the vessels filled later.

793 The *palol* next goes out to milk the *punir*, taking for this

FIG. 27.—THE 'PALOL,' KARKIEVAN, SALUTING AT MÒDR. HE IS STANDING IN THE 'PEPKARMUS.' THE BUILDING NEXT TO THE 'PALOL' IS THE 'TI POH'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'KARENPOH,' AND BETWEEN IT AND THE 'TI POH' CAN BE SEEN THE HUT WHERE THE INHABITANTS OF THE 'TI MAD' SLEEP.

purpose the vessel called *karpun* and an ordinary wand, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* being only used for the more sacred buffaloes. There was some difference of opinion as to what should be done with the milk of the *punir*. According to

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some it may be used to fill the *persin* if these are not filled by the milk of the *persinir*; according to others it is wrong to do this, and the milk of *punir* should on no account be put in the more sacred vessels of the inner room. I think there is no doubt that at the Nòdrs *ti* at any rate the first procedure is followed. At this *ti* the *punir* outnumber the *persinir* by far, and it is probable that the milk of the former is used to supplement that of the more sacred buffaloes, although it is contrary to tradition that this should be done.

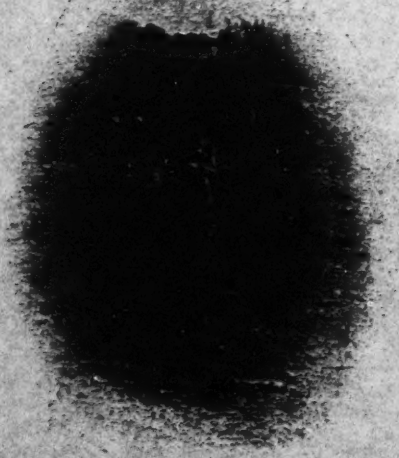

FIG. 28.—TO SHOW THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE 'PALOL' WHEN PRAYING.

The three *persin* being filled, the *tòrzum* are again put on as covers, and the *palol* takes up the wand called *pokvet*, and prays, standing in front of the screen (*patun*) with his hands lying over one another crosswise on the top of the stick as shown in Fig. 28. He recites the full prayer of the *ti*, then replaces the *pokvet* between the *persin* and the *patun* and this act of replacing the wand marks the end of the more sacred part of the dairy operations. If a Toda wishes to ascertain if the work of the dairy is over, he asks, "Has he taken the *pokvet*?"

The *palol* now unties his hair, sees to anything necessary in connexion with his food, fills the *uppan* with buttermilk, and then leaves his dairy and goes to sit on the seat called *pokvelkars* on one side of the door of the dairy, viz., on the opposite side to that on which the *mani* is placed. At Mòdr he sits on the stone on the right side of the door when going

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in (K in Fig. 26), and the fact that he does so is one of the reasons which make it probable that the arrangement of the *pok* of that place is as I have given it in the plan.

When the *palol* has seated himself on the *pokvelkars*, he calls out to the *kaltmokh* "*Kaizhvatitva*," "Come here and pour buttermilk!" When the *kaltmokh* comes, the *palol* gives the *uppun* to the boy, who says three times "*Kaizhvatkina*," "Shall I pour buttermilk?" and the *palol* replies each time, "*Vat*!" The *kaltmokh* pours from the *uppun* into a cup made of the leaf called *kakuders* held by the *palol*, who drinks after raising to his forehead. This is repeated till the *palol* is satisfied, when the leaf-cup from which he has been drinking is thrown away,[1] and he goes again into the outer room to get food. He gives food to the *kaltmokh*, who eats it in the sleeping-hut, while the *palol* himself eats sitting on the *pokvelkars*. If any *mòrol* (see p. 107) are present, they are fed at this stage with buttermilk and food by the *kaltmokh*, who gives them the buttermilk out of the *mòrpun*, pouring it into leaf-cups as when giving to the *palol*.

The rest of the morning is passed in looking after the buffaloes, cutting firewood, plucking leaves used as cups and plates, or doing any other work connected with the *ti*.

In the afternoon the *palol* returns to his dairy and goes through the same operations as in the morning, except that he fetches water from the *kwoinir* early in the proceedings, usually bringing enough for the work of that afternoon and of the next morning. He churns the milk drawn in the morning, and when the time for milking has arrived, the buffaloes will have returned to the milking-place, and as soon as they arrive their calves are let out from the house (*karenpoh*) in which they have been kept.

When the churning and milking are over, the buffaloes are shut up in the *tu* for the night. The *palol* then takes buttermilk as in the morning, and both he and the *kaltmokh* take their food. The latter eats his food in the sleeping-hut as in

[1] In the story of Kwoto and the Keradr *ti* (Chap. IX) the *kaltmokh* has to pour away buttermilk at an appointed spot. It is probable that this buttermilk is that unfinished by the *palol*, and possibly this custom is still followed but was not mentioned by my informants.

234 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Om*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
793 times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

The Palol

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

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ti was not allowed to do so and had to use a ford nearer to the dairy at Mòdr. 784 793

The *palol* must be celibate, and if married, he must leave his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers. According to the account given by Finicio in 1603, the *palol* could send for his wife and meet her in a wood every week or so and might also send for the wives of any other Todas. It is possible that this may still happen, but I failed to obtain an account of it and understood that the *palol* was really celibate. According to Finicio the restriction to which the *palol* is subject is that he may not touch a woman in the house. We have seen that in the lowest rank of the dairyman-priesthood intercourse with women in the house is allowed at any time and in the higher ranks only on certain days of the week. It is quite consistent with this that in the highest rank intercourse in the house should be altogether forbidden, but might still be allowed in the forest, and it is quite possible that Finicio is correct. I was unacquainted with his account at the time of my visit, and all other writers had been so unanimous as to the complete celibacy of the *palol* that I did not press my inquiries on this point very closely. 785 833

If a death occurs in the clan of a *palol*, he cannot attend any of the funeral ceremonies unless he gives up his office. If he resigns he is not again eligible for the office till the second funeral ceremonies have been completed. When a man of one clan gives up his office in this way, his place must be taken by a man of some other clan. Karkievan of Piedr was *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* eighteen years ago and resigned when his wife died, his place being taken by Tulchievan of Kusharf. Two years later Karkievan resumed office and has been *palol* continuously since that time. Though there have been many deaths among the Piedrol, he has not attended a funeral, and has not, therefore, had to resign his post again. 234 463 784 793

In old times, it seems probable that it was usual to give up the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan. According to tradition, the division of the Keadrol into the Keadrol and Kwaradrol by Kwoten (see Chap. IX) was ordained in order that there might still be men to undertake the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan, the men of the

234 Keadrol taking office when there was a death among the
463 Kwaradrol and *vice versa*.

It has been stated by several writers on the Todas that the
556 *palol* does not profit in any way by his sacred office. I made
784 most careful inquiries on this point, and there seemed to be no
793 doubt that the *palol* may often make a considerable income from the sale of the ghi made from the milk of the herd under his charge; one *palol* was stated to make six rupees a week in this way, and while he has been in office is said to have increased his own herd (*i.e.*, that of his own family) by no less than twenty-five buffaloes. In one recent case, a man has resigned the post of *palol* to the Pan *ti* because he found the income was too small.

234 According to my informant, Kaners, a man used always to
463 accept the office of *palol* unwillingly. When the offer came
554 to him, he would say, "I cannot leave my buffaloes; I cannot
556 leave my wife and my children." Then the people would say,
793 "You are born for the *ti*; it is your birthright; you must not refuse"; and the man would reluctantly consent. Now the Todas are in more need of money than they used to be, and there is no difficulty in obtaining candidates for those dairies at which the pecuniary advantages are sufficiently great, so that people will now beg to be appointed as *palol* to certain dairies, and it is even whispered that bribes have been offered in order to obtain office. There is no doubt whatever that the pecuniary reward is the chief inducement to people to undertake the charge.

234 The Nòdrs *ti* has the largest herd of buffaloes, and I was
463 told that this *ti* is very much coveted, while others which
554 have few buffaloes are unable to obtain a *palol* at all. My
793 Teivali friends invariably talked about the *ti* in exactly the same kind of way that an Englishman talks about a benefice.

At the present time there are several instances in which the office of *palol* is vacant, and there seems to be a growing difficulty in filling many of these places. There is little doubt that the chief reason for this is that the herds have become very small, so that the resulting profit does not offer sufficient inducement; but there is also no doubt that the exclusion from the home and the limitation of intercourse

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with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 463 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *warsir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Baň*," and the Tarthar man replies "*Ir kaûdá*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarvam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 798 576

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786 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns
793 to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining
wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going
833 to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia*!" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *polivelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaizkvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *papun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Karkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*.
554 It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his
sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social
793 importance from having held the sacred office. I could find
234 no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women only refer to this ceremony.

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pül* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 784 793

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the forbidden things, or even if he is likely to be in such a position that he may have to do these things, he becomes *perkursol*. This he does by throwing off the *petuni* and dipping one leg either into the pool of water called *tarupunkudi* (see p. 177) or into the dairy stream (*pali nipa*) of an ordinary dairy (if he dipped his leg into the *ars nipa*, or part of a stream used for ordinary household purposes, he would at once lose his office entirely and become an ordinary person). As soon as he has dipped his foot, he becomes *perkursol* and may do the following things summed up in the general expression *tarskwarârkûdthodi*. He may pass a village where there is a woman in the seclusion-hut (*puzhars*), or where the relics of the dead are being kept between the two funeral ceremonies; he may go to a place where the people have been in communication with a village in which either of these conditions exist; he may pass a river by a bridge, and he may go to the *wursuli* of a Tarthar village. If the full *kaltmokh* does any of these things, even unwittingly, he would at once become an ordinary person (*perol*). The *kaltmokh* degrades himself to the rank of *perkursol* even when there is merely the danger that he may infringe any of the restrictions; thus, one day when there was a woman at Karia who was in seclusion after childbirth, the *kaltmokh* at Mòdr, Katsog (55), was going to the hut of the forest guard near Paikara. He would not have to pass Karia, but there was a chance that the forest guard might have been in communication with the people of Karia, and therefore Katsog became *perkursol*. A *perkursol* is regarded as of the same rank as a *wursol*, and the people spoke of *perkursol* as a *ti* word for *wursol*—*i.e.*, a *wursol* at the *ti* was called *perkursol*, just as a *madth* (churn) at the *ti* was called *kòghlag*. In order to regain his rank as full *kaltmokh*, the *perkursol* has to perform the same ceremony as that which takes place at the end of the ordination to this office (see Chap. VII).

While the *kaltmokh* is degraded to the rank of *perkursol* he may not touch any dairy vessels; he may not pour buttermilk for the *palol*, nor may he blow the horns—*i.e.*, he may do none of the more important and sacred duties of his office.

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THE MÒROL

I have said that no ordinary Toda is allowed to approach the *palol* except on certain days, and then may only go to a certain place in the surroundings of the *ti*. There is, however, one very remarkable exception to this rule, the members of certain clans having the privilege of going to the *ti* at any time and taking buttermilk (*mòr*). Owing to the latter privilege they are always known as *mòrol*. 184 618 554 234

The most important *mòrol* are the members of the Melgars clan, and at the Nòdrs *ti* they are the only people possessing these peculiar rights. A Melgars man may go to the *ti* on every day of the week, when he enters the small enclosure in which the dairy is situated, going, however, by a special opening at the back so that he does not actually pass the dairy and sits down in front of or may enter the sleeping hut. He is given buttermilk by the *kaltmokh* after it has been given to the *palol*, and he also receives food. At the Nòdrs *ti* the two *palol* divide the responsibility of providing food between them; if four *mòrol* come, each *palol* gives food for two men.

The rights of the Melgarsol appear to be exercised very constantly. I rarely visited the Mòdr *ti* without finding several *mòrol* present, and so far as I could observe they made the most of their privileges and enjoyed themselves well. It was very remarkable to see several Todas making themselves quite at home at the *ti*, while other Todas were standing outside wholly prohibited from entering into the life of the place. On one occasion when I visited Mòdr, the brother of one *palol* was standing without at the appointed spot waiting till the business of the morning was over, while several *mòrol* were within enjoying their privileges to the full.

The Melgarsol have certain other rights and duties in connexion with the *ti*, and especially on the occasion of the procession which takes place when the buffaloes migrate from one place to another (see Chap. VI), after which ceremony the *mòrol* sleep at the *ti mad*. At some dairies members of other clans may act as *mòrol*, but in no case do they occupy quite so privileged a position as the people of Melgars. Thus, at

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutiitusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

234 314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

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called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kôli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*.

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It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day.

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*On*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday.

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The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrzum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *idrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

234 412 415 778 783

The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

The Five Ti

173 234 621 773

At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tikirs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

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THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Püv died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr. 173 234 773

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpuv*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpuv*. [415]

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the *ti* buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu. When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *tòrzum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti poh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other 173 234 773 778

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[778] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh*
173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.

234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr,
773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given
221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the
234 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to
621 the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil,
773 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tìdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tìdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *unir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tìdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

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are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

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which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

173 234 618 773 793 The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vèdrmâ, kärs wadrth vèdrmâ, män mas vèdrmâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf. 173 234 618

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55). 773 793

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.' 234 552 778

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Ônâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost. 234 354 552

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.) 773 778

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

+ One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not
234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

The Kars Ti

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I
621 could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
773 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs. The story runs that Anto created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

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at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit. 173 234 621 773

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarsam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri. 234 793

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and [552] 234 778

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234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûzthenis ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

The Pan Ti

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

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place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Tarzhva. Its special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

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The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Nerâdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirsiol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the
793 *warspoh*.

Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

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THE NIDRSI TI

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This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi*. When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti*. The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti*. There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

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182 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
783 him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
776 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

Comparison of the Procedure of Different Dairies

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
788 the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the

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separation. All the vessels are kept in the same room, but in different parts of the room, the *patatmar* and the *ertatmar*, and this distinction between the two sets of objects is kept up in the migration ceremonies where they are carried by different men.

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There are no striking differences in this respect between the lower grades of dairy, whether *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, or *wurnuli*; in all, the two sets of vessels are separated, but no strict measures are taken to prevent a vessel of the *patatmar* from coming into contact with a vessel of the *ertatmar* during the dairy operations. It is only on reaching the *kugvali* of Taradr that we find an intermediate vessel, the *kuvun*, used to transfer substances from a vessel of the more sacred to one of the less sacred kind, and to prevent possible contamination of the former by the latter.

It is in the *ti* dairy that these precautions reach their highest degree of development. Here the two sets of vessels are kept in different rooms, separated by a screen, and the dairy products are never transferred directly from a vessel of one kind to a vessel of the other, but always by means of an intermediate vessel. The butter and buttermilk produced by the churning operations in the inner room are transferred to the vessels of the outer room by means of the *idrkwoi*, which is kept on the dividing line between the two compartments. Similarly the vessels into which the butter and buttermilk are received are never allowed to come into direct contact with objects from the outside world, but their contents are transferred to vessels used outside the dairy by means of intermediate vessels, the *uppun* or the *mòrpun*.

In the migrations of the *ti* buffaloes this strict separation between the two kinds of vessel is still kept up. The things of the inner room are carried by the *palol* himself, while the things of the outer room are carried by others. The *idrkwoi*, though carried by the *palol* on the same staff as the things of the inner room, is kept apart from the rest, and is not allowed to touch them.

The fires of the *ti* dairy furnish another interesting example of the principle by which sacred objects are prevented from coming directly into relation with objects which may have

234 778 788 783 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The lamp is not lighted directly from the *tòratthwaskal*, which is probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an intermediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[437] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any money to the *palol* at Mòdr, I placed it on a stone from which it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol* and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the *kugvali* of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of intermediate links, but there is such an example during the ordination of the *wursol*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candidate milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches ceremonially the *majpariv* and the *patat* at the beginning of the afternoon churning, while at the *wursuli* this is done both morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kabkaditi*, in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

234 the same occasion, and it is only followed regularly in certain
778 dairies of the *wursuli* grade, viz., Nòdrs, Nasmiòdr, Òdr, and
783 Kozhtudi. The first has a conical dairy, and Nasmiòdr and
Òdr are especially ancient and sacred places. At the *kugvali*
788 and the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, the dairy ceremonial is always performed *kabkaditi*. At one ceremony, that of *irpalvusthi*, the work of the dairy is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy of whatever grade.

The lamp-lighting is another feature which becomes more frequent and more ceremonial in the higher grades of dairy. In all the village dairies, including the *kugvali* of Taradr,[1] the lamp is only lighted ceremonially at the afternoon churning, the lighting being made the occasion of prayer. If the morning is dark, the lamp may be lighted, but it is clear that this is not done ceremonially, and the lighting is not accompanied by prayer. At the *ti* we have already seen that the lamp is lighted in a more ceremonial manner and in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

Some of the details of the ritual are definitely associated with the *mani*, and since the presence of a *mani* implies a higher grade of dairy, this leads to an increase in the elaboration of the ritual. The *mani* is treated in much the same way in all the grades of dairy which possess this sacred object.

Another feature in which the increasing sanctity of the dairy is shown is the frequency with which prayer is offered. At all the village dairies the dairyman only prays at the afternoon ceremonial when lighting the lamp, and when shutting up the buffaloes in their pen for the night. As already mentioned, there is a definite association between prayer and the ceremonial lamp-lighting.

234 In the *ti* dairy, prayer is offered both morning and evening;
778 at the morning ceremonial twice and in the afternoon
three times. On both occasions the first prayer begins when
788 the lamp is being lighted and is continued while the *palol* knocks on one of the *persin* with the *persinkudriki*. The second prayer in each case is offered at the conclusion of the milking, and the third prayer of the afternoon corresponds to

[1] I am doubtful about this point at the *pok* of Kanòdrs.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Oñ*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
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The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth of the same kind, called *än*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual. 234 292 793 178

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the *tarvali* it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses *tudr* in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*. 234 778 788

[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

234 The use of *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies is only allowed
778 to the members of the Teivali division and of the Melgars
788 clan of the Tartharol.

Special kinds of dairy or special dairies may have features peculiar to themselves; thus the *pepeirthti* ceremony, in which the dairyman beats on the *patat* with a piece of *tudr* bark, is only performed at the *kudrpali*; the prescription of nakedness when milking is confined to the *kudrpalikartmokh*; the special method of wearing the *putkuli* open in front when going to the buffaloes is only practised by the *wursol*, and the method of taking food sitting on the wall of the dairy and throwing the food into the mouth is peculiar to the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs.

One feature of interest in the dairy organisation is the existence of different names at different dairies for the dairy products, and for the various objects used at the dairy or in connexion with the dairy ceremonies. The chief differences are found on comparing the village dairy with the *ti*, nearly every object having a different name in the two places, though occasionally a peculiarity of nomenclature may be confined to one dairy, as at Kanòdrs, where milk is called *persin*, the name of the churning vessel of the *ti*. As a general rule it seems that the name used in the village dairy is the same as that in ordinary use; thus, the dairy vessels used in the house for the milk of the ordinary buffaloes are known by the same names as those of the village dairy.

192 The use of special names in the more sacred dairies is
234 probably connected with their high degree of sanctity. The
778 names of the dairy vessels of the village are in common use,
788 and it would doubtless seem sacrilegious that the names of the vessels of the *ti* should be thus in everyone's mouth. Consequently nearly every object used in the ceremonial of the *ti* dairy has a special name, and in the ordinary life of the Todas these words are probably never uttered.

One striking feature of the dairy ritual is the use of the syllable *Oh*. With one exception (p. 177) this word is always uttered thrice, and it seems to be especially connected with the act of putting curds or milk on the bells. It has a suggestive resemblance to the mystical syllable *Om* of the Hindus. It is

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also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, [192] or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which 234 the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other 778 examples have been given. 788

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitiin* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

The Sanctity of Milk 234

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different 778 dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating 272 the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that 784

234 the milk of buffaloes belonging to the more sacred dairies has
778 a higher degree of sanctity than that churned in the lower grades.

272 The milk of ordinary buffaloes may be drunk by anyone,
784 man, woman, or child. The Todas do not ordinarily sell
[432] milk, but if they do so, they may only use the milk of ordinary buffaloes for this purpose. I have a note that anyone may also drink the milk of buffaloes belonging to the *tarvali*, but I suspect that this only applies to men who must drink it at the dairy.

The milk of the *kudrpali* may only be drunk by the *kudrpalikartmokh* himself. It is believed that any other person or animal who should drink milk from this dairy would die.

At the *wursuli* milk may be given to men at the dairy, but it must be mixed with buttermilk. At the *kugvali* of Taradr the milk of the *kugvalir* themselves is not drunk by anyone, the dairyman having certain ordinary buffaloes for his own use, and this is also the case at the *ti*. I believe that not even the *palol* would drink the milk of the *persinir*, the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*.

There is one exception to the rule that ordinary people may not use the milk of the sacred buffaloes of the village dairies (except in the form of butter and buttermilk). At the *irpalvusthi* ceremony at all the village dairies, including the *kugvali*, food is prepared with the milk of one of the sacred animals and this food is given to the people of the clan to which the dairy belongs and also to members of other clans.

In the case of the *wursuli*, I was especially told that this is the only occasion on which the milk of *wursulir* is used by people in general. At the *kugvali*, people of other clans are only given this food on the second day of the proceedings, and the distribution of the food is preceded by a ceremony in which some of the food is thrown into the fire. The milk used on this occasion is the milk of the buffalo which has recently calved, the ceremony being in celebration of this event.

At the *wursuli* it is noteworthy that the food is cooked by the *wursol* himself, the ceremony of *irpalvusthi* being the

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only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremonially as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken.

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed.

Special Dairy Customs

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over
[262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
415 *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
778 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel
788 of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

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partly as a receptacle for the milk which is about to be churned, and partly to fetch water from the stream. It is highly probable that there was at one time a third *mu* in the dairy, which was a receptacle for the buttermilk added before milking.

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At the especially sacred dairy of Kanòdrs, where ancient procedure is likely to have lingered, the buried *mu* is still used as a receptacle for buttermilk. When this dairy is unoccupied, a certain amount of buttermilk is kept in the buried *mu*, and when the dairy is again occupied, this buttermilk is used to add to the milk. In this case the continuity of the dairy procedure is directly kept up by means of the buried vessel, and this procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy is strongly in favour of the view that the buried vessel was formerly a receptacle for the *pep*.

There are other indications that the *mu* is the most sacred of the dairy vessels. It is this vessel which is touched by the *wursol* the *kugwalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, as the final act which gives them their full status at the ordination ceremonies, and we shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies at Taradr a temporary building is made to represent a dairy by placing in its inner room a *mu*. In this last case, it would seem that the *mu* is regarded as the emblem of the dairy, and that placing a *mu* in the inner room of the temporary building makes it a dairy.

The representative of the *mu* at the *ti* dairy is the *peptòrzum*, but it does not seem that this vessel is specially distinguished from the rest, and it does not appear to have the sanctity and importance which attaches to this kind of vessel at the village dairy.

There seem to be two chief possibilities in explaining the existence of the buried *mu*. It may be that it was at one time the custom to bury the *pep* while the village was unoccupied, and that this custom now only persists at Kanòdrs, the *mu* at other places being no longer used for this purpose, though it has continued to be of ceremonial importance. The other possibility is that, as the *pep* acquired increased importance in the dairy ritual, the sanctity of the buttermilk was transferred to the vessel which contained it, and the

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234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
415 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was there-
788 fore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan. It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

Purity and Impurity

234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
783 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised: (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

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from actual contact either with dairies or dairymen of the higher grades. He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure. The definite impurity which is the condition of those who have attended funeral ceremonies or have been in relation with a woman in the period of seclusion after childbirth is something very different. Such a man is not merely unsanctified, he is unfit to hold any sacred office; even the prolonged ceremonies of ordination would not fit him to hold office in the dairy or to perform any part in the tendance of the sacred buffaloes, and he is not allowed even to approach the members of the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood. 234 783

Women and the Dairy

Women take no part in the dairy ritual, nor in the milking and churning operations which are carried on in the hut. It is said that at one time the women took charge of the buffaloes at the time of calving, but this is not the case at the present time. 234 562 784

Women go to the dairy to fetch buttermilk, using an appointed path and standing at an appointed spot to receive it.

Females enter dairies under two conditions only. They may enter the outermost rooms of those dairies which are used as funeral huts while the bodies of men are lying in them. Here they may sit only on one side of the room, and only when the dairy operations are not in progress. Women also enter the temporary funeral huts of men which are called *pali*, or dairies.

The other condition under which a female enters a dairy is at the migration ceremony of the village, in which a girl, seven or eight years of age, is given food in the dairy of the village which the buffaloes are leaving, and sweeps the front of the dairy of the village to which they are going. This ceremony is one in which a girl seems to take a definite part in dairy ceremonial, but the girl chosen for this office must be below the age of puberty.

The relations of women with the different grades of dairymen have already been considered; a point which may again

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234 784 562 be mentioned is that the emblems of womanhood, the pounder, sieve, and broom, may be removed from the hut while the dairyman is present, though the women themselves remain.

During certain dairy ceremonials, women must leave the village altogether, and during the passage of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* near the village of Kiudr, the women leave the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

Although women are thus excluded from all participation in the dairy ceremonial, we shall see later (Chapter XIV) that an artificial dairy plays a part in some of the ceremonies connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

History of the Dairy

173 234 778 The Todas can give very little information which throws any light on the development of this complex organisation of the dairy with its elaborate ritual. According to tradition, the most sacred dairies, and especially that of the Nòdrs *ti*, date back to the time when the gods were active on earth and were themselves dairymen.

Beyond the belief that buffaloes of different kinds were assigned to the different clans by Teikirzi, I could obtain no account of beliefs about the origin or growth of the other grades of dairy. One fact as to the past which seemed clear was that *ti* dairies were at one time more numerous than at present, and several places now possessing village dairies of the ordinary kind are said to have been at one time the seats of *ti* dairies. Thus it is believed that Kiudr was formerly a *ti* place, and the old weatherworn stones shown in Figs. 31 and 32, which are still called *neurzülnkars*, seem to provide evidence that tradition is here correct. The village of Teidr is said to have been at one time a *ti*, and here again two stones called *neurzülnkars* are to be seen about a quarter of a mile from the village.

There is another feature of the Kiudr dairy which suggests that it may at one time have been a *ti* dairy. It contains six bells called *mani*, which clearly differ in nature from the *mani* of the other village dairies, especially in the fact that they

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are not used at funerals. They are also distinguished as *patatmani* and *ertatmani*, a distinction not met with in any other village dairy. It seems probable that they are the representatives of the two kinds of bells of a *ti*, the *mani* proper and the *kudrsmani*. The *ertatmani* of Kiudr are 'fed' with buttermilk, a procedure not followed, so far as I know, in any other dairy, but it may be that this is a feature of the procedure of the *ti* dairy which escaped me. Certainly the most likely explanation of the existence of these bells at Kiudr is that they are survivals of its former position as a *ti* dairy. 173 234 778

The villages of Kiudr and Teidr both belong to the Teivaliol, and this raises the question whether this division of the Todas may not have possessed *ti* herds and *ti* dairies of their own at one time, and may not always have had to be content with providing dairymen for institutions belonging to the Tartharol. No information could be given on this point, but it seems unlikely that dairies and places belonging to a Tarthar clan should have been handed over to the Teivaliol when they were no longer used as *ti* dairies and *ti* places.

Certain Tarthar villages are also said to have had at one time *ti* dairies, especially the sacred places of Nòdrs and Òdr. This probably means that there is a tradition that the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were at one time kept at these places which, as we have seen, are still visited by the *palol* during his ordination ceremonies.

The process of extinction of *ti* institutions can be seen in progress at the present time. The Nidrsi *ti* is not now in working order; there has been no *palol* for some years and its dairies are unoccupied. It is said that a *palol* would have to be appointed temporarily if it was desired to perform the second funeral ceremonies of a Nidrsi man, but in the present condition of the Nidrsiol, it seems to me not at all unlikely, either that the rule will be disregarded, or that the second funeral ceremonies will not be performed, and that the Nidrsi *ti* will become absolutely extinct, possibly dragging down another institution into extinction with it. 178 234 177

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* is now only active for a short time once every year in order to satisfy a ceremonial requirement of the 178 234

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177 Kotas, and this institution may possibly soon become little
178 more than a name. If it were not for the Kotas, it would undoubtedly be as near extinction as the *ti* of Nidrsi. One
234 *palol* of the Pan *ti* has recently ceased to be appointed, and the same difficulty which has led to his disappearance will probably sooner or later vacate the other office, and Pan will follow in the footsteps of the other clans. Many of the dairies belonging even to the more prosperous *ti* institutions are now disused, and some have completely vanished. The legend of Kwoto preserves a tradition of ceremonial accompanying the migration of the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* which has now entirely disappeared, and nothing is known of the special features of ritual which were practised at many *ti* dairies which have become extinct.

Of dairies of other grades, the *poh* of Kanòdrs is now only occupied for a short time once a year, and its ceremonial may soon also become extinct. The conical *poh* of Kars and the seven-roomed *kudrpali* of Nòdrs are dairies which have ceased to exist, and with the extinction of the latter have gone completely all traces of the ritual which was practised in this kind of dairy, and nothing is known as to the meaning of the seven rooms.

Some of these changes are recent, and due to the altered conditions produced by the general invasion of the Nilgiris, but others date back to a time before Europeans came to the hills, and were due to intrinsic conditions, chiefly the hardships connected with the ritual practised in certain of the dairies. The altered surroundings of the Todas are undoubtedly hastening the process of decay, and institutions which would probably have lasted for centuries will now almost certainly disappear in a few decades.

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portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffer misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death. 124 754 578

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain. 177 754 787

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs (6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account. 177 754

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes 234 787 754

234 that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I
787 have no information, however, as to the method which the
754 sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any one who has offended him.

124 The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came
754 to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

177 The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than
754 that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub*= Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied.
[721] If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

755 *pathanmul*.[1] The thorn and some of the salt are then put into
177 the fire, and the *utpol* utters the following incantation :—

Pithioteu Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith, tan âv kan pudrs kan
his mother eye perish eye

pudri ûmâ; tan in kan pudrs kan pudri ûmâ;
be destroyed may; father

and this formula is repeated, substituting for *av* or *in* the names of the following relatives :—*an, akkan, nödrved, mun, mimi, pian, piav*.[2] Then follows the same formula repeated, in which the names of various tribes are substituted for those of the relatives, as "*mav kan pudrs kan pudri uma*"—Badaga eye perish, may his eye be destroyed." The people mentioned are *mav* (Badaga), *pedr* (Tamil), *suti* (? chetties), *kurub* (Kurumbas), *erl* (Irulas), *panin* (Panyas).[3] The last clause is *möditi kan pudrs kan pudri uma*, extending the imprecation to the women of all the people already mentioned. When the incantation is finished, the remainder of the salt is eaten by the sick man.

755 The Toda *utkören* may practise 'absent treatment.' If a man wishes to treat a sufferer from the evil eye, and is unable to visit his patient, he puts the salt on the ground and strokes it with the thorn of *pathanmul*, repeating the above incantation as he strokes. He then sends the salt to the sick man, by whom it is eaten.

The treatment in any case is repeated till it has been done three times.

[234] If it is a buffalo which is suffering from the evil effects of *kanarvasnudr*, the *utkören* use the same method, and the salt is eaten by the buffalo.

278 In the special case in which the evil is produced by saying that a man is looking well or is well dressed, the *utkören* have
755 a different method. They take a piece of the root called *kabudri*,[4] and a plant called *kwagal*, and squeeze the juice of
both into a vessel.

[1] The leaves of this plant, *Solanum indicum*, are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikertmokh*.

[2] For the meaning of these kinship-terms, see Chap. XXI.

[3] It is noteworthy that the Kotas are not included.

[4] This is the plant, *Euphorbia Rothiana*, used at the purification of the *ti* dairy (p. 136).

which are eaten; (iv) those of trees which give pungent substances like chillies and pepper. 755 824

There were various other complaints for which the *utkòren* are consulted, such as:—*elptûksnûdr*, depression in the chest of a child when it breathes (*elp* or *elv* = bone); *tekhpkâdathvûdnûdr*, pain in the side; *kankpudithnûdr*, if anything gets into the eye; *erutûthtinûdr*, if cut or wounded in any way; *pobersnûdr*, if snake bites. 755

Each of these has its appropriate treatment, but the only method of which I obtained an account was the last. Certain men have a special reputation for the treatment of snake-bite. A cord is made of woman's hair and this is bound tightly round the bitten limb in three places. The doctor takes a piece of *pathanmul* and strikes the bitten limb while he utters the appropriate incantation.[1] The ligature is kept on the limb for two or three days and the incantation is repeated three times a day during that period. Anyone whom a snake has bitten must not cross a stream. If it is absolutely necessary that he should cross, he must be carried over it. 752 755

If wild animals attack the buffaloes, a procedure which closely resembles those already described is carried out by the *utkòren*. The procedure is called *kâdrkatinamûdr*—*i.e.*, "wild beast tie mouth if." It is also carried out if a buffalo is lost, and in this case the charm will keep the animal from injury by wild beasts. The *utpol* takes three stones secretly and goes at night to the front either of the dairy or hut and utters the following incantation:— 234 755 789

Pithioteu Ön idith, Teikirsim Tirshtim idith; pef pirsi kût terz nil
big tiger teeth fastened stand

nû; kâkh herman mûn terz nil nû; padr kenai amûn terz
may; black bear face crowd red dog other side

nil nû; pob teuv terz nil nû; pef per terz nil nû; pef po
snake erect head big hill big river

pû terz nil nû; pef pôdi nud[2] *terz nil nû.*
stream big porcupine quills

[1] I did not obtain this formula.

[2] *Mul*, which means bramble and thorn, is here used for the porcupine's quills.

234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by

755 *ath* *ivòdin* *kati* *vaiumâ.*
789 these all before tie keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 All the remedies so far described resemble one another
789 in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren.* The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *terg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. It was said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrsi and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

302 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described
754 it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

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at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 302 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing. [234]

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind. [753]

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used. 751

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism. 177 776 751

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi*—*i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo. 755 278 824

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

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Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, 123
I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other 124
people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice
as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I 761
witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I 782
had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some 796
doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumptthpimi* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and 782
at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is 796
performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy 621
in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to 234
some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutiitusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etudmad*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed[1] is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary [793] village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over
372 small firewood the people place several logs about three feet in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *polvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf-- the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony--Analyst]

last exclamation being the sound which is ordinarily uttered when calling a calf. 782 796

When the flesh is sufficiently roasted the *palikartmokh* eats the *tiitmtis*, while the others present may eat any portion. When enough has been eaten, the remainder of the cooked flesh is carried to the village. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kweltkh* are carried to the dairy by the *palikartmokh* and kept there. The flesh of these parts is eaten by the dairyman or by other men, but may on no account be eaten by a woman. The other parts are taken to the hut and given into the keeping of the women, and the flesh of these parts can be eaten by any one—man, woman, or child. Butter is often put on the flesh before it is eaten. 262

The Sacrifice at the Ti

The sacrifice at the *ti* is called *ernudrtipimi*, and is performed at every *ti* three times in the year. The first occasion is about fifteen days after the ceremony of *teutiitusthchi* in October. The second occasion is about January, when the buffaloes of the *ti* migrate to the Kundahs or elsewhere for the dry season. The third occasion is after the ceremony of giving salt, which is known as *kòrup* (see p. 175). The ceremony may take place at any *ti mad* except Anto. 834 782 796

The appointed days are Sunday and Wednesday. On the day before the ceremony wood is taken by the *palol* and *kaltmokh* to the sacrificial spot, called *ernkar* as at the village. At Mòdr the wood in which the sacrifice takes place is called Turikipül.

The sacrifice may be performed either in the morning or evening, and takes place, in either case, before *kaizhvatiti*, the ceremonial pouring of buttermilk. This means that the sacrifice takes place during and not after the dairy ceremonial, and thus forms part of the dairy ritual. Each *palol* wears the *pòdrshtuni*, while the *kaltmokh* is naked throughout except for the *kuvn*. The *kaltmokh* arranges the firewood and the chief *palol* (at the Nòdrs *ti*, the *ti palol*) lights the wood with fire brought from his dairy. The calf is then killed and cut up with exactly the same ritual as in the village ceremony.

1 [of a young male calf, sacrificed during the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony -- Analyst]

234 After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol* 782 return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *ernkar* to look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and 796 takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then 262 returns to the *ernkar*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him. At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tûtmîs* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kakud*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *ernkar*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mòrol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mad* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

234 In connexion with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kush*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kush* are spread some of the grass called *nark*[1] and some leaves of the *kiars*[2] tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pon*, *i.e.*, he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

[1] *Andropogon Schœnanthus*, a strongly-scented grass.

[2] ? *Kiaz*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for 234
my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful.

The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Hark- 114
ness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the 782
ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed 796
by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gompts*." A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself.

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the 773
sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way 782
in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh 796
of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf.

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kiugners* (Keshker), *Külnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Edstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòdshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tüli*, *Sing*, *Keitaz*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ekîrzam meidjam*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ekîrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars. 192 782 788 621

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars. 234

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make 782 789 796

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of
782 promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual
789 words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase
796 to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"[1] and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

The Teutütusthchi Ceremony

782 This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the
796 foot of a hill by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The name *teutütusthchi* or *teutütusthtiti* means "god fire he lights." It

[1] I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.

173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
782 told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
796 nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony[1] was of great
574 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
796 offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Teutütusthchi* is
783 certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though now it may be performed several times in the year. Even now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

782 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
● 234 *kwadrthpimi*—*i.e.*, we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death, but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk

[1] The Teutütusthchi Ceremony; See pp. 290-291. — Analyst]

given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—*i.e.*, as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo. 782 234

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

Irnörtiti to the Ti

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *teuol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310). 234 782 688 [223]

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become 234 431 782

234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their atten-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
618 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
623 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
688 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

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the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance. 782 796

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. 618 673 688 At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pölm* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*.

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed :— 234 782 796 673 688

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy.

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time.

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*;
234 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
688 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[787] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *tenol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *tenol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol*, or day

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 673 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

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the kind called *kwadrikurs*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*achok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatiti*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties. 846

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *terigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol. [431]

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf. 846 234 853 788

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

1 [the ceremony after childbirth -- Analyst]

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846 suggested is the most probable one; but this can only be con-
234 jecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have
853 now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

788 The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however,
174 has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *än*. As we shall see later, the *än* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madtuni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *än* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

000 A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

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left standing after the funeral and may be used on a second occasion if it has not fallen into too great disorder. 349

Five clans of the Tartharol possess special dairies, each with three rooms which are used as funeral huts. These buildings are habitually or occasionally used as dairies; but when a man of the clan dies his body is laid in the outermost of the three rooms, either on the day of the funeral or for two or 764 343 234

FIG. 48.—FUNERAL HUT ROUND WHICH WOMEN ARE LAMENTING. SEVERAL PAIRS ARE PRESSING THEIR FOREHEADS TOGETHER. THE HUT IS NOT WITHIN A STONE CIRCLE, SHOWING THAT THE FUNERAL IS NOT BEING HELD AT AN OLD FUNERAL PLACE.

three days before it. While a dead body is lying in the dairy, women are allowed to enter the outermost room just as they may go into any other funeral hut, but they may not pass beyond. Men are allowed to enter the middle room, but the innermost room is only entered by the dairyman, who carries on his dairy work as usual.

349 The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now
343 exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and
Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with
764 three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the vil-
234 lage. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

349 At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for
the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after
764 each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *nersars* for the first funeral, and *kursars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

766 If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

763 been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

764 After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *än*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn 437 by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *än* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *än* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukurupukuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

764 The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nòdrs, his body is taken into the three roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitün*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmokh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy. [234] It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women [562] are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitün*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *menkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and

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The Slaughter of the Buffaloes.

The next stage in the proceedings is the catching and killing of the buffalo or buffaloes. At the present time the Todas are only permitted by the Government to kill two of these animals, and if the family of the dead person is poor only one may be killed. At the funeral of a man it is customary that one of the animals killed shall be an ordinary buffalo (*putiir*) and the other a sacred buffalo; one of the *pasthir* in the case of the Teivaliol, and usually one of the *wursulir* in the case of the Tartharol. At least one sacred buffalo must be killed at one or other funeral ceremony for every man, but this may be done either at the *etvainol-* or the *marvainolkedr*. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, never at those of women. 234 764

When it was the custom to slaughter more than two buffaloes, there was often a rule that these should be of certain kinds; thus, at Nòdrs, it was once the custom to kill seven buffaloes at a man's funeral—viz., two *wursulir*, two *putiir*, and one each of the following kinds: *nashperthir*, *pineipir*, and *persasir*.

If the family possess no sacred buffalo, they must procure one by exchange, and it is customary to give two ordinary buffaloes for one of the sacred kind.

There is a definite spot appointed for the slaughter of each kind of buffalo. The ordinary buffalo is usually killed near the funeral hut, and sometimes there is a stone marking the spot at which the animal is to die. The *wursulir* are killed at a place usually marked by a stone called *teiks*. In cases where there is no stone the spot is marked by a wooden post (see Fig. 51), which has the same name, and I was told that it should be made of teak.[1]

In some cases there are other appointed stones or unmarked spots where buffaloes of other kinds are slaughtered; thus, at Nòdrs there are seven stones, at each of which a

[1] If the word *teiks* is the same as that of teak wood it would make it probable that the buffalo was formerly killed by the side of a wooden post and that the use of a stone is secondary.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 764 buffalo used to be killed, and the people of Pan have two stones called *teiks*, one for each division of the clan.

The catching of the buffalo is one of the most exciting incidents of a Toda funeral. When only one or two buffaloes are to be killed it is usual to take about four buffaloes from the village of the dead person to the neighbourhood of the funeral place. When the preliminary ceremonies are over, all those who are attending the funeral move towards the place

FIG. 51.—THE WOODEN 'TEIKS' AT INIKITI.

at which the buffaloes are standing, while several of their number are chosen to catch the appointed animal or animals. At the same time, the buffaloes, which are usually standing in some hollow so that they cannot be seen from the funeral place, are driven towards the people. As soon as they appear the appointed men drop their cloaks and race to meet the buffaloes. The buffaloes are driven on from behind in a more vigorous manner than that to which they are accustomed, are more or less infuriated, and often rush wildly about in their efforts to

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avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences. 234 764

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among the younger and more agile of the community, but at an important funeral the older and more experienced men may undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for the adroitness with which they perform the feat. 555 616 764 541

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is not satisfactory. 234 764

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

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234 764 may return to the dairy of its own accord at the proper time.

At one funeral at which I was present the buffalo was so alarmed or so infuriated by the proceedings that it lay down and absolutely refused to move, and the efforts of all present were insufficient to drag the animal to the slaughtering place. This incident will be described more fully later, but I mention it here to show that it may often be difficult to drive the buffalo, and that the unaccustomed vigour with which the animal is beaten may have a natural and not a ceremonial reason.

234 764 778 Before the buffalo is killed two things have still to be done. A bell or its substitute has to be hung on the neck of the buffalo, and butter rubbed on its back, head and horns.

If one of the *wursulir* is to be killed there is hung on its neck the sacred bell called *mani*, while the ordinary buffalo or *putiir* is given only the *kwungg* or household bell. A *mani* may also be used for the varieties of sacred buffalo called *nashperthir*, *persasir*, &c. Probably at one time there was a *mani* for each kind, but some of the sacred bells have been lost, and it is only in some clans that a bell can now be used. Those clans which have no *mani* do not use an ordinary bell, but they tie the sacred buffalo to the *teiks* by means of a piece of the creeper called *kakhudri*, about two yards in length. This is the case with all the Teivaliol except the people of Piedr and with the Melgarsol among the Tartharol. The *kakhudri* is said to be used in place of the *mani*.

The details as to the use of the *mani* differ somewhat in different clans. The Nòdrs people have two *mani*, called Kòdj and Kagur, which are now kept at Òdr. When a Nòdrs man dies these bells are fetched from Òdr by the *wursol* and one is hung on the neck of one of the *mersgursir* and the other on the neck of one of the *nashperthir*.[1] After the *etvainòlkedr* these bells are kept outside the conical dairy at Nòdrs in a special hole in a stone called *karsalb*. The people of Kars similarly take their *mani* to Taradrkirsi for the

[1] Owing to the fact that the Nòdrs people do not kill both of these kinds of buffalo at one funeral at the present time, they now only bring one of the two bells from Òdr.

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234 first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are
764 completed.

Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to
778 possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthenware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to the *kudeipir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan). It is dug up by the Teivali *palikartpol* and given by him to a Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

234 Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back
764 of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head
618 between the horns. This should be done by a man of the same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *trkipti*. It is done by striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe (*masth*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in some cases more are necessary. The *wursulir* are killed by the *wursol* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same division as the deceased, but of a different clan. Certain clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo; thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr man a member of one of the other clans performs this function. Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol. At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing might also be done by a man of Päm or Nidrsi. Each buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiks* at which the *wursulir* are killed is at some distance from the funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot lest she should see the sacred bell.

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234 Though there is no definite landmark for the killing of the
764 *putiir*, each buffalo is killed at an appointed spot; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 392), the buffalo at the *etvainolkedr* was killed on the left-hand side of the funeral hut.

As soon as the buffalo is felled, the corpse is brought up and placed by the head of the dying animal (Fig. 53). At the funeral of a man, the covering of the body is unfolded and the right hand of the dead man is made to clasp one of the horns. At the funeral of a woman, the body is laid with its feet by the

FIG. 53.—THE CORPSE BY THE HEAD OF THE DYING BUFFALO.

mouth of the buffalo.[1] At the funeral of a Pan man, Kwoten's ring is placed on the finger of the deceased before his hand is made to clasp the horn. Then the men present come to the buffalo and salute it by bowing down and placing their foreheads on the horns and on the head between the horns.

234 The people then group themselves round the buffalo and
764 corpse and cry together by placing forehead to forehead so
765 that their tears and cries mingle. In the case of the sacred

[1] Some observers have stated that the feet of the corpse are placed within the mouth of the buffalo, but I could not confirm this.

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234 buffalo, wearing the *mani*, this circle is composed of men only.
764 The lament[1] usually consists in calling first the name of the
buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name,
765 but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry:

> "*Pundrsia, en potch aia ivanersia, en potch aia*
> O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia*, except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination '*ia*.'

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, "*en mokh ûpa*"; for an elder brother, "*en potch anna*"; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry "*iza kughia*," and for a husband a woman cries "*iza mokhia*" (*iza* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

764 Within the group of mourners there is much going hither
and thither. After two people have mourned together for a
765 while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom
576 to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

[1] More elaborate laments are given on pp. 385-8.

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FIG. 54.—SALUTING THE DEAD BUFFALO.

765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsuol*.

234 764 793 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

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etvainolkedr. At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind. 765

As the buffalo dies, the *narshedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakkudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakkudri erspimi*, or *kudri erspimi*,[1] "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartwokh* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

The Kodtiti Ceremony

Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male which is called *kodtiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this purpose. 234 765 177 783

[1] *Kudri* is the generic word for creeper.

765 According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about
234 four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another
177 buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place
783 and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes. It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol* made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called *kegampkwñdr* (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of *tudr* leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the name *kodtiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments, including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain (*tagars*), necklace (*kriveli*), earrings (*kwthveli*), and bracelet (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only, are carried by two women to the place where the calf is standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the former throwing before and behind him as he walks the mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol* comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs adikina?*"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to move all present, Tartharol and Teivaliol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*" and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads. The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed, but is allowed to go free.

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burial-place three times ringing the bell, while another man goes with him holding him by the waist. The man who rings the bell then takes a new pot, ordinarily used for carrying water, and, raising it over his head, brings it down and breaks it on the stone covering the ashes. He bows down and touches the stone with his forehead, gets up, and goes away to the funeral hut without looking back toward the *asaram*. All the others present bow down to the stone in the same way and go away from the spot without looking back. The ceremony of bell-ringing and stone-saluting is called *kwungg tûki kârs nersatiti*, "bell lift, stone he salutes." 765

At the funeral of a woman, the bell is rung and the pot broken by her husband or by one of his brothers if he be dead. If it is the husband, he will have been wearing the cloak over his head[1] up to this time, and he takes it off just before he bows down to salute the stone. At the funeral of her husband, a widow will similarly remove the cloak from her head before she salutes the stone.

After saluting at the *asaram*, all go to the funeral hut, where they take food, having fasted during the night. Each person cuts a lock of hair from the head as a sign of mourning and then all return home.

At the funeral of a woman, the funeral hut is burnt before the people leave, this being called *ars pon atipimi*, "house up we send." It is the duty of the woman who first lighted the *asaramtût* to set fire to the hut.

The foregoing account of the second funeral ceremonies is that of the proceedings at the present time. When the *marvainolkedr* was prolonged over two days, the proceedings of the first day opened with the capture of the buffaloes, which were put in the pen, and then followed a scene in which the Todas entered the pen, flourishing heavy clubs. The animals were belaboured and driven round and round the pen, and at intervals several men would catch and hold down a buffalo. According to some accounts the bells were hung round the necks of the buffaloes during this performance, but at a funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse[2] this was not done, and he believed that the 234 541 765

[1] See p. 365. [2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii. p 35

234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells
541 were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
765 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
787 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
627 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
765 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

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the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the 533
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the 539
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and 765
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *anarum* place I see nothing but grass growing."

Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of 234
the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*. 783

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred 793
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred 765
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral 778
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

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234 second funeral, and it is at Ôdr that the purification takes
765 place.

Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to
783 Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
793 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
778 among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *azaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnôdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnôdr-vusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *azaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *azaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nôdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

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There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1] 764 234 782 775

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *kodtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present. 764 234 793 778

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 764 234 793

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring
234 the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the reli-
793 gious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the *wursol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

764 The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because
171 it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown
174 three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

764 It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that
174 the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

527 (iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women
784 from other places come to the village.

621 (v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

234 Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of
527 the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day
784 or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *pohnol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

527 There are various recognised methods of evading the rules
784 for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

183 Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is
627 also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there
778 to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the
621 reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole
778 or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy
788 draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.

[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

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This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room. 234 778

In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops. [114]

The Threshold

As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination. 234 778 788

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kakar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

778 Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind,
534 and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

778 Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to
788 them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell
234 called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan
534 *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

771 Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the
778 Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a
534 definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent, regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

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Possibly the Todas may have some clear ideas about the connexion between their bells, gods, and dairies, but I could not discover them, and am inclined to believe that the people are now very hazy about the exact place of the bell and the god in their theology. 771 778 534

It was quite clear that they believed an offence against the dairy was punished by the gods, and I cannot say definitely that in this case the bell may not have been personified as a god, but I do not think that this was so.

It seems to me probable that the present sanctity of the bell has come about by a process of transference[1] from the buffalo to the object worn by it. Probably at one time the buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be at present. There is evidence that even in recent times the bell-cow or buffalo which carried the bell was an object of especial veneration. In such books as those of Harkness and Marshall, the bell-cow seems to occupy a more prominent position than, so far as I could tell, it occupies at present. 234 778 534 174 771

In the present day the *mani* of the *ti* is only hung on the neck of a buffalo at the migration from one *ti mad* to another and at the Nòdrs *ti*, only for a few minutes even then. At the village dairy, the *mani* is never, so far as I could tell, put on the neck of a buffalo except at the funeral ceremonies. The idea in the latter case seems to be that a sacred buffalo should wear its bell, and in order that the buffalo slaughtered at a funeral should go to Amnòdr with its bell, the *mani* is hung on its neck while it is being killed. The legend of Kwoto and Punatvan shows that the bells are believed to travel to Amnòdr with the buffaloes.

The following may be suggested as a sketch of the probable evolution of the sanctity of the bell. At one time the buffaloes were the chief sacred objects of the Todas. Then this sanctity was concentrated in the persons of the bell-buffaloes, and later became partially attached to the bells, and the Todas then probably reached a stage in which it was doubtful how far the sanctity of the bell-buffalo was due to its position

[1] As we have already seen (p. 243) there is some reason to think that there has been example of such transference of sanctity to an object in the case of the *mu* or buried dairy vessel.

234 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is
778 possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea
534 in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas.
174 We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more
771 and more attached to the bell, less and less to its possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

Relics

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

The Buffalo and its Milk

234 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies
778 we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

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objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes by which they were borne. 234 778

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one time to have been more sacred, or to have received more definite signs of reverence than at the present time. The evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mad* at Makars was a very human animal. [773]

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *palol* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals. 234 778 788

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world. 234 778

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the

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234 778 dairy ritual, but it is a question whether the sanctity does not attach much more closely to the objects connected with the buffaloes than to the buffaloes themselves.

I think it is clear that at the present time none of the Toda buffaloes are so sacred that their milk in the form of ghi may not be used. Some writers have supposed that no profit is made from the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*, but at present this is certainly not so, and the ghi made from the milk of the sacred buffaloes is sold with the rest and may be used by all.

In earlier days, when the Todas led simpler lives than at present, when the bazaars of Ootacamund and Coonoor were not in existence to act as incentives to the acquirement of gain, it is possible that the Todas did not sell the ghi made from the milk of their more sacred buffaloes, and, as I have already suggested, it is even possible that at one time they were content to allow these animals to suckle their calves and made no use of their milk. Even at the present time a sacred buffalo will not be milked unless it is provided with the appropriate dairy and dairyman. The buffaloes of a *ti* which has no *palol*, or of a *wursuli* which has no *wursol*, are not allowed to be milked though they may be looked after by other men. With this exception, however, I believe that, at the present time, every buffalo, even of the most sacred herds, is a source of profit by the sale of the ghi which is made from its milk.

The various offerings of buffaloes made in connexion with ceremonial are also not allowed to interfere with the economic value of the animals. In the *irnörtiti* ceremony of the village, the offered buffalo simply passes from one division of a clan to another, and when a buffalo is said to be devoted to the gods, it does not mean that the owner profits a whit the less on account of the oblation, but only that he may not kill it at a funeral, and must allow it to die a natural death.

Even the slaughter of animals at the funeral ceremonies appears to be managed so as to interfere as little as possible with the profits obtained from the sale of the milk. I think there is little doubt that it is an established custom to kill old and barren buffaloes on these occasions. An animal is not sent to the next world till its owner has got the utmost out of it in this.

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Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas. 234 177 437

Other Animals

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence which I possess concerning their relations with animals in general. 773 778 825

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

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In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village. 776 234

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas. 776 787 177

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods. 776 778 823

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are 776

125 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the
128 community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the
173 value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of
601 the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

Buffalo Pedigrees

124 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees
173 of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my
234 next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

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which they were reticent, but I am inclined to think that I was 124
told all there was to tell. 173

To a certain extent it is correct to say that the pedigrees of the buffaloes are preserved, and in the female line only. 234
If any given buffalo were taken as the starting-point, the owner could usually tell me the names of the mother of the buffalo and of the mother's mother, and occasionally I obtained the names of the immediate ancestors in the female line for four generations. Thus, Nertiners of Taradr (24) had a buffalo named Kârstum who was the daughter of Idrsh. Idrsh was the daughter of Persud, who was the daughter of Nerûv, who was the daughter of Kiûd. Another of his buffaloes, Keien, was descended from Koisi, Nerûv, and Kâsimi in the order named.

I could not ascertain that the Todas kept any record of 173
the collateral lines of descent, nor was there, so far as I could 234
find, any idea of kinship between buffaloes descended from the same recent ancestor. Two buffaloes born of the same mother would be known, of course, to be sisters, but no importance seemed to be attached to the relationship.

An obvious reason for the limitation of the pedigrees of the buffaloes to the female line is the fact that only female buffaloes are named, so that there are no means of recording male parentage. We shall see later that among themselves the Todas attach little importance to paternity, and the same indifference is found in their attitude towards their buffaloes. The essential reason for the nature of the record of buffalo-descent is the complete absence of desire to maintain the purity of the breed, even of the most sacred herds, and the complete lack of attention to ties of consanguinity between buffaloes mated together.

The Toda Population

The chapters on kinship and marriage will furnish object- 000
lessons on the method of application of the knowledge derived from the genealogies to the study of social regulations. In the remainder of this chapter I propose to consider various problems connected with population, of biological as well as

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192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
234 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 234 611

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect. 842 181

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies. 597

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *màdol* and *pòlm* of the father. 736 611

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan. 842 618

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan. There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

234 *Buffaloes.* These are to a very large extent individual
422 property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the
428 property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion
176 arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes among them.

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.[1] When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *Irvâkhtnâdr meilkâdr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

[1] On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kars clan.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Thus, if sixteen buffaloes are to be divided among four brothers, the eldest and youngest would each take four, the second and third brothers would each take three, and the remaining two buffaloes would either be sold and the purchase money equally divided, or taken by one of the brothers, who would divide three-quarters of the value of the buffaloes between the other three men. If there should be only fourteen buffaloes, the eldest and youngest sons would each take four buffaloes and the others three. 234 422 428 176

The *meilkudr* is also operative if a man divides his buffaloes among his sons in his lifetime. In this case a man usually keeps some buffaloes for himself; thus I was told that a man who had sixteen buffaloes and three sons might give four buffaloes to the eldest, three to the next, and four to the youngest son, keeping five for himself.

The Todas told me of one apparent exception to the law of *meilkudr*. If, in a family of four brothers, the two elder brothers marry one wife and the two younger marry another and the two groups separate, the buffaloes would be equally divided, but this is because each would receive a *meilkudr*. If, on the other hand, the eldest and youngest son married one wife, and the other two sons married another woman, the first group would receive two buffaloes in excess of the second. The former example is, of course, an obvious consequence of the law of *meilkudr*. I only mention it because the Todas told me of it especially, and seemed to regard it as a case which might be thought to be a departure from custom.

I gave the Todas a number of hypothetical problems of buffalo division, and all were solved in accordance with the law of *meilkudr*. I have not been able to learn of any exact parallel in other parts of the world, and it seems possible that it is an independent invention of the Todas. The division is called *kudr*, or horn, and it seems to me quite possible that at some time it occurred to an ingenious Toda that the two extremities of the family should be regarded as the two horns of the family, and that this fact should be recognised in the division of property, or, it may be, that the custom of endowing the eldest of the family above his fellows

176 existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it
234 was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore
422 the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda
428 mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

234 There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies
422 involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a
425 member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *terersthi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

234 Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas
609 and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes. 234 609

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons. 422 428 595

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljeidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men. [586]

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to 428

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXIV

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

181 THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple. 234 The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life 177 are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy. This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the affairs of daily life.

181 The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little 531 developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony that little is left for the development of art, even of a primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the person, and even here we shall find that the methods of wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their amusements again we shall find that the influence of ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely imitations of ceremonial occupations.

821 I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun, moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observations and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 The contribution of grain from the Badagas has usually
651 been regarded as given in return for the use of the land, the Todas being supposed to be the original owners of the soil. That this is not the whole explanation is shown by the fact that the Badagas also give a tribute of grain to two other Nilgiri tribes, the Kotas and Kurumbas. Harkness[1] was told by the Badagas that the portion given to the *ti* was in return for the prayers of the *palol*, and that they did not believe that "their crops or their cattle, themselves or their children, would prosper without his blessing." The Badagas also stated that they generally desisted from cultivating their fields when the *ti* was left without a *palol*. They looked on the tribute of grain to the Todas as given of their own good will, while a similar tribute to the Kurumbas was dictated by fear of the consequences of sorcery which might be employed if the duty were neglected.

[754] It has been supposed that the fear of Toda sorcery is one reason for the maintenance of the tribute, and, since the Badagas undoubtedly fear the power of the Toda sorcerers, it is probable that this factor plays a part, though one less important than in the case of the Kurumbas.

[234] Another view which has been taken is that the Todas maintain rights over old dairies in the middle of the Badaga fields, and that any recalcitrance on the part of the Badagas might be followed by the taking up of these old rights. It is possible that the Todas have at some time threatened to resume their rights over disused dairies, but, in the case of the more sacred dairies, the fear of defilement of the sacred buffaloes by approaching a Badaga village would prevent the Todas from putting such a threat into practice.

The grain is probably given, partly because it is an immemorial custom, partly because the Badagas believe that they receive benefits and avoid evils in consequence of the custom.

177 At the present time, the amount of grain supplied by the
437 Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* must, however, be that supplied by

[1] P. 136.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas. 177 437

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus, from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as that described by Harkness. 177 234 609 437

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in the Toda community is in connexion with the *naim*, or council, of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of the two communities. 177 623

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other. 177

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

In this chapter I propose to give a short account of each of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan. 618

The Tarthar Clans

Nòdrs

The people of Nòdrs owe their special importance to their connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nòdrodchi*, or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed certain special favours on her people. Chief among these is the possession of the Nòdrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact that the Nòdrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nòdrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *teskerst*, is also usually performed at a Nòdrs village. 173 773 618 234 554

234 618 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 764 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday, and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Odr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Külthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

621 361 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts, so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum. 621 351 234

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*. 211 621 778

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among 234 621

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 621 the villages of the Nòdrsol, and it was a question whether the *wursuli* dairy, though of the ordinary form, had not even a greater sanctity than the *poh* of Nòdrs. More difficulty was made when I wished to go close to it than at any other place during the whole of my visit (except, of course, at the *ti* dairy), but, unfortunately, the affair was complicated by the fact that on this day my usual attendant, Kòdrner, was not with me, and the difficulty may have been partly due to this. When I was allowed to approach the building, only

FIG. 70.—A VIEW OF NÒDRS. THE STONE IN THE FOREGROUND ON THE LEFT IS THE 'NEKOVKARS'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'UTEIKS.' IN THE BACKGROUND IN THE CENTRE IS AN OLD 'TU.' THE LOWER PART OF THE CONICAL DAIRY CAN BE SEEN BETWEEN THE BOY AND THE 'UTEIKS.'

one man came with me and he would not go within several yards of the dairy, while allowing me to go on. The special sanctity of this dairy is due to the fact that the two *mani* of the Nòdrsol are kept here. Both this dairy and a smaller *tarvali* are at a much greater distance from the village than usual, but with that exception there is nothing to distinguish them from the dairies of other villages. The *wursuli* is one of those which has two rooms. It is at the village of Òdr that the *palol* passes one night during his

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ordination ceremonies, and I was shown the spot under a tree where he has to sleep, the same spot being also used by the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* when they undergo any part of their ordination ceremonies at Odr. 234 621 773

Another feature of interest is the connexion of this village with Kuudr. An Òdr man must be present at the *irpalvusthi* and salt-giving ceremonies of Kuudr, and a Kuudr man must attend when these ceremonies are performed at Òdr. Further, the *kwarzam* of Òdr are said in the prayer of the *erkumptth-pimi* ceremony at Kuudr and the *Kwarzam* of Kuudr are said at Òdr.

The following legend records the origin of these customs :—

Soon after Teikirzi had given the buffaloes to the different villages, the buffaloes of Kuudr and Òdr were grazing together, and when evening came they could not be separated and both herds went together to the funeral place called Keikars. The *wursol* of Òdr and the *palikartmokh* of Kuudr brought their milking-vessels, each to milk his own buffaloes, and they also brought their churning-vessels (*patat*) and cooking-vessels. After they had milked, the *wursol* of Òdr went to pour his milk into his *patat*, and when doing so some of the milk splashed into the vessel of the *palikartmokh*. They then cooked some food with the milk, and as the food was boiling strongly, some of it went from one cooking-pot to the other. Then the people of the two villages met and decided that, as the two kinds of buffalo had been milked in one place and the two kinds of milk had been mixed with one another, each of the villages should mention the *kwarzam* of the other in its prayer, and people of one village should attend the ceremonies of the other.

Todshteiri (Talapattaraimand). This is another important Nòdrs village. It was vacant at the time of my visit, but is still often occupied. It had at one time a dairy called *Okurshapali* with seven rooms, which was, like that of Nòdrs, a *kudrpali*. It fell into disuse at the same time as the Nòdrs dairy, and its site is still quite distinct; but though it seemed larger than usual, I could discover no indication of the number of rooms it had had. When I visited the village there were nine ovens standing in a row, which had been used to cook the 234 621

234 food when Teigudr (4) took his wife Uwer from Nertolvan
621 of Pan (16). On this occasion Nertolvan came to Tedshteiri to receive nine buffaloes from Teigudr, and the number of ovens corresponded with the number of the buffaloes.

Kudrnakhum (Kudinagamand). The chief point of interest about this village is that it is the place where the ceremony of *tesherst* often takes place. It is an outlying village to the west which I was unable to visit.

Perththo (Perattitalmand). This is a village which is shared by two clans. The part occupied by the Nòdrsol is called Meil Perththo, or Upper Perththo. The other part of the village was said to be general property, but it is at present occupied by Melgars people.

Kozhtudi or *Kozhteidi*. The special feature of this village is that it has a *wursuli* in which everything has to be carried out *kabkaditi*, *i.e.*, the dairyman is not allowed to turn his back to the contents of the dairy. This certainly points to the village having been at one time of importance.

KARS

618 This is at present the largest of the Tarthar clans, having
621 sixty-seven male and fifty female members. It is represented in the *naim*, and there was some reason to think that it occupies a more important position in this body than the other Tarthar clans. The family of Parkurs (8) is called *tinkanikudupel*, ranking next to a *manikudupel*, and Parkurs was till lately a second or assistant *monegar*.

There seems to be no doubt that the Karsol have always been an important clan, and its members are often mentioned in the stories, though they do not appear to have had any legendary hero such as those of Melgars and Pan. Their *nòdrodchi* (ruler or presiding deity) is Kulinkars, now believed to live on a hill near Makurti Peak. The Kars people possess a *ti* which in importance and wealth is second only to that of Nòdrs.

618 Kars resembles Nòdrs in having two *kudr* differing greatly in size. Kutadri is the head of one, which comprises all the members of the family given in Table 7. It has two *pòlm*, headed by Kutadri and Peithol. The other *kudr* has eight

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

pòlm, of which the chief men are Parkurs (8), Pidrvan (9)[1], Piutolvan (10), Kudrvas (11), Kutthurs (12), Mongudrvan (13), Kiunervan (14), and Keitazvan (15). Till recently there appear to have been only five *pòlm* in the Kars clan, each of which has lately been divided into two. There is a very marked disproportion in the number of members of some of these divisions; thus the *pòlm* of Parkurs has sixteen males in five more or less distinct families, while others have only three or four males. Nevertheless each of the latter would contribute the same amount towards joint expenses of the clan as the sixteen males of the *pòlm* of Parkurs. 618

The chief villages of the Karsol are in or near Ootacamund, and this clan formerly had several other villages on sites now occupied by modern buildings.

The following are the chief places:—

Kars (Kandalmand). This village is one of the best known of Toda villages, being just on the outskirts of Ootacamund. It is a very typical example of a Toda village; there is a small group of houses, with a large dairy, the *kudrpali* (Fig. 21), called *Tarziolv*, close to them; just above the houses on the rising ground is a smaller dairy, the *wursuli* called *Karziolv*, shown in the background of Fig. 42 and partly shown in Figs. 23 and 44. Opposite the *kudrpali* are two raised circular mounds with flat tops called the *imudrikars* (seen in the foreground in Fig. 21), on which the body of a dead man is laid before being taken to the funeral hut at Taradrkirsi. Above the *kudrpali* is the hut for calves. 234 621

In the middle of the enclosure within which the village lies, is a row of stones (shown in Fig. 42) which are the *irnörtkars*, and in the ceremony of *irnörtiti* the calf is driven across these stones.

Behind the houses there is a small circular enclosure which is now used as a *tu* and is called *Althftu*. The entrance to this enclosure is shown in Fig. 29 just in front of the boy carrying the dairy vessels. Formerly there was a dairy of the conical kind within this circle, of which the name was *Ishpoh*. About five generations ago, this dairy still existed

[1] Pidrvan died soon after my visit.

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621

and was tended by a *wursol*; but several dairymen died in succession, and this so alarmed the Todas that it became impossible to obtain anyone to fill the office, and when the dairy decayed its remains were removed and the circular enclosure within which it stood has since been used as a pen. In size and appearance the enclosure is quite unlike other pens, and resembles much more nearly the circular walls round the conical dairies of Nòdrs and Kanòdrs.

Kuzhu (Kunditolmand). This, the second in importance of the villages of the Karsol, is a very picturesque place south of Ootacamund. There is a *kudrpali* called *Tudrpoh*, in front of which is a stone called *imudrikars*. The gold bracelet mentioned in the story of Kwoto is kept in this dairy. In front of the dwelling-huts is another stone called *menkars* (see p. 342). The *menkars* at Kuzhu and that at Nòdrs are the only stones of this name, but they do not resemble one another, and the Kuzhu stone is not adapted for the *narthpimi* game as is that of Nòdrs.

Keshker (Kakerimand). This is a large village near Ootacamund at which there is a *kudrpali*, but little else of interest. It is probably the Kishkeijar mentioned by Harkness.

Nasmiòdr (Aganadmand). This is a very old village which was probably at one time much more important than at present. It is situated about a quarter of a mile from the road leading from Ootacamund to Ebanad, not far from the Badaga village of Tuneri. There is now only a small dairy (*wursuli*) situated in the middle of a wood. When I visited Nasmiòdr, this dairy was unoccupied, and, as is usual in such cases, my Toda guide refused to go to the dairy with me, and remained outside the wood. Soon after I left the hills, it was to be occupied by the *wursol* of Kars, who would take his buffaloes there for a month.

This village is mentioned in two Toda legends, in both of which it seems to have been a village at which people were living. The dairy is called *Tilipoh* or *Pohtilipoh*, and it still contains the two *mani*, Karzod and Kòni, which were hung on the neck of Enmon (see p. 208). It is one of the few *wursuli* which have two rooms.

Pakhalkudr (Bagalkodumand). This village, not far from

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Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. 234
There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalars* 621
which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning.

Isharadr and *Peletkwur*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy 351
and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol.

Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are 621
still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Türskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tüli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr.

PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and 618
are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name 621
for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the

618 Kundahs, but they are only visited during the dry season, and
621 for the greater part of the year the Panol live at the comparatively new village of Naters in the most thickly populated part of the hills. The legendary hero, Kwoten, belonged to Pan.

The clan is small, having now about twenty-seven male and nine female members. It is not represented on the *naim*, and in the Badaga grouping of the Todas this clan is joined with that of Nòdrs.

The Panol have two *kudr*, and provide the only example among the Tartharol in which the *kudr* have special names. The formation of the *kudr* is said to have been due to Kwoten, who divided the people into Panol and Kuirsiol, named after the two chief villages of the clan. The two divisions are also called Pandar and Peshteidimokh.

The Pandar or Panol have three *pòlm*, headed by Timurvan (16), Todars (16), and Nòrtiners (17). The Peshteidimokh or Kuirsiol have two *pòlm*, headed by Timners (18) and Imokhvan (19).

The *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* ceremonies are performed in front of the *wursuli* at Pan or Kuirsi. The spots on which the ceremonies take place are not marked by any stones, and the ceremonies are spoken of as *paliknörtiti*, *i.e.*, "he gives to the dairy," though, as a matter of fact, the calf passes from the men of one *kudr* to the men of the other *kudr* as in other clans.

The *madnol* of Pan are said to be Sunday and Wednesday, and the funerals of men take place on Sunday or Tuesday, and those of women on Thursday or Saturday. It is probable that Tuesday is the proper day for the funerals of men, but that they are now sometimes held on Sunday.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Panol :—

Pan (Onnamand) is commonly known to Europeans as
234 "One mand." It is a large village in the south-west corner of the Kundahs, with two houses of the long variety, with a door at each end and a partition in the middle. There is a *wursuli* called *Keinulv*, and a *kudrpali* called *Nersolv*, and outside the pen there is a stone called *mutchudkars*.

Kuirsi (Kolimand). This village is near Pan. It has a

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wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh. 621 234

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place. 621 764

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members. 618 621 234

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ri*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amnòdr) near Perithi. 775

618 The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has
234 three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

The following are the chief villages:—

621 *Taradr* (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most char-
234 acteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the
764 Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *püdrshtikars* after the name of the buffaloes (*püdrshtipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalikartmokh* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

621 *Kudrmas* (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.

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Pushtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tasherst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed. 621

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members. 618 621

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irwörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pòlm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood. [211]

KANÒDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of [177] 618 234

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618 the hills. The clan is distinguished by its possession of the
234 conical *pok* at Kanòdrs, and by the fact that many of the adventures of Kwoto or Meilitars took place in the region it inhabits. Although Kwoto was a Melgars man, he is regarded as having a close connexion with the Kanòdrs people, and various features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs *tok* are said to be derived from him.

618 The clan is at present a small one, with a distinct majority of females. In fact, it seems so usual for members of this
842 clan to have no children or only female children that there is some likelihood that the Kanòdrsol may become extinct. The present numbers are about thirteen males and twenty-three females.

618 There was some doubt as to the number of *kudr*. I was told that there are three, headed by Arsolv (27), Kineri (29), and Pòlkab (30) respectively, but at an *irnivrtti* ceremony both Arsolv and Kineri would give to Pòlkab, while the latter would give to both, so that it seems probable that there are properly only two *kudr*, as in other clans. One of these has only one *pòlm*, that of Pòlkab. The other has three *pòlm*, headed by Arsolv, Neratkutan (28), and Kineri.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Kanòdrsol:—

Kanòdrs (Devarmand). This village now consists of the *pok* only. There are still two *mani* at this village, one of which is called *Pünkòghlag*, a name closely resembling the name of the churning-stick at the *ti*. There are at present no dwelling-huts at the place, nor any remains of such huts, though it would appear from the legend of Kwoten that the village was inhabited at one time.

Pishkwosht (Bikkapatimand). This is a large village where most of the Kanòdrsol now live. The only dairy is in ruins. Close to the village there are a number of flat stones almost level with the ground (Fig. 71) which are called *Teuár*, "the god way," and are said to mark the spot where the gods (*teu*) used to meet. Just above these is a large buffalo pen, which is reputed not to have been made by man. Whenever the gods went this way they used to deposit pieces of dried buffalo-dung on this spot and these became the stones of the *tu*.

618 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen
621 females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Punmud*.

PÄM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234 The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of
621 which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Päm* was then adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Päm was called *Palikûdrbedz* and the buffalo-pen, *Tûgûdron*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmokh*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kwatkash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

618 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of
159 this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

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man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English soldiers came to Päm and insulted the women and how Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at Wellington. 618 159

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Päm for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 177 618 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo. 234 618

There are two *mani*, called *Eshkiakudr* and *Eikudr*, each with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pinsipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarwali*. [178]

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of these seems to be of any importance. 621

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

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621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the 778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion 609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsikodri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of 618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a 234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the 554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

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an account has been already given. They are still capable of holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which are wholly unshared by other clans. 184 618 234 554

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi.* "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad oiiti.* "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti.* "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug puts nitz ithtothi.* "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ithtothi.* "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part. He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning 564 796

554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduhti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The
618 Melgars people themselves believed that their exceptional
773 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan. They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so

234

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that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the *tarvali* of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other than that of Melgars.

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some special relation between the people of Melgars and those of Kwodrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòdrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Ôdr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
778 sacred than Kuudr.

[342] It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the huts to the dairy a shallow stream flowing over broad flat stones is crossed. This stream is called *Keikudr*, and is of some ceremonial importance (see p. 307). 234 621 778

The dairy which is called *Kilpoh* is shown in Figs. 20 and 31, and is a large, well-built structure of the ordinary shape. It is situated within a high wall, which is much thicker than usual, and in front it must be several yards across, so that it is possible to walk about on the top of it. On this wall, on the right hand side, are two old stones (shown in Fig. 31), called *neurzülnkars*. Close to the dairy there are two ancient and weatherworn stones, shown in Fig. 32, to which the same name is given.

There are six bells in the dairy. Two are kept on the *patatmar* and are called *patatmani*, the individual names of the bells being *Mudrani* and *Kerani*. The other four are called *ertatmani*, and are kept on the *ertatmar*; their individual names are *Pongg*, *Nongg*, *Pundrths*, and *Pan*.

Kiudr is one of the villages which was said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. In favour of this is the fact that its dairy is called *poh* and that there are stones called *neurzülnkars* which are usually found at a *ti mad*. The people have also to play a part during the procession of the buffaloes of the Nödrs *ti*, and there seems to be little doubt that the village is in some way especially connected with the *ti* institution, though exactly how is uncertain.

Kiudr is certainly a village especially revered not only by the Kuudrol, but by all Todas. It is a *sati mad*, and any Toda will be believed if he speaks in front of its dairy. Another sign of the sanctity of the dairy is the fact that the ceremony of *pilinörtiti* may be performed here not only by members of the Kuudr clan, but also by any other Toda.

Molkush. This is a recently established village, little more than a quarter of a mile from Kiudr. The scenes shown in Figs. 16 and 17 were taken at this village. It has no dairy and the milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut. This village may be regarded as an adjunct to the sacred village of Kiudr, at which the ordinary buffaloes are tended. At the time of my visit the wife of one of the men who usually lived at Kiudr gave birth 621

588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
514 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisation. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas
793 belong to the Tártharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol.
184 This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wùrsuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
654 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the *monegar* is the collection of the assessment made by the Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
234 only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol. 184 234 616

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*. 616 764

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *kodtiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said 616 765 184

2: Marshall

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[For the association of buffaloes with Toda funeral rites, see category 116, pp. 174-185.]

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originated in any defensive project, whether as protection from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals. Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm[1] Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

[1] [Letters did not reproduce here in the original text--Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 · Toda

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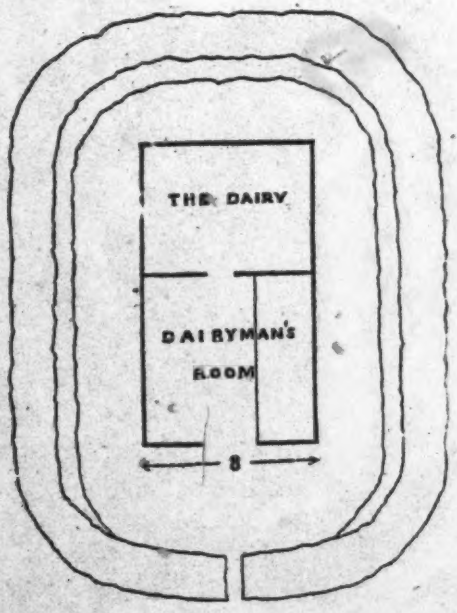
most attractive to the wandering archæologist who did not know of the primitive habits of this pastoral race.

In addition to the dwelling houses just described, every Mand, without exception, contains a house devoted solely to the purposes of a dairy—pâlthchi—consisting of two rooms;

No. 12.



THE DAIRY—PÂLTHCHI.

the outer—porram-âl-g-ârsh—for the residence of the dairyman—pâlkarpâl[4]—and the inner room—ulg-ârsh—for the storage

[4] Pâlkarpâl. This is one of the most remarkable examples of the identity of Toda and Tamil.

This is pâl—karr—p—âl; where (1) is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; (2) is the root of the verb = *to milk*; (3) is the suffix forming the verbal noun, *milking*; (4) = *person*. [POPE.]

CHAP. VI.

of milk—pâl—and for its conversion into clarified-butter.[5] This building varies in size according to that of the village herd; 234 from the dimensions of an ordinary house of two rooms, to one 343 perhaps half as large again. It is situated somewhat apart 361 from the Mand, and—presumably for the sake of coolness—is generally found on a site which has been partially dug out from the side of the hill, on the slope of which the Mand is situated. The dairy is always enclosed within its separate wall, which is built very close up to it, and the outside of the wall often earthed in. The outer door is much of the size of those in ordinary dwellings, but that in the partition wall, forming the only means of access to the dairy room within, is of minute dimensions; probably one cubit high and about half a cubit broad.

361 The accompanying typical plan of a Mand will explain the description which has just been given. The village itself is invariably situated in the open, exposed to the sun almost from daybreak to sunset, but sheltered by the hill side from the full force of the wind.

The Todas have been credited with some taste in the selection of sites for Mands; owing to the beauty and often romantic nature of their situations; invariably on some open grassy slope, where wood and spring or rivulet combine. But I more than doubt if any innate sense of the beautiful influences them in the choice; for neither do their heads, nor do their other acts, give probability of the possession by them of any taste. I am disposed to attribute the success of these happy selections to the fact that, acting with a very strong practical sense of the advantage of localities, they have, whilst seeking shelter for themselves and cattle from the monsoon storms, with a dry bit of soil in proximity to water and fuel—the whole centrical with regard to pasture—obtained, by means of the natural advantages of a lovely land-

[5] Known in India as ghi; in Toda termed nei.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

They do not attempt to till the ground.

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

000 think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'[1]

322 Our friends appear to *dream* buffalo. Sitting, apparently
532 'thinking of nothing at all,' a man will pick up a bit of cane or forked twig from the ground, and like the typical Yankee is supposed to whittle a stick while he speculates, so the Toda will employ himself for an hour at a time, splitting his bit of cane or rounding the little branches of his twig into the likeness of buffalo horns, as he muses. Children may be seen coming in from cattle-driving, with strings of these small horns. And these treasures are found lying about their houses and haunts. Two of them are shown in Photograph No. 15.

182 In the history of most, if not of all nations, savage and
771 civilised alike, we may trace the alliance, more or less intimate,
234 of religion, in its various rites and performances, with food; in its nature, source, or care, or in the occasions or symbols of its use. This correlation is certainly a marked feature in Toda customs. Though the Todas have no actual religion or system of faith leading to the performance of duties to a God, yet they hold to certain practices and certain habits in daily life, which are to them in the place of a religion; being performed with all the strictness and certainty that should be bestowed on sacred observances.

234 These performances or habits are intimately allied with
778 the care and distribution of the *divine fluid*—milk. The buffalo is to a certain degree held sacred, as being the

[1] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 21.

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234 778 [198]

chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

177 234 262 431

But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

234 778

There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[2] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

[2] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, mani dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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cows of the sacred herds only, which are attached to the holy Mands, termed tiriêri.[3] The size of the droves varies, from accidental circumstances, between the numbers 10 and 60: and somewhat in proportion to the dimensions of the herds, from one to three bell-gods belong to a tiriêri.

The bell-cows, for whom, by the way, the Todas have no specific name, are not selected on account of their good milking qualities, their size or beauty, but are the descendants in direct female line from certain originals whose early history has been lost. I have the following information on the subject from the highest authority; viz., a priest of the tiriêri, styled pâlâl, retired from the active business of his calling. He told me that no matter how old and worthless the bell-cow might become, the bell belonged to her till she died: when, without fail, it was transferred to her daughter. Moreover, that if the mother should have left no such female issue, a bell-cow would be procured from one of the other tiriêris: or the holy Mand would itself be broken up, and the entire herd amalgamated with that of some tiriêri still possessing a bell-cow.

The bell-god is never worn by the bell-buffalo, but is always kept in the priest's house; no one but a man of that office being permitted to touch or even to see it.

The same holy man who gave me the above information, also described the installation of a new bell-cow. Twice a day, morning and evening, for three successive days, the priest waves the bell with his right hand, round and round the head of the bovine heiress, talking to it the while, much as follows:

> What a fine cow your predecessor was!
> How well she supported us with her milk!
> Won't you supply us in like manner?
> You are a God amongst us!

[3] Tiriêri = *holy place*. Tira or tiri is the recognised Drâvidian corruption of the Sanskrit shrî = *holy, sacred*.

Ari or iri, from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist*. Ur = *a village*, is from the same root. [POPE.]

CHAP. XIII.

234

Don't let the tirièri go to ruin!
Let one become a thousand!
Let all be well!
Let us have plenty of calves!
Let us have plenty of milk!

During three days and nights the bell is kept fastened round the cow's neck. On the morning of the third day it is removed from her neck, and lodged in the priest's house. It is never worn again during that cow's lifetime.

The entire tirièri herd is far more sacred than any of the ordinary village droves of buffalos, and the bell-cows are infinitely more sacred than any other cows of the sacred drove. So far as I could ascertain: whilst the bell-cow is the direct lineal descendant, from mother to daughter, from some remote but sacred ancestor, the remainder of the tirièri herd are the offspring of some original drove, whose members are probably related to the bell-cows.

A certain number of bulls are retained in the sacred herd; those male calves which are not wanted being given away to the Kotas. The finer animals are retained. When a young bull has arrived at mature age, and has proved his vigour, he undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed; by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the tirièri, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. He is not a very sacred character. In fact it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove, after due sanctification.

174 234 611

It appears to me as somewhat remarkable that a people so fond of simple regulation and undeviating rule, should permit the principle of female succession amongst their cattle, whilst maintaining agnate law amongst themselves. I cannot admit the contrast between the two systems to be merely the result of accident. Knowing the direct simplicity and good sense of

CHAP. XIII.

the savage mind, I see the probability that once on a time, the scheme of inheritance and of kinship, both among themselves and for their buffalos, was identical; viz., through the female line. And the more remotely ancient the mode of Toda life, and the nearer it approached to man's primæval condition, the greater the probability that the habits of animal and man approached one another in general similitude.

Before proposing for consideration the conclusion which I draw from the facts of early identity and present difference in such customs, I will give an extract from a well-known work on primitive marriage. Mr. M'Lennan in striving to show 'that the most ancient system in which the idea of blood-relationship was embodied, was a system of kinship through females only,' writes: 'considering that the history of all the races of men, so far as we know it, is the history of a progress from the savage state; considering the social condition of rude tribes still upon the earth—remembering that the races which can be traced in history had all a previous history, which remains unwritten—it cannot seem a very strange proposition that there has been a stage in the development of human races when there was no such appropriation of women to particular men—when, in short, marriage as it exists among civilized nations was not practised. We believe that we shall show, to a sufficient degree of probability, that there have been times when marriage in this sense was yet undreamt of. Wherever this has been the case, the paternity of children must have been uncertain; the conditions essential to a system of kinship through males being formed, would therefore be wanting; no such system would be formed; there would be—there could be—kinship through females only.'[4]

In Chapter XXVII. reasons for my belief are given, that with polyandry came the change from promiscuous unions and kinship through the female line, to inheritance through males

[4] M'Lennan, 'Primitive Marriage.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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only—the system which now obtains amongst these people—in which argument I am glad to find Mr. M'Lennan almost entirely with me.

Now therefore, I would advance the suggestion, that the system of kinship in cattle, through their *cows*, is perhaps contemporaneous with the age when the Todas also, prior to the introduction of polyandry, held to the practice of kinship through the female line. In which belief are grounds for confidence in the very high antiquity of the Toda bell-gods.

The worship of the *bull*, may possibly be a further development of cattle worship.

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CHAPTER XIV.

TIRIÊRI PRIESTS.

The Pâlâl—The Kâvilâl—The Pâlâl is a God—The Priki Clan termed 'Sons of God'—Duties of the Pâlâl—No mysteries—Sacred nature of Priests—The Pâlâl becomes man again—Purification for holy orders—The Tûde tree; its botanical name and distribution—The use of the Tûde, an ancient practice—The Pâlâl enters on his duties.

EACH tiriêri, with its drove of cattle, is in the charge of an ascetic milkman or priest, styled pâlâl,[1] and an equally ascetic, though not equally holy, herdsman or kâvilâl.[2] And according as the herd may be small or large, there are found from one to two of the former, and from one to three of the latter, attached to the tiriêris. CHAP. XIV. 234 463 793

The pâlâl, whose personal acquaintance I had made in the course of taking information on the interesting subject of the bell-god, was a man of about thirty-five years of age, who had spent some fifteen of them in holy orders, vacating his post in favour of a brother. The effect of that lengthy period of ascetic and solitary life on his personal appearance, was somewhat striking. It was perhaps *de rigueur* for one who had so long been in sacred office to wear his hair dishevelled, and to neglect the cleanliness of his person: but the more than usually motionless eyebrow, the gloomy solemnity of his look and his 793 124

[1] Pâlâl, pâl, is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; âl = *person*.

[2] Kâvilâl, kâval = *guard*; âl = *person*.

The former is a Turkish word. Yet kâ is the Drâvidian root for *protect, guard*. In Tamil we have a kind of reduplication of it; thus, pâtu kâ. The Sanskrit corresponding root is pâ. [POPE].

IAP. IV. fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

793 124 But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

463 554 793 Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

212 788 793 No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

000 234 788 The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive the existence of any very mystic rites among them. Whatever is done in these tiriêris, is known to every intelligent

284 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is
234 such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family
778 and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl *of* such a tiriêri.

534 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XV.

PRIESTLY DUTIES.

Pâlâl's daily routine—Salutes the sacred Herd—Milks the Cattle—Libations to the Bell-gods—Names of Toda Gods—Does the conception of invisible Gods arise from deficient organ of Form?—Todas revere Light, not Fire—Who is the Kâvilâl?—Pâlâl demonstrates that he is never touched—Milk held in religious regard—Pâlâl collects Kûtu for his Mand.

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THE daily routine of the pâlâl's mysterious office was described to me nearly in the following words. 'On rising in the morning, I wash face, hands, and teeth, with the left hand.' In daily human life he had invariably used the right hand for this purpose; such being the custom with all Orientals certainly, who, eating with their fingers, find it necessary to reserve the right hand for that especial object. But remember the pâlâl is now a God, and to the pure all things are pure—fact!

'Then entering the inner room—ulg ârsh—of the house,' which is reserved for dairy purposes, the outer room—porram âlg ârsh—being the pâlâl's sleeping apartment, 'I make a leaf-lamp, into which I put clarified butter and 5 wicks, thus,' spreading out his fingers. I could not ascertain if the number 5 is essential, but it appeared to me to be so. 'The lamp is put into a niche in the wall, opposite the bells, which hang on the separate prongs of a stick thrust into the thatch of the roof. And I light in silence, nor salute either light—belak—or relics—maṇi.'

'Having taken up my wand and honnu or milk-pail, which

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234 is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the names of the following Gods :—

Ânmungâno Godingâtho
Beligoshu Dekulâria
Kazudâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

[1] Nin arzbini = *I adore thee.* See Chapter XVII., on the ôtud Mand, for the application of these words.

776 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and
743 not Gods of my tirièri only. I have never seen them. They are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk.
793 After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tirièri. He
442 said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in
743 none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tirièri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in
372 saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tirièri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

778 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by
793 anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his
234 priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tûde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tiriêri Mand described—Names of Tiriêri—We visit the Tiriêri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

CHAP. XVI. A tiriêri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi, in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tiriêris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth Kudar
Mâr Markush
Puzhash.

And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and even triplicates, so these tiriêri Mands have also their corresponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII, on the Bell-gods.

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Having ascertained that the tiriêri, with its sacred herd and its maṇi dêr, was indeed the mainspring of the entire religious faith and social system of the Todas, it became a matter of great moment to ascertain by personal inspection the secrets of its penetralia. Our *ex*-pâlâl had indeed with great apparent sincerity divulged the whole of the hidden mysteries, even to the extent of naming the Gods of his forefathers; names held in great veneration: when spoken, only pronounced in an under-tone: and which no European, and probably no native beyond the tribe, had ever previously been allowed to hear. Here would be the test of his veracity both on this subject and in other cognate matters on which we had consulted him.

We must see the inside of a tiriêri: we must view the relics, the Gods. Such was the programme: and money would of course perform the work of the magic words 'open sesame.' Calling therefore at our friend's Mand, we readily induced him to accompany us to view his old tiriêri. 'But you must not go close to the dairy' he said. Oh no!

We strolled along the pretty slopes of the verdant hills together, and he guided us over the squashy bogs, and through the ever-silent woods: and again out on the green wild, and through further nestling woods, with the cheery spring sun overhead; all in the direction of his tiriêri.

No one to overhear us out on this prairie! Now is the time! 'Bültaben'—such was his mundane name—'we want to go into the dairy of the tiriêri. You are an old pâlâl. Here is money.' 'Just to peep in at the door from a distance?' he asked. 'No, but to look at the relics in the inner room.' He stopped short, tucked his stick under one arm, and pressing the tips of all his fingers to his eyes, exclaimed, 'May both my eyes drop from their sockets, but I cannot do such a thing.' After a pause, 'The Gods would vacate the tiriêri Mand if anyone unsanctified entered it, and its pâlâl would be ruined.'

This was awkward. Another suggestion: Let us see the relics. Let the pâlâl bring them outside that we may view

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234 them. We won't go near.' Ah! that is feasible! The bargain is struck forthwith.

778 On we went again, much refreshed by our success, cross-questioning our guide on points of religion till he was fuddled.

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'On he fares and to the border comes.'

Rising to the ridge of a prolonged knoll, he stopped and pointed below: 'There!'

Down we go into the sacred hollow. The solemn Toda, still more grave, some enthusiasm kindling his dark eye as he looks across at the place where for half a lifetime he had been a God. Over some little burns, past a group of sacred calves, looking in their dirt and stolid impudence, anything but reverential towards the *ex*-pâlâl—they were of this year's growth, and did not recognise him—up again out of the hollow: when, as we near the rounded crest of a long hillock, we find ourselves opposite two neat, but undersized houses, with a dilapidated buffalo pen. 'The tirièri Mand! Don't go near!' So, like shying horses we circle round the spot, till we reach the ridge.

We are at the sanctuary, and in the middle of the holy domain. The pâlâls and kâvilâls are out. We will sit down and note the place till they return.

000 A pure green cameo of wide extent! the edge formed by an amphitheatre of hill, crowning

'with her enclosure green
As with a rural mound, the champain head.'

The arena filled with ceaseless undulations of grazing land; winding through which, a noble stream, and a score of sparkling rivulets cascading down the distant hills. A long tongue of grass land projects from one side of the hilly margin into the weald. At the root of the tongue, a wood; on the margin of which the sanctuary, near which we sit, 'taking notes.'

Wood, water, herbage, in combination with a seclusion so complete, as to include a deep sense of perpetuity. Surprising rest and peaceful beauty!

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778 Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

124 'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us.
713 Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are ap-
778 proaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline,
234 and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!' shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls remain behind, and you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[3] had come up to about [481] ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the maṇi from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

778 Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

[3] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ÊTUD MAND.

Customs of the Village Dairy or Pâlthchi—Duties of the Pâlkarpâl—Important difference in the duties of the Pâlâl and Pâlkarpâl—The Tsrvâl—The inside of a Dairy—The Dairy of an Êtud Mand is a Shrine—The Badagas term it Mui Mand: why?—Toda form of oath.

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THE customs and ceremonies of the tirièri or Toda cathedral—seat of a divine milkman, established as the medium of conveying the Gods' gift to man—are repeated, though in less awfully sacred form, in every Mand of the tribe; in the village dairy or pâlthchi. 234 463 793

The configuration of the dairy has already been described in Chapter VI.

Similarly as one or more nearly-naked recluses belonging to the Peiki clan, are established as pâlâls for the care of the tirièri, assisted by their kâvilâls; so a lesser luminary, generally from the same clan, is the unclothed, ascetic, but more mildly sacred pâlkarpâl,[1] who, also living *en garçon*, but without any pretensions to God-head, presides over the dairy of each village, helped under certain circumstances by a somewhat similar character in the vorshâl.[2] Both of these men also, have been purified in that wonderful juice which qualifies to the holy offices of milking buffalos and the charge of relics.

I state that the pâlkarpâl is generally, though not always, of the Peiki clan; for as I observe, the Peikis permit the 234 793 618

[1] Pâlkarpâl. See note 4 of Chapter VI.
[2] See note 4 of Chapter VIII.

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234 793 618

unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

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It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778]

The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

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The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up.* [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee. CHAP. XVII. 234 793 778 788

Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[8] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tirièri; the holy of holies, already described. 234 778 554

In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was 234 343 342

[8] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master* or *superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [Pope.]

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lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

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It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, êtud Mands should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mands, and why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an êtud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu[6] or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet

[6] Kurpu. Drâvidian. Tamil has kuri = *indicate, point out.* Kurippu

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or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell—konku. That many of these êtud Mands contain kurpus, I have ascertained by direct enquiry. That they all do so, or are supposed by the people to do so, is my belief. Hence we see the êtud Mands are *shrines*; the shrines of a race which burns its dead.

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Now the Badaga name for such a village is mui Mand.[7] And as the very intimate knowledge which this cognate tribe possesses of Toda practice, would probably cause the word mui to be descriptive; it would materially assist us in our enquiries if we knew exactly what it does mean.

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It has been ascertained that the Todas often settle disputes amongst themselves at these places—the tirièri being too sacred to be approached for such purposes—challenging one another to make good their word, by repeating it at the êtud Mand. By joining all these notes together, I can frame an explanation that appears to me quite reasonable, and in consonance with my knowledge of the people's habits and mode of thought. They evidently consider the dairies containing kurpus, or relics of their ancestors, in the light of shrines; and in consequence, the precincts and presence to be holy ground; so holy that men would be restrained from lightly uttering a falsehood at such spots.[8] Hence it is, that these 'great' Mands are used for

—verbal noun = *a sign, indication, memorial.* The Kanarese uses guri. [POPE.]

Maṇi. Sanskrit maṇi = *jewel, bell.* Used in all the Drâvidian languages. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz draws a distinction between kurpu and maṇi; the latter is specific and implies a *metal ring* or *bell.* Thus although a maṇi is with this people always a kurpu, every kurpu is not a maṇi. It may be an *axe* or *staff.*

To me it seems that the word maṇi is a refinement introduced through contact with the Hindus; giving a more distinctly religious, sacred or holy meaning to the sentiment implied in the kurpu.

[7] Mui. In old Kanarese Muyyi is *retaliation.*

Mû in Tamil is *old, venerable.* [POPE.]

[8] Mr. Metz tells me that an oath is taken, by removing the mantle, and stepping over it, in the presence of the êtud Mand.

CHAP. XVII.

778 627 the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families. This belief is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that throughout the East the practice is common, to hold similar meetings at shrines of holy men; Pirs, Jogis, Fakirs, &c.

234 782 That an êtud Mand should have larger herds of cattle than ordinary, may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy.

000 It is important that we arrive at some decision on the object and use of a dairy which occupies a position so manifestly conspicuous amongst their social institutions: to enable us to clear our minds as to all the components of the Toda faith. So long as we do not know what an êtud Mand is, we should always feel that some material portion of their religious system remained unexplained.

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When all the animals have thus been seized, and stand grouped in the pen, in separate knots, each consisting of a snorting buffalo, hard held, head and tail, by a few perspiring and breathless men, the bars of the gateway are withdrawn. One struggle more on the part of the cattle, as they pass through the gateway, to get free. Then the plunging, scuffling masses are brought down to the âthârê, where, one by one, as narrated in the last chapter, these milch cows are killed. As each is felled, and comes down on its knees, the mantle containing the ashes of the dead is laid on the ground, so that the nose of the prostrate creature may rest on the cloth, giving out its life in contact with her master's remains.

The mourners, at this time fondle the animal's face, as in the first funeral, giving way to tears with every appearance of deep and poignant grief. In their wailing, 'the expressions of sorrow,' writes Mr. Metz, 'to which they give utterance, are generally in the form of questions to (the spirit of?) the deceased; such as "Are you suffering from fever?" "Are your buffaloes thriving?" "Why did you leave us so soon?"[a] "Have you gone to amnôr?"'

Mr. Metz found that in the midst of this crying they would hold out their hands to him for a present; from which circumstance he concludes that the lamentations are uttered, not from grief, but simply pursuant to established custom. I conceive that formerly, when the obsequies took place very shortly after the green funeral, these cries were probably genuine, but that the postponement of the ceremonies of the dry funeral for the period of about a year, has no doubt injured the reality of the scene.

234 765

I have said that one buffalo for each person whose funeral is being celebrated, wears a bell—getti. This bell is not holy, but purchased in the bazaar. I could not find a reason for the practice, receiving the usual answers to my enquiry: 'It is shastr,' or 'It is our custom,' or 'Dêr or Swâmi made it so.'

[a] Often said, 'You have been but three days with us.'

CHAP. XXI.

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.) 234 765 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the *ex*-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.' 764

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless. 183 764 765 775 178

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara-kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of 765 775

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] [The bara kêdu, or second funeral -- Analyst]

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately
621 related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without
423 the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are
234 the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of
851 both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in
595 common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the
428

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have *no word* for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. "A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
[425] " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
519 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
" on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
" of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
415 " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

357 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Mané*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mattt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mané*.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, ● 234 tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing 421 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One 428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double 592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they 177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt; 651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to 461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low-country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for 294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live 262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Puttā*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket*, *nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

177 manda, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gūdu* been claimed* for lands
421 disposed of by Government.

Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gūdu* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pattās*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gūdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gūdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— *Relig Rites Cere*

I. *Pālāls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a
234 mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pālaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pālaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pālāls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenād, and one near Kodanād. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pālāls* must be Peikis; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarserzhāl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pālāls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilāl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pālāl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pālāl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,749, 29 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's* Letter of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gūdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pútkuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tunni*, made specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanēri.

234 "The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the "exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in "some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without "a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is "at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fūr or Tūr, the "botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed "off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted "to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâls*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pâlâls*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peïkis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokvali*. There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tārnât mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpuli*. There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl*.

V. *Pâlikārpâls* may be of any clan, but Peïki and Pekkan mands must have Peïki and Pekkan Pâlikārpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

346 II. *Pâlthchi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but larger. Of *Pâlthchis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every 793 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas 621 *Eladmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthchis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikārpâl*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl*.

234 There are four *Boas*:—

(1.) Called *Mânboa*; at Muttanâd *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the 778 left of the Segūr road.

346

* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.

778 (3.) Called *Tirzhva*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.

346 (4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mutterzhva*.

Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

103 Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding God and Bell, where there is one.

621 776 778

Peiki Muimands (Etadmands).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mírzhan. Ertâtu. Kírzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu.
	2. Karzhaldf	Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

* Measurements:—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	9′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eaves to ground	3′ 5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BELL-GODS.

A religion based on the care of the Cow—Milk a Divine fluid—The Cattle-bell, a God—The Bell-cow—Her ancestral line—The Bell-god—Installation of the Bell-cow—The Tiritri—The sacred Herd—Bulls of the Herd—Sanctification of Bulls—Agnate law amongst the Todas; Female succession for their Cattle—Antiquity of Bell-gods.

CHAP. XIII.

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NOTHING amongst the peculiarities of this very peculiar people is more striking than the absorbing importance they attach to all duties connected with the management of the buffalo and her chief product. The animal is the focus of all village life; the nucleus or centre upon which their entire religio-social system is based. One cannot imagine the Toda apart from a consideration of his buffalo; and when we reflect how entirely dependent the man is upon the animal—how, with only a light and pleasant expenditure of patience and perseverance, he finds the coarse grass of his hills turned into good nutriment; the care of the buffalo, so far from appearing anything extraordinary, only fits into its natural place as a necessary sequence. We are reminded, too, that the milk-giver and the bull have been, and still are, objects of especial care and of worship amongst other races that own Western Asia as their cradle-land. It also carries us back to the time when man depended upon his flocks and herds for existence. We actually see him in process of forming a religion, based upon the care of the cow.

'Few,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'who will give their minds to master the general principles of savage religion, will ever again

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Ao60 Toda Aw60

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

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These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month
[843] of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

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Rubus ellipticus.
Rubus molucanus. } Wild raspberry.
Rubus lasiocarpus.
Fragaria nilgerrensis, wild strawberry.
Elæagnus latifolia. Said by Dr. Mason to make excellent tarts and jellies.
Gaultheria fragrantissima.
Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, hill gooseberry.
Loranthus neelgherrensis.
Loranthus loniceroides. } Parasitic on trees.
Elæocarpus oblongus.
Elæocarpus Munronii.
Berberis aristata.
Berberis nepalensis. } Barberry.
Solanum nigrum.
Vaccinium Leschenaultii.
Vaccinium nilgherrense.
Toddalia aculeata.
Ceropegia pusilla.

To which may be added mushrooms.

A list containing the botanical and Toda names of trees, shrubs, etc., used by the Todas in their ordinary life, or in their ceremonial, is given by Dr. Rivers.*

Fire is, in these advanced days, obtained by the Todas in their dwelling huts for domestic purposes from matches. The men who came to be operated on with my measuring instruments had no hesitation in asking for a match, and lighting the cheroots which were distributed amongst them, before they left the Paikāra bungalow dining-room. Within the precincts of the dairy temple the use of matches is forbidden, and fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks of *Litsæa*

372 [178] [276] 234 372

* *Op. cit.* Appendix IV, 738.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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234 *Wightiana.* Of these one, terminating in a blunt
372 convex extremity, is about 2′ 3″ long; the other, with a hemispherical cavity scooped out close to one end, about 2½″ in length. A little nick or slot is cut on the edge of the shorter stick, and connected with the hole in which the spindle stick is made to revolve. "In this slot the dust collects, and, remaining in an undisturbed heap, seemingly acts as a muffle to retain the friction-heat until it reaches a sufficiently high temperature, when the wood-powder becomes incandescent."* Into the cavity in the short stick the end of the longer stick fits, so as to allow of easy play. The smaller stick is placed on the ground, and held tight by firm pressure of the great toe, applied to the end furthest from the cavity, into which a little finely powdered charcoal is inserted. The larger stick is then twisted vigorously, "like a chocolate muller" (Tylor) between the palms of the hands by two men, turn and turn about, until the charcoal begins to glow. Fire, thus made, is said to be used at the sacred dairy (ti), the dairy houses of ordinary
[766] mands, and at the cremation of males. In an account of a Toda green funeral,† Mr. Walhouse notes that "when the pile was completed, fire was obtained by rubbing two dry sticks together. This was done mysteriously and apart, for such a mode of obtaining fire is looked upon as something secret and sacred." At the funeral of a female, I provided a box of tändstickors for lighting the pyre. A fire-stick, which was in current use in a dairy, was polluted and rendered useless by the touch of my Brähman assistant! It is recorded by Harkness‡ that a Brähman was not only refused

[113] * R. Bache. Royal Magazine, August 1901. † Ind. Ant., III, 1874.
‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, 1832.

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admission to a Toda dairy, but actually driven away by 234 ●
some boys, who rushed out of it when they heard him 372
approach. It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being kiaz or keadj (*Litsæa Wightiana*), mōrs (*Michelia Nilagirica*), parskuti (*Elæagnus latifolia*), and [824]
main (*Cinnamomum Wightii*)." He states further that, "whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose, the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call kiaz or keadj, except in the tesherot ceremony (qualifying ceremony for the office of palol) in which the wood of muli is used. At the niroditi ceremony (ordination ceremony of a dairyman), "the assistant makes fire by friction, and lights a fire of mulli wood, at which the candidate warms himself." It is also recorded by Dr. Rivers that "in some Toda villages, a stone is kept, called tutmûkal, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron."

The abode of the Todas is called a mad or mand 361
(village or hamlet), which is composed of huts, dairy temple, and cattle-pen, and has been so well described by Dr. Shortt,* that I cannot do better than quote his account. "Each mand," he says, "usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts form a peculiar kind 342
of oval pent-shaped [half-barrel-shaped] construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway measures 32 inches in height and 18 inches in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick,

* *Op. cit.*

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Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351
two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343
is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342]
dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193]
than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354]
place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, some- 417
what like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 233
mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422]
possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487
Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562]
women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234]
the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562]
go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

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346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghāt, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [184] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 178 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [164] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which, taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

[113]

* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

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172 parts." Among the most interesting figures are those of heavily bearded men riding on horses, and big-horned buffaloes which might have been modelled from the Toda buffaloes of to-day, and, like these, at funerals and migration ceremonies, bear a bell round the neck.

234 193 Two forms of Toda dairy have so far been noticed. But there remains a third kind, called the ti mand, concerning which Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The ti is the name of an institution, which comprises a herd of buffaloes, with a number of dairies and grazing districts, tended by a dairy-man priest called palol, with an assistant called kaltmokh. Each dairy, with its accompanying buildings and pasturage, is called a ti mad, or ti village. The buffaloes belonging to a ti are of two kinds, distinguished as persiner and punir. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the ti dairy is concerned with their milk. The punir correspond in some respects to the putiir of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the palol, and are not treated with any special ceremony. During the whole time he holds office, the palol may not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another ti village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the kaltmokh, or with people who come to visit him at the ti. If the palol has to cross a river, he may not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford, and it appears that he may only use certain fords. The palol must be celibate, and, if married, he must leave [595] his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers." I visited the ti mand near Paikāra by appointment, and, on arrival near the mand, found the two palols, well-built men aged about thirty and fifty, clad in black cloths, and two kaltmokhs, youths aged

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about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkūlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

234 793 [554] [783] [123]

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkūli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

778 823 [843] 778 823 539

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551 patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[3] mentions
[614] the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondurıdz. One of these is the daughter of ıımuxfum (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxŭuıı (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondur to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary
771 to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of
234 munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and
[192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as tŏŭ "god" or ıı̆oıı "sacred place" or by the compound tŏŭnoıı, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and
776 noıı when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some
778 extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the
[199] gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god ŏm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the tŏŭnoıı, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

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[113] [3] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–69, 1937).

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§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nasom (a son of tæɪpax [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. küarom of the purgoɪroɹ̥ (34, Kwodron), who is named after the mund küarθyoj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. panus in §6). The suffix -aɪr is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ar "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinaɪr (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. sirjaɪr (20, Siriar) <sirivaŋgam, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piɹ̥jaɪr (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun piɹ̥j "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kurfoɹ̥j dairy at the mund kuɪüur, which has as küarm piɹ̥jog, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag). 551 193 [614]

§15. Rivers took -oɹ̥l (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So toɪsjoɹ̥l in §5, and öɪkjoɹ̥l in §6; the latter is one küarm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one küarm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are küuɪsjoɹ̥l (52, Kuriolv) and paɪuklɪsjoɹ̥l (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from küuɪsuurn, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at piɪts, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from punaɪsoɹ̥l, the second küarm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. paɪuklɪsjoɹ̥l<paɪuklɪsjnɪr, the watering place of the kurpoɹ̥j dairy at the mund kaɪr, with the ending from toɪsjoɹ̥l, the name of the kurpoɹ̥j dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in porü used as a personal name, viz. tyɹ̥jporü (12, Tilipa), which is derived from porüθyɹ̥jporü, the küarm of the üurɔɹ̥j dairy at the mund noerminoɪr. Usually some change is made, as in tuɪpaɪrküuṭṇ and tuɪfnuɪr in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piɹ̥ɹ̥jküaɪr in §21. 551 193

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. paɪnaɪr (23, Paner)<panarθü, the second küarm of Mt. 551 193 [553]

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887
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[578]

old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess.

[533]

Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally

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given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmę (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumę-jaḷt, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kenods (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund

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Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man,

[789]

who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

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Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk

[292]

is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very

[178]

recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention.

[784]

None of these new garments may be worn when the men go

[234]

inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθaŋ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the niŋjo:ŋ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumŋ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new po:lm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 194

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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷo:ḷ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nȯdrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nȯdrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nȯdrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the tōuθmṭ and the tōuno:ṭ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the ṱrfoːlfmat, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. ka:θum, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hõ: at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as no:n, after it as mṱ.

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθɯt and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tɯt) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiɟ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund no:ɳ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθɯt are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The töuno:ʈ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoʈ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as a:ɳ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is no:ʈ "sacred place." Within the noʈ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noʈ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noʈ "sacred place" or töunoʈ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

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is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːṛ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noːṛoːselm	kuːtjuθnoːṛ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tōuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːṛ), the sacred place to which the goddess tōːkiṛj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moreθarm	kumṛtuθnoːṛ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mṛeθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noːṛexuːḍtk	piːuθnoːṛ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tōuenoːjtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tōuθuṛ, the tōunoːṛ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tōunoːṛ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tōunoːṛ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; paːrnuːrθu, puːṛpuːrθu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kuaṃ)" of the mund myːnj, which is paːrnuu, said to mean "the standing-place (nuu) of the 1600 gods (represented by paːr for paːrnuːr)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunoːṛ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the tiː. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not tōunoːṛ. Some munds also which have dairies are not tōunoːṛ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunoːṛ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunoːṛ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the tōunoːṛ, which are utumḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunoːṛ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuθuṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation.

When a tōunoːṛ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunoːṛ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunoːṛ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōuθuṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nódrodchi, i. e. noːṛoːḍcl-, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōuθuṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (utumḍmoḍ or tōunoːṛ) was created, as we have said, by a tōuθuṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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771 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion
776 seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at
794 the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs"
234 he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiǫj and the
rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθmṭ. Since
they are distinct from the töunoc̣, it is clear that the ritual
of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs
about the töuθmṭ. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of
much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these
latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the for-
771 mer, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may pro-
174 bably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product
794 of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly
234 general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by
which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But
if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need
not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually
find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-com-
plexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being re-
ferred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to
creation in general terms by tö:kiǫj and the other töuθmṭ for the
general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiǫj and the gods
[776] associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the
dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than
the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods,
776 the töuθmṭ, stories are still told in the vague way of which
538 Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really
merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-
telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling
technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper
An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales). There is no reason
to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten
while the tribe survives.

771 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no
234 change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such
794 change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete
177 abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical
178 alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-8
worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By
M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri- [614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The res- 718 triction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [718] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [946] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poỵ). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoỵ, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuu:sy of the sib called mö:r was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti:-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti:-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle).
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[241] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad's*, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man') and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhihli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups.
[582] They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
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modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwoten-Pöldh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörori or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Püth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhoni	

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

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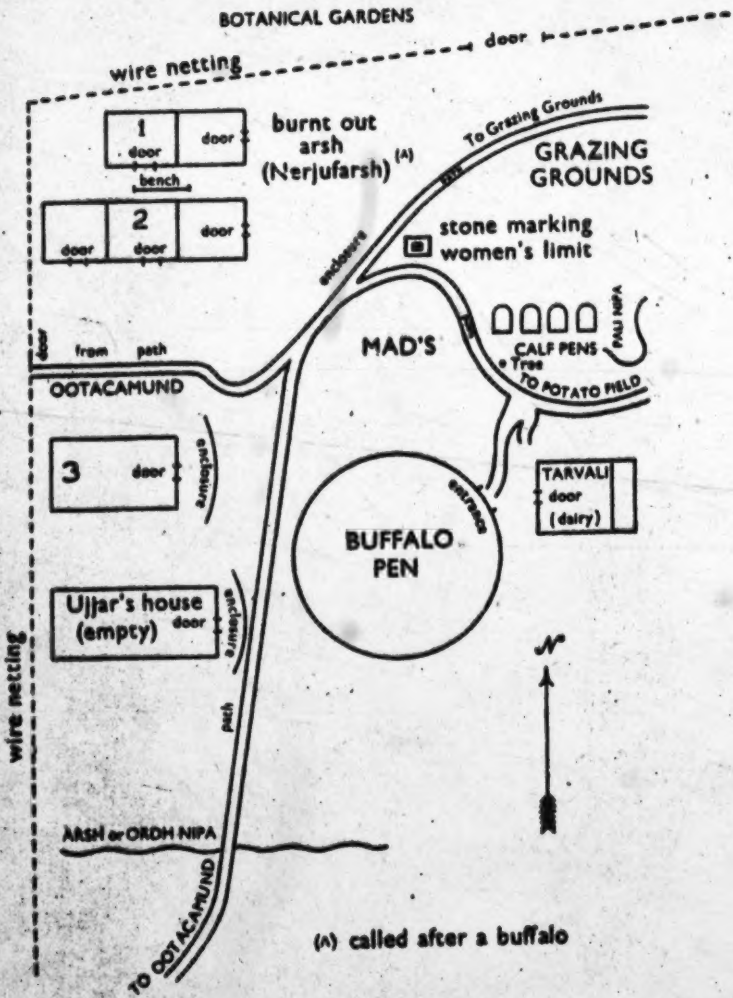

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Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mad*.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*.

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family.

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (under-clothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal.

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melqarsh Village]

264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before
512 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would
[234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond
[264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position,
[606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later, a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and
[278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back to the *ertülkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.
845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

234 The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
778 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[552] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 356 412 462 512 While the men are doing their work, the women will have been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently woman's work.

They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 296 356 462 531 Though these are the three operations which are regarded as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 574 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between 576 a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[231] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

55 614 very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tōɪn, a son of piʃjog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because [537] honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kuɪrūɯṭoɪʃ, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tōɪn) has just been analyzed, and one, piʃjɑɪr, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the tōūfiʃjoɪʃ moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toɪroɪroɪʃ sib, belonging to the toɪrθɑɪoɪʃ moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toɪrθɑɪoɪʃ sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kuɪrūɯṭoɪʃ and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piɪṭoɪʃ have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the tōūfiʃjoɪʃ moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any [124] definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association [533] with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

55 193 §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 204

THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241

They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 437 439 427

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it. 197

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to everyday life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thoughtful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agriculture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers

157 262 241 181

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

648 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous
464 success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it
461 beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former
[241] Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda
562 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad
512 or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described
[157] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of
[171] the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans
177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand,
609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām).
[735] Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868,
114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most
177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who,
164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kišker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low
797 status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime.
794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the aban-
[177] doned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the
[341] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the
[346] more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts
[182] themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious
[162] instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[113] [2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small
[104] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ʂ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [ŝ] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English *sh*). [c] and [ʒ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ö] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯi] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [i].

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaroɪn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuɪsodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

In general, 177 233 425 657

the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and prevent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic 177 life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the 657 interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in con- 177 nexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature 657 of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work 241 this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings 648 in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of 434 Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 5], 125. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[24] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
Toda AW60

continued to smoulder in his heart until, in 1917, he decided to take the matter to Court, as a result of which he did receive the remaining property. 115 [691]

Before this episode, however, his half-sister had died leaving him all alone. It was then that Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission took an interest in him and removed him to the school which she ran close to his native village at the 8th mile of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. As a consequence of this, he was eventually converted to Christianity. After he had received the meagre remnants of his father's estate, Miss Ling sent him away to another school at Palamkottah in the Tinnevely district for further studies, and he passed there through the third form. In 1923 she sent him to Assam, to the Welsh Mission, with the idea that he should learn to be a motor mechanic, I do not quite know to which part of that large and distant province he went, as he was rather vague in his description of it, but he did say that it was wild and underdeveloped in the extreme, with no roads at all, let alone motor traffic. So, instead of being trained as a mechanic, he was made to look after the station missionary's horse as a groom, which enraged him since he had just come into what little there was left of his property and had been persuaded to leave the Nilgiris under what were apparently false pretences. [797]

After only a very few months of this most unsatisfactory situation, he ran away and managed somehow to reach Calcutta in search of work. But because of the language, Bengali, which he did not speak, he found this extremely difficult to obtain, and had to content himself with a hand to mouth exsistence. In the end, he got a job as a junior gardener with a kind missionary, the Rev. H. Kehel. He remained a year with the latter, and when he had saved enough money to pay for the railway fare, he took the train and returned to Madras. In that city he joined the large motor transport company, Addison and Co., where after twelve months' apprenticeship, he eventually got his driver's licence and became one of the firm's mechanics, keeping his position until 1928.

At this time his health deteriorated. He underwent a serious operation for a gastric ulcer and had to give up his work. He returned to the Nilgiris the following year, and began to take a lively interest in the well-being and progress of the community from which he sprang, the Todas. He joined the Collector of the Nilgiris' Toda Amelioration Scheme and was trained as an agriculturalist. He thus became an agricultural consultant for the tribe, advising it on such matters, and using his newly acquired knowledge as a means of livelihood. [792]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in
621 number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p. 280]

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 356 412 462 512 While the men are doing their work, the women will have been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently woman's work.

They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 296 356 462 531 Though these are the three operations which are regarded as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 574 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

visits a village in which he has any female relatives younger than himself, these will go out to meet him as he approaches the house, and each bows down before the man, who raises his

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FIG. 11.—WOMEN POUNDING AND SIFTING. THE BROOM IS ON THE GROUND TO THE RIGHT.

foot, while the woman places her hand below the foot and helps to raise it to her forehead, and the same salutation is repeated with the other foot. This mode of greeting is

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FOOD

262 The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and
272 sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

252 In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice, and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking
262 vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

262 A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is given by Mr. Thurston.[1] There is very little doubt that at
437 one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

252 A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from
262 *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkkartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkkartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*tòdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey,
261 are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.[2] A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four.

264 The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if
754 this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are produced by the evil eye.

[1] *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

[2] *Ashk* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat. 264 576

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men. 252 462

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide. 273 177 276

Fire-making

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon, 372

CHAP. VI.

air themselves, and perform various offices of a domestic and social (entomological) nature.

342 The people have been at much pains to exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings: and were it not for cracks, caused by the contraction of the material of which they are constructed, their rooms might have been rendered quite uninhabitable. As primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, have far more to fear from cold than from heat, these 'beehives' are, on the whole, well adapted for comfort and for the preservation of infant life.

I think that when these houses were originally built, they were designed with one room only. I judge so, partly from the Toda name for a house and for a room being identical, and in part from the symmetrical arrangement of the door and verandah; also, from noticing that the second and third doors at the side, appear like an after-thought, out of keeping with the original design, and holding awkward positions in a house whose roof is continuous to the ground. I deduce from these appearances that their numbers have increased since they first established themselves where we now find them.

It may be interesting to my readers to be able to form an idea of the mode in which the very small area of a savage's house is utilised for cooking, eating, and sleeping purposes.

342 Be it remembered that the room is 8 ft. long, 8 ft. broad,
356 and 8 ft. high; and that, as Chapter X. shows us, as many as
372 eight people board and lodge in this diminutive space. The
352 plan (No. 11) which, without any deviation, is that of every
252 Toda dwelling, shows the mode in which room is economised. Against the walls, at a convenient height over both store and fire-place, slips of split cane are fastened vertically, so as to form slings; into which firewood is neatly inserted, and in which it rapidly dries. The women are careful to keep a supply of dry wood in this manner: hence they are able to cook without making much smoke, using as they do, with a skill that seems to be the common property of all the natives of India, only one or two little sticks at a time.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VIII.

The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots.
137 They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is
262 known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula —a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit —pôm—and herbs of sorts.

177 Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these
273 people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is
276 still a luxury.

262 Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general
862 habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

252 As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

564 The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

264 Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook —are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sālep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sālep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following :—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nīlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[294] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari :—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

648 423 5. The Collector shall have power to issue annual permits for the cultivation of grass land only in Toda pattas by Todas themselves, free of charge, or otherwise as Government may, from time to time, direct; but no Toda shall be at liberty to permit any person, except a Toda, to cultivate, or assist in the cultivation of such lands.

In 1905, the Todas petitioned Government against the prohibition by the local Forest authorities of the burning of grass on the downs, issued on the ground of danger to the shōlas (wooded ravines or groves). This yearly burning of the grass was claimed by the Todas to improve it, and they maintained that their cattle were deteriorating for want of good fodder. Government ruled that the grass on the plateau has been burnt by the inhabitants at pleasure for many years without any appreciable damage to forest growth, and the practice should not be disturbed.

564 Concerning the social organisation of the Todas, Mr. Breeks states that they are "divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz., Dêvalyâl and Tarserzhâl. The first class consists of Peiki class, corresponding in some respects to Brâhmans; the second of the four remaining classes the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi. A Peiki woman may not go to the village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis." The class names given by Mr. Breeks were readily recognised by the Todas whom I interviewed, but they gave Têrthâl (comprising superior Peikis) and Târthâl as the names of the divisions. They told me that, when 564 574 a Têrthâl woman visits her friends at a Târthâl mand, she is not allowed to enter the mand, but must stop at a distance from it. Todas as a rule cook their rice in [252] butter-milk, but, when a Têrthâl woman pays a visit to

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Tarthāl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthāl woman visits at a Têrthāl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in buttermilk. The restrictions which are imposed on Têrthāl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Têrthāl woman, on a visit at a Tarthāl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkūli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthāls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Têrthāl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyâl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

564 574 [252] 564 621 [993] 564 614

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikāra bungalow.

881 [123]

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

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9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [KANfusodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [KUUMN], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE TESHERST CEREMONY

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This qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* is always performed by a number of men at the same time. The number taking part must be three, five, seven or nine. There seemed to be no doubt that it was not permissible for four, six or eight men to perform the ceremony together. One or two Todas told me that an even number of men might do the ceremony, but all the more trustworthy witnesses were agreed that there must be an uneven number, and on all the occasions of which I could obtain records of actual ceremonies, an uneven number of men had done *tesherst* together. The ceremony may not be performed while the funeral ceremonies of any Teivali person are uncompleted.

At the time of my visit there were only nine or ten men who had been through the *tesherst* ceremony, including those who were holding or had held the office of *palol*. It was proposed that a number of the younger men should perform the ceremony about this time, but it had to be delayed till the second funeral ceremonies of two Teivali women had been held.

The *tesherst* ceremony always begins on a Monday after the new moon. It takes place at certain villages where people are living, and in all the cases of which I obtained records it had been done at Kudrnakhum, belonging to the Nòdrsol, or at Pushtar, belonging to the Taradrol. People must be living at the village at the time the ceremony is performed.

The candidates go to the village on Monday evening, accompanied by two or three Nòdrs men. All go to a stream by a wood and the ceremony begins after sunset, when all the candidates throw off their cloaks and stand in a row. A man of the Nòdrs clan has a *tuni* in his hand and each candidate asks three times, "*Tunivatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tuni*?"—and each time the Nòdrs man replies, "*Tunivat!*" The first man in the row touches the *tuni* and then the others in order. The Nòdrs man then gives the *tuni* to the first man who touched it, and he tears it into as many pieces

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

as there are candidates, giving a piece to each man, who puts it in the string of his *kuvn*. All then go in search of the leaves of *muli* and each plucks seven leaves and seven shoots. They go to the stream, one by one, and each drinks and rubs himself with the shoots seven times, as in the ordination ceremony, and puts the shoots in his back hair.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs man will have made fire by friction, using the wood of *muli*, and the men warm themselves at the fire. Each man then goes in search of seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark and carries out the usual purification ceremony once only, drinking out of each of the seven leaves, after which the men take food prepared by another of the Nòdrs men, and all pass the night in the wood. Next morning the men fetch *tudr* bark and leaves and repeat the drinking and rubbing ceremony of the previous evening, but on this occasion each man says "*Teshnirròdinem*," as he throws the leaf over his head after drinking. All then bathe completely in the stream.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs men have been cooking a large amount of food, more than the candidates can readily eat, and an old woman of the Tartharol who is to take part in the ceremony has bathed and dressed in her best clothes and put on all the ornaments she can procure: gold earrings, necklace, bracelets, and rings. When the men have bathed, they wait till the message comes that the food is ready, and then each man takes off his piece of *tuni* and his *pennar* and his *kuvn*, so that he is completely naked. The Nòdrs man portions out the food and puts it on *tudr* leaves, the portion for each man being more than he can possibly eat at one sitting, and the portions of food are given to the old woman, who sits down with her back to the men. Each man goes up behind the back of the old woman, and she gives him his portion of food by putting her hand behind her back so that she does not look at him, and in doing so she says three times "*Teshtòrtudenk?*"—"*Tesh* food have I not given?" The men take the food, go into the thickest part of the wood and eat it. None of the food prepared on this occasion may be eaten by the Nòdrs men or by the old woman, but though the amount is excessive, the whole of it must be eaten by the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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candidates during the day. After each man has eaten to the full he may put on his cloak. The Nòdrs men and the old woman go back to their villages and they must hold no communication of any kind with the candidates after the food has been given. The men remain in the wood all day, and when it is getting dark they go to the nearest village at which any of them live, taking care that no one sees them on the way.

One of the most remarkable features of this ceremony is the part taken by the old woman. She must be one of the Tartharol; she must be past the age of child-bearing, and she must never have had intercourse with one of her own clan. In the last particular the word of the woman is trusted, for it was said that she would never deceive in such a matter. Every woman believed that if she did not speak the truth she would die, and all those concerned in the ceremony would either die or have serious illness. I was told that it was by no means easy to find a woman who fulfilled this requirement, and in each of the cases of which I have records the same woman officiated—viz. Naspilthi of Taradr (21).

Other remarkable features of this ceremony are that the men should be given more food than they are readily able to eat, as in the ceremony connected with the *kaltmokh* after the migration (p. 139), and that they receive this food in a condition of complete nudity, a condition which only occurs in one other dairy ceremonial.

The *tesherst* ceremony is one in which candidates for the office of *palol* go through certain of the rites which ordinarily form part of the process of ordination, with the addition of special ceremonies, in which a superabundant portion of food is given by a woman who fulfils certain peculiar conditions.

When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the clan to which the *ti* belongs chooses from among those who have been through the *tesherst* ceremony, and the chosen man has then to undergo the ordination ceremonies proper, or *nirò̀diti*.

234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
415 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was there-
788 fore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan. It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkastpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

Purity and Impurity

234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
783 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised : (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity ; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

FOOD

262 The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and
272 sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

252 In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice, and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking
262 vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

262 A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is given by Mr. Thurston.[1] There is very little doubt that at
437 one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

252 A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from
262 *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkkartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkkartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*tòdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey,
261 are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.[2] A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four.

264 The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if
754 this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are produced by the evil eye.

[1] *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

[2] *Ashk* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies.

292 437 439

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *iikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*.

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I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office.

786 793 833

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the daytime with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakaneri. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the re-

mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of 173
doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the butter- 753
milk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends small- 773
pox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would 776
no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then 886
Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto 173
sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the 773
buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all 776
went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part 173
is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received 177
several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy 262●
myself which was correct.

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur 773
in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with 776
these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of
177 the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a
god and said that he would dance before them, and did so
262 like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever
773 he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first
776 and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *teuol*, or diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meilitars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (Panyas), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat the flesh of a calf while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

Other Gods

773 There are very many other deities. Of the following I can
776 give little more than the names.

Atiato is the *nòdrodchi* of the Kwòdrdoni clan and also of Pedrkars. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Oñ*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
178

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over a fire without the addition of any other substance. The [262] Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
415 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
778 *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
788 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

last exclamation being the sound which is ordinarily uttered when calling a calf. 782 796

When the flesh is sufficiently roasted the *palikartmokh* eats the *tiitmlis*, while the others present may eat any portion. When enough has been eaten, the remainder of the cooked flesh is carried to the village. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are carried to the dairy by the *palikartmokh* and kept there. The flesh of these parts is eaten by the dairyman or by other men, but may on no account be eaten by a woman. The other parts are taken to the hut and given into the keeping of the women, and the flesh of these parts can be eaten by any one—man, woman, or child. Butter is often put on the flesh before it is eaten. 262

The Sacrifice at the Ti

The sacrifice at the *ti* is called *ernudrtipimi*, and is performed at every *ti* three times in the year. The first occasion is about fifteen days after the ceremony of *teutiitusthchi* in October. The second occasion is about January, when the buffaloes of the *ti* migrate to the Kundahs or elsewhere for the dry season. The third occasion is after the ceremony of giving salt, which is known as *kòrup* (see p. 175). The ceremony may take place at any *ti mad* except Anto. 234 782 796

The appointed days are Sunday and Wednesday. On the day before the ceremony wood is taken by the *palol* and *kaltmokh* to the sacrificial spot, called *ernkar* as at the village. At Mòdr the wood in which the sacrifice takes place is called Turikipül.

The sacrifice may be performed either in the morning or evening, and takes place, in either case, before *kaizhvatiti*, the ceremonial pouring of buttermilk. This means that the sacrifice takes place during and not after the dairy ceremonial, and thus forms part of the dairy ritual. Each *palol* wears the *pòdrshtuni*, while the *kaltmokh* is naked throughout except for the *kuvn*. The *kaltmokh* arranges the firewood and the chief *palol* (at the Nòdrs *ti*, the *ti palol*) lights the wood with fire brought from his dairy. The calf is then killed and cut up with exactly the same ritual as in the village ceremony.

1 [of a young male calf, sacrificed during the Ercumptthpimi Ceremony — Analyst]

234 After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol* return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *ernkar* to look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then returns to the *ernkar*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him. At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tütmfis* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kakud*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *ernkar*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mòrol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mad* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

782 796 262

234 In connexion with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kush*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kush* are spread some of the grass called *nark*[1] and some leaves of the *kiars*[2] tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pon*, *i.e.*, he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

[1] *Andropogon Schœnanthus*, a strongly-scented grass.

[2] ? *Kiss*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

825 As we have seen (p. 417), there is a belief that a man who fails in the performance of certain sacred duties may be killed by a tiger, but the Todas do not appear to fear this animal except on behalf of their buffaloes, and I could only learn of one case in which a Toda had been killed, and as his name was not known it must have occurred very long ago, or may have been altogether mythical.

The Jackal.—I was told by my interpreter that he had seen the Todas saluting a jackal, but I did not hear of any beliefs associated with the practice.

825 262 194 *The Sambhar.*—The most interesting point in connexion with this animal is the fact that the Todas are undoubtedly permitted to eat its flesh. Kutadri, who was most scrupulous in his obedience to the customs of his people, had no reluctance in eating sambhar flesh, and when he had fallen ill soon after, he never thought of ascribing his illness to what was probably its real cause, which shows clearly that there could have been no idea that he had done anything forbidden or unorthodox.

The fact that the Todas may eat the flesh of the sambhar while taking that of no other animal, except ceremonially, might well be looked upon as an indication that there may at one time have been totemic restrictions on food. In their earlier homes, before they reached the Nilgiri Hills, it is probable that the sambhar was an unknown animal, and could not therefore have been a totem. Consequently, when they came to the Nilgiris, they would have found there an animal on the eating of the flesh of which there were no restrictions, and the absence of restriction would, on this hypothesis, have continued to the present day. The eating of sambhar flesh would be the proverbial exception that proves the rule.

[224] It seems to me possible, however, that there is a different reason for the absence of any prohibition. The Todas have no weapons with which they could kill a sambhar, and if this animal is ever killed by Kotas or Kurumbas, the mere fact that it had been killed by these people would probably be a sufficient reason why the Todas should not eat its flesh.

It is possible that it is only since the advent of Europeans

174 to the Nilgiris, and the extensive slaughter of sambhar which
262 followed it, that the Todas have thought of eating the flesh of this animal, and as no prohibition against the eating of its
825 flesh has been handed down to them, they have no reluctance in satisfying in this way the liking for animal food which the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony keeps in existence, if it does not actually stimulate it.

231 *The Cat.*—This animal, which is called *koti* or *kwoti*, is
825 domesticated by the Todas. The cat is mentioned in the legend of the tiger recorded in this section, and the earliest writers on the Todas speak of them as keeping these animals. I have seen them on the walls of the dairies, and believe that they are allowed to go wherever they please. The only occasion on which they come into ceremonial is at the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, where the spleen is specially put aside to be given to the cat, and is on this account called *kwotinerûf*.

The dog occurs in the story of Kwoten and several other animals are mentioned in the prayers and incantations, chiefly as sources of danger to the buffaloes. In the incantation for the relief of headache given on p. 265, the names of many animals are uttered, probably with the intention that their heads may acquire the pain which is being charmed away from the head of the sufferer.

Trees and Plants

778 The most sacred tree of the Todas is undoubtedly the *tudr*
824 (Fig. 58). This name is given by the Todas to two species, *Meliosma pungens* and *M. wightii*, the two trees resembling one another closely.

The bark is largely used in the dairy ceremonial, and especially in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol* and other dairymen drawn from the Teivaliol and Melgarsol. Its use is especially connected with the people of these sections of the Toda community, but the rest of the Tartharol undergo a ceremony at the second funeral in which *tudr* is used, and this was said to have the purpose that every Toda should be purified with *tudr* before he enters on the future life.

A log and leaves of *tudr* are also used in the ceremony of

FOOD

262 The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and
272 sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

252 In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice, and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking
262 vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

262 A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is given by Mr. Thurston.[1] There is very little doubt that at
437 one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

252 A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from
262 *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkkartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkkartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*tòdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey,
261 are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.[2] A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four.

264 The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if
754 this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are produced by the evil eye.

[1] *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

[2] *Ashk* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 204 THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 457 439 427 The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$, and shows that the Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of the Nilagiri Mountains. 177 262 437

Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities: the Badaga acquires land on cheap terms of rental. 439 427

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to: acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of 174 177

[1] Badaga, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.

[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.

[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion; that they have never at any time eaten the flesh of the *female* buffalo; for they set an immense value and importance on the milk-giver. And there are very strong grounds also for crediting their statement; that they *never made a practice of eating the males*, even though they may have died from accidental causes. In fact they are not, and never were, flesh eaters. Not that they dislike the flavour of meat; for a meal of venison is one of those events so rare and pleasurable as to form a datum in a man's life from which to time all incidents.

CHAP. III.

262

Yet there is a yearly exceptional occasion on which all the adult males in the village join in the ceremony of killing and eating a very young male calf—seemingly under a month old. They take the animal into the dark recesses of the village wood; where the Vorshâl[4] kills it by blows of a club made of their holy tree,[5] reciting the ejaculatory prayer beginning dânenma, which has been given in full length in the last chapter. Although fire may readily be procured from the Mand, a *sacred* fire is created by the rubbing of sticks: and the flesh, which is then roasted on the embers of certain trees, is eaten only by the men—the presence of women not being permitted.

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No information can be had as to the origin or object of this curious and apparently sacrificial ceremony. 'It seems,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'scarcely too much to assert once for all, that meaningless customs must be survivals, that they had a practical or at least ceremonial intention when and where they first arose, but are now fallen into absurdity from having been carried on into a new state of society, where their original sense has been discarded.'[6]

[4] Vorshâl. This is a sacred character, of whom we shall read more in Chapter XVII.

Ve, vê, are Drâvidian roots indicative of *heat*.

Varhis is Sanskrit for *sacrificial fire*.

Virragu is Tamil for *firewood*.

Vrishni is Sanskrit for Agni, *god of fire*.

Vrishâkapi is the same. [POPE.]

[5] For further information regarding the tûde tree, see Chapter XIV.

[6] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 85.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VIII.

The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots. They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula—a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit—pôm—and herbs of sorts.

Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is still a luxury.

Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XIII.

234 778 [198]

chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

177 234 262 431

But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

234 778

There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[2] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

[2] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, mani dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning.*" Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nīlagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Puttā*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pattah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu.*—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket, nest.* The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kēri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kēri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor.*

262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

847 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Metz's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

517 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Iláta*, which is played as follows :—

526 A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Iláta* is a variety of *tipcat*.

Another game is called *Nārthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some mands a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Kāridlapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B.[1]

291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows :—

"The garment* in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, "cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

* *Toda : Pūthuli.*

1 [Category 116, pp. 117-123. -- Analysis]

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes
of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
765 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that
174 of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which
this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only
to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āzūrams*. Numbers of
these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even
always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and
destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the
calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the
present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the
preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but
the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage
ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh,
776 and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bêtikhân,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say,
the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?
a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
411 are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel
Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas
lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story
seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the
Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas
pútkuli, *tharp*, *kónu*, *&c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to
no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the
story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills,
the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food
except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tór* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it. 197

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to everyday life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thoughtful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agriculture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers

157 262 241 181

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 A060 Toda A060

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

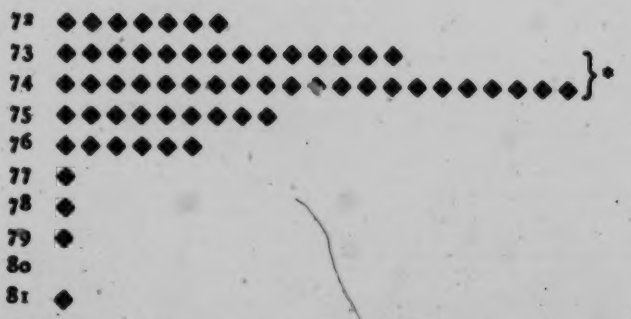
4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, 262 ●
except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as
yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as
some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This [462]
consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds,
which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing
the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones,
the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar
to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, 231
though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other
domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of
man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the
equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their
munds. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as
a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the Euro-
pean Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced
towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into 616
two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a 793
better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are
called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*.
These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community
somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as
it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No
marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes,
though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at.
Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry,
and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like
himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to
qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory
ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest,
naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from
wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these
elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his
fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests [292]
are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The
subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60



141

A thing of exceeding joy to the Todas was my Salter's hand-dynamometer, the fame of which spread from mand to mand, and which was circulated among the crowd at funerals. Great was the disgust of the assembled males, on a certain day, when the record of hand-grip for the morning (73 lbs.) was carried off by a big-boned female, who became the unlovely heroine of the moment. The largest English feminine hand-grip, recorded in my laboratory note-book, is only 66 lbs. One Toda man, of fine physique, not satisfied with his grip of 98 lbs., went into training, and fed himself up for a few days. Thus prepared, he returned to accomplish 103 lbs., the result of more skilful manipulation of the machine rather than of a liberal dietary of butter-milk. 123 141

The routine Toda dietary is said to be made up of the following articles, to which must be added strong drinks purchased at the toddy shops :— 262

(*a*) Rice boiled in whey.

(*b*) Rice and jaggery (crude sugar) boiled in water.

(*c*) Broth or curry made of vegetables purchased in the bazar, wild vegetables and pot-herbs, which, together with ground orchids, the Todas may often be seen rooting up with a sharp-pointed digging-stick on [443]

* Average 73.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sâlep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sâlep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following :—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nîlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[294] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari :—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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262

Rubus ellipticus.
Rubus moluccanus. } Wild raspberry.
Rubus lasiocarpus.
Fragaria nilgerrensis, wild strawberry.
Elæagnus latifolia. Said by Dr. Mason to make excellent tarts and jellies.
Gaultheria fragrantissima.
Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, hill gooseberry.
Loranthus neelgherrensis.
Loranthus loniceroides. } Parasitic on trees.
Elæocarpus oblongus.
Elæocarpus Munronii.
Berberis aristata.
Berberis nepalensis. } Barberry.
Solanum nigrum.
Vaccinium Leschenaultii.
Vaccinium nilgherrense.
Toddalia aculeata.
Ceropegia pusilla.

To which may be added mushrooms.

A list containing the botanical and Toda names of trees, shrubs, etc., used by the Todas in their ordinary life, or in their ceremonial, is given by Dr. Rivers.*

Fire is, in these advanced days, obtained by the Todas in their dwelling huts for domestic purposes from matches. The men who came to be operated on with my measuring instruments had no hesitation in asking for a match, and lighting the cheroots which were distributed amongst them, before they left the Paikāra bungalow dining-room. Within the precincts of the dairy temple the use of matches is forbidden, and fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks of *Litsæa*

372 [178] [276] 234 372

* *Op. cit.* Appendix IV, 738.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

for short or longer periods has however been passed and with 177
changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations: whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area.

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an 177
attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on 178
the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments.

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has 177
felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on 233
which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A 262
great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and 262
of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills 648
were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, 437
and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

262 437 648 from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse. At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt. When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies : the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known:

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*.

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family.

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (under-clothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal.

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
Toda AW60

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[2]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[2] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
788 the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oh*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *pursin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuai*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *hudaipir* or *hudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

FOOD

262 The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and
272 sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

252 In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice, and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking
262 vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

262 A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is given by Mr. Thurston.[1] There is very little doubt that at
437 one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

252 A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from
262 *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkkartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkkartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*tôdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey,
261 are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.[2] A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four.

264 The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if
754 this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are produced by the evil eye.

[1] *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

[2] *Ashk* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat. 264 576

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men. 252 462

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide. 273 177 276

Fire-making

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon, 372

CHAP. VIII.

137 The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots.
262 They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula—a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit—pôm—and herbs of sorts.

177 Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these
273 people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is
276 still a luxury.

262 Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them
862 to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

252 As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

564 The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

264 Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swâmi! Swâmi![7] then places it on the ground as a present to bhumi tai[8] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors. 264 788

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonised the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[9]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffalos, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere striplings armed with light wands; knowing that the amimals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe. 136 233 857 411

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of 411 224

[7] Swâmi = *lord.*

[8] Bhumi tai = *earth mother.* It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[9] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog.* May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (one)*?

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Long looked for dinner appears to be ready; for the heated woman now emerges into the open air, and the men and boys enter the hut, leaving the females to prolong the talk. When each member of the community has in turn, eaten, and the offerings to bhumi tai have been swept out of doors, the whole family in the village join grouped about in primitive dinginess, and quiet unconspicuous attitude; some under the veranda eaves, others on the tûar, or under its quiet shelter: and there rehearse the day's events. The naked pâlkarpâl also, having completed his separate cooking, squats apart upon the wall, whence he can hear the news and add his distant note to the conversation.

And thus the shades of evening close in upon them. The air grows chill, and the careful mother of the smallest, rises to take the infant she has kept under her dress, into the well baked house. She stops a moment: looks round to the sky where the Blushing moon, ascending vertically through the trees in hot pursuit of the now vanished sun, illumines her womanly face. 'Swâmi, Swâmi!' she mutters, with hands to forehead, supporting the while, her young one in the bend of her arm, 'Mokh ultama, ellam ultama:' and stoops in at the little doorway. Two or three sleepy-headed children soon stagger in after her. Note the pretty daughter in her teens, plump and white teethed, with hair tightly curled, and eyes that brilliantly catch the sparkle of the moon. She has been taught to say her prayers: but unmarried and without a care, the sense of responsibility is not strong upon her; she has no child to shiver for. She gives a rather hurried salute, bringing her head down to her hands, rather than take the young arms out of their envelope in the chill: a quick 'Êyan, appa!' and in she ducks, shutting the door after her. A prolonged rustle may be heard as the brood settle themselves in the dark, to rest on the warm hearth; with a mantle on the floor and another covering all their nakedness. The healthy baby, with eyes wide open, trying in vain to penetrate the gloom, disturbs the mother on the raised bed, who is now

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poɭjoɪɭ of the opposite sex.

602 533 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poɭjoɪɭ of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 602 196 192 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to [833] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is [522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯrɣŭɑrt–, "neck-cut," and kŭɑrtɣŭɯrt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪdjvöɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *poim*. 425 428 [614]

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The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melqarsh Village]

264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

512 In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would [234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond [264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position, [606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and [278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back to the *ertülkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.

845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

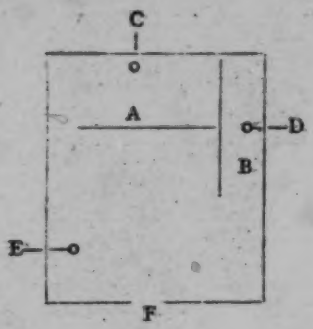
234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
● 272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 *ertatmar.* The following sketch of the arrangement was made
352 by Kòdrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Patatmar.*
B. *Ertatmar.*
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Washal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same
512 general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and
788 method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to
272 the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to
415 the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *wursol*
and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes.
788 Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPISI (56), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *wursol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *wursol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahman engaged in prayer.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, [192] or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which 234 the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other 778 examples have been given. 788

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitün* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

The Sanctity of Milk 234

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different 778 dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating 272 the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that 784

234 the milk of buffaloes belonging to the more sacred dairies has
778 a higher degree of sanctity than that churned in the lower
272 grades.

The milk of ordinary buffaloes may be drunk by anyone,
784 man, woman, or child. The Todas do not ordinarily sell
[432] milk, but if they do so, they may only use the milk of ordinary buffaloes for this purpose. I have a note that anyone may also drink the milk of buffaloes belonging to the *tarvali*, but I suspect that this only applies to men who must drink it at the dairy.

The milk of the *kudrpali* may only be drunk by the *kudrpalikartmokh* himself. It is believed that any other person or animal who should drink milk from this dairy would die.

At the *wursuli* milk may be given to men at the dairy, but it must be mixed with buttermilk. At the *kugvali* of Taradr the milk of the *kugvalir* themselves is not drunk by anyone, the dairyman having certain ordinary buffaloes for his own use, and this is also the case at the *ti*. I believe that not even the *palol* would drink the milk of the *persinir*, the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*.

There is one exception to the rule that ordinary people may not use the milk of the sacred buffaloes of the village dairies (except in the form of butter and buttermilk). At the *irpalvusthi* ceremony at all the village dairies, including the *kugvali*, food is prepared with the milk of one of the sacred animals and this food is given to the people of the clan to which the dairy belongs and also to members of other clans.

In the case of the *wursuli*, I was especially told that this is the only occasion on which the milk of *wursulir* is used by people in general. At the *kugvali*, people of other clans are only given this food on the second day of the proceedings, and the distribution of the food is preceded by a ceremony in which some of the food is thrown into the fire. The milk used on this occasion is the milk of the buffalo which has recently calved, the ceremony being in celebration of this event.

At the *wursuli* it is noteworthy that the food is cooked by the *wursol* himself, the ceremony of *irpalvusthi* being the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremonially as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken. 234 272 778 784

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed. [178]

Special Dairy Customs

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to 171 234

FOOD

262 The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and
272 sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

252 In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice, and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking
262 vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

262 A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is given by Mr. Thurston.[1] There is very little doubt that at
437 one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

252 A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from
262 *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkkartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkkartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*tòdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey,
261 are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.[2] A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four.

264 The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if
754 this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are produced by the evil eye.

[1] *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

[2] *Ashk* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other. 616

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersampipini*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali. 796 852 765 769

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division. 184 846 616

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another [272]

Z: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals. CHAP. XV.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form. 272 778 234

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes. 234 437 793 556

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes. 177 793 754 692

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.
611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

164 842 The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the [273] influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 842 Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 177 842 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat. 264 576

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men. 252 462

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide. 273 177 276

FIRE-MAKING

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon, 372

CHAP. VIII.

The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots. They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula—a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit—pôm—and herbs of sorts.

Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is still a luxury.

Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by asking me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not accede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even being tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

[123] [273] [431] [846] [847]

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mutnarsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

595 [865]

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The Todas*, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

846 796

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was unusual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

[183]

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

SUICIDE

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

THE MONEGAR

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat. 264 576

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264 Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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262

Rubus ellipticus.
Rubus moluccanus. } Wild raspberry.
Rubus lasiocarpus.
Fragaria nilgerrensis, wild strawberry.
Elæagnus latifolia. Said by Dr. Mason to make excellent tarts and jellies.
Gaultheria fragrantissima.
Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, hill gooseberry.
Loranthus neelgherrensis.
Loranthus loniceroides. } Parasitic on trees.
Elæocarpus oblongus.
Elæocarpus Munronii.
Berberis aristata.
Berberis nepalensis. } Barberry.
Solanum nigrum.
Vaccinium Leschenaultii.
Vaccinium nilgherrense.
Toddalia aculeata.
Ceropegia pusilla.

To which may be added mushrooms.

A list containing the botanical and Toda names of trees, shrubs, etc., used by the Todas in their ordinary life, or in their ceremonial, is given by Dr. Rivers.*

Fire is, in these advanced days, obtained by the Todas in their dwelling huts for domestic purposes from matches. The men who came to be operated on with my measuring instruments had no hesitation in asking for a match, and lighting the cheroots which were distributed amongst them, before they left the Paikāra bungalow dining-room. Within the precincts of the dairy temple the use of matches is forbidden, and fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks of *Litsæa*

372 [178] [276] 234 372

* *Op. cit.*, Appendix IV, 738.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the o[illegible]d, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 621 in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative. [276] He takes snuff and rarely goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being reserved for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-shaven except for a short moustache. He is a forest guard of the Madras [464] Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from [291] Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda *putkuli* and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz, [837] whom she helps a lot. She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been accepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, handsome, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at the *mad*'s *tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies [233] the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

[464] (23) PILKHLIVOWUTN: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding moustache.

(24) KIRSHARSWUTN: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershrörsh, and is a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more
159 fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said
776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen
[125] such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
159 even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh, wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be-
[836] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konorj.

755 *pathanmul*.[1] The thorn and some of the salt are then put into
177 the fire, and the *utpol* utters the following incantation :—

Pithioteu Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idilh, tan av kan pudrs kan
his mother eye perish eye

pudri ûmâ; tan in kan pudrs kan pudri ûmâ;
be destroyed may; father

and this formula is repeated, substituting for *av* or *in* the names of the following relatives :—*an, akkan, nòdrved, mun, mimi, pian, piav*.[2] Then follows the same formula repeated, in which the names of various tribes are substituted for those of the relatives, as "*mav kan pudrs kan pudri uma*"—Badaga eye perish, may his eye be destroyed." The people mentioned are *mav* (Badaga), *pedr* (Tamil), *suti* (? chetties), *kurub* (Kurumbas), *erl* (Irulas), *panin* (Panyas).[3] The last clause is *möditi kan pudrs kan pudri uma*, extending the imprecation to the women of all the people already mentioned. When the incantation is finished, the remainder of the salt is eaten by the sick man.

755 The Toda *utkòren* may practise 'absent treatment.' If a man wishes to treat a sufferer from the evil eye, and is unable to visit his patient, he puts the salt on the ground and strokes it with the thorn of *pathanmul*, repeating the above incantation as he strokes. He then sends the salt to the sick man, by whom it is eaten.

The treatment in any case is repeated till it has been done three times.

[234] If it is a buffalo which is suffering from the evil effects of *kanarvaznudr*, the *utkòren* use the same method, and the salt is eaten by the buffalo.

278 In the special case in which the evil is produced by saying
755 that a man is looking well or is well dressed, the *utkòren* have a different method. They take a piece of the root called *kabudri*,[4] and a plant called *kwagal*, and squeeze the juice of both into a vessel.

[1] The leaves of this plant, *Solanum indicum*, are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

[2] For the meaning of these kinship-terms, see Chap. XXI.

[3] It is noteworthy that the Kotas are not included.

[4] This is the plant, *Euphorbia Rothiana*, used at the purification of the *ti* dairy (p. 136).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 302 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing. [234]

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind. [753]

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used. 751

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was 177 776 able to obtain very little information about them, and I 751 suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism.

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should 755 suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are 278 adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi*—*i.e.*, "*kavkal* 824 (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo.

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

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177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
621 huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas
437 seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special
278 reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *u:kòren* (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
762 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

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264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before
512 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would
[234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond
[264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position,
[606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and
[278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back to the *ertilkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.
845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

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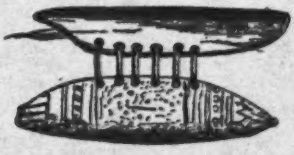
293 No. XI.—Toda club (ornamented as used at a funeral ceremony). *See* Plate XI. Made by the Todas of the Hali tree. Rupees 1.

734

322

301 No. XII.—Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

293 No. XIII.—Silver box, end opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the *tharp* with a string, or sometimes a silver chain. Silver, got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.



301 No. XIV.—*Tiluddi*. Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2½ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

301 No. XV.—Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women. Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklaces called *Kechnad*. Red beaded necklaces called *Nerballi*. Annas 4.

293

34 Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

301 No. XXIX.—*Kivilth* (ಕಿವಿಳ್). Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; burnt with the body at funerals. 30 rupees.

No. XXX.—*Billvall* (ಬಿಳ್ವಳ್). Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.

No. XXXI.—*Thaggdr* (ತ್ಗರ್). Brass chain worn by women round their waist next to the skin. Made at Kota village. Rupees 1, 4 annas.

No. XXXII.—*Mödara* (ಮೊದರ). Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.

No. XXXIII.—*Pittek*. Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

372 No. XXXIV.—*Kotith* (ಕೊಳ್ಳ). Bamboo for blowing up fires. Made by Todas.

764 8 [5C] No. XXXV.—*Patti*. A square basket covered with cloth and cotton, and ornamented with cowries; at dry funeral for a female, 15 or 18 will be burnt, each containing a piece of jaggery, garlic, safron, sandalwood, and some när (fibre) for sewing thread, the latter prepared by Toda women; the basket is made by the Kurumbas.

No. XXXVI.—*Kuttkuelth* (ಕುಟ್ಟಕೊಳ್ಳ). Burnt at the dry funeral of a female. Made by Kotas.

534 No. XXXVII.—*Buguri* (ಬುಗುರಿ). Musical instrument; a sort of flute. Made by the Todas, and played by them and by Badagas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also accompany the procession. [177]

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take part in the procession must go without food on the morning of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual. The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the *pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere, is in or near the wall of the *tu*. 234x 221 796

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*. The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions. 234x 284 415 482

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the *piitusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug* is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar* are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back, one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy, and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi* is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate between those of the inner and those of the outer room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its 796

234* burdens is carried by the *palol* on his left shoulder in the
●284 same way as is shown in Fig. 29, illustrating the method of carrying the things of the village dairy.
415 The *mani* is carried by the *palol* on his right side. A staff
482 of *kiaz* wood is cut, about five cubits (*mogoi*) in length, which
796 must be perfectly straight with a fork at one end. The bell is covered completely with *kiaz* leaves tied with rattan fastenings, and put on the fork of the staff by its ring. The staff is carried upright in the right hand of the *palol*; if he becomes tired he may rest it on his shoulder, but this must be done in such a way that the forked end of the stick carrying the bell comes in front of his body, otherwise the *palol* would be presenting his back to the sacred object.

At the Nòdrs *ti* there is an exception to the ordinary rule in the case of the *mani* of the *tiir*. It will be remembered that this bell is reputed to have been born in a *persin* during the migration from Amnòdr, and the bell is therefore carried in one of the *persin* during the migration from one dairy to another. In its place the *palol* of the *tiir* carries in his right hand the churning stick with its churning end upwards.

The *mani* is the only object of the inner room which is covered with leaves, so that it may not be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The lamp is also hidden from view within the *idrkwoi*, but I do not know whether this is for the same reason or merely because it is a convenient way of carrying it.

The *mòrol* carries the large earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*), which are at least four in number. They are tied on a staff by means of *tedshk* in the same manner as are the *persin*. This is done by the *kaltmokh*, who puts the staff and its burden on the left shoulder of the *mòrol*, taking particular care that the vessels do not touch the man. The *mòrol* carries one of the horns in his right hand.

Before the procession starts each *mani* is hung on the neck of a calf, left on for a minute or so, taken off and put on its staff. The *mani* of the *tiir* called Persin is put on the neck of a two-year-old calf of the *unir*, and that of the *warsir*, Keu, is put on the neck of one of the *perithir*.

If any dairy vessels or implements are not taken with the buffaloes, they are not left in the dairy, but hidden in a wood.

285 445 No. V.—*Melari* (ಮೆಳರಿ). Four baskets, of sizes, to hold grain, made by Todas and Kotas of bamboo and ratan. Annas 10.

322 445 No. VI.—*Pon* (ಪೊನ್). Two milk vessels, of sizes, for milk and curds, made by Todas and Badagas from bamboo joints, with handle and binding of ratan. 8 annas.

No. VII.—*Wāk* (ವಾಕ್). Drinking vessel size of a pint, made by Todas and Badagas of small bamboos and bound with ratan. 1 anna.

000 No. VIII.—*Kuarak*. Walking sticks, two of bamboo, two of jungle wood.

No. IX.—Four pairs of rings worn by Toda men and women. Rings made by Kotas. Rupees 4, 10 annas.

526 No. X.—Sticks and "*Cut*" used in the game *Ilāta*. *See* page 7.[1] Made by Toda men. *Gratis*.

[1] [Errata: See p. 10 -- Analyst]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

445 No. XXII.—*Tharig* (ತರಿಗ). Dish of bell metal made in the low country, used by Todas to eat out of. Four or five sizes will be found in each house. Rupees 3, 12 annas.

No. XXIII.—"Pátkuli." Same as No. I, but worn by women so as to hang down to the feet, and not thrown so much over the left shoulder. Rupees 3.

No. XXIV.—*Tharp* (ತರ್ಪ.) Waistcloth worn by women high up over the breasts. The female "tharp" is larger than the man's "tharp." Procured from Serumuge. 10 annas.

No. XXV.—*Bíllhagár*. Necklace, made by Kotas. The chain of silver, the tassels of cowries. When worn, the tassels hang down behind. Rupees 3.

286 764 No. XXVI.—*Tinnigdni* (ತಿನ್ನಿಗ್ದನಿ). Purse made by Toda women. At funerals it is put into the pouch of the Pátkuli and burnt with the corpse. Made of coloured cotton thread. *Gratis*.

No. XXVII.—*Kátshérum*. Ordinary purse worn by Todas. Made in the low country and bought by Todas from traders who came to the Hills. *Gratis*.

No. XXVIII.—*Pésanár* (ಪೆಸನರ್.) Made of black and white cotton by Toda women. Tied round the waist of the corpse and burnt at funerals. Ends done up with cowries. Sometimes eight or ten are burnt at one time. *Gratis*.

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordina-
292 tion of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kodrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

METHODS OF WEARING THE HAIR

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

262 from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly
437 or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last
648 transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse.
443 At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund
439 and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply
all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on
corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles
[29] are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If
[426] a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit
[452] and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt.
[659] When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years
[652] ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

648 The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their
437 contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of grain, and in the evening I met him on his return carrying a large and heavy bag. He had travelled over thirty miles, had gone down and again come up some 3,000 feet, and most of his journey had been in a climate much warmer than that of his native hills. 147

142
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FIG. 1.—TODA MAN. FULL FACE.

My guide at the end of the day would sometimes go a distance of eight or ten miles and back to arrange for my supply of men for the next day's work, and I have seen him on these occasions running at a steady pace which he would keep up for miles. In going from one part of the hills to another, a Toda always travels as nearly as possible in 147 481

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

342 raised portions, called *tün*, within the huts on which the people
352 sleep. The floor of the hut is divided into two parts, which are marked off from one another by the hole in which grain is pounded by the women. The part in front of this is often used for churning, and with this part women have nothing to do, their operations being limited to the hinder part.

●291

FIG. 9.—A TODA MAN, SIRIAR (20), WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILD, SHOWING THE ORDINARY METHOD OF WEARING THE 'PUTKULI.'

There is little difference between the dress of men and women. Each wears a mantle called the *putkuli*, which is worn thrown round the shoulders without any fastening. Under it is worn a loin-cloth called *tadrp*, and the men also wear a perineal band called *kavn*, corresponding to the Hindu *languti*. The *kavn* is kept in position by a string round the waist called *pennar*, a string which, we shall see later, is of considerable ceremonial importance.

There are various ways of wearing the cloak which will be

291 more fully described in Chapter XXIV. It will be sufficient to say here that when showing reverence, a Toda bares his right arm, this method of wearing the cloak so that the arm is exposed being called *kevenarut*. It is shown in Figs. 1 and 10.

The Daily Life of the Todas

234 463 512 The daily life of the Toda men is largely devoted to the care of their buffaloes and to the performance of the dairy operations. As we shall see later, much of the dairy work is the duty of certain men set aside to look after the sacred buffaloes and the sacred dairies connected with them. A large proportion, however, of the Toda buffaloes are not sacred, and their care falls on the ordinary Todas. The milking and churning is chiefly the duty of the younger men and boys, but the older men also take their part, while the head of the family exercises a general superintendence.

FIG. 10.—KÒDENER PERFORMING THE SALUTATION CALLED 'KAIMUKHTI.' HIS RIGHT ARM IS BARED ('KEVENARUT'), AND HE HAS REMOVED HIS TURBAN.

512 788 On rising in the morning, the men salute the sun with the gesture called *kaimukhti*, shown in Fig. 10, and then they turn to their work of milking the buffaloes and churning the milk.

512 When the dairy operations of the morning are over, the buffaloes are driven to the grazing ground, the people take their food and go about any business of the day. Some may

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

CLOTHING

The clothing of the men consists of a large cloak called the *putkuli*, a loincloth called *tadrp*, and a small perineal cloth called *kuvn*, kept in its place by a string round the waist called *pennar*. 291

The *putkuli* is made of a large piece of double cloth, which is usually worn by placing one side over the left shoulder and then throwing the whole garment round the back and over the right shoulder and across to the left shoulder, so that it completely envelops the body. This method of wearing the cloak, which is shown by the third man of Fig. 61, is called *kai ulk üt nidvai*, "hand into laid who stands," or "who stands with hand placed within the cloak."

The double layer of cloth of which the cloak is made is sewn together at the edges except at the upper part of one side, leaving the opening of a large pocket which is bounded by lines where the two layers of the cloak are again sewn together. This pocket is called *kudsh* and is very capacious, so that a Toda may produce a surprising number of articles from it. As we have seen, many of the articles given to the dead are placed in this pocket.

There are two methods of wearing the cloak adopted on special occasions. One of these is that called *kevenarut* (adopted by the second man in Fig. 61), with which we have already often met. The right arm is put out of the cloak, so that the arm and shoulder are bare whenever a Toda approaches certain sacred personages or objects. The cloak is worn *kevenarut* whenever the wearer is engaged in prayer or employed in any way at the dairy. It is also worn in this way when approaching a *palol*, when performing the *kaimukhti* salutation, and when crossing either of the sacred streams.

The other method is that shown by the fourth man in Fig. 61 and is called *mad ār mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands." The cloak is worn in this fashion by a widower between the middle of the first funeral ceremony and the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. It is also worn in 291 765

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony of each funeral.

291 The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus,
291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago,
437 according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers
531 who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present
463 time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar. When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*, made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said
177 to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is
437 probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *ān* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

000 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

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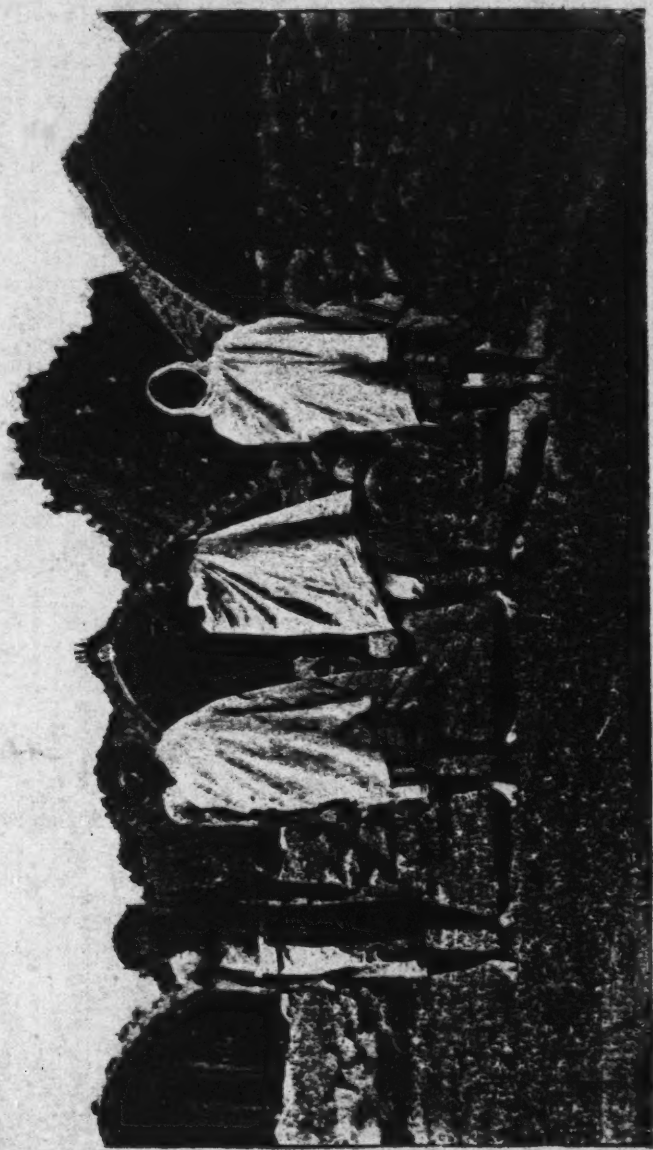

FIG. 61.—SHOWING METHODS OF WEARING THE TODA GARMENTS AND OF DOING THE HAIR.

Perhaps the ornaments, likely to be equally primitive with these armlets, are the heavy bunches of coiled iron wire or of little bits of the same metal, worn like charms from both waist and elbow. Very tasteless and heavy. 301

I do not see, in the form of their finger and ear rings, necklaces and girdles, anything deserving of remark. They do not appear to me to be especially characteristic of the Todas, but rather, just what they can purchase from the tribes surrounding them. The photographs of women, show the nature of necklace worn as marriage tokens. [439]

The nose and lips are never perforated or ornamented; nor are bangles for the ankles, or bells on the toes, worn. [304]

You may distinguish a boy from a girl by the mode in which the hair is cut. With the latter, the entire back-hair is kept short from infancy till the approach to marriageable age. The former have a band of hair cut short, or shaved, along the head, from the nape of the neck, over the poll to the top of the forehead, and a cross slip carried over the top of the head from ear to ear. The smallest male infants are often so distinguished. 302

The wearing apparel of the sexes is identical. First comes the loin-cloth—Kûvn—corresponding to the Hindustani Langoti, over which the toga—Putkuli—measuring about six feet long by four feet broad, made of coarse unbleached cotton, and worn double; ornamented at the two ends with red and blue stripes, and sometimes with a little embroidery in blue cotton. This mantle is sufficiently large to envelope a woman most completely. A decent though cumbersome garment to wear, better suited for sitting and sleeping in than for any purposes of labour. Pockets are made in the corners of the mantle, by sewing the double cloth together at those places. This dress is more properly Drâvidian than mere Toda, and is purchased in the bazaars. 291 439

They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises 000

262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

847 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Metz's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

517 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Iláta*, which is
526 played as follows :—

A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Iláta* is a variety of *tipcat*.

Another game is called *Nárthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some mands a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Káriálapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B.[1]

● 291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows :—

"The garment* in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, "cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

* *Toda: Pátkuli.*

[1] [Category 116, pp. 117-123.—Analyst]

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Büguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 533
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mäv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, *Tenure of land.*
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirdi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pöthchi*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = Or. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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PLATE IV.

TODA WOMEN.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE XI.

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TODAS WITH CLUBS &c.

APPENDIX B.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE of ORNAMENTS, IMPLEMENTS, &c. of NILAGIRI TRIBES.

TODAS.

No. I.—*Pútkali*, worn by men and women. *See* Report. The cloth purchased from weavers who come to the Hills from Serumugé in Coimbatore. Rupees 4.

291 No. II.—*Tharp*. Waistcloth worn by men. Purchased from Serumugé merchants. Rupees 1.

No. III.—*Kosse* (ಕೊಸೆ) Langoty. Procured from Serumugé merchants. 2 annas.

292 No. IV.—*Kóog* (ಕೂಗು), worn round the waist over No. II. by men who take a part in the funeral ceremonies. Procured from Calicut. Rupees 4.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AUKO Toda AUKO

142 The men are large in frame, tall and remarkably well-proportioned, with muscular, massive, and very hairy limbs and broad chests; a physique totally opposite in every respect to that of the dwellers in the plains. Their countenances are manly, open, and handsome, the features being unusually regular. They have luxuriant black beards, and, wearing no turban or covering on the head, display to full advantage their clustering bushy hair, the European look of which is increased by their practice of wearing it parted down the centre. In colour they are nearer brown than black; their lips are full rather than large, and their cheek-bones marked but not high. The eyes are large and intelligent, and the nose is elevated and arched. It is doubtless this combination of the distinguishing features of the white race, with an almost black complexion that gives them in part their peculiar aspect. Many of them have a very Jewish expression, but the general contour of the head and cast of countenance are rather such as we are accustomed to associate with the ancient Romans. This similitude is also enhanced by their stately carriage and flowing robe, the loose folds of which give them an appearance
291 best described by the term classic. This garment, in which the Toda envelopes himself, is of a thick coarse cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back and forward under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again, leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the lower part of the
293 person down to the knees. When herding their buffaloes, the men carry a thin straight rod or wand, about six feet in length, and this is the only approach to implement or weapon that they ever use.

142 The women are much lighter in hue than the men, the body being of a *café-au-lait* tint, and the face a shade darker. They are as a rule very pleasing in expression, and the young women, from fifteen to twenty, generally exceedingly good-looking. They are above the middle height, large in frame and well developed, though the hands and feet are very small. Their features are regular, the mouth not large, lips often thin, and the teeth even and beautifully white; the nose is straight, whilst the eyes are dark
302 and expressive. The most striking peculiarity about them is the arrangement of their fine glossy black hair, which is dressed in

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AwbTodaAwb

ringlets precisely such as ladies in this country wore about 302
twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and the long ringlets hang on either side of the oval face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life; the hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. The female dress on ordinary occasions consists 291
simply of a single robe similar to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand. This, as one very soon learns, generally constitutes the sole garment of the wearer, for the Toda women have a habit, even in the presence of strangers, of throwing open the mantle to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting it on the shoulders. Some of them indeed hardly take the trouble to hold it together in front at all, and this was especially the case at a *mund*, near Coonoor, which, as I was quartered in the immediate vicinity, I had frequently to pass. I 202
used to notice that the men watching their herds on the opposite heights, separated by a wide glen from where I was, would announce my coming by shouting across to the women at home, who were accordingly always on the *qui vive* at the roadside prepared to greet me with their usual begging cry *Enam Kurroo*, "give me a present." The way that these men carry on conversations with one another across wide intervening valleys, and apparently without effort, reminded me of the Kaffir herdsmen, every word of whose voices I have heard from hill-tops at distances that seemed incredible.

I have on occasions of ceremony seen the women with under- 292
clothing fastened round the middle in addition to the above 531
everyday costume. I may observe that they often embroider the corners of these robes with blue thread, and shew very considerable taste in the devices.

Neither slippers nor sandals are ever seen among them, men, 291
women, and children alike, going barefooted. The young children are generally pleasing in their appearance. I noticed that the 142
boys up to eight or ten years old are of the same light colour as the girls, the dark hue of later life being gradually developed with each year's exposure to the sun and mountain air until the age of manhood. It is to be noted, however, of the females that, though equally exposed to climatic influences, their complexions remain nearly the same all through life.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

opp. p. 32

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TODA WOMAN.

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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TODA.

[facing p. 121]

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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TODA WOMAN.

[facing p. 123]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA HUT.

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[facing p. 127]

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

"TODA CATHEDRAL"

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[facing p. 131]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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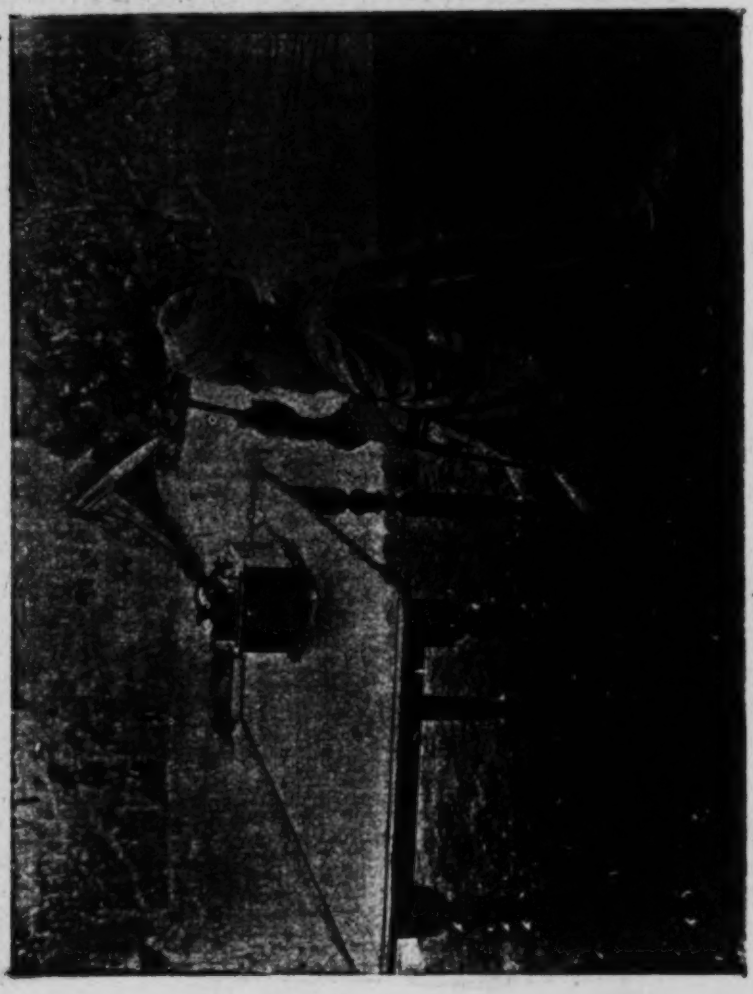

TODA AND PHONOGRAPH.

[facing p. 145]

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfusodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuuin], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

887 764 554 526 [578] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanme (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kuuṟjaṭṭ, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemodz (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

● 291 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [297] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθaŋ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the nirjo:ɟ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumɨ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new poɨm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 194

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, 304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the ●291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *put-kuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103 No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
162 1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
621 2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

13; Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 621 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] [754] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly, nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children, whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

[735] [123]

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

[464] [291]

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

[124]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 621 in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative. [276] He takes snuff and rarely goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being reserved for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-shaven except for a short moustache. He is a forest guard of the Madras [464] Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from [291] Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda *putkuli* and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz, [837] whom she helps a lot. She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been accepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, handsome, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at the *mad*'s *tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies [233] the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

(23) PILKHLIVOWUTN: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early [464] twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding moustache.

(24) KIRSHARSWUTN: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershrörsh, and i- a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*. 425 428 [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512 [123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514] [296] [233] [234] [264] [291] [356] [515]

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

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Fig. 24. Karnoz.

Fig. 25. Nalsirwuf.

[P 300-B]

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Fig. 26. Pads.

Fig. 27. Silidz.

[p 300-c]

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Fig. 28. Erzigwuf with Peterozn, Mutnarsh and the twins, Sodup and Sodam.

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Fig. 29. Kuddhue.

[p 300-D]

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Fig. 30. Munbokwutn.

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Fig. 31. Narjilkwutn.

[p. 300-E]

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Fig. 32. Pengelam.

Fig. 33. Mutmali, Nalsirwuf and Närshmali.

[P 300-F]

To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To • 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

788 Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1. Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *wursol*
and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes.
788 Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPISI (56), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *wursol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *wursol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahman engaged in prayer.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/4 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

234 554 778 784 793 When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 25.—THE 'POH' OF KANDORS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tün*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pohkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

292 793

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudaipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali*, where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir*, or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun*, kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni*,
292 he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *pòdrshtuni*, is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti*, one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani*, are

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The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *iikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*. 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the day-time with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Nakaneri. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pül* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 784 793

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There are a few small points in which the ordination of a Teivali dairyman differs from that of the Tartharol. The Teivaliol use three pieces of the grass called *kakar*, with which the candidate sweeps the threshold of the dairy before bowing down and entering, the grass being left on the threshold. Among the Teivaliol also the place of the *petuni* may be taken by the special kind of cloth called *twadrinar*, which is manufactured by the Todas, and in the case in which I saw the ceremony, the candidate wore this instead of *petuni*. The Tartharol must use *petuni*.

In the only case in which I saw this ceremony the ordination was to a Teivali dairy and the candidate was completely naked except for the *kuvn*. The Tarthar *tarpalikartmokh* wears part of an ordinary mantle as a loincloth during his ordination. The ceremony is the same for the *kudrpalikartmokh* as for the *tarvalikartmokh*, except that the former is quite unclothed except for the *kuvn* and that he alone has a *mani* to salute.

THE WURSOL

The ceremony begins either on Tuesday or Friday and lasts two days. On the first day the candidate goes early in the morning to the ordinary dairy of the village at which he is to be *wursol*; at Kars he goes to the *kudrpali*. He receives food from the *palikartmokh* and eats it sitting on the seat (*kwottīn*) outside the dairy. He stays near the dairy till the afternoon. When the *palikartmokh* has finished his afternoon work and has distributed butter and buttermilk, one of the men of the village comes to the candidate and says, "*Nirod!*" The candidate throws off his cloak and is given either a full *tuni* or a piece of this garment called *petuni*. The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the door of his dairy, and the candidate stands opposite to him and asks three times "*Tunivatkina?*"—"Shall I put on the *tuni?*" The *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Vat!*"—"Put on!" Then the candidate raises the garment to his forehead and if he has been given a complete *tuni* he puts it on; if only a *petuni* he puts it in the string of his *kuvn*. This string is

234x ordinarily called *pennar*, but is now called *kerk*, and this part
292 of the ceremony is called *kerkatiti*. The fact that this name
793 is given seems to indicate that properly the complete garment should not be given till a later stage of the proceedings.

234x The candidate then finds seven leaves called *muliers* and
793 seven shoots or *nan* of the same plant and goes through exactly the same ceremony at the stream as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*, putting the shoots in his back hair at the end. This part of the ceremony is called *mulinirôditi*, and its object is to make the candidate a *palikartmokh* as a step towards becoming *wursol*. He is taken through the lower degree on his way to the higher.

After *mulinirôditi* the candidate goes to the wall of the
[372] dairy and stands outside it. The *palikartmokh* brings a firebrand from the dairy and lights with it a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself. The firebrand must be one of the three following kinds—*kid*, *pasôr* or *kiaz*.
[314] After warming himself, the candidate goes to fetch bark of the *tudr* tree, which must not be cut, but knocked off with a stone. He also brings seven perfect *tudr* leaves, and goes again to the dairy stream. He pounds the bark on a stone and dips it in water, squeezes the water into one of the *tudr* leaves, drinks, throws over his head and puts the bark on one side exactly in the same way as before, but using *tudr* bark and leaves instead of the shoots and leaves of *muli*. After doing this seven times he dips the pounded bark in water, sprinkles his head and face three times, puts the bark in his hair, and, going a little way off, shakes his head.

The candidate then goes again to find bark and leaves of *tudr*, and repeats the whole ceremony and continues to repeat it till he has done it seven times—*i.e.*, he drinks out of the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. After this he goes to the wood near the stream (at Kars, called Tarskars) and the *palikartmokh* comes to him there with the *ertatpun* filled with buttermilk, and with four leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. Two leaves are given to the candidate and two kept by the dairyman, and each folds the leaves in the usual way to make a cup (*ersteiti*). The dairyman then puts the *ertatpun* between his

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234 (if there are two, as at the Nòdrs *ti*) sleep in the hut of the *ti mad*.

793 The next day (Thursday) the new *palol* goes to the stream and performs the *tudr* ceremony three times in the morning and nine times in the afternoon; *i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three and nine times seven. On this day the *kaltmokh* milks the *punir*, takes the milk to the *pül*, churns there and gives buttermilk, butter and other food to the new *palol*. On that night all sleep in the *karenpoh* or calf-house.

The proceedings of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are the same as those of Thursday, except that the new *palol* may now drink the milk of the *punir* like the full *palol*.

234 On Monday morning the new *palol* enters on his office. 793 In the morning he bathes and then takes off the temporary *pennar* and *kuvn* he has been wearing and replaces them by 292 others made in the same way. A Badaga (the *tikelfmav*) then 783 brings one of the two cloaks of the *palol*, that called *pòdrshtuni*, and lays it down at the outskirts of the dairy. It 796 is taken up by the *kaltmokh* and given to the new *palol*, who spreads it out on the place where the buffaloes are milked. He then takes pounded *tudr* bark, says the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the *ti* and of the buffaloes (see Chap. X) and throws the pounded bark on the garment. He turns the garment over so as to expose the other surface and purifies this in the same way. He then asks himself, "*Pòdrshtuni tutkina?*"—"Shall I tie the *pòdrshtuni*?"—and throwing off the *mad tuni* he has been wearing hitherto, he puts on the *pòdrshtuni*. The *kaltmokh* returns the *mad tuni* to the Nòdrs people, who come on this day and stand on the outskirts of the place.

The new *palol* then purifies his dairy by sprinkling it with water and *tudr* bark in the same way as is done when going to new dairy (see p. 136). He next takes the *uppun*, puts into it water and *tudr* bark, and turning towards the Nòdrs people with the vessel to his forehead, says three times to them, "*Poh pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the dairy?" All the Nòdrs people cry "*Pûkh!*" and the new *palol* enters his dairy with the full rights of his position.

000 At some period before entering into office as full *palol*

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At some time before entering into office as full palol the candidate touches a *tasth* or bar of the entrance into the *tu*. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the *kaltmokh*, and as in this case it seemed to be the special indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the *tasth* is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished. 234 x 574 793 796

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pon*, nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called *kubuntuni* is brought by the *tikelfmav*, and is put on in the usual way. (During the previous month the *pòdrshtuni* will have been used both as a cloak and as a loineloth, and will have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and sit in the *pül* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol first, saying "*Baß*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol, saying "*Pekein*," and each reply in the customary manner. [292] [576]

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *muli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity. 234 x 793

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Òdr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *mulinirròditi* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvn* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh*

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173 Pitipem, where she rubbed a place with buffalo-dung and sat down.

773 While sitting there one day an eagle (*kashk*) sat on
776 her head, and she became pregnant, and went back to the village and gave birth to a son. When Kwoten heard of this he wished to kill the child and set out to do so. The old woman's daughter, who had married a Kars man, sent her husband to warn her parents that Kwoten was coming to kill them. The Kars man met Kwoten and ran away from him towards Kanòdrs, followed by Kwoten's dog. When he came to a hill above the village he called out that Kwoten was coming. When the old man heard him, he cursed Kwoten and those with him; the latter became stones and Kwoten himself (according to the story as told by the Kanòdrs people) was stung by honey bees and died. The people of Kanòdrs are descended from the son born to the old woman. If this old woman was not a Toda, as her name and that of her village suggest, this would seem to point to a tradition that the people of Kanòdrs are descended from an ancestor of a different race from the other Todas (see p. 640).

[578] Owing to the behaviour of Kwoten to the Kanòdrs people there has ever since been *karaivichi* (trouble) between the people of Pan and Kanòdrs. They do not intermarry and no Kanòdrs man may go to one of the chief villages (*etudmad*) of the Pan people nor may a Pan man go to an *etudmad* of Kanòdrs.

According to the above account Kwoten died after being cursed by the old man, but this is only a feature of the story as told by the Kanòdrs people, and in the account given by others Kwoten had many other adventures and finished his life in this world in a very different manner. He married a second wife, who, like the first, objected to her husband and preferred a man of Keradr, whose name was Keradrkutan. Kwoten lived with this wife at Kazhuradr, near Isharadr. At
[292] that time women wore the garment called *än*, which is dark grey like the *tuni* of the *palol*, and is now only used as a funeral garment.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Oh*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the most important feature here is the use of the garments called
292 *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
178

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The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth of the same kind, called *ān*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual. 234 292 793 178

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the *tarvali* it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses *tudr* in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*. 234 778 788

[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony
291 of each funeral.

The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus,
291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago,
437 according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers
531 who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present
463 time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar. When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*,
177 made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said
437 to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *an* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

000 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordina-
292 tion of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kòdrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

METHODS OF WEARING THE HAIR

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

CHAP. XX.

In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad. 124

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life. 763 292

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way. 763

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man. 593 764 842

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into 764

APPENDIX B.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE of ORNAMENTS, IMPLEMENTS, &c. of NĪLAGIRI TRIBES.

TODAS.

No. I.—*Pátkuli*, worn by men and women. *See* Report. The cloth purchased from weavers who come to the Hills from Serumugē in Coimbatore. Rupees 4.

291 No. II.—*Tharp*. Waistcloth worn by men. Purchased from Serumugē merchants. Rupees 1.

No. III.—*Konu* (ಕೊನು) Langooty. Procured from Serumugē merchants. 2 annas.

292 No. IV.—*Kāng* (ಕಾಂಗ), worn round the waist over No. II. by men who take a part in the funeral ceremonies. Procured from Calicut. Rupees 4.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

ringlets precisely such as ladies in this country wore about 302
twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and the long ringlets hang on either side of the oval face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life; the hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. The female dress on ordinary occasions consists 291
simply of a single robe similar to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand. This, as one very soon learns, generally constitutes the sole garment of the wearer, for the Toda women have a habit, even in the presence of strangers, of throwing open the mantle to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting it on the shoulders. Some of them indeed hardly take the trouble to hold it together in front at all, and this was especially the case at a *mund*, near Coonoor, which, as I was quartered in the immediate vicinity, I had frequently to pass. I 202
used to notice that the men watching their herds on the opposite heights, separated by a wide glen from where I was, would announce my coming by shouting across to the women at home, who were accordingly always on the *qui vive* at the roadside prepared to greet me with their usual begging cry *Enam Kurroo*, "give me a present." The way that these men carry on conversations with one another across wide intervening valleys, and apparently without effort, reminded me of the Kaffir herdsmen, every word of whose voices I have heard from hill-tops at distances that seemed incredible.

I have on occasions of ceremony seen the women with under- 292
clothing fastened round the middle in addition to the above 531
everyday costume. I may observe that they often embroider the corners of these robes with blue thread, and shew very considerable taste in the devices.

Neither slippers nor sandals are ever seen among them, men, 291
women, and children alike, going barefooted. The young children are generally pleasing in their appearance. I noticed that the 142
boys up to eight or ten years old are of the same light colour as the girls, the dark hue of later life being gradually developed with each year's exposure to the sun and mountain air until the age of manhood. It is to be noted, however, of the females that, though equally exposed to climatic influences, their complexions remain nearly the same all through life.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, 262
except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This [462]
consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds, which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones, the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, 231
though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their *munds*. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the European Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into 616
two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a 793
better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*. These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes, though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at. Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry, and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest, naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests [292]
are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda
elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-
gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr.
Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their
appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the
absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the
ground that they were too poor to afford the expense
of the operation, or that they were always suckling or
pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation
would not be free from danger. The dots and circles,
of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked
out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the
spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and
decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in
the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells
on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with
cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger;
silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes
of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

887 764 552 526 [578] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṛ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumṛjaḷ, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemodz (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

3g Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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TODAS WITH CLUBS &c.

St. Brooks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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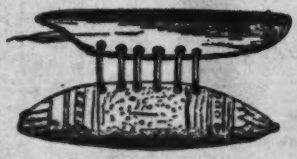
No. XI.—Toda club (ornamented as used at a funeral ceremony). *See* Plate XI. Made by the Todas of the HAli tree. Rupee 1.

301

No. XII.—Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

293

No. XIII.—Silver box, end opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the *tharp* with a string, or sometimes a silver chain. Silver, got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.



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No. XIV.—*Tilukidi*. Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2½ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

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No. XV.—Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women. Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklaces called *Kechund*. Red beaded necklaces called *Nerballi*. Annas 4.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

142 The men are large in frame, tall and remarkably well-proportioned, with muscular, massive, and very hairy limbs and broad chests; a physique totally opposite in every respect to that of the dwellers in the plains. Their countenances are manly, open, and handsome, the features being unusually regular. They have luxuriant black beards, and, wearing no turban or covering on the head, display to full advantage their clustering bushy hair, the European look of which is increased by their practice of wearing it parted down the centre. In colour they are nearer brown than black; their lips are full rather than large, and their cheek-bones marked but not high. The eyes are large and intelligent, and the nose is elevated and arched. It is doubtless this combination of the distinguishing features of the white race, with an almost black complexion that gives them in part their peculiar aspect. Many of them have a very Jewish expression, but the general contour of the head and cast of countenance are rather such as we are accustomed to associate with the ancient Romans. This similitude is also enhanced by their stately carriage and flowing robe, the loose folds of which give them an appearance
291 best described by the term classic. This garment, in which the Toda envelopes himself, is of a thick coarse cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back and forward under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again, leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the lower part of the
293 person down to the knees. When herding their buffaloes, the men carry a thin straight rod or wand, about six feet in length, and this is the only approach to implement or weapon that they ever use.

142 The women are much lighter in hue than the men, the body being of a *café-au-lait* tint, and the face a shade darker. They are as a rule very pleasing in expression, and the young women, from fifteen to twenty, generally exceedingly good-looking. They are above the middle height, large in frame and well developed, though the hands and feet are very small. Their features are regular, the mouth not large, lips often thin, and the teeth even and beautifully white; the nose is straight, whilst the eyes are dark
302 and expressive. The most striking peculiarity about them is the arrangement of their fine glossy black hair, which is dressed in

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

764 the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and
[782] jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother
[765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of
[293] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife.
[576] On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkūli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candolleana*) in the putkūli of the corpse;

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed [illegible] old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{7}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket, nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kēri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kēri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[155] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sālep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sālep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following :—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nīlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[994] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari :—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 While the men are doing their work, the women will have 356 been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented 412 in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently 462 woman's work.

512 They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 Though these are the three operations which are regarded 296 as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things 356 to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside 462 the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to 531 cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the 574 visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*.

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family.

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal.

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of a fruit called *ilpom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit called *puthimulpom*[1] is used for the same purpose. The yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks of the Hindus.

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751
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ORNAMENTS

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten.

301

The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Breeks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

[1] This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Taradr and Kanòdrs.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

that the practice of staining the skin is quite unknown to them. CHAP. IV.

They—the women—however, mark or tattoo portions of the body, terming it Gurtu. Dr. Shortt has recorded these marks so carefully, that I cannot do better than quote his own words:—'The women,' he writes, 'are tattooed about the arms, chest, and legs in the following manner: Three semicircles of dots on the outer side of each arm, each semicircle containing nine points; a double row of dots across the upper part of the chest, about an inch below the clavicle, each row consisting of thirty-six points, about the eighth of an inch apart, the rows themselves being one inch distant from each other. Those on the arms have an intervening space of two inches; two rows, containing eight or nine points each, on the shoulders, commencing in front where the lines on the chest terminate, and extending backwards to a point on a level with the superior semicircle on the arm; a solitary dot in the centre of the chin; two circular lines of dots on each leg, the upper circle containing twenty-five and the lower only twenty dots; and a row across the dorsum of each foot, numbering from nine to eleven points. The terminal point of each row is marked by a ring, the interlinear points being simple dots, frequently taking the form of squares.'[3]

The most characteristic personal ornament amongst them, is that carried by women; an extremely clumsy metal ring—Tulwaji—weighing sometimes as much as five pounds, which is carried on the upper part of the arm, and worn according to taste; sometimes one ring on each arm, or sometimes a pair on one arm, kept apart—so that the skin may not be pinched between them—by means of a slip of padding. These rings are often built half of copper, half of brass, so that one day they may be worn presenting the one metal, and another day turned to show the other. In order that the arm may be introduced into this ponderous mass of brass, the ring is cut

[3] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

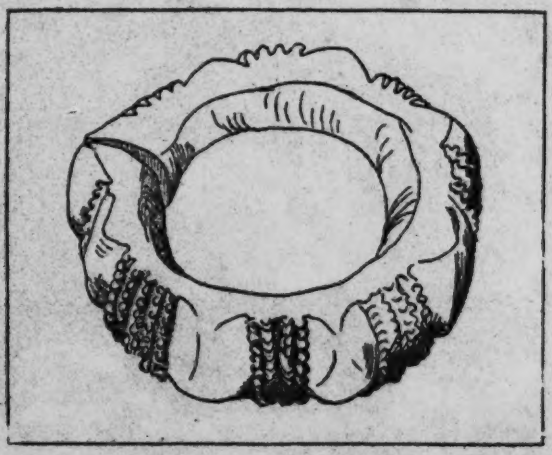
CHAP. IV.

301

through at one place in the circle, so that by introducing a lever into the crevice it may be opened a little.[4]

The device being so heavy and inartistic, and these rings known to be often ancient heirlooms, I do not doubt we have in this quasi ornament an armlet belonging to very primitive times; one that certainly could not have undergone very great improvement since it was first adopted by the people.

No. 9.



A TODA ARMLET.

Hence it may prove of some value as a means of tracing the Todas to the unknown race from which they sprang and separated.

[4] Curiously enough, on return from the Nilagiris, a friend living at Kheri in Oudh, showed me an armlet which had just been cut out of the stomach of an alligator caught in the neighbourhood. Although the workmanship of this bracelet was far more artistic than that of the clumsy Toda ornament, yet the mode of opening and shutting it was identical, and the general design, suggestive. As it was not in wear amongst any of the civilised natives of the place, and there are known to be primitive tribes living in the neighbouring jungles, it is just possible there may be some real connection between the two armlets, though separated during 3,000 or 4,000 years.

Perhaps the ornaments, likely to be equally primitive with these armlets, are the heavy bunches of coiled iron wire or of little bits of the same metal, worn like charms from both waist and elbow. Very tasteless and heavy. 301

I do not see, in the form of their finger and ear rings, necklaces and girdles, anything deserving of remark. They do not appear to me to be especially characteristic of the Todas, but rather, just what they can purchase from the tribes surrounding them. The photographs of women, show the nature of necklace worn as marriage tokens. [439]

The nose and lips are never perforated or ornamented; nor are bangles for the ankles, or bells on the toes, worn. [304]

You may distinguish a boy from a girl by the mode in which the hair is cut. With the latter, the entire back-hair is kept short from infancy till the approach to marriageable age. The former have a band of hair cut short, or shaved, along the head, from the nape of the neck, over the poll to the top of the forehead, and a cross slip carried over the top of the head from ear to ear. The smallest male infants are often so distinguished. 302

The wearing apparel of the sexes is identical. First comes the loin-cloth—Kûvn—corresponding to the Hindustani Lungoti, over which the toga—Putkuli—measuring about six feet long by four feet broad, made of coarse unbleached cotton, and worn double; ornamented at the two ends with red and blue stripes, and sometimes with a little embroidery in blue cotton. This mantle is sufficiently large to envelope a woman most completely. A decent though cumbersome garment to wear, better suited for sitting and sleeping in than for any purposes of labour. Pockets are made in the corners of the mantle, by sewing the double cloth together at those places. This dress is more properly Drâvidian than mere Toda, and is purchased in the bazaars. 291 439

They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises 000

CHAP. XXV.

583 584 girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

583 584 684 In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. An entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.[2] Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—kûtacaram.

585 301 431 The husband now gives his wife a necklace,[3] of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

585 The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

[2] Literally Âl = '*husband*' or '*man*.' Kâtvoti = '*wife*' or '*she who is bound to me*.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

[3] Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bŭguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 533
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a [illegible]
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mŭv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, Tenure of land.
to settle at Cotacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirâi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pŭthkoli*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 6p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- analysis]

843 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[593] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes [322] a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhedkham.*
„ Muttinād „ *Pirzhirzhk.*
„ Kodanād „ *Kurrkduvirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgdrūff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmūl* and *Shāstra.* One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow† we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

776 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, 551 in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordzai Kēds*), which takes place 765 soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvendli Kēds*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

[301]

* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Manu, iii. 33.

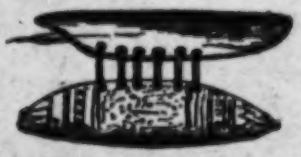
[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 8:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of man generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

293 No. XI.—Toda club (ornamented as used at a funeral ceremony). See Plate XI. Made by the Todas of the Hill tree. Rupee 1.
764
322

301 No. XII.—Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

298 No. XIII.—Silver box, and opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the dhoty with a string, or sometimes a silver chain. Silver, got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.



301 No. XIV.—Pilakkâl. Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2½ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 19, 8 annas.

301 No. XV.—Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women. Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklaces called *Kadwand*. Red beaded necklaces called *Nerkolli*. Annas 4.
283

000 No. XVI.—*Kyttheodiedri.* Tied round the elbow of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Made by Toda women.

Tijeri (ᵗᵒᵗ). The bag or lump at the end contains the flower and leaf of * ?
6 pice.

45 No. XVII.—*Tegh.* Cocoa-nut drinking vessel, used by women for milk and tyre. Made by Todas out of cocoa-nuts brought from the low country. *Gratis.*

000 No. XVIII.—*Ea.* Cloth tied round the waist of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Cloth made by Badagas in Jakanhri in this district. The same villagers make the Pálli's cloths (Tunni). *See* page 16. Rupee 1.

● 301 No. XIX.—*Kaithristh* (ᵗᵒᵗ). Silver earrings worn by women in each ear. Made by Kotas. Rupees 5.

No. XX.—*Hibbal* (ᵗᵒᵗ). Iron bracelets worn by women on the left wrist. Made by Kotas. 12 annas.

No. XXI.—*Hebbu* (ᵗᵒᵗ).—Two small iron rings worn by women on the first finger of the left hand; they usually wear two, sometimes four. Made by Kotas. *Gratis.*

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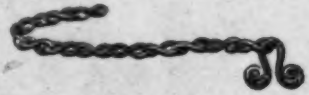
* This was left blank, probably till the botanical name could be ascertained. I do not know what tree is referred to.—Ed.

3¼ breaks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

301 No. XXIX.—*Kôvilth* (ಕೋವಿಳ್). Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; burnt with the body at funerals. 20 rupees.

No. XXX.—*Billsull* (ಬಿಳ್ಳಸರ). Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.

No. XXXI.—*Thaggôr* (ತಗ್ಗರ್). Brass chain worn by women round their waist next to the skin. Made at Kota village. Rupees 1, 4 annas.



No. XXXII.—*Môdara* (ಮೊದರ). Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.

No. XXXIII.—*Pittek*. Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

372 No. XXXIV.—*Kselth* (ಕೆಳ್ಳ). Bamboo for blowing up fires. Made by Todas.

764 [5 3] No. XXXV.—*Patti*. A square basket covered with cloth and cotton, and ornamented with cowries; at dry funeral for a female, 15 or 18 will be burnt, each containing a piece of jaggery, garlic, safron, sandalwood, and some nîr (fibre) for sewing thread, the latter prepared by Toda women; the basket is made by the Kurumbas.

No. XXXVI.—*Kattheselth* (ಕಟ್ಟೆಳ್ಳ). Burnt at the dry funeral of a female. Made by Kotas.

534 No. XXXVII.—*Duguri* (ದುಗುರಿ). Musical instrument; a sort of flute. Made by the Todas, and played by them and by Badagas.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

142 The lineaments and characteristics of the Telingan race, as described by Pickering, seem to apply to this people in all points save one, but that a very important one, namely, the nature of the hair. According to the above author, the Telingans have "straight fine hair", but, as the hair of the Toda men is clustering, partially curled, and rather inclined to coarseness, the classification of this tribe under that head seems out of the question.

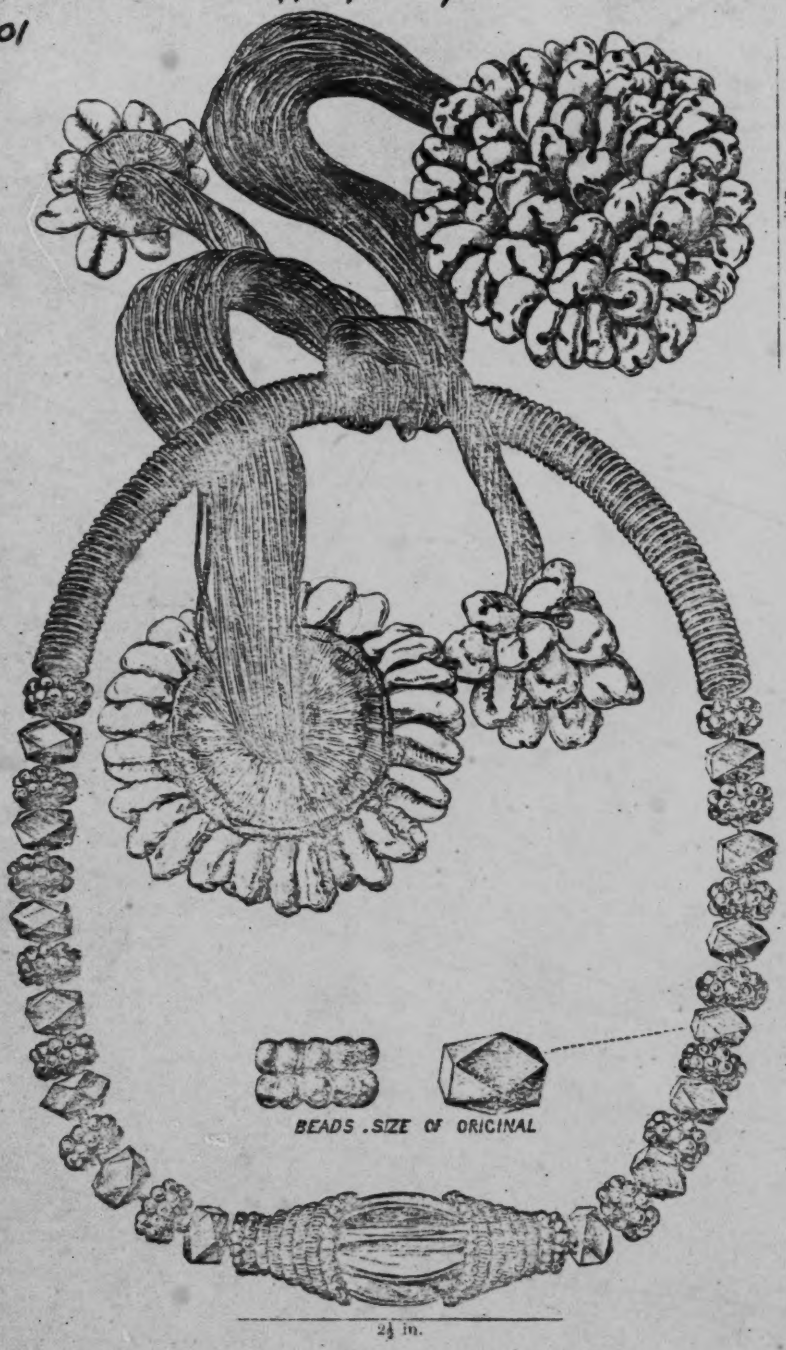
301 The most noticeable of the ornaments, generally valuable and always pleasing to the eye, worn by the Toda women, are their massive and very handsome necklaces of solid gold and silver, which, though of course varying in size and detail of design, are all of the same typical character, resembling some of the ancient [435] necklaces found in our own country. These ornaments they value very highly, and regard as heirlooms not to be parted with on any consideration, so that to procure a specimen was a matter of extreme difficulty. The one now exhibited I managed after much trouble to obtain through the medium of a friendly Moravian missionary, from a female whose interest in dress and ornament was, like herself, somewhat on the wane. Mr. Metz, the missionary in question, in the course of a residence of many years among these people, had gained their trust and confidence to an almost unlimited extent; nevertheless, it required, in addition to his oral arguments, several successive handfuls of small silver coin, finally amounting to thirty-five rupees to induce her to sell it. Even this sum (which was about equivalent to £3 : 10 : 0, in shillings and sixpences) the owner consented to accept only on condition that nothing should be said to any of her tribe regarding the transaction. This ornament is the work of the Khotas, one of the tribes that will be presently described, and its weight is nearly eight ounces of the purest silver. Nearly all the adult women have similar necklaces, many of them being much larger and more massive than the present specimen, and mostly having bunches and rosettes of cowrie shells on blue cords affixed, which hang down the back of the neck.

Their other ornaments are silver ear-rings and bracelets; gold, silver, and brass rings on the fingers, a couple of very large brass armlets above the elbows, and a brass or sometimes silver belt worn round the middle, and next to the skin. The use of the latter I fancy may be the suspension of the underclothing when worn.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

opp. p. 24

● 301



SILVER NECKLACE, TODA TRIBE.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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TODA WOMAN.

[facing p. 123]

7:Thurston E05 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr. Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the ground that they were too poor to afford the expense of the operation, or that they were always suckling or pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation would not be free from danger. The dots and circles, of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger; silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand-
mother's death. [765]

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

304 2. Aged 28. Tattooed with a single dot on chin;
[531] rings and dots on chest, outer side of upper arms, back of left hand, below calves, above ankles, and across dorsum of feet. Wears thread armlet ornamented with young cowries on right forearm; thread armlet and two
[301] heavy ornamental brass armlets on left upper arm; ornamental brass bangle and glass bead bracelet on left wrist; brass ring on left little finger; two steel rings on left ring finger; bead necklet ornamented with cowries.

3. Aged 35. Tattooed like the preceding, with
[531] the addition of an elaborate device of rings and dots on the back.

4. Aged 35. Linen bound round elbow joint, to
[301] prevent chafing of heavy brass armlets. Cicatrices of sores in front of elbow joint, produced by armlets.

5. Aged 23. Has one child. Tattooed only below calves, and above ankles.

141 The following are the more important physical measurements of the Toda men, whom I have examined:—

	Av.	Max.	Min.
	CM.	CM.	CM.
Stature	169·8	186·8	157·6
Cephalic length ...	19·4	20·4	18·2
Do. breadth ...	14·2	15·2	13·3
Do. index ...	73·3	81·3	68·7
Nasal height ...	4·7	4·9	4·6
Do. breadth ...	3·6	3·8	3·4
Do. index ...	74·9	79·9	70·

Allowing that the cephalic index is a good criterion of racial or tribal purity, the following analysis of the Toda indices is very striking:—

69 ◆◆
70 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
71 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

764 in quiet conversation, leaving the females to continue mourning round the corpse, interrupted from time to time by the arrival of detachments from distant mands, whose first duty was to salute the dead body. Meanwhile a near female relative of the dead child was busily engaged inside the hut, collecting together in a basket small measures of rice, jaggery, sago, honey-comb, and the girl's simple toys, which were subsequently to be burned with the corpse. The mourning ceasing after a time, the corpse was placed inside the hut, and followed by the near relatives, who there continued to weep over it.

764 782 A detachment of men and boys, who had set out in search of the buffaloes which were to be sacrificed, now returned driving before them three cows, which escaped from their pursuers to rejoin the main herd. A long pause ensued, and, after a very prolonged drive, three more cows were guided into a marshy swamp, where one of them was caught by the horns, and dragged reluctantly, but with little show of fight, to the strains of Kota drum and flute, in front of the hut, where it was promptly despatched by a blow on the poll. The corpse was now brought from within the hut, and placed, face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of the buffalo, whose neck was decorated with a silver [301] chain, such as is worn by Todas round the loins, as no bell was available, and the horns were smeared with butter. Then followed frantic manifestations of grief, amid which the unhappy mother fainted. Mourning 764 over, the corpse was made to go through a form of 588 ceremony, resembling that which is performed during pregnancy with the first child. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a certain grass [824] (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*) and a twig of a shrub

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment. [764]

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *än* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366). 837 764 [301]

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough". 648 837 [834] [684] [143]

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by
755
789

âth *ûvödin* *kati* *vaiumd.*
these all before tie keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 All the remedies so far described resemble one another
789 in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren.* The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *terg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. ~~It was~~ said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrsi and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

302 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described
754 it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 302 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing. [234]

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind. [753]

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used. 751

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism. 177 776 751

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi—i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo. 755 278 824

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

291
302

FIG. 61.—SHOWING METHODS OF WEARING THE TODA GARMENTS AND OF DOING THE HAIR.

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordina-
tion of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the
292 *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle;
and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the
palol, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvu*
made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be
limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a
survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this
or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is
an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of
the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed
clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these
people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that
the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is
little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last
century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when
crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his
appointment, and my guide, Kòdmer, although much younger
than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this
custom when he was with me.

Methods of Wearing the Hair

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of
which has its special significance. The ordinary method for
men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms
a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in
Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are
completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

302 765 rolls," and the second man in Fig. 61 is wearing his hair in this fashion, a girl of his clan having died not long before, whose second funeral ceremonies had not yet taken place.

302 782 Another method of wearing the hair is shown by the third man in Fig. 61. This method is called *mad nadrk vai*, "head (or hair) long to who." It is adopted by anyone who

FIG. 62.—TILIPA (12) WEARING HIS HAIR LONG ON ACCOUNT OF A VOW MADE AT A HINDU TEMPLE.

has made a vow. In Fig. 62 another man is shown in the same condition, but his head has a different appearance owing to the fact that he has tied two locks behind in order to keep the long hair away from his face. This tying back has no other significance.

302 Women wear their hair as shown in Figs. 3 and 11, in long ringlets, and there do not appear to be any differences in

302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgarsol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjánkudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mîkuti* (*? meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mîkuti*.

SKIN-MARKS

304 751 755 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered 304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

302

FIGS. 63 AND 64.—TO SHOW METHOD OF SHAVING THE HEAD OF A CHILD.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of a fruit called *tlpom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit called *puthimulpom*[1] is used for the same purpose. The yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks of the Hindus. 314 302 751 177

ORNAMENTS

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten. 301

The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Breeks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

[1] This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Taradr and Kanòdrs.

CHAP. III. ever find themselves, could have had an impression so great as to have left this permanent stamp on the Toda forehead.

The following description of the physical appearance of the Todas will, I trust, prove of some value.

Eyebrows. Horizontal, straight and of medium length; never short, sometimes long; approach each other. Sometimes fine—willow leaf—generally somewhat bushy, with hairs close and, amongst the women, soft like a beaver's.

Nose. Generally *narrow* and of medium height at the base; nasal bones broad at the lower end; long; superciliary ridge in both sexes often very strongly marked; sometimes aquiline, often nearly so, never *retroussé*. Rather fleshy; nostrils rather dilated, but sometimes long and fine. The nose rarely appears at perfection before mid-age.

Mouth. Somewhat fleshy; rather short upper lip, and rather protruding and pendant lower lip—often strikingly so, becoming more evident with advancing years.

Gums. Generally purple, but often of a bright, highly oxygenated red colour.

Teeth. Sometimes short and broad, in others long; nearly all are even, yellowish, but bright, with rounded edges, set in roomy but not large jaws. With some the teeth are set at intervals, spreading outwards like a fan. In a few cases they were found cramped and crushed together; in one or two instances the eye-teeth were prominent. The teeth last till old age.

Ears. Generally flat to the head, never standing out; long, and with a large fleshy lobe. The orifice is nearly on a line with the eyebrow.

Hair of head. In both sexes black and heavy; in some cases close and tolerably fine, in others as much separate as in a wig, and coarse; wavy rather than curly. Both men and women habitually cut their hair, the former to about the level of the nose, and the latter at the shoulder. There are two or three nearly bald men in the tribe, but no bald women.

CHAP. IV.

153 Toda blood may ever arise to influence the tribe, yet what they do know, they know well. They are intelligent within limits. Although they take contracted views of things, yet they work and act within the circumscribed limits of their mental vision with great steadiness, intelligence, and some sense.

124 153 I am indebted to the quick-wittedness and patience of both men and women, for the accuracy and definition of the information on the manners and customs of the tribe which I have been able to afford. I cannot present a stronger tribute to their frank and obliging communicativeness, than in stating that we made a habit of very close cross-questioning in tiny villages for three and four hours together. One woman well earned the title of Munshi, by telling us at a sitting the Toda words for the long list of relations given in Chapter VII. Notwithstanding the questions were often repeated, and many of them puzzling, she kept her head quite clear throughout, dexterously speaking with slowness and marked intonation, showing pointedly with tongue and teeth, how the syllables of the difficult words should be pronounced.

153 Though their brains became fatigued sooner than ours did, I doubt if they tired more quickly than would those of illiterate peasants in other parts of the world.

302 Travellers have affirmed that the Todas stain their skin by the use of a blue colour; but I have ascertained, both by personal inspection and by direct enquiry, that this statement is incorrect. Dark races are apt to have the skin in some portions of the body naturally of three or even four shades darker tint than in others, indeed often so strikingly dark as to give the impression that those parts had been stained. This peculiarity is nowhere more remarkable than in the nape of the neck. I have often observed it amongst the Sikhs, and it is quite apart from freckling or the effects of exposure. I noticed it so very much the case in one young woman, that I asked her if she had coloured it. The reply convinced me

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

that the practice of staining the skin is quite unknown to them. CHAP. IV.

They—the women—however, mark or tattoo portions of the body, terming it Gurtu. Dr. Shortt has recorded these marks so carefully, that I cannot do better than quote his own words:—'The women,' he writes, 'are tattooed about the arms, chest, and legs in the following manner: Three semicircles of dots on the outer side of each arm, each semicircle containing nine points; a double row of dots across the upper part of the chest, about an inch below the clavicle, each row consisting of thirty-six points, about the eighth of an inch apart, the rows themselves being one inch distant from each other. Those on the arms have an intervening space of two inches; two rows, containing eight or nine points each, on the shoulders, commencing in front where the lines on the chest terminate, and extending backwards to a point on a level with the superior semicircle on the arm; a solitary dot in the centre of the chin; two circular lines of dots on each leg, the upper circle containing twenty-five and the lower only twenty dots; and a row across the dorsum of each foot, numbering from nine to eleven points. The terminal point of each row is marked by a ring, the interlinear points being simple dots, frequently taking the form of squares.'[3]

The most characteristic personal ornament amongst them, is that carried by women; an extremely clumsy metal ring—Tulwaji—weighing sometimes as much as five pounds, which is carried on the upper part of the arm, and worn according to taste; sometimes one ring on each arm, or sometimes a pair on one arm, kept apart—so that the skin may not be pinched between them—by means of a slip of padding. These rings are often built half of copper, half of brass, so that one day they may be worn presenting the one metal, and another day turned to show the other. In order that the arm may be introduced into this ponderous mass of brass, the ring is cut

[3] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

Perhaps the ornaments, likely to be equally primitive with these armlets, are the heavy bunches of coiled iron wire or of little bits of the same metal, worn like charms from both waist and elbow. Very tasteless and heavy. 301

I do not see, in the form of their finger and ear rings, necklaces and girdles, anything deserving of remark. They do not appear to me to be especially characteristic of the Todas, but rather, just what they can purchase from the tribes surrounding them. The photographs of women, show the nature of necklace worn as marriage tokens. [439]

The nose and lips are never perforated or ornamented; nor are bangles for the ankles, or bells on the toes, worn. [304]

You may distinguish a boy from a girl by the mode in which the hair is cut. With the latter, the entire back-hair is kept short from infancy till the approach to marriageable age. The former have a band of hair cut short, or shaved, along the head, from the nape of the neck, over the poll to the top of the forehead, and a cross slip carried over the top of the head from ear to ear. The smallest male infants are often so distinguished. 302

The wearing apparel of the sexes is identical. First comes the loin-cloth—Kûvn—corresponding to the Hindustani Langoti, over which the toga—Putkuli—measuring about six feet long by four feet broad, made of coarse unbleached cotton, and worn double; ornamented at the two ends with red and blue stripes, and sometimes with a little embroidery in blue cotton. This mantle is sufficiently large to envelope a woman most completely. A decent though cumbersome garment to wear, better suited for sitting and sleeping in than for any purposes of labour. Pockets are made in the corners of the mantle, by sewing the double cloth together at those places. This dress is more properly Drâvidian than mere Toda, and is purchased in the bazaars. 291 439

They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises 000

 They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises

CHAP. IV.

515 from circumstances somewhat beyond their control; such as crowded establishments and poverty. They bathe their bodies in the running brook, and even sometimes use hot-water for the same purpose. Yet I do not remember to have seen a Putkuli fresh from a wash.

302 A pretty sight, that rewarded one of my expeditions, was a group of women and girls just returned from the stream, sitting, clean and bright, curling one another's hair. The locks were separated neatly, and the partings made accurately with the finger-nail. Each lock having been dressed straight, either with the fingers or a forked stick, is twisted and twisted until it has formed a tight coil, when the end is tucked in among the roots. The *well developed* female back-head looks remarkably pleasing under this treatment—unadorned, adorned the most. The curls are opened out in the morning.

The eyebrows are sometimes touched up with a charred stick from the fire-place; the fancy being to join them over the bridge of the nose.

If they would only not grease the hair with butter, I could close this description of the toilette without unpleasant reminiscences of some phrenologising experiences.

145 515 The mouth and teeth are often kept in wonderful order up to a late age. But they take care of them; using daily a little wood ash—not charcoal—and the forefinger, for dental purposes. I have seen people of all ages with teeth as bright, and mouths as fresh-looking as an infant's—or a dog's.

CHAP. XX.

764 The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in other respects they are identical.

The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the [172] ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of this meat.

765 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign 302 of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut their hair off.

764 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of 824 certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know. On showing samples of them, which had been collected for me by a young man, to a pâlâl, he swept them aside with his hand, implying that, compared with the tûde, which he treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
" white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
142 " fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 12·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe.*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
● 302 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
" readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
609 " been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
302 distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
157 at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to
609 consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing
sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-humour.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE VA.

142
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TODA WOMAN.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

142 The men are large in frame, tall and remarkably well-proportioned, with muscular, massive, and very hairy limbs and broad chests; a physique totally opposite in every respect to that of the dwellers in the plains. Their countenances are manly, open, and handsome, the features being unusually regular. They have luxuriant black beards, and, wearing no turban or covering on the head, display to full advantage their clustering bushy hair, the European look of which is increased by their practice of wearing it parted down the centre. In colour they are nearer brown than black; their lips are full rather than large, and their cheek-bones marked but not high. The eyes are large and intelligent, and the nose is elevated and arched. It is doubtless this combination of the distinguishing features of the white race, with an almost black complexion that gives them in part their peculiar aspect. Many of them have a very Jewish expression, but the general contour of the head and cast of countenance are rather such as we are accustomed to associate with the ancient Romans. This similitude is also enhanced by their stately carriage and flowing robe, the loose folds of which give them an appearance
291 best described by the term classic. This garment, in which the Toda envelopes himself, is of a thick coarse cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back and forward under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again, leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the lower part of the
293 person down to the knees. When herding their buffaloes, the men carry a thin straight rod or wand, about six feet in length, and this is the only approach to implement or weapon that they ever use.

142 The women are much lighter in hue than the men, the body being of a *café-au-lait* tint, and the face a shade darker. They are as a rule very pleasing in expression, and the young women, from fifteen to twenty, generally exceedingly good-looking. They are above the middle height, large in frame and well developed, though the hands and feet are very small. Their features are regular, the mouth not large, lips often thin, and the teeth even and beautifully white; the nose is straight, whilst the eyes are dark
302 and expressive. The most striking peculiarity about them is the arrangement of their fine glossy black hair, which is dressed in

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

ringlets precisely such as ladies in this country wore about 302 ●
twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and the long ringlets hang on either side of the oval face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life; the hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. The female dress on ordinary occasions consists 291
simply of a single robe similar to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand. This, as one very soon learns, generally constitutes the sole garment of the wearer, for the Toda women have a habit, even in the presence of strangers, of throwing open the mantle to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting it on the shoulders. Some of them indeed hardly take the trouble to hold it together in front at all, and this was especially the case at a *mund*, near Coonoor, which, as I was quartered in the immediate vicinity, I had frequently to pass. I 202
used to notice that the men watching their herds on the opposite heights, separated by a wide glen from where I was, would announce my coming by shouting across to the women at home, who were accordingly always on the *qui vive* at the roadside prepared to greet me with their usual begging cry *Enam Kurroo*, "give me a present." The way that these men carry on conversations with one another across wide intervening valleys, and apparently without effort, reminded me of the Kaffir herdsmen, every word of whose voices I have heard from hill-tops at distances that seemed incredible.

I have on occasions of ceremony seen the women with under- 292
clothing fastened round the middle in addition to the above 531
everyday costume. I may observe that they often embroider the corners of these robes with blue thread, and shew very considerable taste in the devices.

Neither slippers nor sandals are ever seen among them, men, 291
women, and children alike, going barefooted. The young children are generally pleasing in their appearance. I noticed that the 142
boys up to eight or ten years old are of the same light colour as the girls, the dark hue of later life being gradually developed with each year's exposure to the sun and mountain air until the age of manhood. It is to be noted, however, of the females that, though equally exposed to climatic influences, their complexions remain nearly the same all through life.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

opp. p. 32

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TODA WOMAN.

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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TODA.

[facing p. 121]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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TODA WOMAN.

[facing p. 123]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sālep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sālep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following:—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nīlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[244] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari:—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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TODA HUT.

[facing p. 127]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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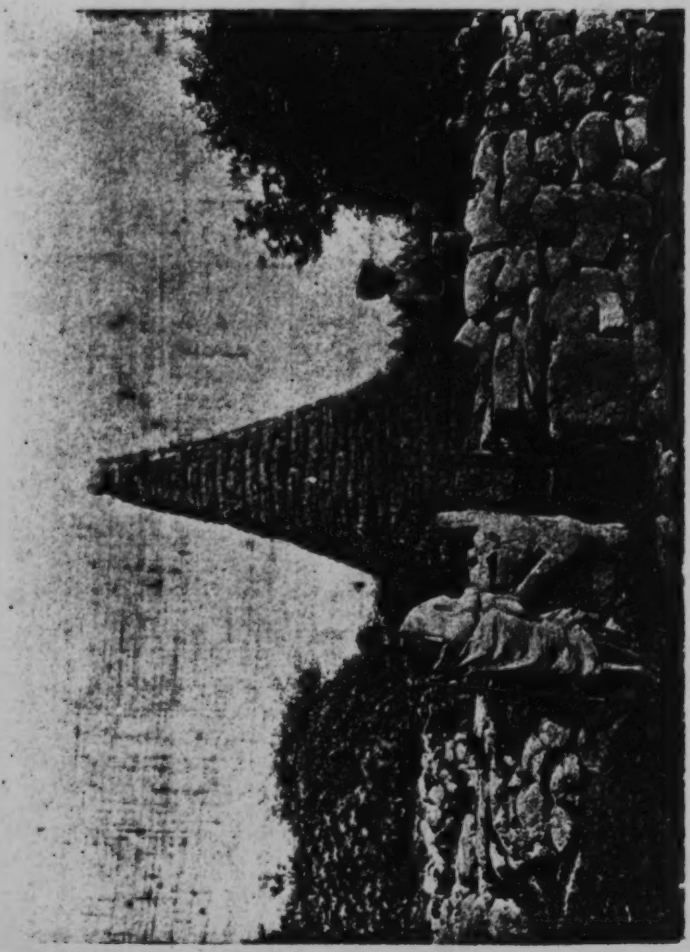

"TODA CATHEDRAL"

[facing p. 131]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

[791] etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
[197] "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
[302] A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[782] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[788] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[765] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

(7) Boy, aged 6. White spot painted between eyebrows. Hair shaved on top and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead. Hair brought forward in fringe over forehead on either side of median strip, and hanging down back of neck. 302

(8) Male child, aged 18 months. White spot painted between eyebrows. Shaved on top and sides of head. [531]

Todupuzha Vellāla.—For the following note, I am indebted to Mr. N. Subramani Aiyar. Besides the Nanchinād Vellālas, there are, in Travancore, two sections of the Vellāla caste, inhabiting the mountainous Todupuzha tāluk. These are the Tenkanchi and Kumbakōnam Vellālas. The former are known by the popular name of Anjuttilkar, or the five hundred, and the latter are designated Munnutilkar, or the three hundred, in reference to the number of families which originally settled in the taluk. Like the Nanchinād Vellālas, they take the title of Pillai, and, in special cases, the honorific prefix Kanakku.

The Tenkanchi Vellālas appear to have dwelt originally in the Tenkāsi taluk of the Tinnevelly district, and to have emigrated, as the legend goes, on account of the demand of a Vaduka ruler for the hand of a member of their community in marriage. The Vadakkumkur Rājas were ruling over Todupuzha at the time of their migration, and afforded them a safe asylum. The Kumbakōnam Vellālas believe that they emigrated to Travancore about the commencement of the Malabar era from Kumbakōnam in the Tanjore district. Both divisions speak Malayālam, but there are clear indications in their speech that their mother-tongue was once Tamil, and they always use that language in their ceremonial writings. The Anjuttilkar women have

Piṭḷdjnus (Pūldenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to pənus (Paners, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumɑɪ. The wives of these men were sinmiɪv (Sinmir) married to piṭḷdjnus, and pæɪrgṭḷj (Pergveli) married to pənus. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmiɪv would have called pæɪrgṭḷj grandmother (piɑfɑɪ). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmiɪv should have called pæɪrgṭḷj mimjɑɪ (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmiɪv's mother ocefḷj (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pæɪrgṭḷj, both being daughters of the same mother pənbuɪf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmiɪv called pæɪrgṭḷj mother (ɑfɑɪ).

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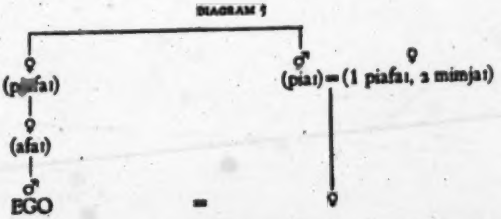
DIAGRAM 5



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piɑɪ) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumɑɪ). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piɑfɑɪ), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjɑɪ) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[14] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[15] an account of the rules regulating

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[14] *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.*

[15] Pp. 367-71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, 304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the 291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *putkuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103 No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
162 1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
621 2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes
● 302 stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet. 553 852 302

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf. 604 [616]

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner. [858]

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time. 304 796 [616] [793]

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their [604] [616] [413] [562]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

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Fig. 24. Karnoz.

Fig. 25. Nalsirwuf.

[p 300-B]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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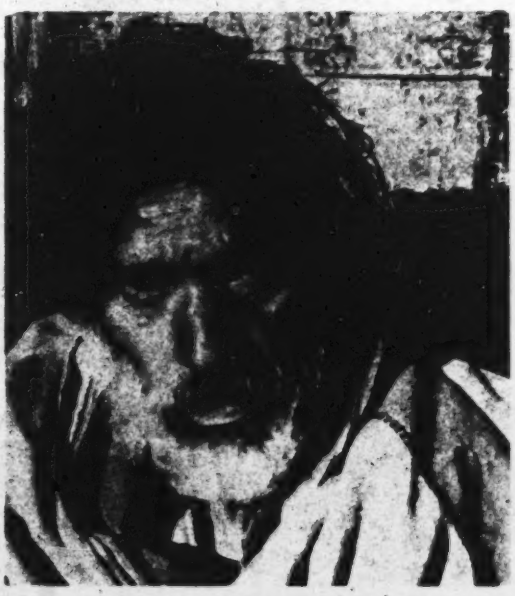

Fig. 26. Pads.

Fig. 27. Silidz.

[p 300-c]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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Fig. 28. Erzigwuf with Peteroan, Mutnarsh and the twins, Sodup and Sodam.

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Fig. 29. Kuddhue.

[p 300-D]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

Fig. 30. Munbokwutn.

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Fig. 31. Narjilkwutn.

[p. 300-E]

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Fig. 32. Pengelam.

Fig. 33. Mutmali, Nalsirwuf and Närshmali.

[P 300-F]

TODA AW 60
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To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

2196

To 302 524 have any except buffalo butter, which they rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To 595 582 472 Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To 595 583 592 The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgarsol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mîkuti* (? *meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mîkuti*.

SKIN-MARKS

304 751 755 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered 304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

304 man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well [752] above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pöturers*, is used to hasten the healing.

[755] Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *sunurkudi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

304 Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns 531 consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.[1]

304 I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory 521 information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

304 The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might under- 463 take the business. The following are at present recognised as 465 experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *utkòren*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

304 The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

[1] Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

that the practice of staining the skin is quite unknown to them. CHAP. IV.

They—the women—however, mark or tattoo portions of the body, terming it Gurtu. Dr. Shortt has recorded these marks so carefully, that I cannot do better than quote his own words:—'The women,' he writes, 'are tattooed about the arms, chest and legs in the following manner: Three semicircles of dots on the outer side of each arm, each semicircle containing nine points; a double row of dots across the upper part of the chest, about an inch below the clavicle, each row consisting of thirty-six points, about the eighth of an inch apart, the rows themselves being one inch distant from each other. Those on the arms have an intervening space of two inches; two rows, containing eight or nine points each, on the shoulders, commencing in front where the lines on the chest terminate, and extending backwards to a point on a level with the superior semicircle on the arm; a solitary dot in the centre of the chin; two circular lines of dots on each leg, the upper circle containing twenty-five and the lower only twenty dots; and a row across the dorsum of each foot, numbering from nine to eleven points. The terminal point of each row is marked by a ring, the interlinear points being simple dots, frequently taking the form of squares.'[3]

The most characteristic personal ornament amongst them, is that carried by women; an extremely clumsy metal ring—Tulwaji—weighing sometimes as much as five pounds, which is carried on the upper part of the arm, and worn according to taste; sometimes one ring on each arm, or sometimes a pair on one arm, kept apart—so that the skin may not be pinched between them—by means of a slip of padding. These rings are often built half of copper, half of brass, so that one day they may be worn presenting the one metal, and another day turned to show the other. In order that the arm may be introduced into this ponderous mass of brass, the ring is cut

[3] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Perhaps the ornaments, likely to be equally primitive with these armlets, are the heavy bunches of coiled iron wire or of little bits of the same metal, worn like charms from both waist and elbow. Very tasteless and heavy. 301

I do not see, in the form of their finger and ear rings, necklaces and girdles, anything deserving of remark. They do not appear to me to be especially characteristic of the Todas, but rather, just what they can purchase from the tribes surrounding them. The photographs of women, show the nature of necklace worn as marriage tokens. [439]

The nose and lips are never perforated or ornamented; nor are bangles for the ankles, or bells on the toes, worn. [304]

You may distinguish a boy from a girl by the mode in which the hair is cut. With the latter, the entire back-hair is kept short from infancy till the approach to marriageable age. The former have a band of hair cut short, or shaved, along the head, from the nape of the neck, over the poll to the top of the forehead, and a cross slip carried over the top of the head from ear to ear. The smallest male infants are often so distinguished. 302

The wearing apparel of the sexes is identical. First comes the loin-cloth—Kûvn—corresponding to the Hindustani Lungoti, over which the toga—Putkuli—measuring about six feet long by four feet broad, made of coarse unbleached cotton, and worn double; ornamented at the two ends with red and blue stripes, and sometimes with a little embroidery in blue cotton. This mantle is sufficiently large to envelope a woman most completely. A decent though cumbersome garment to wear, better suited for sitting and sleeping in than for any purposes of labour. Pockets are made in the corners of the mantle, by sewing the double cloth together at those places. This dress is more properly Drâvidian than mere Toda, and is purchased in the bazaars. 291 439

They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises 000

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

196 521 192 602 Thus aḍð–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also kɯ ʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nɑrtj–, "make walk," is permitted when ɯr, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb pɑtj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪtj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again ɑtvɑt is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way pɯn, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [841] [304] Similarly poɪθj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kɪpoṇt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 521 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ɑɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poʃjoɪʃ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

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[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

The typical Toda man is above medium height, well 142
proportioned and stalwart, with leptorhine nose, regular features, and perfect teeth. The nose is, as noted by Dr. Rivers, sometimes distinctly rounded in profile. An attempt has been made to connect the Todas with the lost tribes; and, amid a crowd of them collected together at a funeral, there is no difficulty in picking out individuals, whose features would find for them a ready place as actors on the Ober Ammergau stage, either in leading or subordinate parts. The principal characteristic, which at once distinguishes the Toda from the other tribes of the Nilgiris, is the development of the pilous (hairy) system. The following is a typical case, extracted from my notes. Beard luxuriant, hair of head parted in middle, and hanging in curls over forehead and back of neck. Hair thickly developed on chest and abdomen, with median strip of dense hairs on the latter. Hair thick over upper and lower ends of shoulder-blades, thinner over rest of back; well developed on extensor surface of upper arms, and both surfaces of forearms; very thick on extensor surfaces of the latter. Hair abundant on both surfaces of legs; thickest on outer side of thighs and round knee-cap. Dense beard-like mass of hair beneath gluteal region (buttocks). Superciliary brow ridges very prominent. Eyebrows united across middle line by thick tuft of hairs. A dense growth of long straight hairs directed outwards on helix of both ears, bearing a striking resemblance to the hairy development on the helix of the South Indian bonnet monkey (*Macacus sinicus*). The profuse hairy development is by some [826]
Todas attributed to their drinking "too much milk."

Nearly all the men have one or more raised cicatrices, 304
forming nodulous growths (keloids) on the right shoulder. These scars are produced by burning the skin

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[1] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[155] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda
elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-
gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr.
Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their
appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the
absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the
ground that they were too poor to afford the expense
of the operation, or that they were always suckling or
pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation
would not be free from danger. The dots and circles,
of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked
out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the
spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and
decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in
the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells
on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with
cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger;
silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes
of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

304 2. Aged 28. Tattooed with a single dot on chin;
[531] rings and dots on chest, outer side of upper arms, back of left hand, below calves, above ankles, and across dorsum of feet. Wears thread armlet ornamented with young cowries on right forearm; thread armlet and two
[301] heavy ornamental brass armlets on left upper arm; ornamental brass bangle and glass bead bracelet on left wrist; brass ring on left little finger; two steel rings on left ring finger; bead necklet ornamented with cowries.

3. Aged 35. Tattooed like the preceding, with
[531] the addition of an elaborate device of rings and dots on the back.

4. Aged 35. Linen bound round elbow joint, to
[301] prevent chafing of heavy brass armlets. Cicatrices of sores in front of elbow joint, produced by armlets.

5. Aged 23. Has one child. Tattooed only below calves, and above ankles.

141 The following are the more important physical measurements of the Toda men, whom I have examined:—

	Av. CM.	Max. CM.	Min. CM.
Stature	169·8	186·8	157·6
Cephalic length ...	19·4	20·4	18·2
Do. breadth ...	14·2	15·2	13·3
Do. index ...	73·3	81·3	68·7
Nasal height ...	4·7	4·9	4·6
Do. breadth ...	3·6	3·8	3·4
Do. index ...	74·9	79·9	70·

Allowing that the cephalic index is a good criterion of racial or tribal purity, the following analysis of the Toda indices is very striking:—

69 ◆◆
70 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
71 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, ●304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the 291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *pul-kuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103 No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
162 1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
621 2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet. 553 852 302

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf. 604 [616]

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner. [858]

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time. 304 796 [616] [793]

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their [604] [616] [413] [562]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertiilkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmel-pudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

THE VILLAGE AND THE HOUSE

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

177 233 423 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has 177 233 425 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land from the Todas. The sib of the mṇkitjo:ḷ (Rivers' Pām; for details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the [614] pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ṣo:ḷ and melga:ṣo:ḷ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu- [311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ṣo:ḷ sib, the other of the mṏṭo:ḷ sib, which had not been used for a number of years, [797] were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ṣo:ḷ sib were sold to Government [614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold [685] when the sib of the ka:ṣo:ḷ were in need of a large sum of money to settle paṛkumẹ's liability in the suicide of nṏrnmẹ. In general,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 351 361 417 the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

312 Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 487 562 In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another. 415

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

The Tarvali

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often 618 621

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its 124 essential accuracy. 234

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape 234 may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more 343 than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the 793 work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead 234 of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed 417 so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary 778 people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *piil*, and there is a special part of the *piil* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source 234 from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This 312 source is called *kwoinir*, and at Môdr, where there was a 778 *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mubadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tulk-kadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Ödr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
778 sacred than Kuudr.

It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in
[342] which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in
621 number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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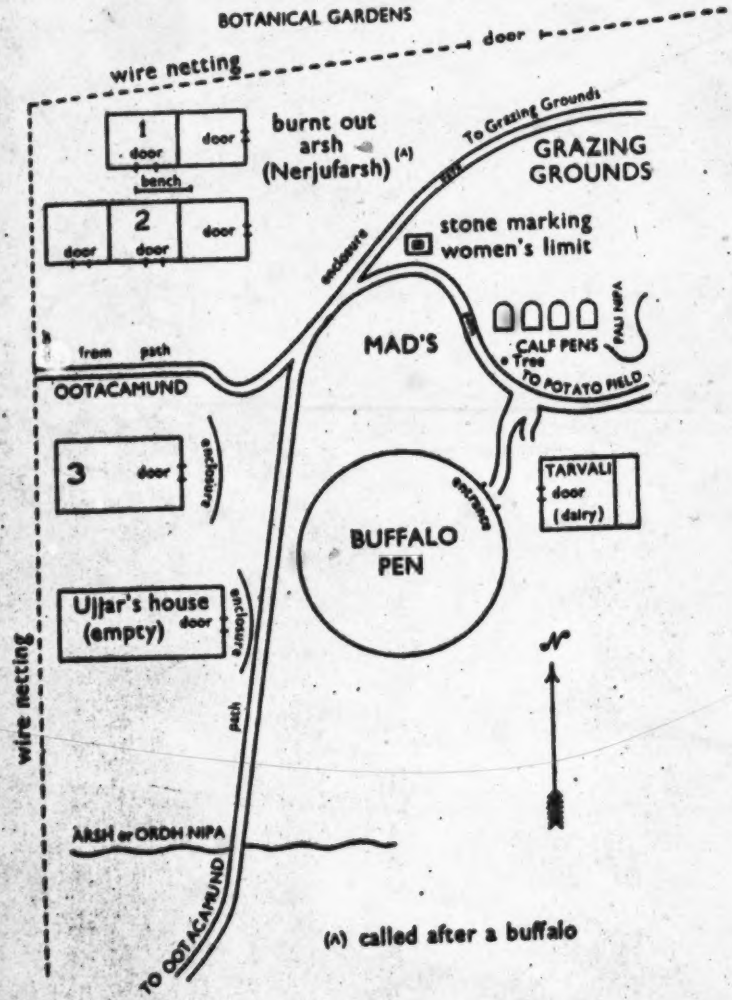

(A) called after a buffalo

Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mad*.

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary [793] village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

●813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over
372 small firewood the people place several logs about three feet in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pohvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf-- the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony--Analyst]

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
421 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt; indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
651 an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

● 313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{7}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket*, *nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kīri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kīri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions. 234 778

There were several points of interest about the lamps used to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspoh*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *önavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*ponnol*), and on most days only one is used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is butter. 234 354 [314] [177]

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *tòrathkwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

234 314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kòli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*.

It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day.

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*Oñ*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday.

The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrsum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *idrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x 292 793 ordinarily called *pennar*, but is now called *kerk*, and this part of the ceremony is called *kerkatiti*. The fact that this name is given seems to indicate that properly the complete garment should not be given till a later stage of the proceedings.

234x 793 The candidate then finds seven leaves called *muliers* and seven shoots or *nan* of the same plant and goes through exactly the same ceremony at the stream as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*, putting the shoots in his back hair at the end. This part of the ceremony is called *mulinirôditi*, and its object is to make the candidate a *palikartmokh* as a step towards becoming *wursol*. He is taken through the lower degree on his way to the higher.

After *mulinirôditi* the candidate goes to the wall of the [372] dairy and stands outside it. The *palikartmokh* brings a firebrand from the dairy and lights with it a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself. The firebrand must be one of the three following kinds—*kid*, *pasôr* or *kiaz*. ●[314] After warming himself, the candidate goes to fetch bark of the *tudr* tree, which must not be cut, but knocked off with a stone. He also brings seven perfect *tudr* leaves, and goes again to the dairy stream. He pounds the bark on a stone and dips it in water, squeezes the water into one of the *tudr* leaves, drinks, throws over his head and puts the bark on one side exactly in the same way as before, but using *tudr* bark and leaves instead of the shoots and leaves of *muli*. After doing this seven times he dips the pounded bark in water, sprinkles his head and face three times, puts the bark in his hair, and, going a little way off, shakes his head.

The candidate then goes again to find bark and leaves of *tudr*, and repeats the whole ceremony and continues to repeat it till he has done it seven times—*i.e.*, he drinks out of the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. After this he goes to the wood near the stream (at Kars, called Tarskars) and the *palikartmokh* comes to him there with the *ertatpun* filled with buttermilk, and with four leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. Two leaves are given to the candidate and two kept by the dairyman, and each folds the leaves in the usual way to make a cup (*ersteiti*). The dairyman then puts the *ertatpun* between his

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of a fruit called *tlpom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit called *puthimulpom*[1] is used for the same purpose. The yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks of the Hindus. 314 302 751 177

ORNAMENTS

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten. 301

The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Breeks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

[1] This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Taradr and Kanòdrs.

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrznm*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kôli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*.

234 314 322 415

It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day.

793

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*Oñ*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday.

234 412 415 783

The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrzum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *idrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

000 think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'[1]

322 Our friends appear to *dream* buffalo. Sitting, apparently
532 'thinking of nothing at all,' a man will pick up a bit of cane or forked twig from the ground, and like the typical Yankee is supposed to whittle a stick while he speculates, so the Toda will employ himself for an hour at a time, splitting his bit of cane or rounding the little branches of his twig into the likeness of buffalo horns, as he muses. Children may be seen coming in from cattle-driving, with strings of these small horns. And these treasures are found lying about their houses and haunts. Two of them are shown in Photograph No. 15.

182 In the history of most, if not of all nations, savage and
771 civilised alike, we may trace the alliance, more or less intimate,
234 of religion, in its various rites and performances, with food; in its nature, source, or care, or in the occasions or symbols of its use. This correlation is certainly a marked feature in Toda customs. Though the Todas have no actual religion or system of faith leading to the performance of duties to a God, yet they hold to certain practices and certain habits in daily life, which are to them in the place of a religion; being performed with all the strictness and certainty that should be bestowed on sacred observances.

234 These performances or habits are intimately allied with
778 the care and distribution of the *divine fluid*—milk. The buffalo is to a certain degree held sacred, as being the

[1] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 21.

843 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[593] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes [322] a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhvākham.*
„ Muttinâd „ *Pirzhirzhk.*
„ Kodanâd „ *Kurrkduvirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgārāff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmūl* and *Shāstra.* One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow*† *we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

796 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, 551 in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordzai Kēdu*), which takes place 765 soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvenāli Kēdu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

[301]

* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Menu, iii. 33.

[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 9:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

285 445 No. V.—*Melari* (ಮೆಳರಿ). Four baskets, of sizes, to hold grain, made by Todas and Kotas of bamboo and ratan. Annas 10.

322 445 No. VI.—*Pon* (ಪೊನ್). Two milk vessels, of sizes, for milk and curds, made by Todas and Badagas from bamboo joints, with handle and binding of ratan. 8 annas.

No. VII.—*Wak* (ವಾಕ್). Drinking vessel size of a pint, made by Todas and Badagas of small bamboos and bound with ratan. 1 anna.

000 No. VIII.—*Kuarsh*. Walking sticks, two of bamboo, two of jungle wood.

No. IX.—Four pairs of rings worn by Toda men and women. Rings made by Kotas. Rupees 4, 10 annas.

526 No. X.—*Sticks* and "*Ost*" used in the game *Ilāta*. *See* page 7.[1] Made by Toda men. *Gratis*.

[1] [Errata: See p. 10 -- Analyst]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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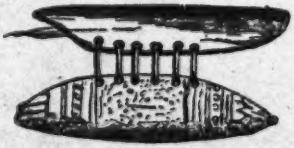
No. XI.—Toda club (ornamented as used at a funeral ceremony). *See* Plate XI. Made by the Todas of the Hali tree. Rupee 1.

301

No. XII.—Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

293

No. XIII.—Silver box, end opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the *tharp* with a string, or sometimes a silver chain. Silver, got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.



301

No. XIV.—*Tiladdi.* Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2½ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

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283

No. XV.—Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women. Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklaces called *Kechund.* Red beaded necklaces called *Nerballi.* Annas 4.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 x
796

from the rest by knocking their backs three times with the dung and stick. At the Kars *ti* two buffaloes are separated in this way; at the Nòdrs *ti* five buffaloes are set apart, one of each kind, three by the *ti palol*, and two by the *wars palol*. These buffaloes are known as *ponir*. The dairy is then purified with the dung and water. The *irpasthkakul* is laid on one side, and the *palol* puts salt in the basket called *ponmukeri*, and takes it with the water-vessel called *karpun* to the place where salt is to be given, taking also the remaining sprigs of *puthimul* and a bundle of fern.

[323
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At the place for the ceremony there is a stone called *ponkars* (when there are two *palol* there will be two stones), and at the stone the *palol* makes a vessel of clay and water so as to resemble a milking-vessel. This clay vessel is called *teukwoi* (*teu*, god, and *kwoi*, milking-vessel).

The *palol* then takes two perfect *tudr* leaves, and fastens them together with the petioles of other leaves, so that they form a cup which is called *piivup*. Salt is placed in this leaf vessel, which is laid down by the side of the *teukwoi*. One such vessel is made for each buffalo, two at the Kars *ti* and five at the Nòdrs *ti*.

The *palol* then takes the stick called *kwarkul*, and with it makes a hole in the middle of each *teukwoi*, saying (at the Kars *ti*) "*antok teukwoi úrlj, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* make hole, O *palol!*"). He then makes other holes round the sides of the clay vessel, saying the names of the other gods in the same manner. (At the Kars *ti* those which have already been given. At the Nòdrs *ti* the names of five gods are mentioned—Anto, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi, Kuladrvan, and Kuzkarv.) Two pieces of *tudr* bark and a sprig of *puthimul* are then placed in each hole, saying for the first, "*Antok teukwoi et, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* put, O *palol!*"), and this is repeated with the name of a different god for each hole.

Next the *palol* takes the stick called *parkul*, which has a sharpened end, and makes small holes called *upunkudi* as in the *mòrup* ceremony. At the Kars *ti* only two *upunkudi* are made; at the Nòdrs *ti* one *palol* makes three and the other two holes. *Tudr* bark is thrown three times into the holes and into the water of the spring. Water is taken from the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koòtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 178

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with gress and bamboo, fastened with split rattan, and are either constructed in curved outline like the tilt of a waggon, or brought to an angle at the top, with a wooden ridge-pole, similar to the form of construction met with in more civilised life. The first method of roofing—which is peculiar, not being found amongst any of the surrounding tribes—is that universally employed amongst the well-to-do. The latter, which is probably cheaper, and certainly more simple to make, but endures less the violence of storms, is ordinarily adopted by poor people, and for houses of a temporary nature requiring to be erected in a hurry.

CHAP. VI.

335 342 556

The two end walls, which are invariably gabled, are made of very stout planking: and where the house consists of more than one room, the partition wall is of the exact same construction as the outer walls. The side walls, in the tilt-waggon houses, are formed by carrying the roof down to the ground, in which the ends of the curved bamboo rafters are all imbedded. At the line of junction with the earth, flat stones are used in order to throw the water off from the domicile. All the interstices and holes in the planking are carefully filled in with clay, mixed with cow-dung.

342 [335] [355] [333]

The doorway, presenting the appearance of a ship's port-hole, and about two cubits high by one and a half cubits broad, is to be found in the middle of the gable wall, when there is only one room to the house: if there are two or three rooms, the second and third doors will be found in the sides, so arranged that all the doors may be to leeward; usually the south or south-east. These doorways, which are closed at night with a flat stone or solid slab of wood, kept in place by a stick thrust vertically into the floor at either side of the opening, form the only passage for the household, and for light, smoke, and air.

[414]

The roof projects two cubits beyond the gable walls; thus forming a pleasant open verandah facing the morning sun, and sheltered from the wind. Here the primitive family sit,

CHAP. VI.

originated in any defensive project, whether as protection from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals. Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

351 361 417

417 234 In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm[1] Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

[343] The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

333 417 Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shri becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

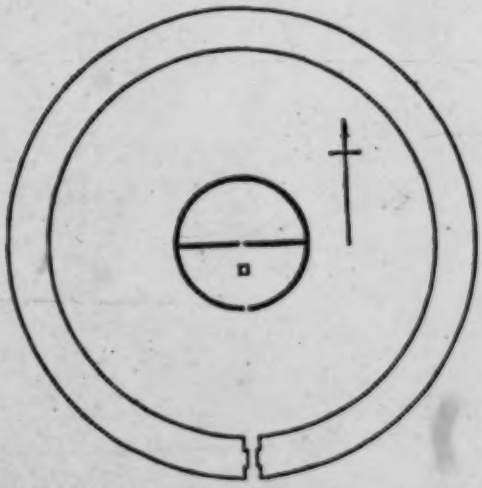
1 [letters did not reproduce here in the original text --Analyst]

CHAP. XIX.

346 The appearance of the building is as follows; a conical thatched roof on a circular wall of very stout planking. The wall about four cubits high. The whole edifice some fourteen
351 or fifteen cubits tall and six cubits in diameter. At a distance
333 of approximately six cubits, the temple is surrounded by a massive wall of uncut stone, put together without cement, two cubits broad and three in height.

346 I have represented in the sketch the wall as partially
351

No. 20.



CONICAL TEMPLE—BOATH.

thrown down, with a view to displaying the entire building, but in reality the circuit of the wall is complete.

346 The apex of the cone is crowned with a large stone, placed there apparently with the object—however inadequate the conception—of steadying the roof, or perhaps excluding rain from that weak point.

000 Some days subsequent to this visit, selecting a dark night for the purpose, and accompanied by a friend—who, I had better at once state, was not the reverend companion who has

342 *kimakol*, but I do not know if this implies any rule as to the orientation of the houses.

The method of building is illustrated by Fig. 66, which 341 shows a hut only partially built. Certain Todas have special 335 reputations as architects, and the most famous of these at the present time is Kijievan (50), who superintended the building of the hut at Kiudr shown in Fig. 7, the most spacious and artistic of the strictly Toda dwellings which I saw on the

FIG. 66.—TO SHOW A STAGE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A HUT.

hills. Especial care is often taken with the arrangement of the rattan on the front of the hut, which is shown in Fig. 20. This is a picture of a dairy, but it shows the arrangement which is also found in the best of the houses.

343 The hut used for the seclusion of women before and after childbirth is a rough structure of wood and thatch, but its name, *puthars*, means "mud house," which suggests that huts made of earth may at one time have been used by the Todas.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and bamboo, fastened with split rattan, and are either constructed in curved outline like the tilt of a waggon, or brought to an angle at the top, with a wooden ridge-pole, similar to the form of construction met with in more civilised life. The first method of roofing—which is peculiar, not being found amongst any of the surrounding tribes—is that universally employed amongst the well-to-do. The latter, which is probably cheaper, and certainly more simple to make, but endures less the violence of storms, is ordinarily adopted by poor people, and for houses of a temporary nature requiring to be erected in a hurry.

CHAP. VI.

335 342 556

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342 [335] [355] [333]

The doorway, presenting the appearance of a ship's port-hole, and about two cubits high by one and a half cubits broad, is to be found in the middle of the gable wall, when there is only one room to the house: if there are two or three rooms, the second and third doors will be found in the sides, so arranged that all the doors may be to leeward; usually the south or south-east. These doorways, which are closed at night with a flat stone or solid slab of wood, kept in place by a stick thrust vertically into the floor at either side of the opening, form the only passage for the household, and for light, smoke, and air.

[414]

The roof projects two cubits beyond the gable walls; thus forming a pleasant open verandah facing the morning sun, and sheltered from the wind. Here the primitive family sit,

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. " A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
[335] " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
513 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
" on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
415 " of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
" a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Manê*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Manê*.

342 *kimakol*, but I do not know if this implies any rule as to the orientation of the houses.

341 The method of building is illustrated by Fig. 66, which shows a hut only partially built. Certain Todas have special
335 reputations as architects, and the most famous of these at the present time is Kijievan (50), who superintended the building of the hut at Kiudr shown in Fig. 7, the most spacious and artistic of the strictly Toda dwellings which I saw on the

FIG. 66.—TO SHOW A STAGE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A HUT.

hills. Especial care is often taken with the arrangement of the rattan on the front of the hut, which is shown in Fig. 20. This is a picture of a dairy, but it shows the arrangement which is also found in the best of the houses.

343 The hut used for the seclusion of women before and after childbirth is a rough structure of wood and thatch, but its name, *puzhars*, means "mud house," which suggests that huts made of earth may at one time have been used by the Todas.

TO 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

TO 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

TO 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

FIG. 5.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADE, SHOWING TWO DAIRIES IN THE FOREGROUND AND THREE HOUSES IN THE BACKGROUND.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

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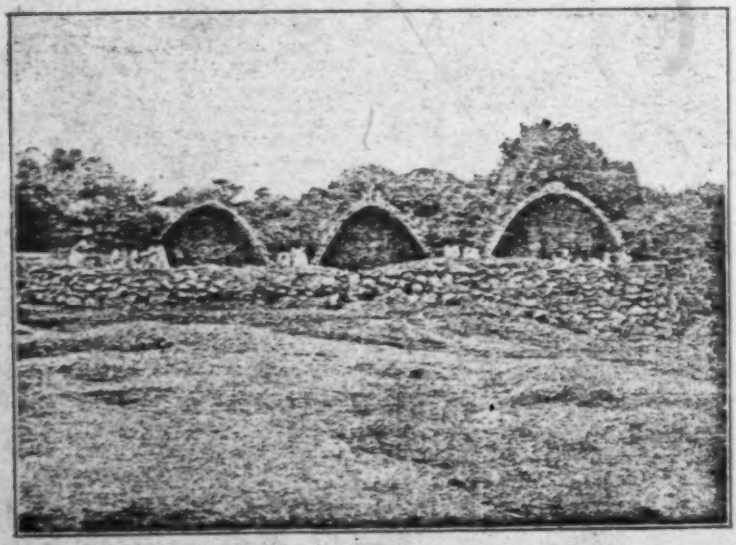

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FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

211 out by the dairyman, and when going for this purpose they
363 must keep to the *majvatitthkalvol.* This path is sometimes
562 indicated by a stone, the *majvatitthkars*, and the spot where the women stand to receive the buttermilk is called the *majvatvaiidrn.*

At many villages there are other stones which have definite

[342]

FIG. 7.—THE CHIEF HOUSE OF THE VILLAGE OF KIUDR.

names and mark the sites where certain ceremonial functions are performed.

342 The house is called *ars*, and is of the kind shown in Fig. 7. It is shaped like half a barrel, with the barrel-like roof and sides projecting for a considerable distance beyond the front partition containing the door. The size of the hut is by no means constant; in some cases it is sufficiently roomy to enable people to move about with ease and comfort, while in others it is so small that it is unbearably stuffy, and the smoke from the fire, which is always burning, makes it difficult to believe that anyone can long live in it. The entrance to

342 the hut is always very small, and is closed by a door which slides over the opening on its inner side.

Some houses are much longer than others, with a door at each end and a central partition, so as to form a double hut which is called *epotirikhthars*, *i.e.*, "both-ways-turned house." This kind of hut did not seem to be common, and I only saw three or four examples, of which one is shown in Fig. 8.

A much more common kind of double hut is called *merkalars*, *i.e.*, "other-side house," in which the back part of the hut is partitioned off, with a door at one side.

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FIG. 8.—THE VILLAGE OF PEIVÒRS, SHOWING A DOUBLE HUT (IN THE BACKGROUND). THE TWO BUILDINGS ON THE LEFT ARE DAIRIES, AND THE STRUCTURE IN THE CENTRE IS A CALF-HOUSE.

166 In some Toda villages there may now be found huts of the
177 same kind as those of the Badagas. In the cases in which I
342 found such huts, I was told that they had been built by Badagas who had lived in the villages while the Toda occupants were away. Todas may also occasionally be found living away from their own villages, usually near tea plantations. They do this because there is a demand for buffalo manure at the plantations, and when living in this way they not uncommonly use huts of the Badaga pattern.

342 In front of the hut on either side of the door there are
352 usually raised seats called *kwottün*, and there are similar

342 raised portions, called *tün*, within the huts on which the people
352 sleep. The floor of the hut is divided into two parts, which are marked off from one another by the hole in which grain is pounded by the women. The part in front of this is often used for churning, and with this part women have nothing to do, their operations being limited to the hinder part.

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FIG. 9.—A TODA MAN, SIRIAR (20), WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILD, SHOWING THE ORDINARY METHOD OF WEARING THE 'PUTKULI.'

There is little difference between the dress of men and women. Each wears a mantle called the *putkuli*, which is worn thrown round the shoulders without any fastening. Under it is worn a loin-cloth called *tadrp*, and the men also wear a perineal band called *kuvn*, corresponding to the Hindu *languti*. The *kuvn* is kept in position by a string round the waist called *pennar*, a string which, we shall see later, is of considerable ceremonial importance.

There are various ways of wearing the cloak which will be

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas have two kinds of fireplace, the waskal, consisting of three stones, and the *kudrvars*, with four stones. 354
The former is found in the dwelling-hut, in the *wurruli*, and in the *ti* dairy, and the latter in the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*; but I did not discover why the more sacred dairies should have the same kind of fireplace as the house. According to one account *waskal* is the name used by the Teivaliol and *kudrvars* by the Tartharol, and it may be that this is the explanation of the apparent anomaly.

THE HOUSE

Various parts of the house have definite names, and may 342
only be used for certain purposes. As we have already seen, 352
there are raised seats both outside and inside the house, the latter being used as beds. These are made of earth, the upper surface of which is made level, and the whole is usually well coated with a layer of dried buffalo-dung, sometimes nearly half an inch thick. The general name for these raised parts is *tün*, the seats outside the building on either side of the door being called *kwottün*, while the bed on the right side of the interior is the *meitün*, and that on the left side the *kitün*. The part of the hut where the bed or beds stand is called the *idrtul*.

The floor is called *kuter*, and this is divided into two parts by the hole in which the women pound the grain. The part near the door is called *kikuter*, and it is in this part only that dairy operations may be carried on. The part behind the pounding hole is especially assigned to the women and is called *meilkuter*.[1]

The end wall, on which various objects, such as sticks, are kept is called *tashten*, and the fireplace, usually on one side, is called *waskal*. The part above the fireplace where firewood is kept is called *waskalkübi*, and the place of the cooking vessels is called *adikudi*. The western side of the hut is 342
sometimes called the *meilmakol*, and the eastern side the

[1] It might have been expected that the part of the floor near the door used for the dairy operations would be the *meilkuter*, but it is not so. *Meil* also means 'west,' and the explanation may be connected with this.

342 *kimakol*, but I do not know if this implies any rule as to the orientation of the houses.

341 The method of building is illustrated by Fig. 66, which shows a hut only partially built. Certain Todas have special 335 reputations as architects, and the most famous of these at the present time is Kijievan (50), who superintended the building of the hut at Kiudr shown in Fig. 7, the most spacious and artistic of the strictly Toda dwellings which I saw on the

FIG. 66.—TO SHOW A STAGE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A HUT.

hills. Especial care is often taken with the arrangement of the rattan on the front of the hut, which is shown in Fig. 20. This is a picture of a dairy, but it shows the arrangement which is also found in the best of the houses.

343 The hut used for the seclusion of women before and after childbirth is a rough structure of wood and thatch, but its name, *puzhars*, means "mud house," which suggests that huts made of earth may at one time have been used by the Todas.

177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
● 342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the
621 practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when
the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors
build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes
the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general
they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper
kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas
seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as
437 having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very
definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On
the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's
sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes
from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said
to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously
given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature
of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga
influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost
certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV),
and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I
think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special
reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *u:kòren*
278 (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the
more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely
borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
762 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by
opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Ôdr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
778 sacred than Kuudr.

[342] It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Frontispiece

342

N°1

CHAP. VI. the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

The roofs of all houses are thatched with gress and bamboo, fastened with split rattan, and are either constructed in curved outline like the tilt of a waggon, or brought to an angle at the top, with a wooden ridge-pole, similar to the form of construction met with in more civilised life. The first method of roofing—which is peculiar, not being found amongst any of the surrounding tribes—is that universally employed amongst the well-to-do. The latter, which is probably cheaper, and certainly more simple to make, but endures less the violence of storms, is ordinarily adopted by poor people, and for houses of a temporary nature requiring to be erected in a hurry.

CHAP. VI.

335 342 556

The two end walls, which are invariably gabled, are made of very stout planking: and where the house consists of more than one room, the partition wall is of the exact same construction as the outer walls. The side walls, in the tilt-waggon houses, are formed by carrying the roof down to the ground, in which the ends of the curved bamboo rafters are all imbedded. At the line of junction with the earth, flat stones are used in order to throw the water off from the domicile. All the interstices and holes in the planking are carefully filled in with clay, mixed with cow-dung.

342 [335] [355] [333]

The doorway, presenting the appearance of a ship's port-hole, and about two cubits high by one and a half cubits broad, is to be found in the middle of the gable wall, when there is only one room to the house: if there are two or three rooms, the second and third doors will be found in the sides, so arranged that all the doors may be to leeward; usually the south or south-east. These doorways, which are closed at night with a flat stone or solid slab of wood, kept in place by a stick thrust vertically into the floor at either side of the opening, form the only passage for the household, and for light, smoke, and air.

[414]

The roof projects two cubits beyond the gable walls; thus forming a pleasant open verandah facing the morning sun, and sheltered from the wind. Here the primitive family sit,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VI.

air themselves, and perform various offices of a domestic and social (entomological) nature.

342 The people have been at much pains to exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings: and were it not for cracks, caused by the contraction of the material of which they are constructed, their rooms might have been rendered quite uninhabitable. As primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, have far more to fear from cold than from heat, these 'beehives' are, on the whole, well adapted for comfort and for the preservation of infant life.

I think that when these houses were originally built, they were designed with one room only. I judge so, partly from the Toda name for a house and for a room being identical, and in part from the symmetrical arrangement of the door and verandah; also, from noticing that the second and third doors at the side, appear like an after-thought, out of keeping with the original design, and holding awkward positions in a house whose roof is continuous to the ground. I deduce from these appearances that their numbers have increased since they first established themselves where we now find them.

It may be interesting to my readers to be able to form an idea of the mode in which the very small area of a savage's house is utilised for cooking, eating, and sleeping purposes.

342 Be it remembered that the room is 8 ft. long, 8 ft. broad,
356 and 8 ft. high; and that, as Chapter X. shows us, as many as
372 eight people board and lodge in this diminutive space. The
352 plan (No. 11) which, without any deviation, is that of every
252 Toda dwelling, shows the mode in which room is economised. Against the walls, at a convenient height over both store and fire-place, slips of split cane are fastened vertically, so as to form slings; into which firewood is neatly inserted, and in which it rapidly dries. The women are careful to keep a supply of dry wood in this manner: hence they are able to cook without making much smoke, using as they do, with a skill that seems to be the common property of all the natives of India, only one or two little sticks at a time.

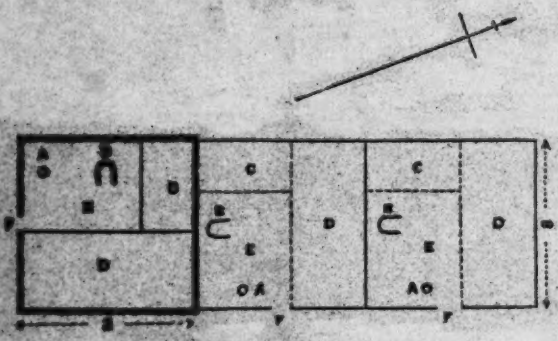
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces, by a low enclosure wall—Tûar[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 5 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Tûal. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Dravidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shri becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[See p. 62 -- Analyst]

CHAP. X.

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TABLE No. III. *Census.*

Mands		Houses					Inhabitants													
							Male					Female						Particulars regarding Inhabitants	Remarks M = Mands I = Inhabitants
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Grand Total		
Diljâvenu	Karikall	3	3	2	1	6	—	3	3[1]	4	10	1[2]	2	—	6[2]	9	19	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairyman. 3. Two of 12 years of age.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakhodi	Kakhodi	2	2	1	1	4	—	3[1]	—	2	5	—	2[2]	—	—	2	7	1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married: hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north. I. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Beresthro	Karrsthro	2	1	1	—	2	—	4[1]	—	3	7	—	4[2]	—	1	5	12	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.
Kosna-hour	Kosna-korrdi	3	2	1	—	3	—	4	3[1]	3	10	—	4[2]	1[2]	1[2]	6	16	1. Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.
Ebgodu	Ebgodu	4	3	1	1	5	1[1]	4[2]	4[2]	3	12	1[2]	4[2]	—	6[2]	11	23	1. About 85 years. Admitted to this Mand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 16 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 75 years of age. 5. One in	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant

Bingldu	Bingldu	4	2	1	—	3	2[1]	4	2[2]	6	14	2[2]	4	—	4[1]	10	24	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 22, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	M. Much exposed, but well drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Karakk	Kandal	5	3	2	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	2	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Mhamodd	Mardini	3	3	1	1	5	1[1]	6[2]	1[2]	3	11	2[1]	6	—	4	19	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Keshkir	Kakheri	3	2	1	—	3	—	6[2]	1[2]	5	12	—	6[2]	—	3	9	21	2. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 15. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Poor. A girl squints. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Kirzho	Kundetro	2	1	1	—	2	—	2	1[1]	2	5	1[1]	2	—	1[1]	4	9	1. A dairyman, 15 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south and east. I. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.
Nelkarsk	Manchakdll	4	3	1	—	4	1[1]	1	1[2]	1	6	—	3[2]	—	1[2]	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Dairyman aged 15. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and vigorous. Comfortable.
		35	25	23	4	42	5	49	22	36	112	7	47	1	29	84	196		

CHAP. X.
162
601
342
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572

CHAP. X.

6. We find there to be 49 undoubtedly married men, and 47 married women.

If this ratio was strictly true, I should be in a position to announce that the practice of polyandry had become extinct. But if to these 49 men, we add the 12 who are married *de facto*, we get 61 husbands for the 47 wives, or the proportion of 100:77. Such, in my belief, is the existing state of polyandry in the tribe—formerly, the discrepancy was perhaps as much as 100:40.

7. The total of the Table gives a return of 196 people; from whom, if we deduct the 10 dairymen who live apart, we find that 186 people, of both sexes and all ages, live in 35 rooms, the dimensions of which we know to be 8ft. by 8ft. each; or 5·3 persons, on an average, in each of such rooms. Such is the average domiciliary condition of the tribe. But in village Mênmadd, 23 are shown to be living in 3 rooms, or 8 in some rooms.

If such be the custom of the people when in a state of health, we can scarcely form a conception of their miserable plight when epidemics arise: but we can at once comprehend how fatal any form of contagious disease is too sure to become, if it obtains a footing in the homesteads of any primitive race. Let this essential condition of savage life make a deep impression on our minds, if we would realise any one of the numerous forms of suffering, hardship, or disaster, to which our forefathers must all, from time to time, have been exposed. Rapidly as intelligence spreads amongst civilised nations in these modern days, through the quick interchange of ideas; we may feel very confident, that in the retirement of mountains, swamps, and jungles, at an era when all mankind was young and inexperienced; isolated tribes each gaining their separate knowledge through means of the repeated hard knocks to which their own ignorance of the working of natural laws had rendered them liable, must have undergone the severest trials.

A perusal of the column in Table No. 3, which affords

1 [See pp 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

A perusal of the column in Table No. 3[2] which affords

162 342 511 592

particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

161 162 127

I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

162 621

6. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tiriêri Mand described—Names of Tiriêri—We visit the Tiriêri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

CHAP. XVI.

343 A tiriêri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and
234 kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi,
342 in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tiriêris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth Kudar
Mâr Markush
Puzhash.

361 And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in
621 Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and even triplicates, so these tiriêri Mands have also their corre-
221 sponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII, on the Bell-gods.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

CHAP. XVII.

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773
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Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[8] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiriêri; the holy of holies, already described.

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778
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In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

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[8] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master* or *superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XVII.

234 843 342

lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

234 778 621

It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, êtud Mands should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mands, and why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an êtud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu[6] or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet

[6] Kurpu. Drâvidian. Tamil has kuri = *indicate, point out.* Kurippu

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. " A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
" tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
342 " of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
325 " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
513 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
" on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
415 " of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
" a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

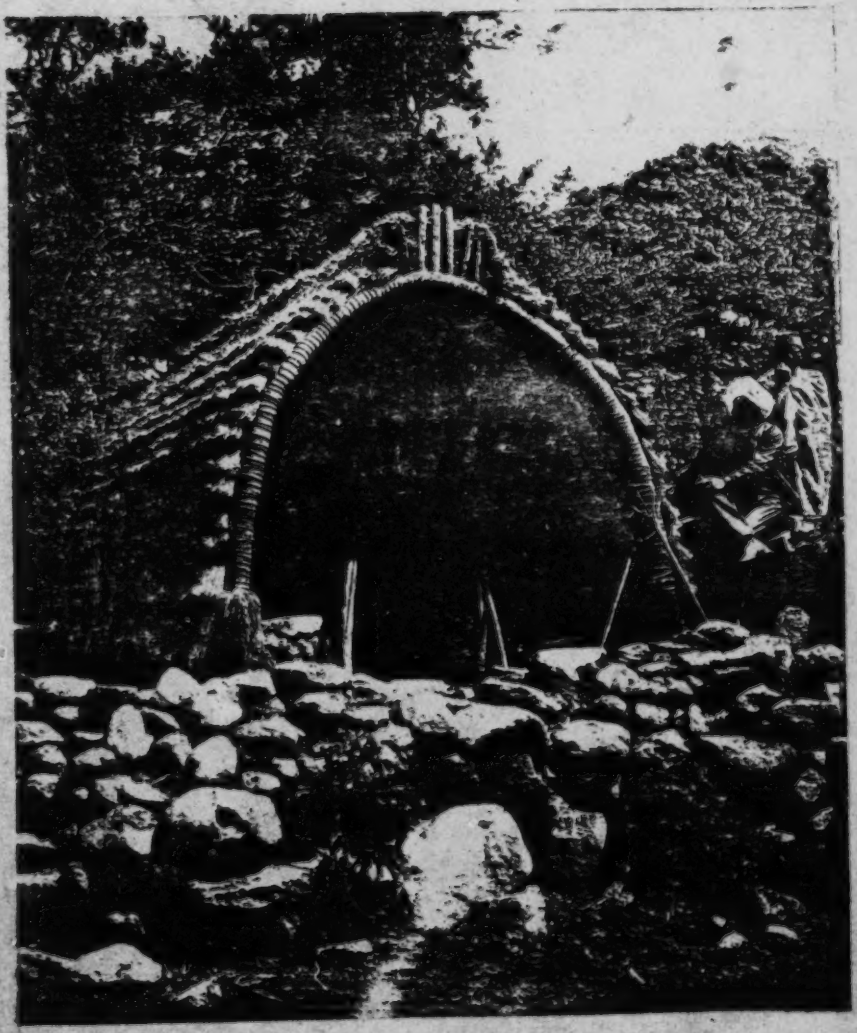
621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Mané*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mané*.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE IX.

342



TODA HUT. PAIKARA TIRIARI.

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA HUT.

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[facing p. 127]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

admission to a Toda dairy, but actually driven away by 234
some boys, who rushed out of it when they heard him 372
approach. It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being kiaz or keadj (*Litsæa Wightiana*), mōrs (*Michelia Nilagirica*), parskuti (*Elæagnus latifolia*), and [824]
main (*Cinnamomum Wightii*)." He states further that, "whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose, the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call kiaz or keadj, except in the tesherot ceremony (qualifying ceremony for the office of palol) in which the wood of muli is used. At the niroditi ceremony (ordination ceremony of a dairyman), "the assistant makes fire by friction, and lights a fire of mulli wood, at which the candidate warms himself." It is also recorded by Dr. Rivers that "in some Toda villages, a stone is kept, called tutmûkal, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron."

The abode of the Todas is called a mad or mand 361
(village or hamlet), which is composed of huts, dairy temple, and cattle-pen, and has been so well described by Dr. Shortt,* that I cannot do better than quote his account. "Each mand," he says, "usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts form a peculiar kind 342
of oval pent-shaped [half-barrel-shaped] construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway measures 32 inches in height and 18 inches in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick,

* *Op. cit.*

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sâmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up [353] from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351 two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343 is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342] dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193] than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354] place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417 mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233 enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422] possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487 Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562] women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234] the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562] go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunoːṭ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the tiː. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not tōunoːṭ. Some munds also which have dairies are not tōunoːṭ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunoːṭ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunoːṭ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the tōunoːṭ, which are utumḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunoːṭ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuθuṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation.

When a tōunoːṭ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunoːṭ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunoːṭ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōuθuṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nȯdrodchi, i. e. noːṛoḍci-, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōuθuṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (utumḍmoḍ or tōunoːṭ) was created, as we have said, by a tōuθuṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" 648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out [491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced [137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

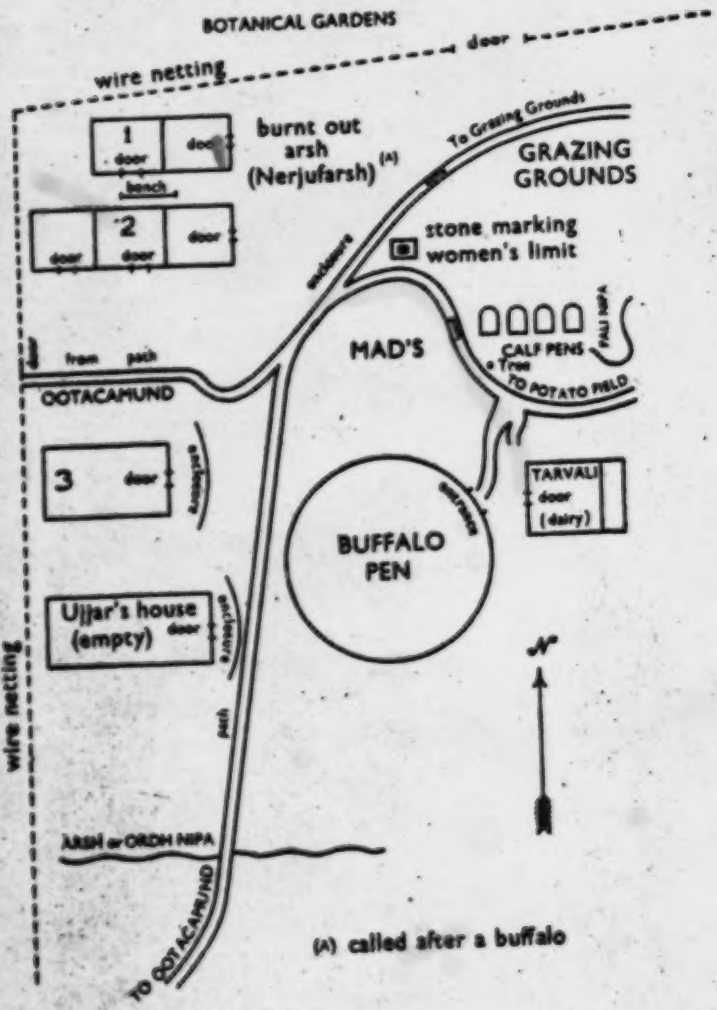
101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, 361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something 000 like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

a = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot		z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ô = word	u = blue	ə = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	ù = cook	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
			r = rot	ü = French	

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60



(A) called after a buffalo

361
417
487
234
312
621
342

Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh mad.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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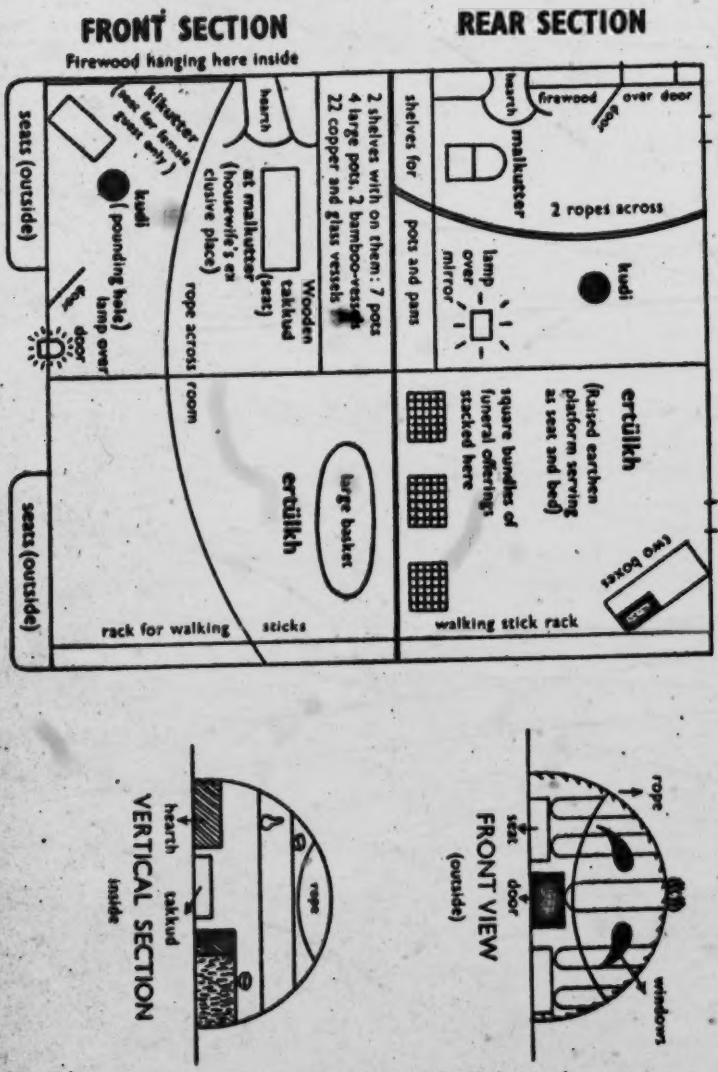

Fig. 19. House No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*.
Inhabitants of front part: Karnoz, Nalsirwuf, Sodup and Odzel; the last named sleeps on the floor, the other three on the *ertülkh*.
Inhabitants of the rear part: Singharsh, Amoniwuf, Singud and Munbokwutn; the last named sleeps on the *ertülkh* with either of the brothers, while the other alternatively sleeps on the floor with the common wife.

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melqarsh Village]

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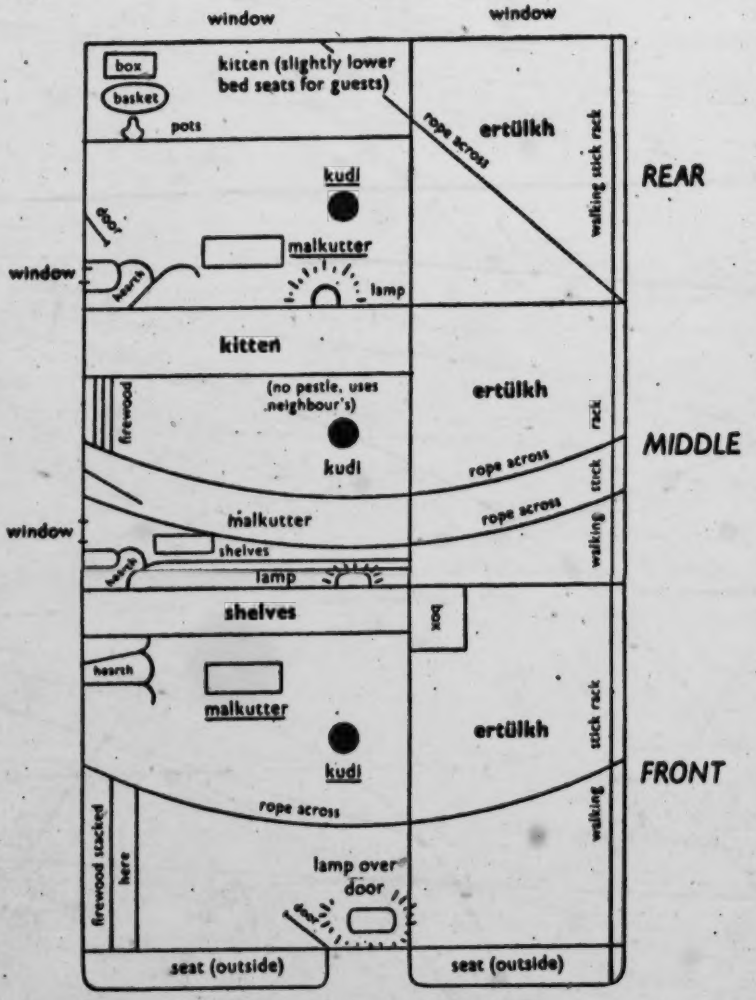

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Fig. 20. House No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*.

Inhabitants in the front part: Padz, Silidz, Narjilkh, and Pengelam; the two children sleep at the feet of their grandparents, who have their heads nearest the door; guests are accomodated on the *ertülkh*, while the inhabitants sleep on the floor.

Inhabitants in the middle part: Puvkiaroz and Mutmali; they sleep together on the *ertülkh*; guests are accomodated on the *kitten*.

Inhabitants of the rear part: Mutnarsh, Erzigwuf, Kupidz and Sodam; the new-born twins were also put up here with their mother; the father sleeps with the little girl on the *kitten*, the two women sleep on the *ertülkh*, one at each end.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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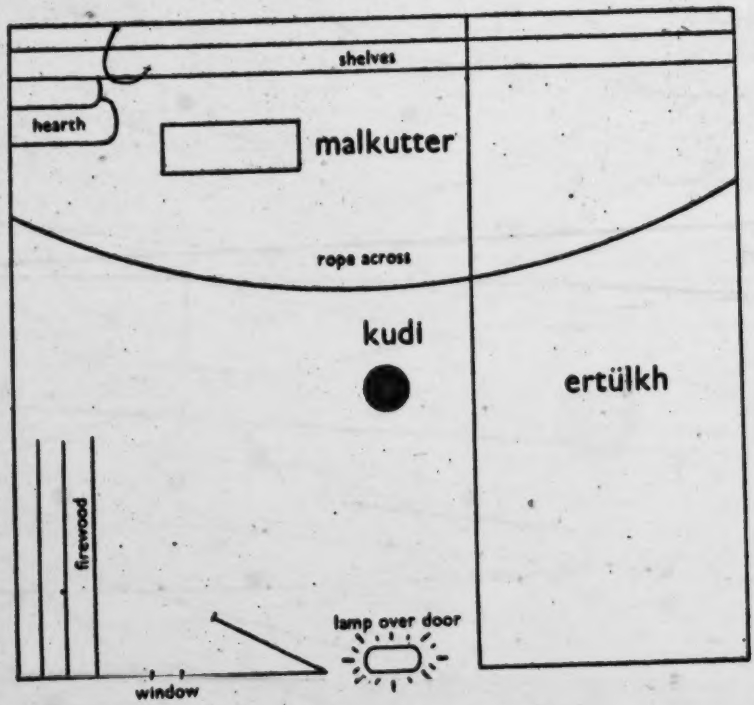

Fig. 21. House No. 3, the *Pudharsh*.

Inhabitants: Pilkhlivowutn, Närshmali, Motsod, Izam and Kirsharswutn; the two first of these sleep on the *ertülkh*, the older couple on the floor, the younger boy sleeps on the *ertülkh* too, with his head towards the back of the arsh. Motsod is very often out, either as priest-dairyman, when he sleeps in the tarvali, or to see friends in other mads. Kirsharswutn often helps his father in the tarvali, when he also sleeps in the dairy-temple. [592] [513]

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Fig. 22. A typical Toda mad in the Nilgiris: Karsh, near Ootacamund.

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[193] Fig. 23. The *tarvali* of Melgarsh: Motsod, the *tarvalikartmokh* in his black *tuni* at the door.

[P 300-A]

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
[611] uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other things which have now taken their places among the neces-
437 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
196 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
361 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several
621 huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
361 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough
417 to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

FIG. 5.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING TWO DAIRIES IN THE FOREGROUND AND THREE HOUSES IN THE BACKGROUND.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

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Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

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In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

342 the hut is always very small, and is closed by a door which slides over the opening on its inner side.

Some houses are much longer than others, with a door at each end and a central partition, so as to form a double hut which is called *epotirikhthars*, *i.e.*, "both-ways-turned house." This kind of hut did not seem to be common, and I only saw three or four examples, of which one is shown in Fig. 8.

A much more common kind of double hut is called *merkalars*, *i.e.*, "other-side house," in which the back part of the hut is partitioned off, with a door at one side.

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FIG. 8.—THE VILLAGE OF PEIVÒRS, SHOWING A DOUBLE HUT (IN THE BACKGROUND). THE TWO BUILDINGS ON THE LEFT ARE DAIRIES, AND THE STRUCTURE IN THE CENTRE IS A CALF-HOUSE.

166 In some Toda villages there may now be found huts of the
177 same kind as those of the Badagas. In the cases in which I
342 found such huts, I was told that they had been built by Badagas who had lived in the villages while the Toda occupants were away. Todas may also occasionally be found living away from their own villages, usually near tea plantations. They do this because there is a demand for buffalo manure at the plantations, and when living in this way they not uncommonly use huts of the Badaga pattern.

342 In front of the hut on either side of the door there are
352 usually raised seats called *kwottün*, and there are similar

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE DAIRY

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There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarsòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

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The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

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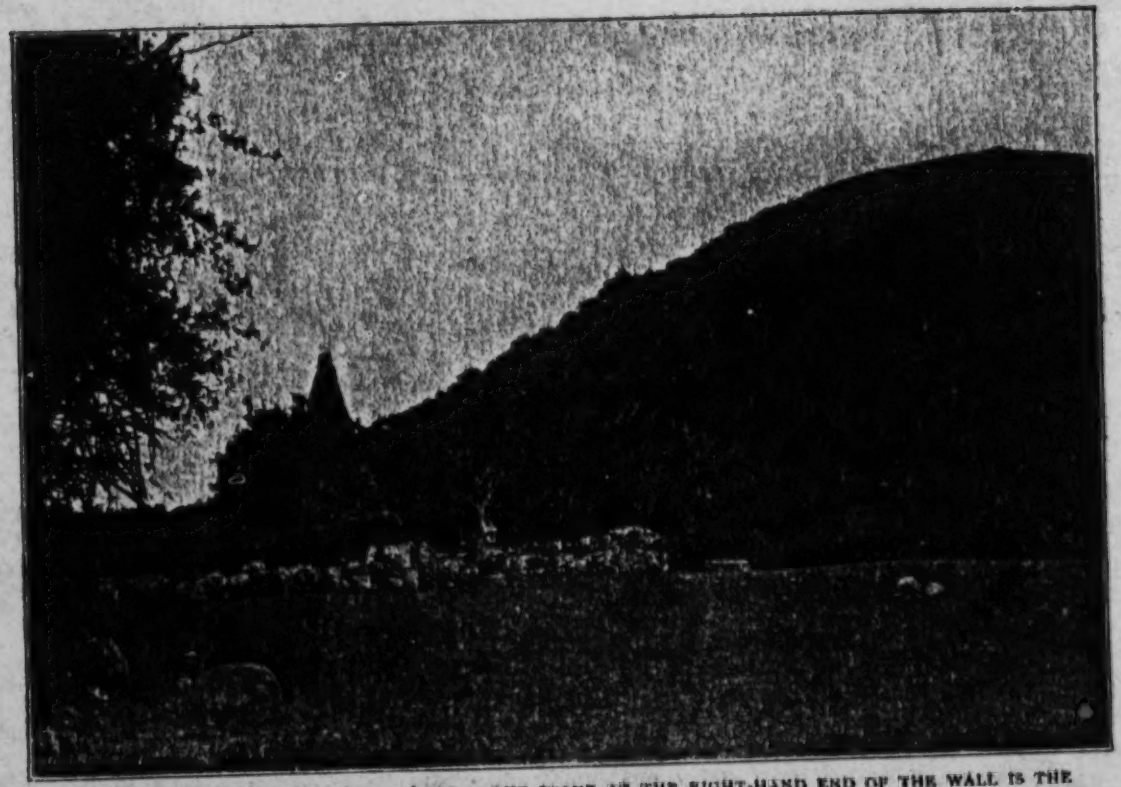

FIG. 13.—THE CONICAL DAIRY OF NÔDRS. THE STONE AT THE RIGHT-HAND END OF THE WALL IS THE 'TEIDRTOLKÂRS' (see p. 439).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wurzuli* of the same village, Karziolv. 104 196

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity. 234 463

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wurzol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*. 621 778

[1] This word, in the forms *hoe*, *hoath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

343 There is a considerable degree of uniformity in the orientation of dairies of all grades. The doors usually face in an easterly direction, and in the majority of those I observed

FIG. 14.—THE LOWER PART OF THE CONICAL DAIRY OF NÒDRS, WHICH IS HIDDEN BY THE WALL IN FIG. 13. THE 'WURSOL' IS SHOWN EATING 'AL' FROM A LEAF-PLATE.

the door faced north of east, the most frequent direction being some point between east and north-east. In one case, that of the *ti pah* at Mòdr, the door of the dairy faces south-east; but in front of the door there is a screen, and on leaving

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

his dairy the *palol* always turns to the left, so that he faces north-east as he goes towards his buffaloes. In a few dairies the door faces directly west, and, according to Breeks, this is the case at the conical dairy of Anto. 343

The Toda Buffalo

The Toda buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo, but the life on the hills seems to have produced a much finer animal than that of the plains. Although thoroughly under the control of the Todas, the buffaloes are semi-wild and often attack people of a different race from their owners, and Europeans have frequently been severely injured by the onslaught of these animals. 136 231 234 825

The Toda name for the male buffalo is *er*, and for the female *ir*, but either term may be used when the people speak of buffaloes collectively. Calves have different designations at different ages. A young calf is *kar*, one from one to two years of age is *pil*, and a three-year-old calf is *nakh*.

Defective buffaloes, and especially those with only one horn, are called *kwadrir*, and those whose horns bend downwards are *kughir*. Barren buffaloes are called *maiir*.

There are considerable differences of colour among the buffaloes. Those much lighter than the rest are called *nerir* or *pushtir*, and there is a legend about the origin of these buffaloes, which, however, I failed to obtain. The only obvious way in which the animals differ from one another in marking is that some have a black stripe running down either side of the neck very much in the position which would be occupied by the chain suspending a bell.

There do not seem to be any physical differences between the buffaloes of different classes, and, as we shall see shortly, the nature of the breeding of the Toda buffaloes is such as would have entirely destroyed any distinctions of the kind if they had ever existed.

Every adult female buffalo has an individual name, which is usually given when her first calf is born. The number of buffalo names is limited, so that many buffaloes bear the same name. 234 552

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER IV

THE VILLAGE DAIRY

234 THIS chapter will be devoted to a description of the various kinds of dairy which are found at the Toda villages. An account will be given of the daily course of the dairy operations and of the ritual accompanying it. The description of special ceremonies which occur in connexion with the dairy will be reserved till future chapters, in which ceremonies of the same nature occurring in all grades of dairy can be considered together.

234 A village dairy is often situated at some little distance
343 from the huts in which the people live, though sometimes it is
621 in their immediate neighbourhood. When of the same form as the hut, it may not at once be distinguished from the latter, but it is usually enclosed by a higher wall which surrounds the building more closely, so that there is very little room between the two. The door seemed to me to be usually smaller than that of most of the huts, and it is always capable of being closed by a shutter on the inner side.

The dairy is usually divided into compartments completely separated from one another by a partition extending to the roof, one room being entered from another by a small door of the same kind as that by which the dairy itself is entered. The majority of dairies have two rooms, an inner room called *ilkkursh* and an outer room called *pòrmunkursh*. Many dairies, especially among the kind called *wursuli*, have only one room. At five Tarthar villages, viz., Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi, Keradr, Akirsikòdri, and Tim, there are dairies which have

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tün*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitün* (*meiltün*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitün*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waṣkal*. [354]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 The room of the dairy which contains the dairy vessels
●343 is divided into three parts: the *patatmar*, the *ertatmar*, and
352 the *kalkani*.
412 The *patatmar* takes its name from the *patat*, an earthenware
415 vessel into which the milk is poured from the milking vessel and in which it is churned. The vessels kept in this part of the inner room, which are known collectively as *patatpur*, are those which are actually used in the milking and churning.

The *ertatmar* takes its name from the *ertat*, a bamboo vessel used to carry buttermilk or butter out of the dairy. The *ertat* and the vessels kept with it, known collectively as the *ertatpur*, are those which receive the products of the churning or are used to convey these products out of the dairy. The lamp and the fire-sticks used for making fire by friction are also kept in this part of the dairy.

In the third part of the room, called the *kalkani*, are kept leaves, firewood, knives, and various sticks or wands. According to some accounts, the vessel called *penpariv* is also kept here.

When the dairy vessels are taken into a new dairy (see Chap. VI.), they are placed on ferns. I do not know whether they always rest on a bed of ferns or whether the ferns are only used when the vessels are first placed in the dairy.

234 The following is a list of the *patatpur*, the vessels and other
412 objects which are kept in the part of the dairy called
415 *patatmar*:

Patat or *tat*. Earthenware vessels into which the freshly drawn milk is poured and in which it is churned (Fig. 18, F). There are several of these vessels, one of which may be used to hold water.

Irkartpun or *patatpun*. The bamboo milking-vessel (Fig. 18, I).

Parskadrvenmu or *parskadrpenmu*, *i.e.*, milk churn butter *mu* (Fig. 18, H). This is also sometimes called *kazhmu*, and is a small earthenware vessel in which is kept the butter (*pen*) which is added while churning. Except when the churning is in progress, it is used as a cover for the *patat*.

Adimu. An earthenware vessel (Fig. 18, K) into which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412 415

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another.

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often a 618 621

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

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FIG. 19.—THE 'WURSOL' OF NÛDRS CARRYING THE 'ADIMU' AND 'PATATPUN' TO FETCH WATER.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters. 562 784 793

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursoi* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

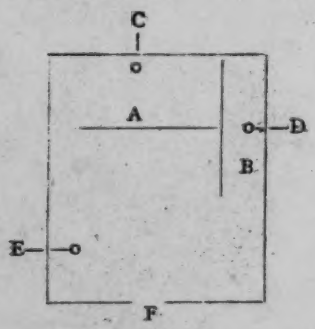
The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms. 234 343 778 788

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 343 352

343 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made
352 by Kodrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Patatmar*.
B. *Ertatmar*.
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Waskal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same
512 general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and
788 method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to
272 the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to
415 the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

234 member of the Taradr clan, but need not necessarily be a
343 member of the family in charge.

618 Each of the chief Taradr villages has a special dairy for
621 the *kugvalir*. It is called the *kugvali* (*kugpali*) or chief dairy (*kug* = *etud* = chief), and it was said to be the chief of all the dairies. All these dairies have one room only, except that at Taradr itself, where there are two rooms. These dairies do not at present differ in form or general appearance from

FIG. 24.—THE 'KUGVALI' OF TARADR. ON ITS LEFT IS THE 'KWOTARS.' AND ON THE EXTREME RIGHT, UNDER THE TREE, IS THE 'KUSH.' THE FLAT STONE TO THE RIGHT OF THE 'KUGVALI' IS THE 'PÜDRSHTIKARS' (see p. 654).

dairies of other kinds. The *kugvali* at Taradr is shown in Fig. 24, and it is the dairy on the right-hand side of Fig. 5.

234 The *kugvalir* have one feature peculiar to themselves. They are never recruited from any other herd. Even the buffaloes of the *ti* often have additions to their number, especially through the ceremony of *irnörtiti* (Chap. XIII), but in no circumstances are any additions from outside made to the *kugvalir*.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oñ*" each time. 234 415 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *penpariv* by means of the same vessel.

The Dairy of Kanòdrs

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph. 343 ●

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those called *nashperthir*. 234 463 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used. 778

234 554 778 784 793 When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 25.—THE 'POH' OF KANDDRS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tün*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pohkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy. 124 234

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy. 234 343 793

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people. 234 417 778

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pül*, and there is a special part of the *pül* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Môdr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring. 234 312 778

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *muhadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tülkadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 343 351 At Mòdr, the diary place I know best, all the buildings and objects of the *ti mad* are shut off from the outer world either by walls or by the natural configuration of the ground or forest. Within this screen, partly natural and partly artificial, there is the large milking-ground which may be entered by the buffaloes from two directions, and on one side of this are the three pens, the two dairies, and other buildings.

The more important of the two dairies has situated close to it the sleeping-hut and two huts for the calves, and this small group of buildings, shown in Fig. 27, is surrounded by a wall like that round the ordinary village dairy, leaving little space between the wall and buildings. These buildings, being within the outer boundaries of the *ti mad*, are already well screened from the world, and in consequence the surrounding wall is low. The other dairy is situated on the boundary, so that it can be seen by anyone outside the *ti mad*, and the wall around it is therefore high, so that a person standing outside can see nothing of the proceedings of the dairyman. At Mòdr the water springs are at some distance from the dairies and there is a special path by which the *palol* goes from the dairy to fetch water.

At another dairy, that of Anto, there is one path by which the *palol* goes to fetch water and another by which he returns, but I do not know if this is so at all dairies.

Although I visited Mòdr on many occasions, I never had an opportunity to investigate the buildings closely. I was never allowed to go within the walls enclosing the dairies, much less to go inside these buildings. If the annual programme of the *ti* had been carried out, the buffaloes would have left this place before the end of my visit, and I intended to make a thorough inspection after they had gone; but owing to various causes I mention elsewhere (see Chap. VI) the herds stayed at Mòdr till after my departure, and I had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact plan of the dairies and their surroundings.

234 343 352 The dairy of a *ti* always has two rooms, an inner room, the *ulkkursh*, and an outer room, the *pormunkursh*. These are divided from one another by a screen, or *patun*, which stretches

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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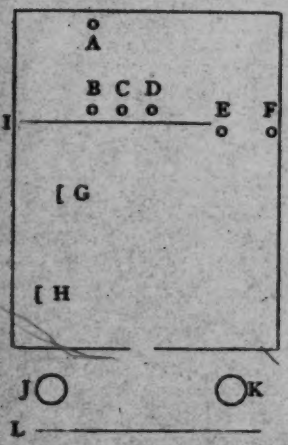
about two-thirds of the way across the breadth of the building and is about three feet high. The *palol* stands in the outer room and performs the dairy operations proper to the inner room leaning over the top of the screen. The object of the screen is to keep the sacred objects of the dairy from the gaze of anyone who may look in, and especially from that of the *kaltmokh*; but in the only dairy of the kind into which I had the chance of looking, the screen was made of vertical sticks with wide intervals between them, so that I could easily see through. This dairy was, however, unoccupied, and if dairy vessels had been there, it is possible that they would



A. *Mani.*
B, C, D. The three *persin.*
E. The *idrkwoi.*
F. The lamp.
G. The *pelkhatitthwaskal.*
H. The *tòratthwaskal.*
I. The *patun.*
J, K. The *pokvelkars.*
L. The screen in front of the dairy.

FIG. 26.—SHOWING THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE TI DAIRY.

have been screened from view in some way. In this dairy the screen extended from the right-hand wall as one looked in, but at Mòdr I was told that the screen was attached to the left-hand wall, and there were certain facts which make it almost certain that this statement is correct, though I had not the opportunity of confirming it by actual observation.

I did not discover whether there were any differences between the internal arrangements of the conical dairies and those of the dairies of the ordinary form. Breeks has given a description of the conical dairy at Anto, and from this it would seem that the dairy is divided into two rooms by a

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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partition extending to the roof, the two rooms communicating by a door. There are two possibilities as to procedure. It is possible that only one room of this dairy is used for the ceremonial and that it is again divided by an incomplete screen into inner and outer rooms, or it may be that the dairyman churns in the inner room. I have no information on this point, but the general nature of the churning procedure at the *ti* dairy makes it highly probable that the former supposition is correct and that the inner room is divided into two parts.

In the plan on p. 87, I have adopted the arrangement in which the *patun*, or screen, is attached to the left-hand side of the building, but this is certainly not the case in all diaries. In some dairies also the fireplaces are on the other side.

THE CONTENTS OF THE POH

(*a*) In the inner room.	One *mani*. Three *persin*. Two *tòrzum*. Two *kòghlag*. One *persinkudrili*. One *pohvet* or *pohpet*. One *kwoi*. One *kwoinörtpet*. Several *tolshk*.
(*b*) Between inner and outer rooms.	*Pelk*, or lamp. *Idrkwoi*.
(*c*) In the outer room.	Two fireplaces { *Pelkhatitthwaskal*. / *Tòratthwaskal*. } Several *alug*. *Uppun*. *Mòrkudrihi*. *Karpun*. *Tworavali*. *Guduboi*. Unused *kòghlag*.

Another vessel, the *mòrpun*, is kept in the sleeping-hut, where two or more horns are also kept which are blown by the *kaltmokh* every night before going to rest.

The things of the inner room correspond in general to those of the *patatmar* in the ordinary dairy, and the things of the outer room correspond to those of the *ertatmar*. The

234 things of the outer room are sometimes called the *alugpur*,
343 just as those in the village dairy are called *ertatpur*, but I
352 did not hear of any corresponding term for the things of the inner room. I have no record of the place where the fire-sticks (*nirsi*) are kept, but they will almost certainly belong to the outer room, since, in the village, they belong to the *ertatmar*.

234 The nature of each of the vessels and other objects of the
412 dairy[1] is as follows:

415 *Persin*. This is an earthenware vessel containing about five *kudi*, *i.e.*, 2½ gallons. The freshly churned milk is poured into and churned in three of these vessels. The *persin* corresponds to the *patat* of the village dairy.

Tòrzum. This is an earthenware vessel containing two or three *kudi*. Two of these vessels are kept in the inner room, one, called the *karitòrzum*, to hold water, and the other to hold the butter added while churning. The latter is called the *peptòrzum* because it is also used to give butter-milk to the buffaloes on certain occasions. When not in use the two *tòrzum* are placed on and act as covers for two of the *persin*. The *tòrzum* corresponds to the *mu* of the ordinary dairy.

Kòghlag. This is the churning-stick which corresponds to the *madth*. Both *kòghlag* and *madth* are alike in having the peculiar shape shown in Fig. 18 (see also p. 111). The thong by means of which the stick is turned, ordinarily called *palv*, is here called *poinurs*, and consists of a strip of the skin of a male calf. The *kòghlag* is made by the *palol* from bamboo growing on the Nilgiris. In addition to two used and kept in the inner room, five or six new churning-sticks are kept in the outer room.

Persinkudriki. This is a small piece of bamboo with a handle called *tutth*, used to knock against the *persin* when praying.

Pokvet (*pokpet*). A wand used when praying.

Kzvoi. A bamboo vessel containing about three *kudi*. It is the vessel taken out by the *palol* to milk the buffaloes. It corresponds to the *irkartpun* of the village dairy and is made by the *palol* from bamboo obtained by the *kaltmokh*.

1 [The Poh-- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

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The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vêdrmâ, kârs wadrth vêdrmâ, mân mas vêdrmâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

+ One feature of the ti poh at Môdr, which is certainly not

234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Môdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

THE KARS TI

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I
621 could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
773 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs. The story runs that Anto created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234x 221 796 complexity seems to depend on the presence of the bells of the dairy of that village. When the *palikartmokh* reaches Kiudr, he puts the dairy things he has brought with him at the back of the dairy. Another *palikartmokh* goes into the inner room and brings out the bells called *patatmani* and lays them by stones called *neurzülnkars* at one side of the dairy (see Fig. 31). He enters again and brings out four *ertatmani*, which he lays by the side of another group of stones called *neurzülnkars* (see Fig. 32). The second *palikartmokh* then

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FIG. 31.—THE DAIRY OF KIUDR WITH THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' ETAMUDRI (58); ON THE RIGHT OF THE DAIRY ABOVE AND TO THE LEFT OF THE HEAD OF ETAMUDRI IS THE STONE CALLED 'NEURZÜLNKARS,' BY WHICH THE 'PATATMANI' IS LAID.

purifies the dairy with *tudr* bark and puts the vessels which have been brought to Kiudr in their places on a bed of ferns in the way which has been described. After all the vessels are in their places, he takes the *patatmani* to the dairy stream, while the first *palikartmokh* brings *tudr* bark. The *tudr* bark is pounded and the juice squeezed over the bells. The two *patatmani*, having thus been purified, are then put on a forked 000 stick and carried to their usual place in the dairy. The same

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XIV

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CEREMONIES

THE ceremonies connected with childbirth begin before 843
the birth of the child. These ceremonies are only performed 585
for the first child or when the woman obtains a new husband, so that they may, from one point of view, be regarded as marriage ceremonies. Nevertheless, I prefer to consider them here, and to leave the ceremonies more strictly connected with marriage till a later chapter. These latter ceremonies are far less elaborate than those to be described in this chapter, and may be more fitly considered in connexion with the social regulation of marriage.

At or about the fifth month of pregnancy, a ceremony 843
is performed which is called *ár patitk kaittitithpini*, "village 621
left, hand we burnt," or more shortly, *árvatpini*, "village we leave," or *kaittitithpini*. The ceremony is named from its two essential features; the woman leaves the village and lives secluded in a hut and her wrists are burnt.

When it is known that the ceremony is to take place, a [343]
special hut, called *pushars* (Fig. 45), is built in a prescribed place at some little distance from the village, or if this building already exists, it is put into good order. The word *pushars* means "mud-house" or "earth-house," which would seem to point to a time when a temporary hut of mud was used, but at the present time it is built of wood, though it is of much simpler and rougher construction than the ordinary house.

The distance of the *pushars* from the huts in which the people live depends on the degree of sacredness of the village. According to Breeks, the distance is greatest in those villages

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

left standing after the funeral and may be used on a second occasion if it has not fallen into too great disorder. 341 764

Five clans of the Tartharol possess special dairies, each with three rooms which are used as funeral huts. These buildings are habitually or occasionally used as dairies; but when a man of the clan dies his body is laid in the outermost of the three rooms, either on the day of the funeral or for two or 343 234

FIG. 48.—FUNERAL HUT ROUND WHICH WOMEN ARE LAMENTING. SEVERAL PAIRS ARE PRESSING THEIR FOREHEADS TOGETHER. THE HUT IS NOT WITHIN A STONE CIRCLE, SHOWING THAT THE FUNERAL IS NOT BEING HELD AT AN OLD FUNERAL PLACE.

three days before it. While a dead body is lying in the dairy, women are allowed to enter the outermost room just as they may go into any other funeral hut, but they may not pass beyond. Men are allowed to enter the middle room, but the innermost room is only entered by the dairyman, who carries on his dairy work as usual.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

349 The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now
343 exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with
764 three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the vil-
234 lage. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

349 At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after
764 each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *nersars* for the first funeral, and *kursars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

766 If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

342 *kimakol*, but I do not know if this implies any rule as to the orientation of the houses.

341 The method of building is illustrated by Fig. 66, which shows a hut only partially built. Certain Todas have special
335 reputations as architects, and the most famous of these at the present time is Kijievan (50), who superintended the building of the hut at Kiudr shown in Fig. 7, the most spacious and artistic of the strictly Toda dwellings which I saw on the

FIG. 66.—TO SHOW A STAGE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A HUT.

hills. Especial care is often taken with the arrangement of the rattan on the front of the hut, which is shown in Fig. 20. This is a picture of a dairy, but it shows the arrangement which is also found in the best of the houses.

343 The hut used for the seclusion of women before and after childbirth is a rough structure of wood and thatch, but its name, *puzhars*, means "mud house," which suggests that huts made of earth may at one time have been used by the Todas.

CHAP. VI.

351 originated in any defensive project, whether as protection from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals. Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for
361 egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed
417 merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

417 In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the
234 pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm‡ Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

[343] The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

333 Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for
417 Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *r* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

‡ [Letters did not reproduce here in the original text--Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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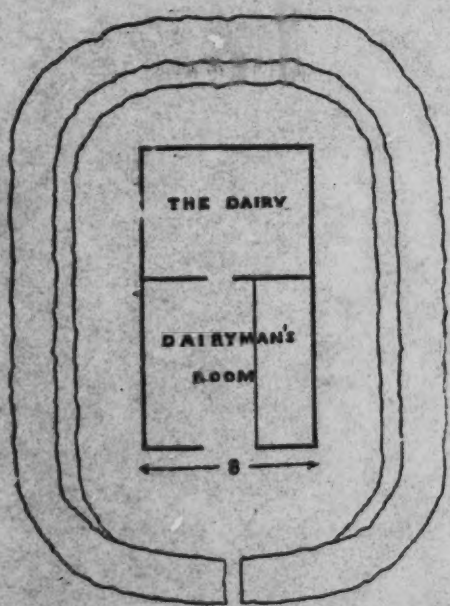
most attractive to the wandering archæologist who did not know of the primitive habits of this pastoral race.

In addition to the dwelling houses just described, every Mand, without exception, contains a house devoted solely to the purposes of a dairy—pâlthchi—consisting of two rooms;

No. 12.



THE DAIRY—PÂLTHCHI.

the outer—porram-âl-g-ârsh—for the residence of the dairyman —pâlkarpâl[4]—and the inner room—ulg-ârsh—for the storage

[4] Pâlkarpâl. This is one of the most remarkable examples of the identity of Toda and Tamil.

This is pâl—karr—p—âl; where (1) is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; (1) (2) (3) (4) (2) is the root of the verb = *to milk*; (3) is the suffix forming the verbal noun, *milking*; (4) = *person*. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VI.

234 of milk—pâl—and for its conversion into clarified-butter.[5] This building varies in size according to that of the village herd; from the dimensions of an ordinary house of two rooms, to one 343 perhaps half as large again. It is situated somewhat apart 361 from the Mand, and—presumably for the sake of coolness—is generally found on a site which has been partially dug out from the side of the hill, on the slope of which the Mand is situated. The dairy is always enclosed within its separate wall, which is built very close up to it, and the outside of the wall often earthed in. The outer door is much of the size of those in ordinary dwellings, but that in the partition wall, forming the only means of access to the dairy room within, is of minute dimensions; probably one cubit high and about half a cubit broad.

361 The accompanying typical plan of a Mand will explain the description which has just been given. The village itself is invariably situated in the open, exposed to the sun almost from daybreak to sunset, but sheltered by the hill side from the full force of the wind.

The Todas have been credited with some taste in the selection of sites for Mands; owing to the beauty and often romantic nature of their situations; invariably on some open grassy slope, where wood and spring or rivulet combine. But I more than doubt if any innate sense of the beautiful influences them in the choice; for neither do their heads, nor do their other acts, give probability of the possession by them of any taste. I am disposed to attribute the success of these happy selections to the fact that, acting with a very strong practical sense of the advantage of localities, they have, whilst seeking shelter for themselves and cattle from the monsoon storms, with a dry bit of soil in proximity to water and fuel—the whole centrical with regard to pasture—obtained, by means of the natural advantages of a lovely land-

[5] Known in India as ghi; in Toda termed nei.

'We call a midwife merely old woman—kelachi'[1]—said my informant—an elderly gentleman with a large family—'why give a name for midwife when every woman can act?' This, though from the male point of view, is nevertheless a statement whose truth is borne out by facts. CHAP. VII. 844

'The umbilical cord—pokku—is severed by laying it on a piece of wood, and cutting with a knife.'

'What! tie it with string first!' raising his eyes roguishly to the roof, as if looking for a piece of string projecting from the thatch. 'I have plenty of children, but have never heard of such a thing! ha! ha! ha! Tie it with string! ha! ha! ha!' Here the old man turned the laugh against us, protesting that such a thing was never done. Whether the cord is tied, but that he had for so many years remained in ignorance of the fact: or if it is really never bound, in savage life, I had no further opportunity of enquiring: but leave the narration as it was given to me by a great authority.

On the morning after the child has been born, the mother is removed to a shed—purzârsh[2]—which has been erected for her in some sequestered spot of the village wood, in anticipation of the approaching event. There she remains till the next new moon—muttu[3]—whether that phase occur in the course of 3 or of 30 days. These people cannot explain the reason for this removal: but possibly they may suppose the monthly aspect or reappearance of the moon to have some periodic effect on women. I did not succeed in eluci- 846 343 183

[1] Kelachi = *old woman*; Kelâl = *old man*. Tamil: kirra = *old*. Kirra van = *old man*; Kirra tti—*old woman*—tti pronounced chi—Âl = *man*. Keladi, in ancient Kanarese = *a female friend*. [POPE.]

[2] Purzârsh. In Tamil we have purra = *outer*. Sansk. âlayam = *dwelling*. Any termination may be converted in a Toda mouth to a guttural sound made up of l, r, and sh. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz is of opinion that purzh = *mud*; and that purzârsh means a *mud hut* or *temporary house*.

[3] Muttu, new moon = *jewel, pearl*, in Sansk. and Drâvid [POPE.]

Tiggalu, full moon, the moon. Ti is a part of dina = *day*. Glau = *the moon*, Sansk. In Tamil, tingal. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VII.

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dating any expression of such belief from them: but the profound ignorance in which they are steeped is amply sufficient to account for all want of knowledge of reasons. The custom is probably an extremely ancient one. Some notion, of the nature I have described, may have founded the practice, though all trace of its origin or cause, may have been forgotten long ages ago.

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For a month after her return home, she appears to have the house to herself: her husband remaining indebted to friends for shelter meanwhile.

I had the pleasure of being introduced to a woman just after her return from the purzârsh. In the course of my inquisitorial visits, which will be more fully described in Chapter X., I had ascertained in a certain village, that there was a young female infant which had not been shown to me: and this might be an infanticide! Almost hoping such might be the case, and that I had discovered a mother red-handed, I enquired after its health. 'Oh,' said the women, airily, and with the true maternal interest in young babies, 'they are both in the house round the corner.' Thither accordingly I went, and found the young mother awaiting a visit, hoping to receive for her small one—kin-minthki[4]—one of the little silver-bits she heard were circulating so freely amongst the children of the Mand, from whose society she was still debarred.

Studying the Frontispiece and the pictures of Toda women in this book, anyone of artistic taste can fancy the little picture; which in its way was pretty and interesting. Scene; an old-looking and water-stained log hut, belonging to a primæval tribe of the glacial period: summer time: brilliant sun: green herbage: forest background. The imagination is now sufficiently developed to appreciate the tableau! A

[4] Kin-minthki = *female infant.* Kin = çin = *little*: a Drâvidian root. Minthki is probably a corruption of manujâ or manushî = *woman*—Sansk. [POPE.]

Popen = *male infant.* This is a mere term of endearment. Drâvidian pomma is a *puppet*; with which it may be compared. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tirièri Mand described—Names of Tirièri—We visit the Tirièri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

CHAP. XVI.

A tirièri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi, in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tirièris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth	Kudar
Mâr	Markush

Puzhash.

And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and even triplicates, so these tirièri Mands have also their corresponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII., on the Bell-gods.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

CHAP. XVII.

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Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[5] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiriêri; the holy of holies, already described.

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In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

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[5] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master* or *superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

CHAP. XVII.

234 lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small 843 dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and 342 blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

234 It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, êtud 778 Mands should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mands, and 621 why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an êtud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu[6] or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet

[6] Kurpu. Dravidian. Tamil has kuri = *indicate, point out.* Kurippu

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Ao60 Toda Aw60

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351
two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to
permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343
is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others,
and usually contains two compartments separated by a
centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house
for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels.
The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342]
dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193]
than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of
the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire-
place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that [354]
it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at
some little distance from the habitations. The huts
where the calves are kept are simple buildings, some-
what like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417
mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233
enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a
single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these,
the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422]
possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487
Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a
village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the
village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol
receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562]
women. Within the village there are also certain recog-
nised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234]
the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man
goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the
other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women
must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk
(maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562]
go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except
at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* allone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discriminaticon, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

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Fig. 22. A typical Toda mad in the Nilgiris: Karsh, near Ootacamund.

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[193] Fig. 23. The *tarvali* of Melgarsh: Motsod, the *tarvalikartmokh* in his black *tuni* at the door.

[P 300-A]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BOATH.

External appearance of the Boath—Night visit—Inside of the Boath—Where are the Relics?—The Boath an exceptional curiosity—Speculations regarding it; a Bethel? connected with the Bothan?

CHAP. XIX.
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ON a previous visit to the village close to which this temple—one out of only three or four in the whole tribe—is situated,[1] I had been able to reconnoitre it at my leisure whilst talking to the naked vorshâl seated on the surrounding-wall.

He told us with Toda solemnity and such an air, that there were very sacred relics in it, handed down from past generations. Here a turn in the wrist of his upraised arm implied the pre-historic antiquity I was hunting for! How did he guess my secret? But he was lamentably hazy when I strove to turn his observations to practical account. Nor could I get from him a clear description, even of his daily occupations. To sit naked on the wall and look like a scarecrow was the feat he seemed to accomplish best.

'I want to go in,' I said, advancing towards the temple.

'No,' he replied, backing towards the door of the sacred edifice, and shaking the palms of both hands and outspread fingers in alarmed delirium.

'What will happen if I go in?'

'The Gods will tear you to pieces.'

He would not agree to the proposal, though backed by a little offering, so after taking a sketch I retired.

[1] At the top of the Sigôr Ghat.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 21

opp. p. 164

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AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

CONICAL TEMPLE.

BOATH.

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346 The appearance of the building is as follows; a conical thatched roof on a circular wall of very stout planking. The wall about four cubits high. The whole edifice some fourteen or fifteen cubits tall and six cubits in diameter. At a distance of approximately six cubits, the temple is surrounded by a massive wall of uncut stone, put together without cement, two cubits broad and three in height.

351 333

346 I have represented in the sketch the wall as partially

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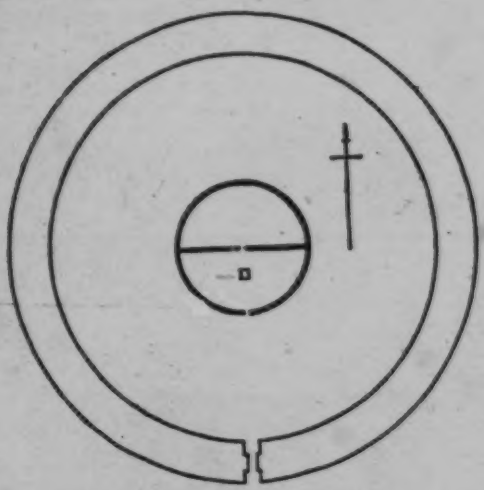
No. 20.



CONICAL TEMPLE—BOATH.

thrown down, with a view to displaying the entire building, but in reality the circuit of the wall is complete.

346 The apex of the cone is crowned with a large stone, placed there apparently with the object—however inadequate the conception—of steadying the roof, or perhaps excluding rain from that weak point.

000 Some days subsequent to this visit, selecting a dark night for the purpose, and accompanied by a friend—who, I had better at once state, was not the reverend companion who has

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

been my steady associate in all innocent if somewhat inquisitorial visits—I walked over the hills to this village on burglarious intent. What should I do, I thought as I went along, if I really met a valuable relic, say some 2,000 years old, with an inscription on it? Who is it is said to have said that every man has his price? I had mine. Were I only to find a signet ring, I was ripe to commit theft in addition to the minor crime of breaking into a savage man's temple.

In this frame of mind we arrived at the spot. How nobly the little billy-cock house stood out in relief against the murky sky! The buffalos in the pen close by, were breathing hard and snorting as they caught our smell. Fastidious in them, considering that we were certainly clean, as compared with their slumbering masters and mistresses. Indeed it must have been the unusual scent that disturbed them.

All the world asleep and hushed but we two and a few fastidious cattle. Though all is quiet and our isolation absolute, we hold a preliminary survey of the premises—the vorshâl might be within—nor till we had satisfied ourselves that the only noise was of our own making, did we proceed to business.

Unpicking the stones with which, for want of lock and key, the doorway was closed, I sat prepared to enter. 'Where is the door?' asked my friend, inexperienced in Toda architecture. So he remained watching. 'Are you going into that?' I next heard from behind the tails of my coat. He must have received the response as if from a diving-bell.

346 The door of the temple, which by the way, faces almost due south, appears, judging by the eye, to approach in its dimensions, a cubit in height by half a cubit in breadth. Even taken angle-wise this aperture was found to constitute a close fit for full-grown men.

In we crawled, and when fairly inside, re-locked the door by blocking it up behind us: and struck a light. I do not suppose we either of us exactly knew what we had expected to

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XIX.

find; but a slight groan of disappointment, followed by rapid movements, as of rats in an empty bucket, told the melancholy tale—nothing.

The pitch darkness of the inside, and blackness of the roof and walls, absorbing nearly all the light of our candles, it was with difficulty we satisfied ourselves of the value and form of our possession.

The temple is divided by a thick wooden partition wall—which extends from the earthen floor in which it is buried, to the full height of the roof—into two compartments of equal size. There is a small doorway in this wall of the same dimensions as the first. Midway between the two doorways, at the level of the floor, is a vat or basin of about a half cubit square, made of stone.

We look through the interstices between the clumsy slabs of the dividing-wall, into the next room. That at any rate is not empty. It is the *sanctum sanctorum*, where the relics are kept.

Once more! In through the little door of the dividing wall. Quite easy now! First squat square opposite to it, like a frog. Next supple the whole body. Then go in cornerwise with *dlan*! Don't attempt to rise till you are five feet off on the other side. This feat can be practised through a window-frame at ground level.

Just looking round at the little door, more in sorrow than in anger, we proceed to business. Earthenware pots, honnus, and a whirl with which to churn butter by revolving between the palms of the hands. No bell, no hatchet, neither ring nor relic of any kind, no niche for lights, no altar, no stone, no phallus or lingum. No snakes! Everyone has been telling us lies, and the world is full of sawdust!

Back through the two doors quickly, like prairie dogs. Out into the open air. The transition was as if we had been born again.

Now to philosophise. This is a very simple religious faith! How many negatives go to prove a positive! One thing is

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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clear, every priest must be long in the back and very fond of milk! But why were the doors so unusually small, and why locked, and why these fusty lies about relics?

Some time subsequent to the events just described, an excellent opportunity occurred of making further enquiry regarding relics—the belief in which had now become much shaken—and particularly as regards those which this building had been said to contain, and whose non-discovery haunted me still.

'The people of the village say there are relics—mani—in that temple—dêrmane,[2] or gudi'[3]—I remarked as casually as I could to our old friend, the *ex*-pâlâl, 'do they bury them in the ground?'

Âha,' with a Toda grunt and shake of the head.

'Then where are they?'

Now this Toda had told us many things, and all he had said had proved to be true. Moreover neither he nor any one else had the slightest conception that a visit had been paid to the inside of the dêrmane, or that we entertained any particular interest in it. He must merely have thought to himself from the question, this is another of Paul Pry's 'I only wanted to know.'

He glanced up sideways at me, and

> By his countenance
> Enjoin'd me silence.

With his hand to the side of his mouth, he said in a low voice 'Under the stone on the top of the roof.'

Sold!!

I look on this dêrmane as an exceptional curiosity, possessing for our purposes an interest peculiarly its own. In the first place, it is unique in contour, though *constructed as to plan*

[2] Dêrmane = *Gods-house—residence of the Gods.*

[3] Gudi—*a temple*; a word probably borrowed from the Badagas. In Sanskrit, kudi is a *house* and a *curve*. In Telugu, it is used for a *circle* and a *temple*. In Kanarese it is a *temple*, and is written gudi. [POPE.]

CHAP. XIX.

346 778

under the same general ideas, and apparently for similar purposes as the dairy of a tirièri or the pâlthchi of any Mand. Then it holds a vat—which no other building does—whose use is not understood by the vorshâl in charge, and whose very existence is, I feel nearly certain, unknown to the people. If the vat was constructed for sacrificial purposes, then its use has been discontinued and forgotten, though the priest in charge is a vorshâl or sacrifice man.[4]

It is situated on an exposed site bearing the outlines of stone walls, built on a largeness of scale, and in a form, nowhere else found amongst these people—with a Kromlech and numerous Kairns dotted close about.

The specific name by which it is known—boath[5]—is peculiar, and applicable solely to that style of structure.

181 346

Now it should be borne in mind, if we would form an opinion on the origin of this edifice, that the Todas are unimaginative creatures of one idea; having one way of doing everything: intolerant of change or deviation from custom, unless for some manifestly practical advantage. How then do we find such a race in occupation of an eccentric building which does not fit in with any of its other institutions? Not a tirièri—for it is of lower grade in Toda estimation; its servant a vorshâl, not a God. Not an ordinary pâlthchi, for one of the largest size exists apart, within a few paces of it.

172

As there is nobody who can give an explanation of the phenomenon, I will submit a theory of my own for consideration. May the boath not be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to, the Todas, which, taking refuge like them on these hills, died out in their presence—

[4] See Note 4 of Chapter VIII.

[5] Boath. An enclosed Jain temple is basti.

It may be deemed fanciful to refer to booth or bothy. The Welsh is bwth, the Gaelic is both. This word is of very extensive use. The Tamil vîḍ and Kanarese bîḍ = *house*, may be compared.

The Todas and Drâvidians generally, have much in common with the Celtic tribes. [POPE.]

793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pútkuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tunni*, made
234 specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanĕri.

"The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the "exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in "some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without "a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is "at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fūr or Tūr, the "botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed "off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted "to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâls*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pâlâls*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peíkis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokvali*. There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tārnāt mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpali*. There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl*.

V. *Pâlikārpâls* may be of any clan, but Peíki and Pekkan mands must have Peíki and Pekkan Pâlikārpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

II. *Pâlthehi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but
● 346 larger. Of *Pâlthehis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every
773 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas
628 *Etadmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthehis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikārpâl*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl*.

234 There are four *Boas*:—

(1.) Called *Mâuboa*; at Muttanâd *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the
778 left of the Segūr road.

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* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.

778 (3.) Called *Tirzhva*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndalis.

(4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mutterzhva*.

346 Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding God and Bell, where there is one.

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Peiki Muimands (Etadmands).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mirzhan. Ertâtu. Kirzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekhan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf	Narâi Kantshu.
	2. Karzhaldf	Ponâi Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

* Measurements:—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	8′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eaves to ground	8′ 5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

764 tied round the first buffalo's neck, and the corpse was lifted and made to touch three times the side of the animal, which was killed by one blow from the back of an axe, and its body dragged up, so that its head lay close to that of the dead man, the hand of the latter being made to clasp the buffalo's horn (*Plate* XIV.) The bell was then 765 transferred to the other buffalo, and the same process repeated. All the relatives seated themselves by the three bodies to mourn in couples, a man and woman putting their heads together and sobbing and moaning. After a little while each couple would separate, the woman saluting the man by raising his foot to her forehead (except in the case of the old women, when the process was reversed), and fresh pairs would be formed. As with other Eastern people, their sorrow is woeful to behold, the tears literally streaming down their faces and over their cloths. Their grief, however, is marvellously transient.

After this the widow sat alone mourning at the head of the deceased, and put three handfuls of grain into the pocket of his cloth. Then the body was placed on the bier, and laid on the ground beside the pile, which was lighted by the relatives, who, again covering their heads, made fire with two sticks.*

764 One side of the bier was cut into three and laid on the pile. *Sāmē* grain (*Panicum miliare*) and jaggery, the two great Toda luxuries, were then put into the pocket of the dead man's *pūthuli*, with two cheroots, some tobacco wrapped in red cloth, and the purse, embroidered by one of the mourners, containing five or six rupees in silver and a little gold coin.† A ring was put on the finger, and earrings in the ears. A bit of the skull with hair and one of the finger nails‡ were cut off by the relatives; these, I was told, would be kept till the dry funeral in a little hut built near the mand for that purpose, and a buffalo bell hung over them for the relatives to ring night and morning. The bell is not hung over the remains of a woman. After this, ghee was thrown on the pile; the body was swung three times over the flame and laid on the pile *face downwards*, a sort of imitation bier or hurdle, which had previously been placed under the body, being laid above it.

When the fire has burnt out, any coin or metal that may have been actually given to the flames, is recovered; usually they merely pass such articles through the flame by way of an offering.

No care is taken of the ashes, they "are left to the winds," as a Toda told me.

765 The dry funeral takes place within a twelvemonth or so after death, according to the pleasure of the relatives. Each clan has its own *kēdmanes*§ or funeral houses, [946] different ones for men and women. They are sometimes near a mund, sometimes not, but always have a kraal at hand. They are like the ordinary Toda huts, but are sometimes decorated at the time of the funeral with silver coins. These are mostly rupees,

372 * A dry stick of the *Calicodaphne Wightiana*, about as thick as a man's thumb, is laid on the ground and held firm by the feet, a second stick is held upright between the two hands, the point resting on the horizontal stick: by twirling the upright with great rapidity between the palms of the hands fire is produced at the point of contact.

† Called by Todas *Birda pindm*. I think it is the same as the *Birkaakana* given to a dying Badaga. This is a *Vir-raya* or Coorg-fanam.

‡ These appear to be specially sacred relics among the Buddhists also. Stupas covering a lock of hair, crown of skull, or finger-nail of Buddhist saints seem to have been common in the palmy days of Buddhism.

§ *Kēd* is the name given to the skull, hair, and finger-nail saved from the green funeral, which are tied between two pieces of bark.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

616 others, I cannot recal, undergo a shorter and less severe period
793 of initiation. Both are often dairymen, an office of great honour and importance; but a *Khoota* is equally eligible, provided he goes through certain preparatory rites in order to purify himself for it. The especial duties of the priests are to tend the sacred herds just mentioned; to conduct the periodical sacrifice of a calf to invoke fruitfulness among their herds; to present the daily offering of milk at their temples; and to superintend the funeral rites. Of actual or of assembled worship, they have none, so far as I could discover, though, individually, they offer up occasional prayers to an Invisible Being for recovery or preservation from sickness.

346 Their temples differ but little in appearance from the ordinary huts. One of them, standing in a pretty little glen, near the road between Jakatalla and Coonoor, I made an examination of at a time when the *mund*, about half a mile off, to which it belonged was deserted by its inhabitants. Creeping in on all fours, I discovered, as well as the darkness permitted, that it contained nothing whatever but a square metal bell and a shapeless black stone, about twice the size of a man's head, the latter placed alone on the floor at the end furthest from the entrance. Being unwilling to bring this out to the light, I could not ascertain whether its colour was natural or artificial. The size precluded the notion of its being an aerolite, although it is well known that meteoric stones have been, in the early history of many countries, regarded with religious awe. To this temple, I
782 had often previously seen the priest from the neighbouring *mund* bring, in the early morning, a vessel of new milk; but whether the offering was poured out, as some say it is, as a libation, or merely presented and taken away again, I had no means of ascertaining without the risk of giving annoyance.

000 It will be borne in mind that black stones have, from the earliest times, been objects of reverence or actual adoration from east to west; as, for instance, in Mecca, also among the ancient Romans, and even in the western islands of Scotland, where, moreover, milk was offered to them. Bells, too, have been, in past ages, regarded with veneration, and as having mysterious powers over demons and evil spirits, not only by various Eastern races and castes, but in ancient Britain.

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

refer, had we not been accompanied, or rather introduced, by the Moravian missionary, Mr. Metz, whom I have already mentioned as being so much esteemed by the tribe. 000

Our ride to Kapilla, the scene of these interesting rites, lay for some miles over a fine open undulating table-land dotted with enormous rhododendrons, which were loaded with clusters of dark crimson flowers. Gradually we got into higher ground, now pressing our hill-ponies up steep acclivities, now skirting the edge of great forest belts stretching downwards for many a mile into the sultry valleys at our feet, till, guided by the appearance of a few distant natives wending their way towards an isolated wood on one of the surrounding mist-covered peaks, we at length came within hearing of the shrill and very peculiar sound of Khota hautboys. 766 137

Leaving our ponies, we entered a deep shadowy wood of moss-grown trees, whose gnarled and twisted stems and branches were also completely covered overhead and down to the ground with ferns, orchids, long pendent tufts of grey lichen, and parasitical plants, one with dark glossy leaves and an orange flower being especially beautiful.

In an open space, near the centre of this shady grove, and lit up by the bright rays of the midday sun, was a surging crowd of white-robed Todas, and half-naked Khotas with wild and excited looks, whose unmusical pipes drowned all other sounds. Outside the wood, on an open green space, stood a Toda temple, having its gable-ends of polished wood thickly studded over with silver coins of various sizes, fixed in perpendicular rows on each alternate plank. Near at hand was a small temporary shed, or ridge-shaped tent, made of pieces of native cloth, whilst at a little distance off was a large circular *tooel*, or cattle kraal, with a wall both higher and thicker and altogether much more substantial than usual. It was constructed of stones and sun-baked clay, the entrance being barred with stout poles. 766 346

Within this enclosure stood ten splendid buffaloes, their clean bright skins and polished horns indicating that some pains had been taken to improve their naturally fine appearance. 766

Crowds of women and children stood or sat about the temple, in which a party of the former had just placed the deceased's robe and ornaments, together with two bags containing his ashes. With the exception of the younger children, who were naked

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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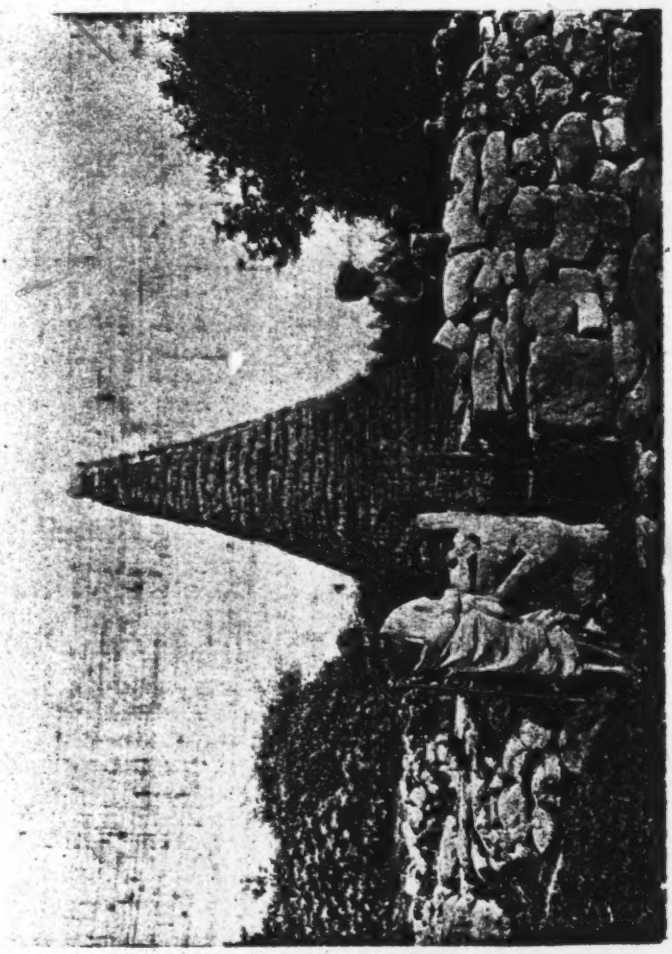

"TODA CATHEDRAL"

[facing p. 131]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghāt, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [184] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 178 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [164] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which, taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

[113]

* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kišker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low
797 status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime.
794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the aban-
[177] doned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the
[341] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the
[346] more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts
[182] themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final
[162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research
[113] Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small
[104] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ʂ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [š] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [c] and [ʒ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ö] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯuː] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [uː].

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

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Fig. 22. A typical Toda mad in the Nilgiris: Karsh, near Ootacamund.

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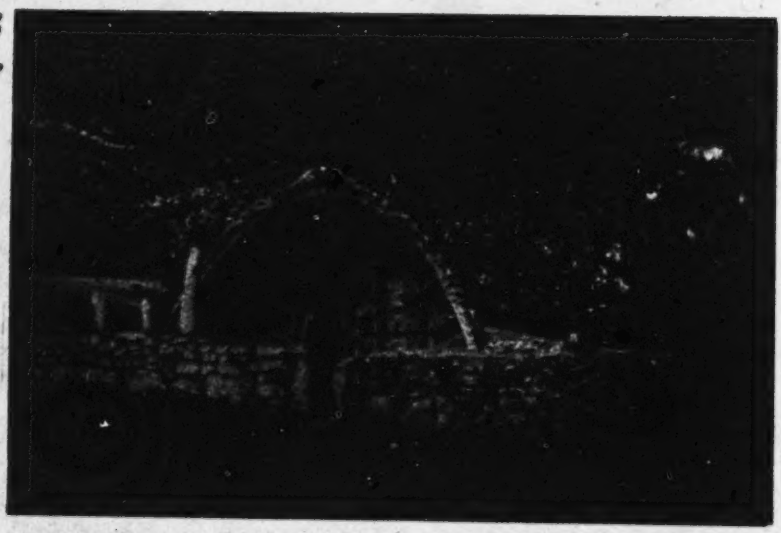

[193] Fig. 23. The *tarvali* of Melgarsh: Motsod, the *tarvalikartmokh* in his black *tuni* at the door.

[P 300-A]

192 adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral
764 is called by the Badagas *bara kedu*, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted. I never heard these terms used by the Todas themselves, who always spoke of the *etvainolkedr* and the *marvainolkedr*, though it seemed that the first funeral might sometimes be called *karchokedr*, which probably means fresh or green funeral.

177 The funeral ceremonies have undergone some modifica-
764 tion in recent times owing to the intervention of the Government. Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person. This has had most influence on the second funeral ceremonies, which, largely owing to this prohibition, are now much less elaborate and prolonged than in former times.

764 The funeral ceremonies are held at certain appointed places called *kertnòdr*, different for each clan. Sometimes these places are at, or close to, villages where the people are now living; sometimes they are at places which were formerly inhabited; while in other cases, again, there is no evidence that the funeral places have ever been inhabited. In every case, whether inhabited or not, the place where a funeral is held is called a *mad*, the same name as is used for a village.

Each clan has at least two funeral places, one for males and the other for females, and in several cases a clan has more than one funeral place for each sex. Some clans have different places for the two funeral ceremonies, and the Piedrol, who have one outlying branch of their clan at Kavidi in the Wainad, have special funeral places for the first funeral of members of this branch, the second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, being held at the chief funeral place of the clan. Others, again, have a special place for boys who have not passed through the ear-piercing ceremony.

349 In general, a funeral hut (see Fig. 48) is specially built for
764 the reception of the dead body, this hut being usually erected within a stone circle found at the funeral place. At the funeral of a male, this hut is called *kertnòdrpali* or *neilpali*. It is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

left standing after the funeral and may be used on a second occasion if it has not fallen into too great disorder. 349 764

Five clans of the Tartharol possess special dairies, each with three rooms which are used as funeral huts. These buildings are habitually or occasionally used as dairies; but when a man of the clan dies his body is laid in the outermost of the three rooms, either on the day of the funeral or for two or 343 234

FIG. 48.—FUNERAL HUT ROUND WHICH WOMEN ARE LAMENTING. SEVERAL PAIRS ARE PRESSING THEIR FOREHEADS TOGETHER. THE HUT IS NOT WITHIN A STONE CIRCLE, SHOWING THAT THE FUNERAL IS NOT BEING HELD AT AN OLD FUNERAL PLACE.

three days before it. While a dead body is lying in the dairy, women are allowed to enter the outermost room just as they may go into any other funeral hut, but they may not pass beyond. Men are allowed to enter the middle room, but the innermost room is only entered by the dairyman, who carries on his dairy work as usual.

349 The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now
343 exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and
Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with
764 three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the vil-
234 lage. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

349 At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for
764 the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *nersars* for the first funeral, and *kursars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

766 If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

person, and if two or more funerals are held simultaneously it gives an appearance of the olden times. So far as I could ascertain, however, the funerals of two or more people only take place together when they belong to the same clan. 765 177

In some cases, however, the funeral places of two or more clans are very near one another. In such a case there might be a certain amount of combination of the different ceremonies, but some of the rites would be carried out at different spots for each clan. Something of this kind appears to have happened at the funeral ceremonies recorded by Mr. Thurston (*Bull.* i., p. 176). Similarly the *marvainolkedr* of a man or woman of the same clan may be held simultaneously owing to the fact that the funeral places for the two sexes are usually close to one another. The buffaloes would, however, be killed at different places, and the remains would not be burnt and buried at the same *azaram*. 765 618

Owing to the custom of having the *marvainolkedr* of several people simultaneously, it has often been supposed that the Todas have a kind of anniversary ceremony for all those who have died during the year, but there is no doubt that this is wrong. There was a large *marvainolkedr* soon after I left the hills (in January, 1903), but it was a ceremony for two women only, Narskuti (63 and 56), and Tersveli (63 and 52), both belonging to the Kuudrol, and it was held at Kurkalmut, the proper funeral place for the women of Kuudr. It is quite possible that owing to the restrictions on the slaughter of buffaloes it may become more and more the custom to hold several *marvainolkedr* simultaneously, and that this custom may develop into an anniversary ceremony. This could only come about, however, by throwing over the custom that the funerals of each clan should be held at a definitely appointed place, and there is no doubt that this has not yet happened. 765

At the second funeral ceremony the relics are placed in a special hut, and at a man's funeral the hut has the same name as at the *etvainolkedr*, and apparently it may sometimes happen that the same hut is used at both ceremonies. The second funeral is not always held, however, at the same place 349 765

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

765 as the first, and the interval between the two ceremonies may be so great that it may have become necessary to rebuild the
349 hut. At the only *marvainolkedr* at which I was present a new hut had been built for the occasion.

The hut at the second funeral of a woman differs in name from that of the first funeral, being called *kursars* instead of *nersars*. After the second funeral the *kursars* is burnt down, but my notes do not make it clear whether the *nersars* is always burnt down after the first funeral, or whether it may not sometimes be kept for the second ceremony. The difference of name, however, makes this improbable.

If the *marvainolkedr* of two or more people are held simultaneously, a hut is built for the remains of each; thus, at the ceremony in January, 1903, there were two huts, one for Narskuti and the other for Tersveli.

765 The relics, now called the *narskedr*, are brought to the funeral place on a bier made of bamboo, and called *kailpedrkudr* instead of *mänpedrkudr* (wood bier) as at the first funeral. The *narskedr* is wrapped in an embroidered mantle (*pukuruputkuli*) and placed in the hut, and then all the women of the dead person's division who are present cry together, forehead to forehead, in the usual manner. The chief things to be burnt with the remains are also placed within the hut.

At a funeral witnessed by Mr. Thurston the relics were taken from a hole cut at the base of a tree, and the hair was unwrapped from off the skull, burnt in an iron ladle, and anointed with clarified butter before being placed in its cloth. This was probably a ceremony which should have been performed on the following morning at the *asaramkedr* (see p. 379).

As on the former occasion, a man's funeral begins with the ceremony of earth-throwing, which is carried out in the same way as at the *etvainolkedr*. The *narskedr* is laid at the entrance of the buffalo pen, and earth is thrown into the pen and on the remains in the manner already described. There is nothing corresponding to the *tiveri tur* ceremony of the woman's first funeral.

At the present time the driving, catching, and killing of the buffaloes are carried out in very much the same way as at the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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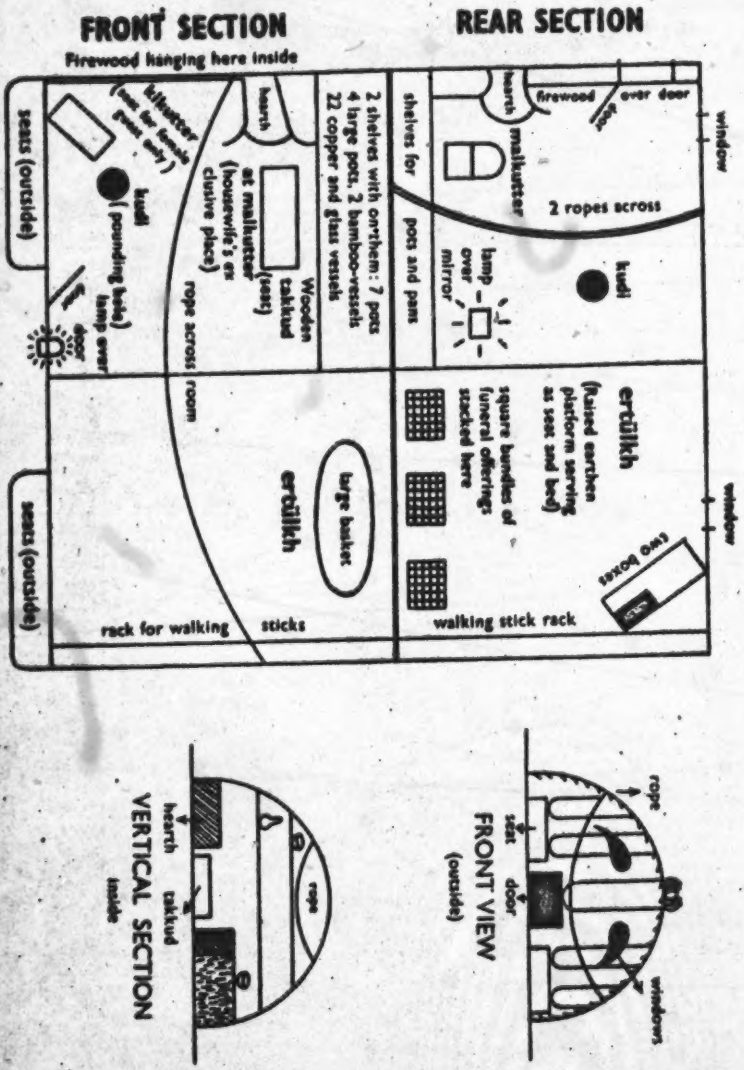

Fig. 19. House No. 1, the *Warthuttlarsh*.
Inhabitants of front part: Karnoz, Naisirwuf, Sodup and Odzel; the last named sleeps on the floor, the other three on the *ertülkh*.
Inhabitants of the rear part: Singharsh, Amoniwuf, Singud and Munbokwutn; the last named sleeps on the *ertülkh* with either of the brothers, while the other alternatively sleeps on the floor with the common wife.

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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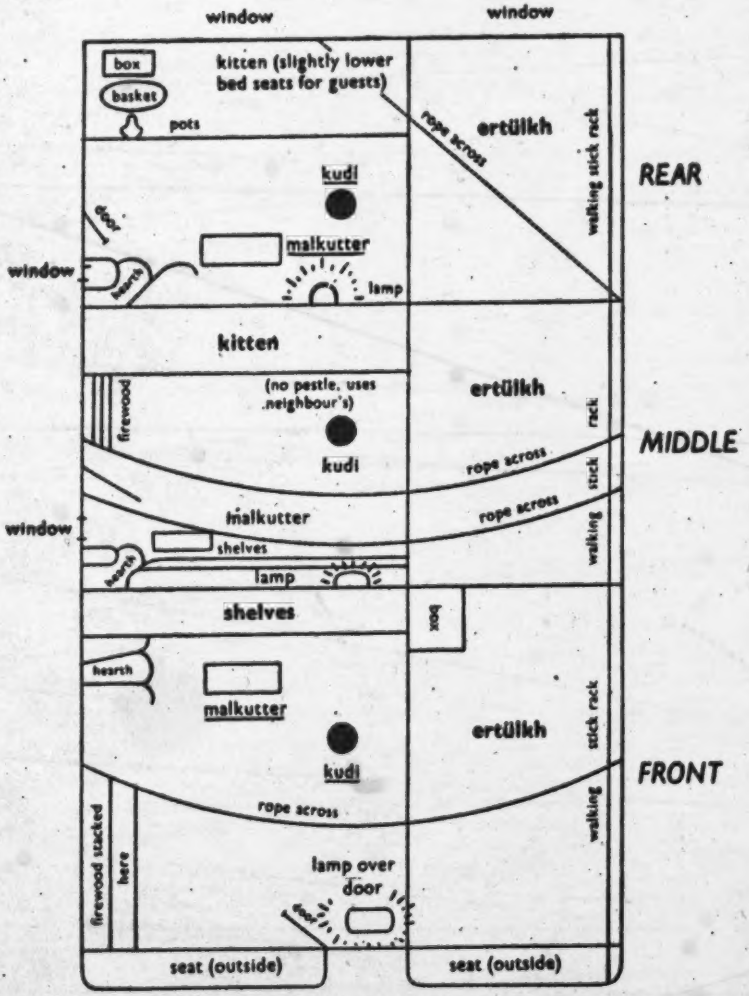

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Fig. 20. House No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*.

Inhabitants in the front part: Padz, Silidz, Narjilkh, and Pengelam; the two children sleep at the feet of their grandparents, who have their heads nearest the door; guests are accomodated on the *ertülkh*, while the inhabitants sleep on the floor.

Inhabitants in the middle part: Puvkiaroz and Mutmali; they sleep together on the *ertülkh*; guests are accomodated on the *kitten*.

Inhabitants of the rear part: Mutnarsh, Erzigwuf, Kupidz and Sodam; the new-born twins were also put up here with their mother; the father sleeps with the little girl on the *kitten*, the two women sleep on the *ertülkh*, one at each end.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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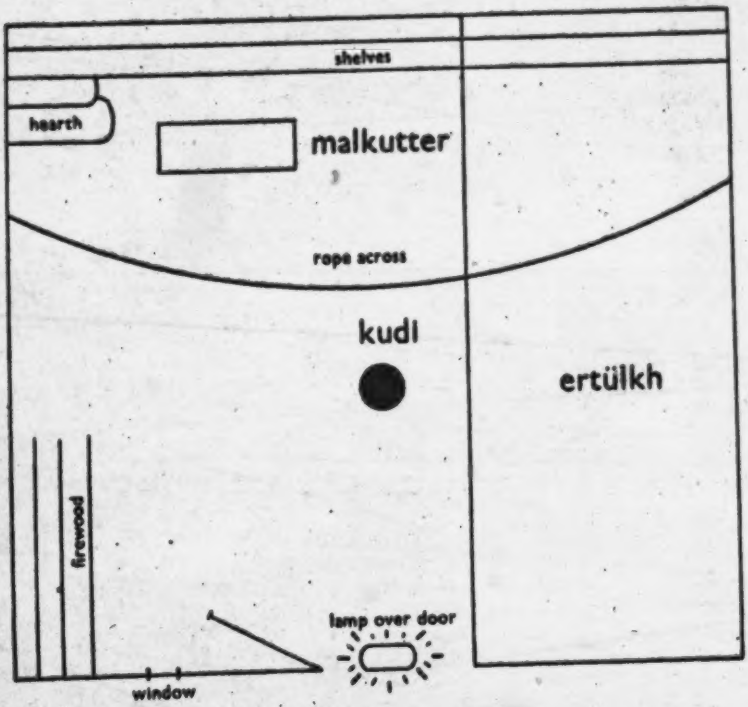

Fig. 21. House No. 3, the *Pudharsh*.

Inhabitants: Pilkhlivowutn, Närshmali, Motsod, Izam and Kirsharswutn; the two first of these sleep on the *ertülkh*, the older couple on the floor, the younger boy sleeps on the *ertülkh* too, with his head towards the back of the arsh. Motsod is very often out, either as priest-dairyman, when he sleeps in the tarvali, or to see friends in other mads. Kirsharswutn often helps his father in the tarvali, when he also sleeps in the dairy-temple.

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361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the necessaries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
196 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
361 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several
621 huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
●351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
361 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough
417 to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

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Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 487 562

In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

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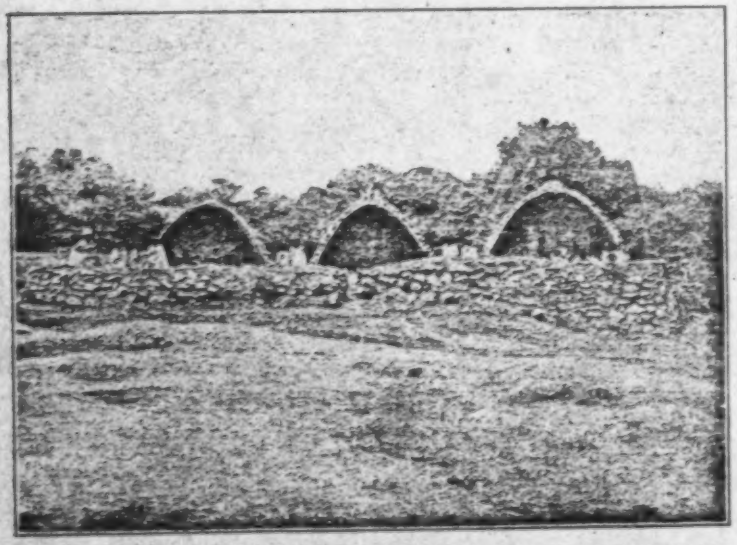

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FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

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234 554 778 784 793 When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 25.—THE 'POH 'OF KANDRE. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotarz*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tiin*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pohkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

292 793

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 At Mòdr, the diary place I know best, all the buildings
343 and objects of the *ti mad* are shut off from the outer world
351 either by walls or by the natural configuration of the ground or forest. Within this screen, partly natural and partly artificial, there is the large milking-ground which may be entered by the buffaloes from two directions, and on one side of this are the three pens, the two dairies, and other buildings.

The more important of the two dairies has situated close to it the sleeping-hut and two huts for the calves, and this small group of buildings, shown in Fig. 27, is surrounded by a wall like that round the ordinary village dairy, leaving little space between the wall and buildings. These buildings, being within the outer boundaries of the *ti mad*, are already well screened from the world, and in consequence the surrounding wall is low. The other dairy is situated on the boundary, so that it can be seen by anyone outside the *ti mad*, and the wall around it is therefore high, so that a person standing outside can see nothing of the proceedings of the dairyman. At Mòdr the water springs are at some distance from the dairies and there is a special path by which the *palol* goes from the dairy to fetch water.

At another dairy, that of Anto, there is one path by which the *palol* goes to fetch water and another by which he returns, but I do not know if this is so at all dairies.

Although I visited Mòdr on many occasions, I never had an opportunity to investigate the buildings closely. I was never allowed to go within the walls enclosing the dairies, much less to go inside these buildings. If the annual programme of the *ti* had been carried out, the buffaloes would have left this place before the end of my visit, and I intended to make a thorough inspection after they had gone; but owing to various causes I mention elsewhere (see Chap. VI) the herds stayed at Mòdr till after my departure, and I had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact plan of the dairies and their surroundings.

234 The dairy of a *ti* always has two rooms, an inner room, the
343 *ulkkursh*, and an outer room, the *pòrmunkursh*. These are
352 divided from one another by a screen, or *patun*, which stretches

+ One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not
234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

THE KARS TI

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I
621 could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
773 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs. The story runs that Anto created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

234 618 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 764 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday, and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Òdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Külthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

621 361 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts, so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum. 621 351 234

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*. 211 621 778

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among 234 621

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. 234
There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalars* 621
which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning.

Isharadr and *Peletkwur*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy 351
and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol.

Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are 621
still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Türskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tüli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr.

PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and 618
are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name 621
for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the

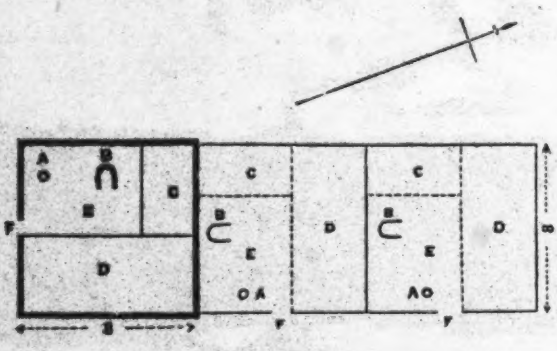
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation[1] is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces by a low enclosure wall—Tûar[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shri becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[1] [See p. 62 -- Analyst]

CHAP. VI.

351 originated in any defensive project, whether as protection from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals. Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for
361 egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed
417 merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

417 In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the
234 pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm* Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

[343] The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

333 Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for
417 Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

* [letters did not reproduce here in the original text--Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 21

opp. p. 164

346
351

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

CONICAL TEMPLE.

BOATH.

CHAP. XIX.

346 The appearance of the building is as follows; a conical thatched roof on a circular wall of very stout planking. The wall about four cubits high. The whole edifice some fourteen or fifteen cubits tall and six cubits in diameter. At a distance of approximately six cubits, the temple is surrounded by a massive wall of uncut stone, put together without cement, two cubits broad and three in height.

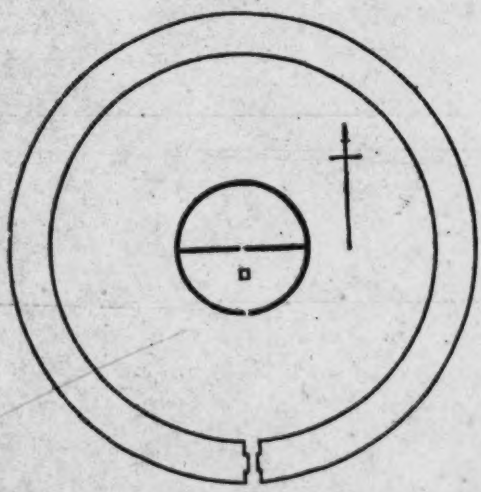
351

333

346 I have represented in the sketch the wall as partially

351

No. 20.



CONICAL TEMPLE—BOATH.

thrown down, with a view to displaying the entire building, but in reality the circuit of the wall is complete.

346 The apex of the cone is crowned with a large stone, placed there apparently with the object—however inadequate the conception—of steadying the roof, or perhaps excluding rain from that weak point.

000 Some days subsequent to this visit, selecting a dark night for the purpose, and accompanied by a friend—who, I had better at once state, was not the reverend companion who has

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. "A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
325 " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
519 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
" on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
" of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
415 " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

• 351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Manî*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mattt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Manî*.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351 two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343 is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342] dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193] than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354] place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, some- 417 what like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 233 mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422] possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487 Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562] women. Within the village there are also certain recog- nised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234] the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562] go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

342 the hut is always very small, and is closed by a door which slides over the opening on its inner side.

Some houses are much longer than others, with a door at each end and a central partition, so as to form a double hut which is called *epotirikhthars*, *i.e.*, "both-ways-turned house." This kind of hut did not seem to be common, and I only saw three or four examples, of which one is shown in Fig. 8.

A much more common kind of double hut is called *merkalars*, *i.e.*, "other-side house," in which the back part of the hut is partitioned off, with a door at one side.

342
343

FIG. 8.—THE VILLAGE OF PEIVÒRS, SHOWING A DOUBLE HUT (IN THE BACKGROUND). THE TWO BUILDINGS ON THE LEFT ARE DAIRIES, AND THE STRUCTURE IN THE CENTRE IS A CALF-HOUSE.

166 In some Toda villages there may now be found huts of the
177 same kind as those of the Badagas. In the cases in which I
342 found such huts, I was told that they had been built by Badagas who had lived in the villages while the Toda occupants were away. Todas may also occasionally be found living away from their own villages, usually near tea plantations. They do this because there is a demand for buffalo manure at the plantations, and when living in this way they not uncommonly use huts of the Badaga pattern.

342 In front of the hut on either side of the door there are
352 usually raised seats called *kwottün*, and there are similar

342 raised portions, called *tün*, within the huts on which the people
352 sleep. The floor of the hut is divided into two parts, which are marked off from one another by the hole in which grain is pounded by the women. The part in front of this is often used for churning, and with this part women have nothing to do, their operations being limited to the hinder part.

291

FIG. 9.—A TODA MAN, SIRIAR (20), WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILD, SHOWING THE ORDINARY METHOD OF WEARING THE 'PUTKULI.'

There is little difference between the dress of men and women. Each wears a mantle called the *putkuli*, which is worn thrown round the shoulders without any fastening. Under it is worn a loin-cloth called *tadrp*, and the men also wear a perineal band called *kuvn*, corresponding to the Hindu *languti*. The *kuvn* is kept in position by a string round the waist called *pennar*, a string which, we shall see later, is of considerable ceremonial importance.

There are various ways of wearing the cloak which will be

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tün*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitün* (*meiltün*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitün*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waskal*. [354]

234 The room of the dairy which contains the dairy vessels
343 is divided into three parts: the *patatmar*, the *ertatmar*, and
352 the *kalkani*.

412 The *patatmar* takes its name from the *patat*, an earthenware
415 vessel into which the milk is poured from the milking vessel and in which it is churned. The vessels kept in this part of the inner room, which are known collectively as *patatpur*, are those which are actually used in the milking and churning.

The *ertatmar* takes its name from the *ertat*, a bamboo vessel used to carry buttermilk or butter out of the dairy. The *ertat* and the vessels kept with it, known collectively as the *ertatpur*, are those which receive the products of the churning or are used to convey these products out of the dairy. The lamp and the fire-sticks used for making fire by friction are also kept in this part of the dairy.

In the third part of the room, called the *kalkani*, are kept leaves, firewood, knives, and various sticks or wands. According to some accounts, the vessel called *penpariv* is also kept here.

When the dairy vessels are taken into a new dairy (see Chap. VI.), they are placed on ferns. I do not know whether they always rest on a bed of ferns or whether the ferns are only used when the vessels are first placed in the dairy.

234 The following is a list of the *patatpur*, the vessels and other
412 objects which are kept in the part of the dairy called
415 *patatmar*:

Patat or *tat*. Earthenware vessels into which the freshly drawn milk is poured and in which it is churned (Fig. 18, F). There are several of these vessels, one of which may be used to hold water.

Irkartpun or *patatpun*. The bamboo milking-vessel (Fig. 18, I).

Parskadrvenmu or *parskadrpenmu*, *i.e.*, milk churn butter *mu* (Fig. 18, H). This is also sometimes called *kashmu*, and is a small earthenware vessel in which is kept the butter (*pen*) which is added while churning. Except when the churning is in progress, it is used as a cover for the *patat*.

Adimu. An earthenware vessel (Fig. 18, K) into which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters. 562 784 793

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursoi* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

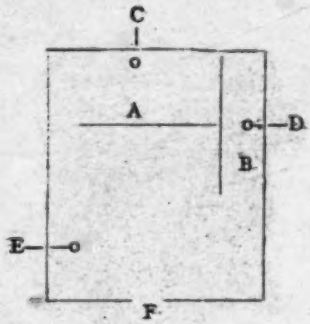
Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms. 234 343 778 788

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 343 352

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made
352 by Kòdrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Pàtatmar*.
B. *Ertatmar*.
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Waskal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

357 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same
512 general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and
788 method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to
272 the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to
415 the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 343 351 At Mòdr, the diary place I know best, all the buildings and objects of the *ti mad* are shut off from the outer world either by walls or by the natural configuration of the ground or forest. Within this screen, partly natural and partly artificial, there is the large milking-ground which may be entered by the buffaloes from two directions, and on one side of this are the three pens, the two dairies, and other buildings.

The more important of the two dairies has situated close to it the sleeping-hut and two huts for the calves, and this small group of buildings, shown in Fig. 27, is surrounded by a wall like that round the ordinary village dairy, leaving little space between the wall and buildings. These buildings, being within the outer boundaries of the *ti mad*, are already well screened from the world, and in consequence the surrounding wall is low. The other dairy is situated on the boundary, so that it can be seen by anyone outside the *ti mad*, and the wall around it is therefore high, so that a person standing outside can see nothing of the proceedings of the dairyman. At Mòdr the water springs are at some distance from the dairies and there is a special path by which the *palol* goes from the dairy to fetch water.

At another dairy, that of Anto, there is one path by which the *palol* goes to fetch water and another by which he returns, but I do not know if this is so at all dairies.

Although I visited Mòdr on many occasions, I never had an opportunity to investigate the buildings closely. I was never allowed to go within the walls enclosing the dairies, much less to go inside these buildings. If the annual programme of the *ti* had been carried out, the buffaloes would have left this place before the end of my visit, and I intended to make a thorough inspection after they had gone; but owing to various causes I mention elsewhere (see Chap. VI) the herds stayed at Mòdr till after my departure, and I had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact plan of the dairies and their surroundings.

234 343 352 The dairy of a *ti* always has two rooms, an inner room, the *ulkkursh*, and an outer room, the *pòrmunkursh*. These are divided from one another by a screen, or *patun*, which stretches

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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343
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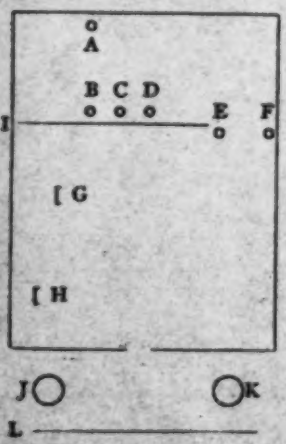
about two-thirds of the way across the breadth of the building and is about three feet high. The *palol* stands in the outer room and performs the dairy operations proper to the inner room leaning over the top of the screen. The object of the screen is to keep the sacred objects of the dairy from the gaze of anyone who may look in, and especially from that of the *kaltmokh*; but in the only dairy of the kind into which I had the chance of looking, the screen was made of vertical sticks with wide intervals between them, so that I could easily see through. This dairy was, however, unoccupied, and if dairy vessels had been there, it is possible that they would



A. *Mani.*
B, C, D. The three *persin.*
E. The *idrkwoi.*
F. The lamp.
G. The *palkhatitthwashal.*
H. The *thratthwashal.*
I. The *patun.*
J, K. The *pokvolharz.*
L. The screen in front of the dairy.

FIG. 26.—SHOWING THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE TI DAIRY.

have been screened from view in some way. In this dairy the screen extended from the right-hand wall as one looked in, but at Mòdr I was told that the screen was attached to the left-hand wall, and there were certain facts which make it almost certain that this statement is correct, though I had not the opportunity of confirming it by actual observation.

I did not discover whether there were any differences between the internal arrangements of the conical dairies and those of the dairies of the ordinary form. Breeks has given a description of the conical dairy at Anto, and from this it would seem that the dairy is divided into two rooms by a

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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partition extending to the roof, the two rooms communicating by a door. There are two possibilities as to procedure. It is possible that only one room of this dairy is used for the ceremonial and that it is again divided by an incomplete screen into inner and outer rooms, or it may be that the dairyman churns in the inner room. I have no information on this point, but the general nature of the churning procedure at the *ti* dairy makes it highly probable that the former supposition is correct and that the inner room is divided into two parts.

In the plan on p. 87, I have adopted the arrangement in which the *patun*, or screen, is attached to the left-hand side of the building, but this is certainly not the case in all diaries. In some dairies also the fireplaces are on the other side.

THE CONTENTS OF THE POH

(*a*) In the inner room.	One *mani*. Three *persin*. Two *thrum*. Two *kòghlag*. One *persinkudriki*. One *pohvet* or *pohpet*. One *kwoi*. One *kwoinörtpet*. Several *tedshk*.
(*b*) Between inner and outer rooms.	*Pelk*, or lamp. *Idrkwoi*.
(*c*) In the outer room.	Two fireplaces { *Pelkhatitthwashal*. *Thratthwashal*. Several *alug*. *Uppun*. *Mörkudriki*. *Karpun*. *Turavali*. *Gudshoi*. Unused *kòghlag*.

Another vessel, the *mòrpun*, is kept in the sleeping-hut, where two or more horns are also kept which are blown by the *kaltmokh* every night before going to rest.

The things of the inner room correspond in general to those of the *patatmar* in the ordinary dairy, and the things of the outer room correspond to those of the *ertatmar*. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 things of the outer room are sometimes called the *alugpur*,
343 just as those in the village dairy are called *ertatpur*, but I
352 did not hear of any corresponding term for the things of the inner room. I have no record of the place where the fire-sticks (*nirsi*) are kept, but they will almost certainly belong to the outer room, since, in the village, they belong to the *ertatmar*.

234 The nature of each of the vessels and other objects of the
412 dairy[1] is as follows:

415 *Persin*. This is an earthenware vessel containing about five *kudi*, *i.e.*, 2½ gallons. The freshly churned milk is poured into and churned in three of these vessels. The *persin* corresponds to the *patat* of the village dairy.

Tòrzum. This is an earthenware vessel containing two or three *kudi*. Two of these vessels are kept in the inner room, one, called the *karitòrzum*, to hold water, and the other to hold the butter added while churning. The latter is called the *peptòrzum* because it is also used to give butter-milk to the buffaloes on certain occasions. When not in use the two *tòrzum* are placed on and act as covers for two of the *persin*. The *tòrzum* corresponds to the *mu* of the ordinary dairy.

Kòghlag. This is the churning-stick which corresponds to the *madth*. Both *kòghlag* and *madth* are alike in having the peculiar shape shown in Fig. 18 (see also p. 111). The thong by means of which the stick is turned, ordinarily called *palv*, is here called *poinurs*, and consists of a strip of the skin of a male calf. The *kòghlag* is made by the *palol* from bamboo growing on the Nilgiris. In addition to two used and kept in the inner room, five or six new churning-sticks are kept in the outer room.

Persinkudriki. This is a small piece of bamboo with a handle called *tutth*, used to knock against the *persin* when praying.

Pokvet (*pokpet*). A wand used when praying.

Kwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about three *kudi*. It is the vessel taken out by the *palol* to milk the buffaloes. It corresponds to the *irkartpun* of the village dairy and is made by the *palol* from bamboo obtained by the *kaltmokh*.

1 [The Poh--Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name. 173 221 234 621 773

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Ödrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Ödrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*. 234 552

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak 234 343 352

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 343 352 which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

173 234 618 773 793 The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vêdrmâ, kârs wadrth vêdrmâ, mân mas vêdrmâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas have two kinds of fireplace, the waskal, consisting of three stones, and the *kudrvars*, with four stones. 354
The former is found in the dwelling-hut, in the *wursuli*, and in the *ti* dairy, and the latter in the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*; but I did not discover why the more sacred dairies should have the same kind of fireplace as the house. According to one account *waskal* is the name used by the Teivaliol and *kudrvars* by the Tartharol, and it may be that this is the explanation of the apparent anomaly.

THE HOUSE

Various parts of the house have definite names, and may 342
only be used for certain purposes. As we have already seen, 352
there are raised seats both outside and inside the house, the latter being used as beds. These are made of earth, the upper surface of which is made level, and the whole is usually well coated with a layer of dried buffalo-dung, sometimes nearly half an inch thick. The general name for these raised parts is *tün*, the seats outside the building on either side of the door being called *kwottün*, while the bed on the right side of the interior is the *meitün*, and that on the left side the *kitün*. The part of the hut where the bed or beds stand is called the *idrtul*.

The floor is called *kuter*, and this is divided into two parts by the hole in which the women pound the grain. The part near the door is called *kikuter*, and it is in this part only that dairy operations may be carried on. The part behind the pounding hole is especially assigned to the women and is called *meilkuter*.[1]

The end wall, on which various objects, such as sticks, are kept is called *tashten*, and the fireplace, usually on one side, is called *waskal*. The part above the fireplace where firewood is kept is called *waskalkûbi*, and the place of the cooking vessels is called *adikudi*. The western side of the hut is 342
sometimes called the *meilmakol*, and the eastern side the

[1] It might have been expected that the part of the floor near the door used for the dairy operations would be the *meilkuter*, but it is not so. *Meil* also means 'west,' and the explanation may be connected with this.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VI.

air themselves, and perform various offices of a domestic and social (entomological) nature.

342 The people have been at much pains to exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings: and were it not for cracks, caused by the contraction of the material of which they are constructed, their rooms might have been rendered quite uninhabitable. As primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, have far more to fear from cold than from heat, these 'beehives' are, on the whole, well adapted for comfort and for the preservation of infant life.

I think that when these houses were originally built, they were designed with one room only. I judge so, partly from the Toda name for a house and for a room being identical, and in part from the symmetrical arrangement of the door and verandah; also, from noticing that the second and third doors at the side, appear like an after-thought, out of keeping with the original design, and holding awkward positions in a house whose roof is continuous to the ground. I deduce from these appearances that their numbers have increased since they first established themselves where we now find them.

It may be interesting to my readers to be able to form an idea of the mode in which the very small area of a savage's house is utilised for cooking, eating, and sleeping purposes.

342 Be it remembered that the room is 8 ft. long, 8 ft. broad,
356 and 8 ft. high; and that, as Chapter X. shows us, as many as
372 eight people board and lodge in this diminutive space. The
352 plan (No. 11) which, without any deviation, is that of every
252 Toda dwelling, shows the mode in which room is economised. Against the walls, at a convenient height over both store and fire-place, slips of split cane are fastened vertically, so as to form slings; into which firewood is neatly inserted, and in which it rapidly dries. The women are careful to keep a supply of dry wood in this manner: hence they are able to cook without making much smoke, using as they do, with a skill that seems to be the common property of all the natives of India, only one or two little sticks at a time.

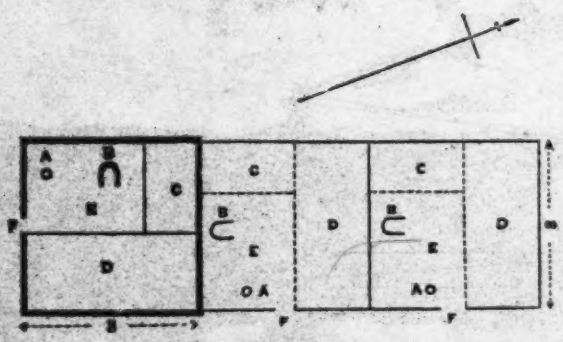
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation[1] is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces by a low enclosure wall—Tûsr[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûsr, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shri becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[1] [See p. 62 -- Analyst]

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. "A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
[335] " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
513 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
" on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
● 352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
415 " of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
" a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Maní*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mand*.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sāmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part [353] of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertilkh*, the raised earthen
[515] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershal*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sāmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up [353] from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

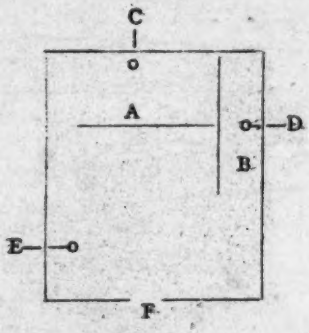
When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tün*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitün* (*meiltün*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitün*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waskal*. [354]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 *ertatmar.* The following sketch of the arrangement was made
352 by Kòdrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Pitatmar.*
B. *Ertatmar.*
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Waskal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same
512 general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and
788 method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to
272 the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to
415 the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions. 234 778

There were several points of interest about the lamps used to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspoh*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *önavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*ponnol*), and on most days only one is used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is butter. 234 354 [314] [177]

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *tòratthwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 354 other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkafttth-waskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

THE DAILY LIFE AT THE TI

234 512 788 793 The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say "*ekirzam meidjam*."[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *tòratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *pòdrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the Pan *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf. 173 234 618

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55). 773 793

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.' 234 552 778

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Pûthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Ônâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost. 234 354 552

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.) 773 778

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the *warspoh*.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light it gives are also undoubtedly reverenced, and lighting the lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character.

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not reverenced merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces, one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light the sacred lamp directly from it.

The fire of the *tòratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, and especially at those called *teutütusthchi* and *erkumptthpimi* and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman conducting the ceremony. At the *azaramkedr* of a man the fire is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas have two kinds of fireplace, the waskal, consisting of three stones, and the *kudrvars*, with four stones. 354
The former is found in the dwelling-hut, in the *wursuli*, and in the *ti* dairy, and the latter in the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*; but I did not discover why the more sacred dairies should have the same kind of fireplace as the house. According to one account *waskal* is the name used by the Teivaliol and *kudrvars* by the Tartharol, and it may be that this is the explanation of the apparent anomaly.

THE HOUSE

Various parts of the house have definite names, and may 342
only be used for certain purposes. As we have already seen, 352
there are raised seats both outside and inside the house, the latter being used as beds. These are made of earth, the upper surface of which is made level, and the whole is usually well coated with a layer of dried buffalo-dung, sometimes nearly half an inch thick. The general name for these raised parts is *tün*, the seats outside the building on either side of the door being called *kwottün*, while the bed on the right side of the interior is the *meitün*, and that on the left side the *kitün*. The part of the hut where the bed or beds stand is called the *idrtul*.

The floor is called *kuter*, and this is divided into two parts by the hole in which the women pound the grain. The part near the door is called *kikuter*, and it is in this part only that dairy operations may be carried on. The part behind the pounding hole is especially assigned to the women and is called *meilkuter*.[1]

The end wall, on which various objects, such as sticks, are kept is called *tashten*, and the fireplace, usually on one side, is called *waskal*. The part above the fireplace where firewood is kept is called *waskalkûbi*, and the place of the cooking vessels is called *adikudi*. The western side of the hut is 342
sometimes called the *meilmakol*, and the eastern side the

[1] It might have been expected that the part of the floor near the door used for the dairy operations would be the *meilkuter*, but it is not so. *Meil* also means 'west,' and the explanation may be connected with this.

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. "A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
[325] " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
519 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
" is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
● 354 " on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
415 " of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
" a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Mané*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mané*.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sāmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part [353] of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351 two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343 is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342] dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193] than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354] place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417 mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233 enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422] possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487 Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562] women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234] the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562] go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly. 776 778 [821] [354]

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the küasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of küasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toiṛθasoɨ̨ moiety, but not among the töüfiɨ̨joɨ̨), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tiɨ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of küasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one küasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one küasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the küasm. 778 552 [788] [614] [103]

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and küasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. üuṣoiṛ of the melgaiṛsoɨ̨ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paiṛg (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maikaiṛ of the kaiṛsoɨ̨ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiɨ-places of this sib. toiṛjaɨ̨ of the kaiṛsoɨ̨ (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kuṛpoɨ̨j dairy at the mund kaiṛ. komdüaiṛ of the toiṛoiṛoɨ̨ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoɨ̨j dairy at the mund toiṛoiṛ. pepoib of the melpaiṛsoɨ̨ (44, Pepeb) has the name of a snake said to live at kuiṛsaiṛ, a mund of the sib. köiṛoiṛzüuṭṇ of the köiṛoiṛoɨ̨ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second küasm of the people of the sib. oiṛjaṛz of the puṛgoiṛoɨ̨ (34, Athars) has the second küasm of the people of the sib. munoimbiṛʃtj, son of kotsiöj (12, Kacheidi) has one of the küasm of the buffaloes of his sib. 778 551 614

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized
851 one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically; they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman – which
851 appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely
[843] at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives, and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia
[824] Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp,
[354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from *mark* grass (Andropogon schoenanthus).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother (in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying, after the *kwarshm* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, pursvat!* (To Terkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs*
[W4] *iveru?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*, as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsh* name for the bow. Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something

all houses are thatched with grass and

bamboo, fastened with split rattan, and are either constructed in curved outline like the tilt of a waggon, or brought to an angle at the top, with a wooden ridge-pole, similar to the form of construction met with in more civilised life. The first method of roofing—which is peculiar, not being found amongst any of the surrounding tribes—is that universally employed amongst the well-to-do. The latter, which is probably cheaper, and certainly more simple to make, but endures less the violence of storms, is ordinarily adopted by poor people, and for houses of a temporary nature requiring to be erected in a hurry.

CHAP. VI.

335 342 556

The two end walls, which are invariably gabled, are made of very stout planking: and where the house consists of more than one room, the partition wall is of the exact same construction as the outer walls. The side walls, in the tilt-waggon houses, are formed by carrying the roof down to the ground, in which the ends of the curved bamboo rafters are all imbedded. At the line of junction with the earth, flat stones are used in order to throw the water off from the domicile. All the interstices and holes in the planking are carefully filled in with clay, mixed with cow-dung.

342 [335] [355] [333]

The doorway, presenting the appearance of a ship's port-hole, and about two cubits high by one and a half cubits broad, is to be found in the middle of the gable wall, when there is only one room to the house: if there are two or three rooms, the second and third doors will be found in the sides, so arranged that all the doors may be to leeward; usually the south or south-east. These doorways, which are closed at night with a flat stone or solid slab of wood, kept in place by a stick thrust vertically into the floor at either side of the opening, form the only passage for the household, and for light, smoke, and air.

[414]

The roof projects two cubits beyond the gable walls; thus forming a pleasant open verandah facing the morning sun, and sheltered from the wind. Here the primitive family sit,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 While the men are doing their work, the women will have 356 been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented 412 in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently 462 woman's work.

512 They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 Though these are the three operations which are regarded 296 as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things 356 to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside 462 the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to 531 cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the 574 visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 tion shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koditi* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 178

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

CHAP. VI.

air themselves, and perform various offices of a domestic and social (entomological) nature.

342 The people have been at much pains to exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings: and were it not for cracks, caused by the contraction of the material of which they are constructed, their rooms might have been rendered quite uninhabitable. As primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, have far more to fear from cold than from heat, these 'beehives' are, on the whole, well adapted for comfort and for the preservation of infant life.

I think that when these houses were originally built, they were designed with one room only. I judge so, partly from the Toda name for a house and for a room being identical, and in part from the symmetrical arrangement of the door and verandah; also, from noticing that the second and third doors at the side, appear like an after-thought, out of keeping with the original design, and holding awkward positions in a house whose roof is continuous to the ground. I deduce from these appearances that their numbers have increased since they first established themselves where we now find them.

It may be interesting to my readers to be able to form an idea of the mode in which the very small area of a savage's house is utilised for cooking, eating, and sleeping purposes.

342 Be it remembered that the room is 8 ft. long, 8 ft. broad,
356 and 8 ft. high; and that, as Chapter X. shows us, as many as
372 eight people board and lodge in this diminutive space. The
352 plan (No. 11) which, without any deviation, is that of every
252 Toda dwelling, shows the mode in which room is economised. Against the walls, at a convenient height over both store and fire-place, slips of split cane are fastened vertically, so as to form slings; into which firewood is neatly inserted, and in which it rapidly dries. The women are careful to keep a supply of dry wood in this manner: hence they are able to cook without making much smoke, using as they do, with a skill that seems to be the common property of all the natives of India, only one or two little sticks at a time.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*. 425 428 [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512 [123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (under-clothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514] [296] [233] [234] [264] [291] [356] [515]

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 314 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan. There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the necessaries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough
417 to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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FIG. 5.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING TWO DAIRIES IN THE FOREGROUND AND THREE HOUSES IN THE BACKGROUND.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

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Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 487 562

In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

618 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name
621 from the chief of these villages, the *etudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take
101 their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr,
174 Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad,
616 and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol,
618 Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same
●361 part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages
621 far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ing to the need for pasturage, and the villages in the Kundahs and other outlying parts of the hills appear only to be visited during the dry season before the south-west monsoon sets in.

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Each clan is further subdivided, these subdivisions being of two kinds. One, called the *kudr*, is only of ceremonial importance, and we shall meet with it first in the chapter dealing with offerings. The other, called the *pòlm*, is of more practical importance, and is the basis of the machinery for regulating any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

618 IN this chapter I propose to bring together a number of matters connected with the social organisation; to consider the various sections into which the clan is divided for social or ceremonial purposes, the method of government, the laws concerning property and inheritance, and the position of women.

We have already seen that the primary fact in the social organisation of the Todas is the existence of two divisions, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol,[1] and the last chapter has shown that these divisions form endogamous groups, each of which is divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans. In some respects the clan is a definite unit in the social organisation with a certain amount of power in regulating its own affairs, owning property and having in many cases social or religious usages peculiar to itself.

THE CLAN

618 The clan system is territorial, and I could discover no trace of its ever having been totemic. The clan owns a number
621 of villages and takes its name from the chief of these, the
361 *etudmad*. The connexion of the clan with the village is so generally recognised that in some cases in which the *etudmad* of the clan has disappeared, or is rarely visited, there is a tendency to name the clan after the chief village

[1] A full account of the two divisions and of their relation to one another will be given in Chapter XXIX.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season. 618 621 361

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position. 618 178

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans. 101 177 678 616

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful
184 kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
616 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning
775 the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
621 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which
616

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Toda clans take their names, the Tarthar villages being in Roman type and those of the Teivaliol in italics. I have omitted the chief villages of those clans which I know to have arisen in recent times by splitting off from other clans, and I have included two villages of which I can only give the approximate positions. These are Piedr and Kusharf, which are now rarely occupied, and are situated off the main plateau, near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I also give

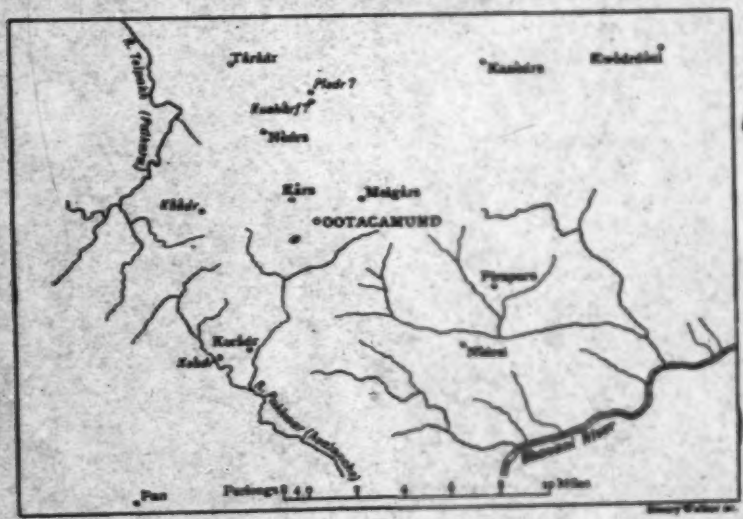

FIG. 73.

Pirspurs, the old *etudmad* of the Pämol. In Fig. 74 I give a second plan, showing the positions of all the villages which I know to be ancient, either because they possess sacred dairies or because they are mentioned in legend.

It will be seen that the greater part of the hills is occupied by the Tartharol, while the Teivali villages lie chiefly in the north-west part of the hills. The chief exception is the village of Keadr, which is situated some way south of the rest.

If, in coming to the hills, the Todas followed the routes now supposed to be traversed by the dead, the position of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference
616 in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

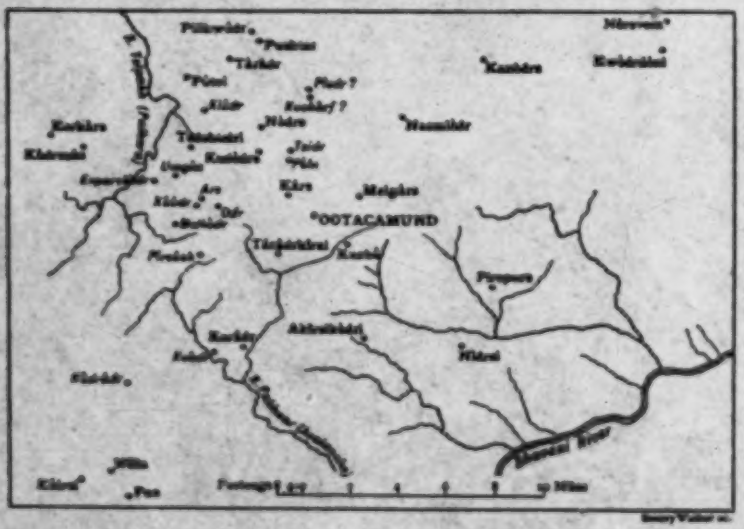

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnòdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a community, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards
616 of the community. At the present time the majority of the
791 *tenal*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 175

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

101 was larger than it is at present, and it is tempting to suppose
174 that we have here evidence of the route of the Toda migration.
There are, however, facts which make it improbable that this
361 clue is of any value. If the villages about Gudalur had been survivals of the migration they would almost certainly have been sacred villages, but it was quite clear that they had no sanctity whatever and were not even saluted when seen from a distance. Unfortunately I did not visit Kavidi, the only village which remains, and if I had done so I might have discovered some evidence of sanctity and antiquity, but from what I was told it is very unlikely that any such evidence exists. This absence of sanctity is further in agreement with the traditions of the Todas, who say that the settlement at Gudalur is recent. There are, however, other facts which point to an ancient connexion of the Todas with this district. Some of the buffaloes of the most sacred and ancient Nòdrs *ti* are said to have come from Perithi in the Wainad, and the Taradrol, in many ways an exceptional Toda clan, are said to have their own future world or Amnòdr at this place.

174 It will thus be seen that, in addition to the points of similarity in custom and belief, there are definite facts pointing
487 to connexion with Malabar, and if we suppose that the Todas migrated from this district we have next to conjecture the path by which they travelled. If any importance is attached to the belief in the paths taken by the dead, we should regard it as the most probable view that the Todas travelled over the Kundahs, the two divisions of the people travelling by slightly different routes. The Toda tradition that men were created on the Kundahs is perhaps in favour of this route, which would seem to correspond with the road to the Nilgiris known as the Sisipara Ghat. If, on the other hand, we attach importance to the settlement at Kavidi, the route followed would be that through Gudalur. At the present time the latter road is far the easier of the two, and, if the Todas had travelled during the last few years, it would have been the natural road by which to come, but it does not appear that there was any essential difference in the difficulties of the two routes before the roads were made. The evidence in favour of either route is very scanty, but if the Todas came from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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APPENDIX III

List of Toda Villages (not including *ti mad*)

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Akîrsikòdri	Nidrsi	Taranadmand	male funeral place.
Ârpâr	Pîm		
Âts	Kundr	Anekkalmand	
Artol	Tarsdr	Arctalmand	
Âtimad	Tarsdr	Karadikottumand	
Eirgûdr	Nòdrs	Nerkodumand	
Erparskòdr	Piedr	Yeppakodumand	
Îdrtol	Kundr	Edattalmand	
Isikitj	Pîm	Bettumand	
Isharkdr	Kars	Kadimand	
Iûdi	Kwòdrdoni		male funeral place.
Îvigar	Kundr	Kekidamand	in ruins.
Kabûdri	Pan	Tebbekudumand	male funeral place.
Kîkhûdri	Melgars	Kaggodumand	
Kalmathi	Kars	Kalmattimand	in ruins ten years.
Kalmad	Kars	Kulamand	in ruins.
Kanòdrs	Kanòdrs	Devarmand	*etudmad.*
Kapthòri	Kendr	Kunnapemand	in ruins.
Karars	Kendr		
Karis	Kundr	Kariyamand	
Kârs	Kars	Kandalmand	*etudmad.*
Kârsh	Karsh		
Kashtkòdr	Kundr	Kattikadumand	unoccupied.
Katerk	Nòdrs	Kaitarkemand	
Katîkâr	Kwòdrdoni	Kodamadmand	
Katol	Melgars		in ruins.
Kâvâther	Nidrsi	Kabaiteraimand	
Kavîdi	Piedr		in the Wainad.
Kekdr	Kendr	Karrikadumand	*etudmad.*
Kehâr	Nidrsi		female funeral place.
Kedâr	Nòdrs	Kangatarmand	in ruins.
Keirad	Kundr	Keradamand	[place.
Kerkdr	Kendr	Kannagimand	*etudmad*, also male funeral
Kerkârs	Tarsdr	Karrakalmand	
Keshkar	Kanòdrs		

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks*
Keshker	Kars	Kakerimand	also called Minikimand.
Kidmad	Kidmad		
Kirsks	Melgars		
Kiôdr	Kundr	Kengodumand	*satimal.*
Kiôsh	Piedr	Karimulimand	
Kôdrers	Piedr	Hadamand	
Koers	Kersdr	Kokimalmand	in ruins.
Koshber	Kundr	Kasubirsmand	disused.
Koshtûdi	Nôdrs		
Kôdimad	Tarsdr	Kulimand	
Kudôdrs	Nôdrs	Kombutukkimand	
Kôdrâdr	Kendr	Kudukkadumand	
Kôdrmâs	Tarsdr	Kudimalmand	*halolmal.*
Kôdrmâkhum	Nôdrs	Kudinagamand	
Kugwuin	Kundr		disused.
Kôimi	Pun	Kolimand	
Kôlikâl	Kwôdrdoni	Kolikkalmand	in ruins.
Kulkôdri	Nôdrs	Kolakkadumand	in ruins.
Kulmud	Kars	Malaividumand	female funeral place.
Kûkhpuli	Nôdrs		female funeral place.
Kârkalmat	Kundr		female funeral place.
Kurvâs	Nôdrs	Karudamand	
Kushârf	Kusharf		*studmal.*
Kôôdi	Piedr	Anaikundukulimand	(? Kôûdi).
Kûdâr	Kundr	Kundakodumand	*studmal.*
Kushâ	Kars	Kunditolmand	
Kushû	Kanôdrs		near Kanôdrs: disused.
Kwarkâr	Kendr	Kugadodmand	
Kwutkash	Pûm	Marunallimand	female funeral place.
Kwbg	Kundr	Korangumand	
Kwôdrdûsi	Kwôdrdoni	Kodudonnemand	*studmal.*
Madôni	Pedrkars		
Madôâ	Pûm	Manjathalmand	
Madûâ	Kundr		disused.
Marmare	Pûm		
Meigârs	Melgars	Manjakkalmand	*studmas.*
Mekhôdr	Kundr	Mekkodumand	
Mekhr	Pedrkars	Madaliyurmand	
Merkwashrwalth	Kanôdrs		
Mersin	Piedr		male funeral place.
Mîrûdi	Melgars		male funeral place.
Midni	Kundr	Marlimand	
Melkash	Kundr	Malkodmand	
Mîmmûbi	Piedr		female funeral place.
Mulôrs	Nôdrs		funeral place for boys.
Muthâkhr	Kundr		disused.
Nammôdr	Kars	(Agunadmand)	
Nîtûrs	Pun	Natanerimand	
Nedrôsi	Tarsdr	Kilmand	in ruins.

103
361
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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Nelkuh	Nòdrs	Neykadimand	in ruins.
Nerigudi	Nòdrs	Nergulimand	
Nerngòdr	Kuudr		disused.
Nersvem	Kwòdrdoni	Nervenamandi	in ruins.
Nersvem	Nidrsi	Nadumand	in ruins.
Neshkwòdr	Keadr	Nedikodumand	
Niklrsi	Nidrsi	Nidimand	*etudmad.*
Nlrkâtji	Kuudr	Nirkachimand	
Nlrsht	Piedr		
Nirsk	Pim		female funeral place.
Nòdrmad	Taradr	Nadumand	
Nòdrs	Nòdrs	Muttanadmand	*etudmad.*
Nongârsi	Kars	Kettarimand	in ruins (? belonged to Piedr).
Nüln	Melgars	Nerigulimand	
Òdr	Nòdrs	Aganadmand	
Òrs	Taradr	Alaikudalmand	
Padegâr	Melgars	Kottapolmand	also called Kotapol, see p. 664.
Pâkhalkûdr	Kars	Bagalkodumand	
Paliners	Kuudr		
Pim	Pim		in ruins.
Pamârkol	Piedr		female funeral place.
Pan	Pan	Onnamand	*etudmad*: often called "One mand."
Panmuti	Nidrsi	Banatimand	
Parzkadi	Nidrsi		in ruins.
Pathâdr	Nòdrs	Buddankodumand	
Pathmâts	Pan	Bettumand	
Pôdrkâts	Pedrkars	Bedekalmand	*etudmad.*
Pegârsi	Keradr	Attumand	in ruins.
Peivòrs	Kuudr		
Pekhòdr	Keadr	Oramand	"new mand."
Peletkwur	Kars	Attakoraimand	
Pêrg	Pan	Yeragimand	*kalolmad.*
Perththo	Nòdrs	Perittitalmand	see p. 648.
Peshkimad	Pedrkars		female funeral place.
Pevar	Taradr	Pevarmand	in ruins.
Pidati	Nidrsi	Bendutimand	
Piedr	Piedr	Waragudumand	*etudmad.*
Plitth	Kuudr		male funeral place, near Kuudr.
Pineiwars	Nòdrs	Pinnapolamand	in ruins.
Pirshti	Nòdrs	Baggulamand	
Pirsûsh	Kuudr	Billanjikadumand	
Pishkwosht	Kanòdrs	Bikkapatimand	
Pòdzkwar	Kars	Narigulimand	or Pûzhkwar.
Poln	Kusharf	Pagulimand	
Pömad	Pemand	Kars	in ruins twenty years: near Peletkwur.
Pongûdr	Pedrkars		
Pòsh	Melgars	Onnekudimand	

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103
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621

Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Pòti	Piedr	Pattimand	
Potvaili	Piedr		disused.
Pülkwûdr	Taradr	Olakkodumand	
Pulthkûin	Keradr	Bikkolmand	
Punmud	Kwòdrdoni	Banukudumand	female funeral place.
Punumikâtuni	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Purati	Nòdrs	Portimand	
Puretimokh	Melgars		female funeral place.
Purskudiâr	Pan	Porikodiyoramand	
Pushtar	Taradr	Pattaraimand	
Putamad	Kuudr		disused.
Pûtol	Nòdrs	Puttalmand	
Püvars	Kars	Ammakoraimand	
Pûvi	Päm	Pudiyapalamand	male funeral place.
Sultar	Pedrkars		male funeral place.
Sudvaili	Piedr		male funeral place in the Wainad.
Tâktut	Päm		place for small male funerals.
Taknin	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs.
Tâmâkh	Kuudr	Tamogamand	
Târâdr	Taradr	Tarnardmand	*etudmad*, and male funeral place.
Târâdrkîrsi	Kars	Kavaikkadumand	male funeral place, also *kalolmad*.
Tarkòdr	Kuudr	Terkodmand	
Tavatkûdr	Piedr	Tavattakoraimand	
Tebmârs	Taradr	Urutharaimand	
Tedshteiri	Nòdrs	Talapatharaimand	
Teidr	Kusharf	Denadmand	
Telgûdr	Taradr	Telhodumand	*kalolmad*.
Tigòir	Piedr	Tukkaramand	
Tîm	Pan		male funeral place: possibly another name of Kabûdri.
Tòthikeir	Nòdrs	Jegadevarmand	in ruins.
Tôvalkan	Keradr	Tuvalkandimand	
Tûdrkwur	Kusharf	Todakaraimand	
Tülchoven	Päm		male funeral place.
Umgâs	Kusharf	Yemmekalmand	
Ushâdr	Melgars	Kavaimand	male and female funeral place.
Wengûdr	Taradr	Yenakodumand	in ruins.

to do so, simply in order by change of pasture, to obtain a sufficiency of food for the cattle, on whose milk they almost entirely subsist. CHAP. VI.

I make free to assert that no tribe of people, having the organ of Concentrativeness so largely and so uniformly developed as it is with the Todas, will ever be found to be habitual wanderers. Whether it be, that in the early days of the human race, circumstances having forced a family of man to become nomadic, the form of its skull gradually changed in the course of many generations, so as to adapt the man's disposition to his necessities; or if, on the contrary, the wandering habit be largely the result of defective size of that faculty; certain it is, that practice and corresponding cranial form are now in harmony, and that a small development of Concentrativeness will be found ever accompanied by a centrifugal tendency; attachment to a settled home being strong in proportion to the organ's volume, strong even to the extent of producing nostalgia when thwarted, if associated with remembrances of home and landscape.

Toda families reside in permanent villages—Mand or Madd—having each a certain tract of grazing ground surrounding it. Each minor division of the family has a house —Ârsh—in the Mand, and a share of the village land.

Nearly every Mand, however, has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire body of the inhabitants migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of situations which become exposed to the west-monsoon rain and wind.

These storms drive at times with such intense severity over the wilds, that although at the time, the actual thermal state may be far from low, yet the evaporation induced by the extreme violence of the rain is known to lower the temperature of the body so as frequently to cause death to man and beast. Wild animals cower during these storms under

CHAP. VI. the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

000

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

768 751

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

000 221

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

361 621 342

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

342

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

572

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

342

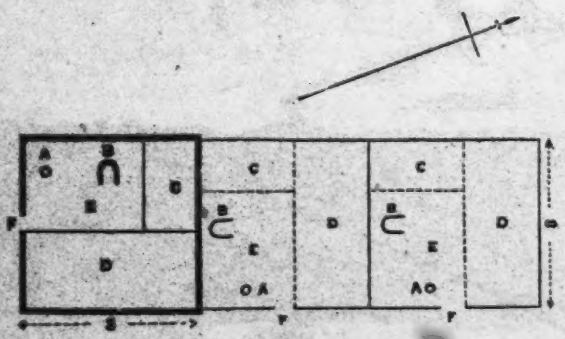
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces by a low enclosure wall—Tûar[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[See p. 62 -- Analyst]

CHAP. VI.

351 originated in any defensive project, whether as protection from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals. Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for
361 egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed
417 merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

417 In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the
234 pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm* Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

[343] The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

333 Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for
417 Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

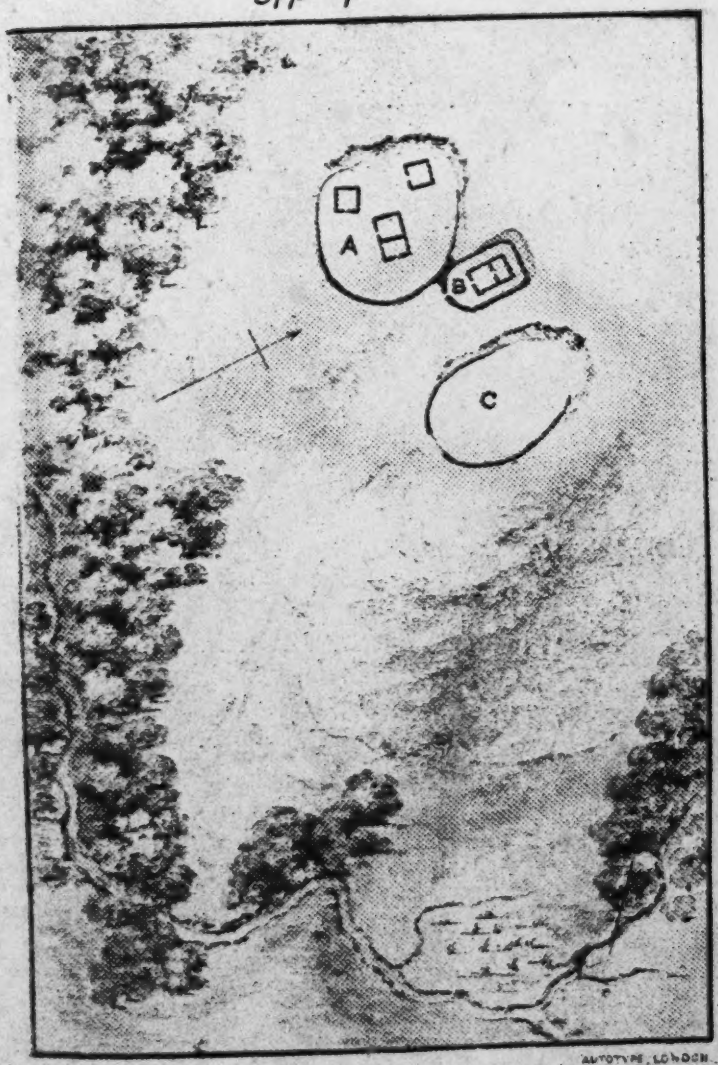
[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

* [Letters did not reproduce here in the Original text--Analyst]

Nº 13

Opp. p. 66

361



AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

A TYPICAL MAND

A—RESIDENCES. B—DAIRY. C—CATTLE PEN.

CHAP. VI.

of milk—pâl—and for its conversion into clarified-butter.[5] This building varies in size according to that of the village herd; 234 from the dimensions of an ordinary house of two rooms, to one 343 perhaps half as large again. It is situated somewhat apart 361 from the Mand, and—presumably for the sake of coolness—is generally found on a site which has been partially dug out from the side of the hill, on the slope of which the Mand is situated. The dairy is always enclosed within its separate wall, which is built very close up to it, and the outside of the wall often earthed in. The outer door is much of the size of those in ordinary dwellings, but that in the partition wall, forming the only means of access to the dairy room within, is of minute dimensions; probably one cubit high and about half a cubit broad.

361 The accompanying typical plan of a Mand will explain the description which has just been given. The village itself is invariably situated in the open, exposed to the sun almost from daybreak to sunset, but sheltered by the hill side from the full force of the wind.

The Todas have been credited with some taste in the selection of sites for Mands; owing to the beauty and often romantic nature of their situations; invariably on some open grassy slope, where wood and spring or rivulet combine. But I more than doubt if any innate sense of the beautiful influences them in the choice; for neither do their heads, nor do their other acts, give probability of the possession by them of any taste. I am disposed to attribute the success of these happy selections to the fact that, acting with a very strong practical sense of the advantage of localities, they have, whilst seeking shelter for themselves and cattle from the monsoon storms, with a dry bit of soil in proximity to water and fuel—the whole centrical with regard to pasture—obtained, by means of the natural advantages of a lovely land-

[5] Known in India as ghi; in Toda termed nei.

361 scape, an harmonious whole, very striking to visitors of cultivated tastes. CHAP. VI.

103 A knowledge of Drâvidian dialects would probably show the names of their villages, of which the following are a few samples, to be mainly descriptive of localities.

Diljavênu.	Bângâdu.[7]
Kakhodi.	Karshk.[8]
Beresthro.	Mênmadd.[9]
Koana-koar.[6]	Keshkir.[10]
Ebgodu.	Kirzho.

Melkarshk.[11]

[6] Koan = *male calf*; karr = *female calf*.

[7] Bân = *sky*.

Gâdu, or godu, or gudu, affixes to names of villages; from kudu = *come together*; the same as Mand, which is Tamil for *collection*. [POPE.]

[8] Karshk = *stone*.

[9] Mên = *wood, forest*; Madd = Mand. See above.

[10] Ir, or iri, or ari, affixes to names of villages; from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist*. Ûr, *a village* in Tamil, is from the same root. [POPE.]

[11] Mel = *upper*; karshk = *stone*.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tirièri Mand described—Names of Tirièri—We visit the Tirièri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

CHAP. XVI.

343 234 342

A tirièri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi, in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tirièris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth	Kudar
Mâr	Markush

Puzhash.

361 621 221

And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and even triplicates, so these tirièri Mands have also their corresponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII. on the Bell-gods.

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. " A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
[325] " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
513 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
" on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
415 " of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
" a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Manī*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Manī*.

34

TODA VILLAGE. TĀRNĀT MAND.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

admission to a Toda dairy, but actually driven away by 234
some boys, who rushed out of it when they heard him 372
approach. It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being kiaz or keadj (*Litsæa Wightiana*), mōrs (*Michelia Nilagirica*), parskuti (*Elæagnus latifolia*), and [824]
main (*Cinnamomum Wightii*)." He states further that, "whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose, the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call kiaz or keadj, except in the tesherot ceremony (qualifying ceremony for the office of palol) in which the wood of muli is used. At the niroditi ceremony (ordination ceremony of a dairyman), "the assistant makes fire by friction, and lights a fire of mulli wood, at which the candidate warms himself." It is also recorded by Dr. Rivers that "in some Toda villages, a stone is kept, called tutmûkal, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron."

The abode of the Todas is called a mad or mand 361
(village or hamlet), which is composed of huts, dairy temple, and cattle-pen, and has been so well described by Dr. Shortt,* that I cannot do better than quote his account. "Each mand," he says, "usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts form a peculiar kind 342
of oval pent-shaped [half-barrel-shaped] construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway measures 32 inches in height and 18 inches in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick,

* *Op. cit.*

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθɯt and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tɯt) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiɟ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund no:ʂ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθɯt are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The töuno:ʈ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töuno:ʈ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as a:ʂ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is no:ʈ "sacred place." Within the no:ʈ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the no:ʈ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or no:ʈ "sacred place" or töuno:ʈ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By
M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [607] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri- [614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The res- 718 triction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 102-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [778] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [796] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[19] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and bones at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[20] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal ling which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[19] Rivers, p. 700.

[20] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōrg. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil kogku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannada kogga with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koggu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannada kodagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōrg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" 648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out [491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced [137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, 342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, 361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), 621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something 000 like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

a = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot	u = blue	z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ô = word	ü = cook	ù = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = boy	oo = moon	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	ü = French	
			r = rot		

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
557 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity
621 of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose
[12] characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

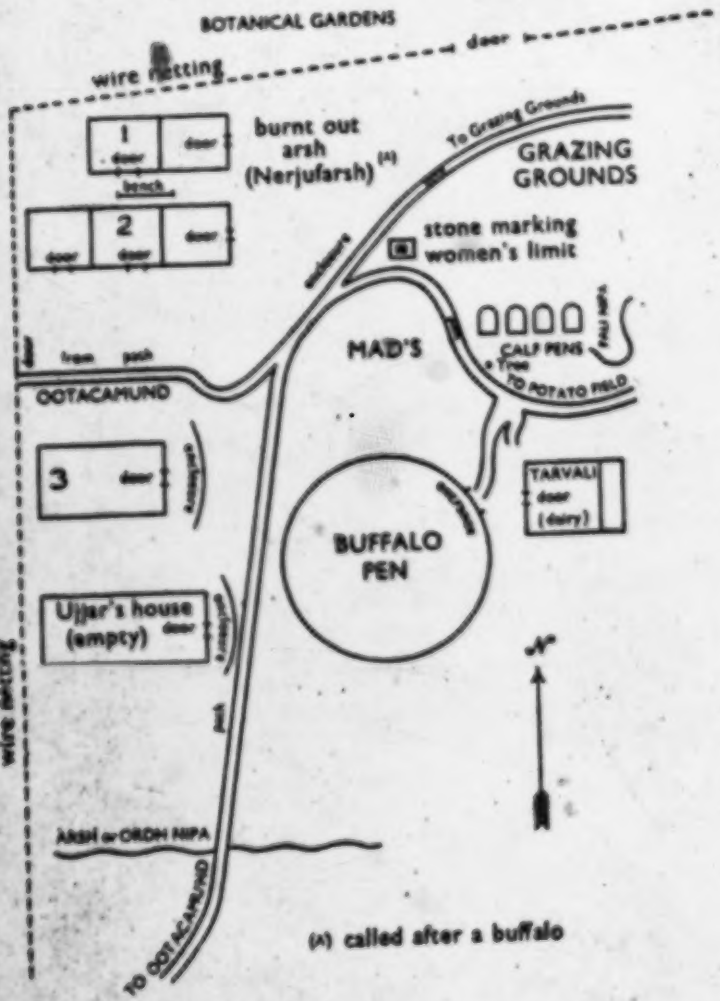
Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60



(A) called after a buffalo

Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh mad.

361
417
487
234
312
621
342

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p.290]

342
361

Fig. 22. A typical Toda mad in the Nilgiris: Karsh, near Ootacamund.

343
346

[793] Fig. 23. The *tarvali* of Melgarsh: Motsod, the *tarvalikartmokh* in his black *tuni* at the door.

[P 300-A]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 351 361 417

the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

312

Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 487 562

In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

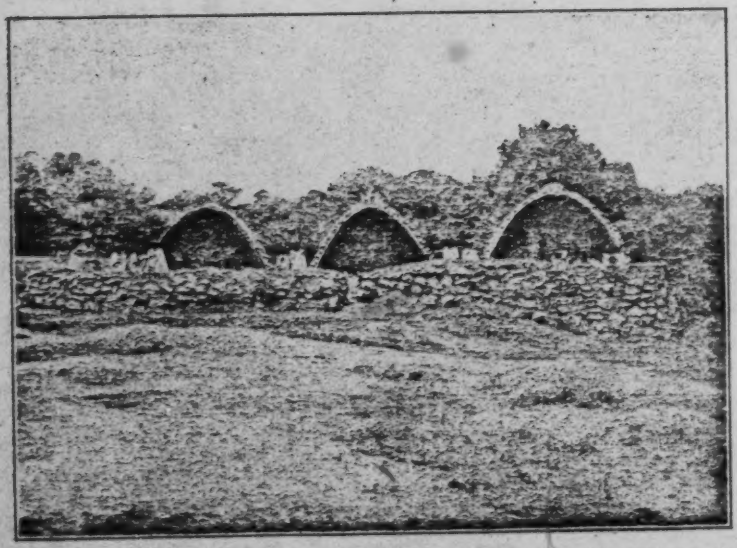


FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

211 out by the dairyman, and when going for this purpose they
363 must keep to the *majvatitthkalvol*. This path is sometimes
562 indicated by a stone, the *majvatitthkars*, and the spot where the women stand to receive the buttermilk is called the *majvatvaiidrn*.

At many villages there are other stones which have definite

[342]

FIG. 7.—THE CHIEF HOUSE OF THE VILLAGE OF KIUDR.

names and mark the sites where certain ceremonial functions are performed.

342 The house is called *ars*, and is of the kind shown in Fig. 7. It is shaped like half a barrel, with the barrel-like roof and sides projecting for a considerable distance beyond the front partition containing the door. The size of the hut is by no means constant; in some cases it is sufficiently roomy to enable people to move about with ease and comfort, while in others it is so small that it is unbearably stuffy, and the smoke from the fire, which is always burning, makes it difficult to believe that anyone can long live in it. The entrance to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x 292 793 ordinarily called *pennar*, but is now called *kerk*, and this part of the ceremony is called *kerkatiti*. The fact that this name is given seems to indicate that properly the complete garment should not be given till a later stage of the proceedings.

234x 793 The candidate then finds seven leaves called *muliers* and seven shoots or *nan* of the same plant and goes through exactly the same ceremony at the stream as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*, putting the shoots in his back hair at the end. This part of the ceremony is called *mulinirò̀diti*, and its object is to make the candidate a *palikartmokh* as a step towards becoming *wursol*. He is taken through the lower degree on his way to the higher.

After *mulinirò̀diti* the candidate goes to the wall of the [372] dairy and stands outside it. The *palikartmokh* brings a firebrand from the dairy and lights with it a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself. The firebrand must be one of the three following kinds—*kid*, *pasòr* or *kiaz*. [314] After warming himself, the candidate goes to fetch bark of the *tudr* tree, which must not be cut, but knocked off with a stone. He also brings seven perfect *tudr* leaves, and goes again to the dairy stream. He pounds the bark on a stone and dips it in water, squeezes the water into one of the *tudr* leaves, drinks, throws over his head and puts the bark on one side exactly in the same way as before, but using *tudr* bark and leaves instead of the shoots and leaves of *muli*. After doing this seven times he dips the pounded bark in water, sprinkles his head and face three times, puts the bark in his hair, and, going a little way off, shakes his head.

The candidate then goes again to find bark and leaves of *tudr*, and repeats the whole ceremony and continues to repeat it till he has done it seven times—*i.e.*, he drinks out of the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. After this he goes to the wood near the stream (at Kars, called Tarskars) and the *palikartmokh* comes to him there with the *ertatpun* filled with buttermilk, and with four leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. Two leaves are given to the candidate and two kept by the dairyman, and each folds the leaves in the usual way to make a cup (*ersteiti*). The dairyman then puts the *ertatpun* between his

234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by
755
789

âth	*ñvödin*	*kati*	*vaiumâ.*
these	all before	tie	keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 All the remedies so far described resemble one another
789 in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkören.* The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *terg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. ~~It was~~ said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrsi and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

302 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described
754 it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary [793] village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

313 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over small firewood the people place several logs about three feet
● 372 in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pohvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf-- the Erxumptthpimi Ceremony--Analyst]

372 The first stage of the ceremonial is to make fire by friction,
782 which should be done by the *palikartmokh*. The only occa-
796 sion on which I saw fire made by friction during an actual ceremony was when I witnessed the sacrifice at Karia, and on this occasion both Punatvan and his chief assistant, Pichievan (69) of Keadr, twirled the firesticks alternately, but though they soon produced some smoke, they failed to light the rag

FIG. 37.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN ATTEMPTING TO MAKE FIRE AT THE 'ERKUMPTTHPIMI' CEREMONY.[1]

used as tinder. My constant attendant, Kodrner, was called in, and with his more powerful manipulations was almost immediately successful, and the lighted rag was carried by Punatvan to the heap of firewood, which was soon in a good blaze.

782 As soon as the fire is alight the calf is brought to the
796

[1] This and the succeeding photographs were taken in a badly lighted wood, and represent the actual ceremony.

764 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and
436 among the more recent coins were included two Japanese
177 yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral of a man this must be done by means of fire made by
372 friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood
766 (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three
775 times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"*Kedr*	*tütth*	*tâsâr*	*mud*	*'tirk*	*tâkitth*	*tâtâi.*"
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tâsâr tâkitth kûrs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

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water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light it gives are also undoubtedly reverenced, and lighting the lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character. 778 788 373 354

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not reverenced merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces, one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light the sacred lamp directly from it. 372 778 354

The fire of the *tòratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, and especially at those called *teutütusthchi* and *erkumptthpimi* and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman conducting the ceremony. At the *asaramkedr* of a man the fire is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this 372

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

372 is probably also the case at the first funeral ceremony. I did not definitely ask whether fire by friction is ever made by a woman, but I am fairly confident that this would never happen.

I only heard of one case in which men were prohibited from making fire. The Kidmadol and Karshol, who suffer under several disabilities, are not allowed to make fire by friction, and this is due to a quarrel with their parent-clan many years ago.

Whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose[1] the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call *kiaz* or *keadj*, except in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which the wood of *muli* is used.

There are also definite regulations as to the kind of wood which is to be burnt in the fires of all ceremonial occasions. In various ceremonies I have recorded the Toda names of the woods prescribed, and if more were known about their identity, it is possible that some light might be thrown on the original home of the Todas, in the same way as has been suggested in the case of the sacred *tudr* tree.

STONES

778 The Todas have many stones which may be held to have
487 some degree of sanctity; certainly many have their place in
211 the religious ceremonial. All these stones have names, either general or individual, but two stones with the same name need not necessarily have the same function.

At the *ti* there are stones marking the spots where the dairy vessels are taken up and put down during the migration ceremonies, but the most interesting stones at these dairies are those called *neursülnkars*. At several dairies these stones are anointed, and their appearance indicates that they have undergone the process for very long periods of time; at other places they are so weathered and worn away that they must obviously be of great antiquity. At some dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* these stones take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh* in the ceremonies accompanying migration, but at other places they are said to have different uses.

[1] For the special method employed see p. 581.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat. 264 576

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men. 252 462

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide. 273 177 276

Fire-making

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon, 372

372 and with a few powerful manipulations he was rapidly successful.

Several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being *kiaz* or *keadj*, *mòrs*, *parskuti*, and *main*. Only the first of these, however, may be used if fire is being

FIG. 65.—KAROL (64), THE 'WURSOL' OF TARADR, MAKING FIRE.

made for sacred purposes, and I was told that it was much easier to make fire with this than with any other.

In some Toda villages a stone is kept called *tütmûkal*, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron. Probably this method was employed for non-sacred purposes in the period between giving up the fire-sticks for ordinary purposes and the introduction of matches.

The Todas have two kinds of fireplace, the *waskal*, con-

CHAP. VI.

air themselves, and perform various offices of a domestic and social (entomological) nature.

342 The people have been at much pains to exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings: and were it not for cracks, caused by the contraction of the material of which they are constructed, their rooms might have been rendered quite uninhabitable. As primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, have far more to fear from cold than from heat, these 'beehives' are, on the whole, well adapted for comfort and for the preservation of infant life.

I think that when these houses were originally built, they were designed with one room only. I judge so, partly from the Toda name for a house and for a room being identical, and in part from the symmetrical arrangement of the door and verandah; also, from noticing that the second and third doors at the side, appear like an after-thought, out of keeping with the original design, and holding awkward positions in a house whose roof is continuous to the ground. I deduce from these appearances that their numbers have increased since they first established themselves where we now find them.

It may be interesting to my readers to be able to form an idea of the mode in which the very small area of a savage's house is utilised for cooking, eating, and sleeping purposes.

342 Be it remembered that the room is 8 ft. long, 8 ft. broad,
356 and 8 ft. high; and that, as Chapter X. shows us, as many as
372 eight people board and lodge in this diminutive space. The
352 plan (No. 11) which, without any deviation, is that of every
252 Toda dwelling, shows the mode in which room is economised. Against the walls, at a convenient height over both store and fire-place, slips of split cane are fastened vertically, so as to form slings; into which firewood is neatly inserted, and in which it rapidly dries. The women are careful to keep a supply of dry wood in this manner: hence they are able to cook without making much smoke, using as they do, with a skill that seems to be the common property of all the natives of India, only one or two little sticks at a time.

'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and not Gods of my tiriêri only. I have never seen them. They are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk. After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

There were three bell-gods in my informant's tiriêri. He said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tiriêri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tiriêri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭṭh. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tôda, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

764 tied round the first buffalo's neck, and the corpse was lifted and made to touch three times the side of the animal, which was killed by one blow from the back of an axe, and its body dragged up, so that its head lay close to that of the dead man, the hand of the latter being made to clasp the buffalo's horn (*Plate* XIV.) The bell was then
765 transferred to the other buffalo, and the same process repeated. All the relatives seated themselves by the three bodies to mourn in couples, a man and woman putting their heads together and sobbing and moaning. After a little while each couple would separate, the woman salutting the man by raising his foot to her forehead (except in the case of the old women, when the process was reversed), and fresh pairs would be formed. As with other Eastern people, their sorrow is woeful to behold, the tears literally streaming down their faces and over their cloths. Their grief, however, is marvellously transient.

After this the widow sat alone mourning at the head of the deceased, and put three handfuls of grain into the pocket of his cloth. Then the body was placed on the bier, and laid on the ground beside the pile, which was lighted by the relatives, who, again covering their heads, made fire with two sticks.*

764 One side of the bier was cut into three and laid on the pile. *Sâmé* grain (*Panicum miliare*) and jaggery, the two great Toda luxuries, were then put into the pocket of the dead man's *pôkkali*, with two cheroots, some tobacco wrapped in red cloth, and the purse, embroidered by one of the mourners, containing five or six rupees in silver and a little gold coin.† A ring was put on the finger, and earrings in the ears. A bit of the skull with hair and one of the finger nails‡ were cut off by the relatives; these, I was told, would be kept till the dry funeral in a little hut built near the mund for that purpose, and a buffalo bell hung over them for the relatives to ring night and morning. The bell is not hung over the remains of a woman. After this, ghee was thrown on the pile; the body was swung three times over the flame and laid on the pile *face downwards*, a sort of imitation bier or hurdle, which had previously been placed under the body, being laid above it.

When the fire has burnt out, any coin or metal that may have been actually given to the flames, is recovered; usually they merely pass such articles through the flame by way of an offering.

No care is taken of the ashes, they "are left to the winds," as a Toda told me.

765 The dry funeral takes place within a twelvemonth or so after death, according to
[346] the pleasure of the relatives. Each clan has its own *Iddmanaw*§ or funeral houses, different ones for men and women. They are sometimes near a mund, sometimes not, but always have a kraal at hand. They are like the ordinary Toda huts, but are sometimes decorated at the time of the funeral with silver coins. These are mostly rupees,

● 372 * A dry stick of the *Cudrania cochinchinensis* Wight, about as thick as a man's thumb, is laid on the ground and held firm by the feet, a second stick is held upright between the two hands, the point resting on the horizontal stick: by twirling the upright with great rapidity between the palms of the hands fire is produced at the point of contact.

† Called by Todas *Sirdu pându*. I think it is the same as the *Sirtandaram* given to a dying Badaga. This is a Fire-rupee or Camp-fanam.

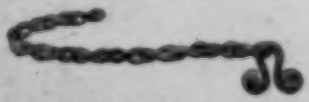
‡ These appear to be specially sacred relics among the Buddhists also. Scraps covering a lock of hair, crown of skull, or finger-nail of Buddhist saints seem to have been common in the palmy days of Buddhism.

§ *Iddi* is the name given to the skull, hair, and finger-nail saved from the green funeral, which are tied between two pieces of bark.

301 No. XXIX.—*Kávilá* (கவிலா). Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; buried with the body at funerals. 30 rupees.

No. XXX.—*Sélmil* (செல்மில்). Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.

No. XXXI.—*Thuppi* (தூப்பி). Brass chain worn by women round their wrist next to the skin. Made at Kota villages. Rupees 1, 4 annas.



No. XXXII.—*Mótiru* (மோதிரு). Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.

No. XXXIII.—*Pittak*. Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

372 No. XXXIV.—*Kodhi* (கொதி). Bamboo for blowing up fires. Made by Todas.

764 No. XXXV.—*Pugi*. A square basket covered with cloth and cotton, and ornamented with cowries; at dry funeral for a female, 15 or 18 will be burnt, each containing a piece of jaggery, garlic, salem, sandalwood, and some ash (fire) for sewing thread, the latter prepared by Toda women; the basket is made by the Kurumbas.

No. XXXVI.—*Kodhimidi* (கொதிமிடி). Burnt at the dry funeral of a female. Made by Kotas.

534 No. XXXVII.—*Bugori* (புகோரி). Musical instrument; a sort of flute. Made by the Todas, and played by them and by Badagas.

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412 No. XXXVIII.—*Pat* (ஓட்). Wooden implement, used in cooking to stir the rice. Made by Todas.

372 No. XXXIX.—*Tirak*. Dry sticks which produce fire by friction. *See* page 13. Every mand has some of these sticks.

415 No. XL.—*Chôlî* (சோ). Spoon of cocoa-nut, and bamboo handle. Made by Todas.

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Rubus ellipticus.
Rubus moluccanus. } Wild raspberry.
Rubus lasiocarpus.
Fragaria nilgerrensis, wild strawberry.
Elæagnus latifolia. Said by Dr. Mason to make excellent tarts and jellies.
Gaultheria fragrantissima.
Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, hill gooseberry.
Loranthus neelgherrensis.
Loranthus loniceroides. } Parasitic on trees.
Elæocarpus oblongus.
Elæocarpus Munronii.
Berberis aristata.
Berberis nepalensis. } Barberry.
Solanum nigrum.
Vaccinium Leschenaultii.
Vaccinium nilgherrense.
Toddalia aculeata.
Ceropegia pusilla.

To which may be added mushrooms.

A list containing the botanical and Toda names of trees, shrubs, etc., used by the Todas in their ordinary life, or in their ceremonial, is given by Dr. Rivers.*

Fire is, in these advanced days, obtained by the Todas in their dwelling huts for domestic purposes from matches. The men who came to be operated on with my measuring instruments had no hesitation in asking for a match, and lighting the cheroots which were distributed amongst them, before they left the Paikāra bungalow dining-room. Within the precincts of the dairy temple the use of matches is forbidden, and fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks of *Litsæa*

372 [178] [276] 234 372

* Op. cit. Appendix IV, 738.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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234 372 *Wightiana.* Of these one, terminating in a blunt convex extremity, is about 2′ 3″ long; the other, with a hemispherical cavity scooped out close to one end; about 2½″ in length. A little nick or slot is cut on the edge of the shorter stick, and connected with the hole in which the spindle stick is made to revolve. "In this slot the dust collects, and, remaining in an undisturbed heap, seemingly acts as a muffle to retain the friction-heat until it reaches a sufficiently high temperature, when the wood-powder becomes incandescent."* Into the cavity in the short stick the end of the longer stick fits, so as to allow of easy play. The smaller stick is placed on the ground, and held tight by firm pressure of the great toe, applied to the end furthest from the cavity, into which a little finely powdered charcoal is inserted. The larger stick is then twisted vigorously, "like a chocolate muller" (Tylor) between the palms of the hands by two men, turn and turn about, until the charcoal begins to glow. Fire, thus made, is said to be used at the sacred dairy (ti), the dairy houses of ordinary [766] mands, and at the cremation of males. In an account of a Toda green funeral,† Mr. Walhouse notes that "when the pile was completed, fire was obtained by rubbing two dry sticks together. This was done mysteriously and apart, for such a mode of obtaining fire is looked upon as something secret and sacred." At the funeral of a female, I provided a box of tändstickors for lighting the pyre. A fire-stick, which was in current use in a dairy, was polluted and rendered useless by the touch of my Brāhman assistant! It is recorded by Harkness‡ that a Brāhman was not only refused

[113] * R. Bache. Royal Magazine, August 1901. † Ind. Ant., III, 1874.
‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, 1832.

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admission to a Toda dairy, but actually driven away by 234
some boys, who rushed out of it when they heard him 372
approach. It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being kiaz or keadj (*Litsæa Wightiana*), mōrs (*Michelia Nilagirica*), parskuti (*Elæagnus latifolia*), and [824]
main (*Cinnamomum Wightii*)." He states further that, "whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose, the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call kiaz or keadj, except in the tesherot ceremony (qualifying ceremony for the office of palol) in which the wood of muli is used. At the niroditi ceremony (ordination ceremony of a dairyman), "the assistant makes fire by friction, and lights a fire of mulli wood, at which the candidate warms himself." It is also recorded by Dr. Rivers that "in some Toda villages, a stone is kept, called tutmûkal, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron."

The abode of the Todas is called a mad or mand 361
(village or hamlet), which is composed of huts, dairy temple, and cattle-pen, and has been so well described by Dr. Shortt,* that I cannot do better than quote his account, "Each mand," he says, "usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts form a peculiar kind 342
of oval pent-shaped [half-barrel-shaped] construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway measures 32 inches in height and 18 inches in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick,

* *Op. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER X

PRAYER

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In the chapters in which the ritual of the dairies has been described, one of the most important features of the ceremonial has been passed over which must now be fully described. This feature is the prayer which is always offered at certain stages of the dairy operations. In the village dairies, of whatever kind they may be, no prayer is offered at the morning ceremonial. In the evening the prayer of the dairy is recited twice—once when lighting the lamp, and once when shutting the buffaloes in their enclosure for the night, the prayer on this occasion being said in front of the entrance to the pen.

At the *ti* dairy the *palol* prays both morning and evening. In the morning he prays when lighting the lamp and after he has finished milking; in the evening prayer is offered on both these occasions, and also when shutting up the buffaloes for the night. The *palol* also repeats a few clauses when going out to milk. Prayers are said on certain other ceremonial occasions, and clauses from the prayers are frequently uttered during the many ceremonies of the dairy.

At the evening ceremonial of the village dairy the prayer is said when the lamp is lighted, while during the morning ceremonial, at which the lamp is usually not lighted, there is no prayer. This suggests that the prayer is especially related to the lamp-lighting, and that some idea of worship of the light is involved, but occasionally for some special reason, such as unusual darkness, the lamp may be lighted in the morning, and on these occasions the prayer is not used. Nevertheless, the relation between lamp-lighting and prayer

234x 373 771 782 788 both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

234x 782 788 The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pokvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195] In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x 184 788 782 621 Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light it gives are also undoubtedly reverenced, and lighting the lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character. 778 788 373 354

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not reverenced merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces, one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light the sacred lamp directly from it. 372 778 354

The fire of the *tòratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, and especially at those called *teutütusthchi* and *erkumptthpimi* and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman conducting the ceremony. At the *azaramkedr* of a man the fire is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this 372

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

sacred nature of such office, advanced in popular estimation until they are viewed in the aspect of priests. The high priest, from being a servant of certain Gods, has become confused with Godhead itself. A family styling itself 'sons of the Gods,' has developed—though without arrogation to caste pretensions—into a Levitical clan, inheritors of the highest priestly office; its males being prepared and chastened thereto in sacred groves, by the use of a plant set apart for the purpose, and by abstinence from sensual pleasures; the females of the entire tribe, being not only excluded from participation in such duties, but debarred approach to all holy precincts.

These points appear to me to embrace the whole of what may be held to be Toda—performed—religion unadulterated.

They acknowledge the existence of Gods, *perhaps* even of a Supreme God—Ûsuru[1] Swâmi—but their ideas on the subject are quite undeveloped. I think I trace in them a partiality to the regard of *light*—apart from fire—as *par excellence*, the manifestation of divinity. Their beliefs, whatever they may be, are so little attended with formal signs of adoration, that we cannot, with any degree of confidence, assert this or that to be their creed. Still I believe I have grounds for the opinion that these people have a strong bias in favour of *light*;[2] the natural bent of their mind being such, that if any other race would work out for them the idea, connecting Ûsuru Swâmi with some such attribute of divinity as light, they could soon be brought to exalt Bêl into 'a king above all gods:' the more readily if deference to the cow was inculcated with such a teaching.

I submit the suggestion as one having a possible value in determining the ethnic affinities of the Toda race: and as

[1] See note 3 of Chapter XII.

[2] Note the Toda words in Chapter XXIX., showing how frequently the word 'bel' occurs, even in my small vocabulary; see *dawn*, *light*, *silver*, *bird*, *white*. Also, the names of men, and of Gods, given in previous Chapters.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda
elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-
gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr.
Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their
appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the
absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the
ground that they were too poor to afford the expense
of the operation, or that they were always suckling or
pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation
would not be free from danger. The dots and circles,
of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked
out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the
spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and
decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in
the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells
on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with
cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger;
silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes
of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [413]

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262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sālep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sālep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following:—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nīlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[294] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari:—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

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764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
178 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nawmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
174 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
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[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187–191.

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the Todas were so much isolated that their only iron was that of the tips of their arrows.

The bow and arrow are also mentioned in the legend of

FIG. 67 (FROM BERKES).—THE FIRST MAN ON THE LEFT IS HOLDING A BOW AND ARROW; THE SECOND A CLUB (PROBABLY THE 'NANMAKUD') IN HIS RIGHT HAND, AND THE 'TADRI' IN HIS LEFT; THE THIRD MAN IS CARRYING A CLUB, AND THE FOURTH MAN IS PLAYING THE 'BUGURI.'

Kwoten. Teikuteidi was killed by an arrow shot by a lame man who lay down when he shot. It is possible that this legend points to an ancient custom of shooting the bow and arrow by means of the legs.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kâtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

They do not attempt to till the ground.

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

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but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swâmi! Swâmi![7] then places it on the ground as a present to bhumi tai[8] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors. 264 788

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonised the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[9]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffalos, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere striplings armed with light wands; knowing that the amimals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe. 136 233 857 411

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of 411 224

[7] Swâmi = *lord*.

[8] Bhumi tai = *earth mother*. It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[9] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog*. May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (one)*?

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No. 15
opp. p. 138

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THE TUDE OR SACRED BUSH.

WEAPONS, BOW & ARROW, USED AT WEDDINGS & FUNERALS.

IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes
765 of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
174 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Antrums*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the perpetratory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage
224 ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate number flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bétikhân,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotè beyond Gudalûr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?
174 a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nilagiris
411 are still expert archers.

The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel
224 Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pitkuli, therp, hôas, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tér* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

174 mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then
411 expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

224 The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilisation: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by sambur* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

174 It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

764 The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat
765 similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkhur* probably represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

784 The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

000 It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Sambur, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilisation and primitive condition of Man*, page 331:—
"The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet
" would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!

Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 451:—
" Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful,
" and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly
" improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page 37.*
He says that among the *Hos* and *Mundahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections so if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of cairns at the end of this volume.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 356 ●41 462 512 While the men are doing their work, the women will have been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently woman's work.

They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 296 356 462 531 Though these are the three operations which are regarded as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 574 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

visits a village in which he has any female relatives younger than himself, these will go out to meet him as he approaches the house, and each bows down before the man, who raises his 574 576

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FIG. 11.—WOMEN POUNDING AND SIFTING. THE BROOM IS ON THE GROUND TO THE RIGHT.

foot, while the woman places her hand below the foot and helps to raise it to her forehead, and the same salutation is repeated with the other foot. This mode of greeting is 574 576

1: Rivers E-5 ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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FIG. 15.—ÔD (26) CHURNING.

234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to
177 the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain
412 a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground
415 outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkati*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There
171 are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

The Care of the Ordinary Buffaloes

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda
463 terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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The room of the dairy which contains the dairy vessels is divided into three parts: the *patatmar*, the *ertatmar*, and the *kalkani*.

The *patatmar* takes its name from the *patat*, an earthenware vessel into which the milk is poured from the milking vessel and in which it is churned. The vessels kept in this part of the inner room, which are known collectively as *patatpur*, are those which are actually used in the milking and churning.

The *ertatmar* takes its name from the *ertat*, a bamboo vessel used to carry buttermilk or butter out of the dairy. The *ertat* and the vessels kept with it, known collectively as the *ertatpur*, are those which receive the products of the churning or are used to convey these products out of the dairy. The lamp and the fire-sticks used for making fire by friction are also kept in this part of the dairy.

In the third part of the room, called the *kalkani*, are kept leaves, firewood, knives, and various sticks or wands. According to some accounts, the vessel called *penpariv* is also kept here.

When the dairy vessels are taken into a new dairy (see Chap. VI.), they are placed on ferns. I do not know whether they always rest on a bed of ferns or whether the ferns are only used when the vessels are first placed in the dairy.

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The following is a list of the *patatpur*, the vessels and other objects which are kept in the part of the dairy called *patatmar*:

Patat or *tat*. Earthenware vessels into which the freshly drawn milk is poured and in which it is churned (Fig. 18, F). There are several of these vessels, one of which may be used to hold water.

Irkartpun or *patatpun*. The bamboo milking-vessel (Fig. 18, I).

Parskadrvenmu or *parskadrpenmu*, *i.e.*, milk churn butter *mu* (Fig. 18, H). This is also sometimes called *kazhmu*, and is a small earthenware vessel in which is kept the butter (*pen*) which is added while churning. Except when the churning is in progress, it is used as a cover for the *patat*.

Adimu. An earthenware vessel (Fig. 18, K) into which

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FIG. 18.—THE CHIEF DAIRY VESSELS.

A. The *palmūn*.
B. The *palkati*.
C. The *madth*.
D. A *todskk*.
E. The *ertatpun*.
F. The *patat*.
G. The *pōlmachoṭ*.
H. The *parskadrunnu*.
I. The *irkartpun*.
K. The *adinu*.

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some of the coagulated milk may be poured while churning. It may also be used to fetch water from the dairy stream.

Madth or *parskartmadth.* Churning-stick (Fig. 18, C).

Palkati. Bamboo rings for holding the churning-stick while churning.

Parskurs or *ularwurthkurs.* Stick or wand used chiefly for driving off calves while milking.

Tatkich. The cut-up ends of a churning-stick, used for cleaning the *patat.*

Tedshk. Rings made of rattan (Fig. 18, D), used in carrying the dairy vessels.

The garment of the dairyman, called *tuni*, is also kept here, and when there is a *mani* (bell), it is kept on the *patatmar*. The churning-stick is kept on a stand called *agar.*

The following are the objects kept on the *ertatmar*:

Majpariv. Vessel in which buttermilk is kept.

Penpariv. Vessel in which butter is kept. (According to some, this vessel is kept in the part called *kalkani.*)

Ertatpun. Vessel used to take buttermilk or butter out of the dairy (Fig. 18, E).

Majertkudriki. A small earthenware pot used like a ladle to take buttermilk out of the *majpariv.* It is also called *ashkiok.*

Pòlmachok. A bamboo vessel (Fig. 18, G) used to hold the buttermilk which is distributed to the people of the village.

Nirsi. The fire-sticks for making fire by friction.

Pelk. The lamp.

Tòratthadi. Cooking vessel which may be used for anything except barley.

Put, a stirring-stick.

When there is only one room, the *masth*, axe for cutting firewood, may be kept on the *ertatmar*; otherwise it is kept in the outer room.

The vessels and other objects of the *patatmar* are those which come directly into contact with the milk of the buffaloes or which may at any time come into contact with the buffaloes themselves.

The vessels and objects of the *ertatmar*, on the other hand, are those which contain the dairy products which are going

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out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412 415

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another.

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

The Tarvali

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often a 618 621

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 things of the outer room are sometimes called the *alugpur*,
343 just as those in the village dairy are called *ertatpur*, but I
352 did not hear of any corresponding term for the things of the inner room. I have no record of the place where the fire-sticks (*nirsi*) are kept, but they will almost certainly belong to the outer room, since, in the village, they belong to the *ertatmar*.

234 The nature of each of the vessels and other objects of the
412 dairy[1] is as follows:
415 *Persin*. This is an earthenware vessel containing about five *kudi*, *i.e.*, 2½ gallons. The freshly churned milk is poured into and churned in three of these vessels. The *persin* corresponds to the *patat* of the village dairy.

Tòrzum. This is an earthenware vessel containing two or three *kudi*. Two of these vessels are kept in the inner room, one, called the *karitòrzum*, to hold water, and the other to hold the butter added while churning. The latter is called the *peptòrzum* because it is also used to give butter-milk to the buffaloes on certain occasions. When not in use the two *tòrzum* are placed on and act as covers for two of the *persin*. The *tòrzum* corresponds to the *mu* of the ordinary dairy.

Kòghlag. This is the churning-stick which corresponds to the *madth*. Both *kòghlag* and *madth* are alike in having the peculiar shape shown in Fig. 18 (see also p. 111). The thong by means of which the stick is turned, ordinarily called *palv*, is here called *poinurs*, and consists of a strip of the skin of a male calf. The *kòghlag* is made by the *palol* from bamboo growing on the Nilgiris. In addition to two used and kept in the inner room, five or six new churning-sticks are kept in the outer room.

Persinkudriki. This is a small piece of bamboo with a handle called *tutth*, used to knock against the *persin* when praying.

Pokvet (*pokpet*). A wand used when praying.

Kwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about three *kudi*. It is the vessel taken out by the *palol* to milk the buffaloes. It corresponds to the *irkartpun* of the village dairy and is made by the *palol* from bamboo obtained by the *kaltmokh*.

1 [The Poh-- Analyst]

234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali*, where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir*, or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun*, kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni*,
292 he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *pòdrshtuni*, is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti*, one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani*, are

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kôli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*.

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It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day.

793

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*On*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday.

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The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrsum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *idrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

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The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

The Five Ti

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At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tìkìrs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

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make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled. 853

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpül* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kaṇsutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye. 852 854 951

The Tersamptpimi Ceremony

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals it has become the custom to bestow the name in conn[illegible] with the ceremony of uncovering the face. 852 553 765

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmän*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised. [417]

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put 852

[1] *Rosa Leschenaultiana.* [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koòtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 178

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

776 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and
793 not Gods of my tiriêri only. I have never seen them. They are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk.
793 After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tiriêri. He
442 said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in
793 none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tiriêri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in
372 saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tiriêri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

778 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by
793 anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his
234 priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tûde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

3¼ Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

412 No. XXXVIII.—*Pat* (பட்). Wooden implement, used in cooking to stir the rice. Made by Todas.

372 No. XXXIX.—*Nirah*. Dry sticks which produce fire by friction. *See* page 13. Every mand has some of these sticks.

415 No. XL.—*Chidi* (ஶ்ரீ). Spoon of cocoa-nut, and bamboo handle. Made by Todas.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sāmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up [353] from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet. 553 852 302

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf. 604 [616]

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner. [858]

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time. 304 796 [616] [793]

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their [604] [616] [413] [562]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and bamboo, fastened with split rattan, and are either constructed in curved outline like the tilt of a waggon, or brought to an angle at the top, with a wooden ridge-pole, similar to the form of construction met with in more civilised life. The first method of roofing—which is peculiar, not being found amongst any of the surrounding tribes—is that universally employed amongst the well-to-do. The latter, which is probably cheaper, and certainly more simple to make, but endures less the violence of storms, is ordinarily adopted by poor people, and for houses of a temporary nature requiring to be erected in a hurry.

335 342 556

The two end walls, which are invariably gabled, are made of very stout planking: and where the house consists of more than one room, the partition wall is of the exact same construction as the outer walls. The side walls, in the tilt-waggon houses, are formed by carrying the roof down to the ground, in which the ends of the curved bamboo rafters are all imbedded. At the line of junction with the earth, flat stones are used in order to throw the water off from the domicile. All the interstices and holes in the planking are carefully filled in with clay, mixed with cow-dung.

342 [335] [355] [333]

The doorway, presenting the appearance of a ship's port-hole, and about two cubits high by one and a half cubits broad, is to be found in the middle of the gable wall, when there is only one room to the house: if there are two or three rooms, the second and third doors will be found in the sides, so arranged that all the doors may be to leeward; usually the south or south-east. These doorways, which are closed at night with a flat stone or solid slab of wood, kept in place by a stick thrust vertically into the floor at either side of the opening, form the only passage for the household, and for light, smoke, and air.

[414]

The roof projects two cubits beyond the gable walls; thus forming a pleasant open verandah facing the morning sun, and sheltered from the wind. Here the primitive family sit,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 512 and then the churning is continued till the milk separates into a solid part, which I shall speak of as 'butter,' and a liquid, which I shall call 'buttermilk.' It must be remembered, however, that these do not correspond to the butter and buttermilk of a European dairy. The milk coagulates before the cream has risen in any quantity, and there is no skimming. The 'butter' consists of both the fat and casein of the milk, while the 'buttermilk' ought perhaps rather to be called 'whey.'

In order to avoid this ambiguity in the use of the words 'butter' and 'buttermilk,' it might have seemed desirable to use the Toda terms for these products; but I have not done so, partly in order to avoid the too frequent use of Toda words, partly because the names are not constant among the Todas themselves, different terms being used in different dairies.

When the churning is finished, the butter and buttermilk are put into their appropriate vessels, and the dairyman goes out to milk the buffaloes, using for this purpose a bamboo milking-vessel, into which he has put some buttermilk from the previous churning. The newly drawn milk is poured into the earthenware vessels, in which it stands till the afternoon. By this time the milk will have become solid, and is churned as in the morning.

The 'butter' is used chiefly in the form of ghi, or clarified butter, for which the Toda name is *nei*. The butter is clarified by keeping it over the fire after the addition of grain or rice. The latter sinks to the bottom of the vessel, while the *nei* consists of the liquefied fat of the milk. The *nei* or ghi is partly used by the Todas, but is largely sold at the bazaar. The deposit of grain or rice is called *al*, and is one of the chief Toda foods. It is, no doubt, mixed with part of the proteid constituents of the milk precipitated during the process of clarification.

234 415 The milking-vessel is of bamboo, and several of the small vessels used in the dairy procedure are also made from bamboo of various sizes. The vessels into which the milk is poured and in which it is churned are of earthenware, and the vessels in which the butter and buttermilk are kept are also

1: Rivers E-5 ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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FIG. 15.—OD (26) CHURNING.

234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to
177 the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain
412 a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground
415 outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkati*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There
171 are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

The Care of the Ordinary Buffaloes

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda
463 terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tüu*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitüu* (*meiltüu*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitüu*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *wāskal*. [354]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 The room of the dairy which contains the dairy vessels
343 is divided into three parts: the *patatmar*, the *ertatmar*, and
352 the *kalkani*.

412 The *patatmar* takes its name from the *patat*, an earthenware
415 vessel into which the milk is poured from the milking vessel and in which it is churned. The vessels kept in this part of the inner room, which are known collectively as *patatpur*, are those which are actually used in the milking and churning.

The *ertatmar* takes its name from the *ertat*, a bamboo vessel used to carry buttermilk or butter out of the dairy. The *ertat* and the vessels kept with it, known collectively as the *ertatpur*, are those which receive the products of the churning or are used to convey these products out of the dairy. The lamp and the fire-sticks used for making fire by friction are also kept in this part of the dairy.

In the third part of the room, called the *kalkani*, are kept leaves, firewood, knives, and various sticks or wands. According to some accounts, the vessel called *penpariv* is also kept here.

When the dairy vessels are taken into a new dairy (see Chap. VI.), they are placed on ferns. I do not know whether they always rest on a bed of ferns or whether the ferns are only used when the vessels are first placed in the dairy.

234 The following is a list of the *patatpur*, the vessels and other
412 objects which are kept in the part of the dairy called
415 *patatmar*:

Patat or *tat*. Earthenware vessels into which the freshly drawn milk is poured and in which it is churned (Fig. 18, F). There are several of these vessels, one of which may be used to hold water.

Irkartpun or *patatpun*. The bamboo milking-vessel (Fig. 18, I).

Parskadrvenmu or *parskadrpenmu*, *i.e.*, milk churn butter *mu* (Fig. 18, H). This is also sometimes called *kazkmu*, and is a small earthenware vessel in which is kept the butter (*pen*) which is added while churning. Except when the churning is in progress, it is used as a cover for the *patat*.

Adimu. An earthenware vessel (Fig. 18, K) into which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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FIG. 18.—THE CHIEF DAIRY VESSELS.

A. The *palmiu*.
B. The *pallati*.
C. The *madih*.
D. A *tadzhh*.
E. The *ortalpun*.
F. The *palal*.
G. The *pilmachah*.
H. The *parshadvennun*.
I. The *irkartpun*.
K. The *adimu*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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some of the coagulated milk may be poured while churning. It may also be used to fetch water from the dairy stream.

Madth or *parskartmadth.* Churning-stick (Fig. 18, C).

Palkati. Bamboo rings for holding the churning-stick while churning.

Parskurs or *ularwurthkurs.* Stick or wand used chiefly for driving off calves while milking.

Tatkich. The cut-up ends of a churning-stick, used for cleaning the *patat.*

Tedshk. Rings made of rattan (Fig. 18, D), used in carrying the dairy vessels.

The garment of the dairyman, called *tuni,* is also kept here. and when there is a *mani* (bell), it is kept on the *patatmar.* The churning-stick is kept on a stand called *agar.*

The following are the objects kept on the *ertatmar*:

Majpariv. Vessel in which buttermilk is kept.

Penpariv. Vessel in which butter is kept. (According to some, this vessel is kept in the part called *kalkani.*)

Ertatpun. Vessel used to take buttermilk or butter out of the dairy (Fig. 18, E).

Majertkudriki. A small earthenware pot used like a ladle to take buttermilk out of the *majpariv.* It is also called *ashkiok.*

Pòlmachok. A bamboo vessel (Fig. 18, G) used to hold the buttermilk which is distributed to the people of the village.

Nirsi. The fire-sticks for making fire by friction.

Pelk. The lamp.

Tòratthadi. Cooking vessel which may be used for anything except barley.

Put, a stirring-stick.

When there is only one room, the *masth,* axe for cutting firewood, may be kept on the *ertatmar*; otherwise it is kept in the outer room.

The vessels and other objects of the *patatmar* are those which come directly into contact with the milk of the buffaloes or which may at any time come into contact with the buffaloes themselves.

The vessels and objects of the *ertatmar,* on the other hand, are those which contain the dairy products which are going

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another. 415

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

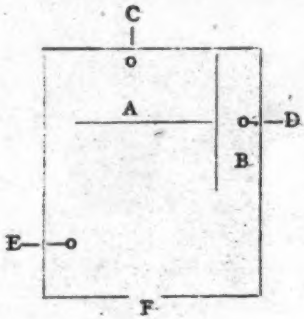
The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikarTmokh*, is often 618 621

343 352 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made by Kodrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Patatmar*.
B. *Ertatmar*.
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Waskal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 512 788 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 272 415 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *wursol* and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes.
788 Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPISI (56), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *wursol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *wursol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahman engaged in prayer.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnòdr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oñ*" each time. 234 415 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *penpariv* by means of the same vessel.

The Dairy of Kanòdrs

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph. 343

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those called *nashperthir*. 234 463 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used. 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

234 things of the outer room are sometimes called the *alugpur*,
343 just as those in the village dairy are called *ertatpur*, but I
352 did not hear of any corresponding term for the things of the inner room. I have no record of the place where the fire-sticks (*nirsi*) are kept, but they will almost certainly belong to the outer room, since, in the village, they belong to the *ertatmar*.

234 The nature of each of the vessels and other objects of the
412 dairy[1] is as follows:

415 *Persin*. This is an earthenware vessel containing about five *kudi*, *i.e.*, 2½ gallons. The freshly churned milk is poured into and churned in three of these vessels. The *persin* corresponds to the *patat* of the village dairy.

Tòrzum. This is an earthenware vessel containing two or three *kudi*. Two of these vessels are kept in the inner room, one, called the *karitòrzum*, to hold water, and the other to hold the butter added while churning. The latter is called the *peptòrzum* because it is also used to give butter-milk to the buffaloes on certain occasions. When not in use the two *tòrzum* are placed on and act as covers for two of the *persin*. The *tòrzum* corresponds to the *mu* of the ordinary dairy.

Kòghlag. This is the churning-stick which corresponds to the *madth*. Both *kòghlag* and *madth* are alike in having the peculiar shape shown in Fig. 18 (see also p. 111). The thong by means of which the stick is turned, ordinarily called *palv*, is here called *poinurs*, and consists of a strip of the skin of a male calf. The *kòghlag* is made by the *palol* from bamboo growing on the Nilgiris. In addition to two used and kept in the inner room, five or six new churning-sticks are kept in the outer room.

Persinkudriki. This is a small piece of bamboo with a handle called *tutth*, used to knock against the *persin* when praying.

Pohvet (*pokpet*). A wand used when praying.

Kwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about three *kudi*. It is the vessel taken out by the *palol* to milk the buffaloes. It corresponds to the *irkartpun* of the village dairy and is made by the *palol* from bamboo obtained by the *kaltmokh*.

1 [The Poh.. Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali*, where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir*, or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun*, kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni*,
292 he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *pòdrshtuni*, is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti*, one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani*, are

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

234 314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

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called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kôli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*.

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It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day.

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Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*Oñ*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday.

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The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrzum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *ìdrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

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The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

The Five Ti

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At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tikirs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

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THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Püv died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr. 173 234 773

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpuv*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpuv*. [415]

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the *ti* buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu. When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *tòrzum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti poh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other 173 234 773 778

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FIG. 29.—TO SHOW THE METHOD OF CARRYING THE CONTENTS OF THE DAIRY. THE BOY KALMAD (64) IS CARRYING THE 'PATATPUR'; KARSÛLN (15) THE 'ERTATPUR.' IN FRONT OF KALMAD IS THE ENTRANCE OF THE PEN AT KARS CALLED 'ALTHPTU' (see p. 649).

234x the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary
221 work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the
796 women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpun*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*ekirzam meidjam*," the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray, using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the [415 milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the 482] dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütusht*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

[562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

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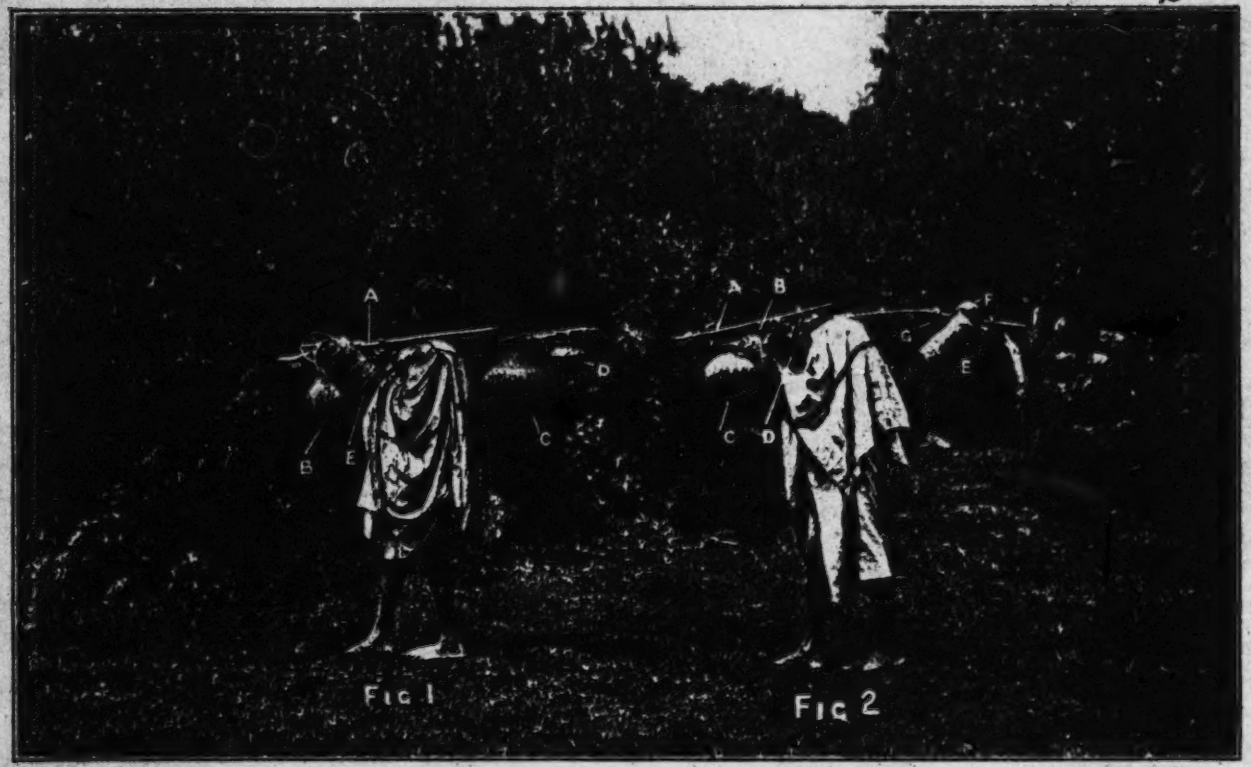

FIG. 30.—1. A. The *madth*. B. A *patat*. C. Another *patat*. D. The *parshadrvenmu*. E. The *irkartpun*.
2. A. The axe. B. The fire-sticks. C. The *majpariv*. D. The *pölmachok*. E. The *ertatpun*. F. A *tek*. G. The lamp.

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less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also accompany the procession. [177]

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take part in the procession must go without food on the morning of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual. The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the *pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere, is in or near the wall of the *tu*. 234x 221 796

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*. The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions. 234x 284 415 482

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the *pütusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug* is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar* are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back, one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy, and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi* is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate between those of the inner and those of the outer room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its 796

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burdens is carried by the *palol* on his left shoulder in the same way as is shown in Fig. 29, illustrating the method of carrying the things of the village dairy.

The *mani* is carried by the *palol* on his right side. A staff of *kiaz* wood is cut, about five cubits (*mogoi*) in length, which must be perfectly straight with a fork at one end. The bell is covered completely with *kiaz* leaves tied with rattan fastenings, and put on the fork of the staff by its ring. The staff is carried upright in the right hand of the *palol*; if he becomes tired he may rest it on his shoulder, but this must be done in such a way that the forked end of the stick carrying the bell comes in front of his body, otherwise the *palol* would be presenting his back to the sacred object.

At the Nòdrs *ti* there is an exception to the ordinary rule in the case of the *mani* of the *tiir*. It will be remembered that this bell is reputed to have been born in a *persin* during the migration from Amnòdr, and the bell is therefore carried in one of the *persin* during the migration from one dairy to another. In its place the *palol* of the *tiir* carries in his right hand the churning stick with its churning end upwards.

The *mani* is the only object of the inner room which is covered with leaves, so that it may not be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The lamp is also hidden from view within the *idrkwoi*, but I do not know whether this is for the same reason or merely because it is a convenient way of carrying it.

The *mòrol* carries the large earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*), which are at least four in number. They are tied on a staff by means of *tedshk* in the same manner as are the *persin*. This is done by the *kaltmokh*, who puts the staff and its burden on the left shoulder of the *mòrol*, taking particular care that the vessels do not touch the man. The *mòrol* carries one of the horns in his right hand.

Before the procession starts each *mani* is hung on the neck of a calf, left on for a minute or so, taken off and put on its staff. The *mani* of the *tiir* called Persin is put on the neck of a two-year-old calf of the *unir*, and that of the *warsir*, Keu, is put on the neck of one of the *perithir*.

If any dairy vessels or implements are not taken with the buffaloes, they are not left in the dairy, but hidden in a wood.

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The procession then starts with the *mòrol* at its head. In some cases a halt is made when passing certain places, and prayer is offered by the *palol*. In going from Mòdr to Anto the procession stops first at Pòrstib near Tedshteiri village (belonging to the Nòdrsol), where the *wars palol* puts the staff carrying the *mani* on a stone and prays while touching the staff with his hands. The next halt is made at Ponvtüt, where the buffaloes separate from the *palol* and follow a slightly different route, and here the *wars palol* again prays. The procession halts for a third time at a place called Teirpül, near Anto, but this time it is the *ti palol* who prays after having placed the churning stick and bell on a stone. 234x 221 796

On its way to Anto the procession passes near the village of Kiudr. When the buffaloes are seen to be coming, the women leave the house and go to the outskirts of the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve and broom, and wait there while the procession is going by. All the people of Kiudr fast on this day till after the buffaloes have passed.

It was said that on this day the *palikartmokh* of Kiudr used to rub clarified butter on the stones called *neurzülnkars*, but there was some doubt about this, and if the custom ever existed it seems to have fallen into disuse.

According to some accounts, certain clauses especially referring to the migration of the *ti* buffaloes are used in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see Chap. X).

On reaching the outskirts of the new place, the Todas who have accompanied the procession go away. The staff carried by the *mòrol* is taken off by the *kaltmokh*, who is again very careful that the vessels do not touch their bearer. Although the *mòrol* is allowed to carry some of the less sacred vessels, care is taken throughout that the vessels shall not be contaminated by touching his body or his clothing. 234x 221 796 415

All the dairy vessels are taken off and laid by a stone called the *perskars*, and then follows the ceremony of *peputi*. Each *palol* has carried with him some milk in one of the *persin*. Some of this is poured into the *peptòrzum*[1] and given to certain buffaloes, one of each kind belonging to the *ti*; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti*, the milk is given to five buffaloes, to three by one *palol*

[1] The vessel derives its name from this ceremony.

234* and to two by the other. The milk may be given to buffaloes
221 directly from the *tòrzum*, or it may be poured into the hands
of the *palol* from which the appointed buffaloes drink.
796 The next business is the purification of the dairy, called
415 *nòdrkorsi arspishpimi—i.e.*, we wash with *nòdrkorsi*. The *palol* goes to the dairy spring or *kwoinir* with the *karitòrzum*, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm. He throws *tudr* bark into the spring, fills the *karitòrzum* and returns. He puts *tudr* bark into the *karitòrzum* and also into the *idrkwoi* and then pours the water from the *karitòrzum* into the *idrkwoi*, which he takes to the dairy and throws the water with his hands first over the dairy vessels and then well into the dairy itself so that it penetrates to the inner room. He throws the water first on the floor, then to the roof and to the sides, three times to each. Next he takes three sprigs of the plant ordinarily called *kabudri* (*Euphorbia Rothiana*), but at the *ti* called *nòdrkorsi* and ties it over the door of the dairy.

The dairy vessels, which have been untied and placed on the ground near the *perskars*, are then purified and put in their places. The *palol* first takes up the *peptòrzum* with the *persinkudriki* within it, the *kòghlag*, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet*, all in the right hand, and carries them to the front of the dairy, where he repeats certain *kwarzam* of the prayer, then turns to the east and says the whole prayer of the dairy, salutes the dairy holding the four things to his forehead, enters, puts the things except the *kwoinörtpet* in their places, comes out with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without turning his back to the interior of the dairy, and shuts the door of the building. He then takes in the other vessels of the inner room, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without repeating the prayer. One *persin* is taken in first, then the others, the *karitòrzum* and the *tedshk*. Then the *mani* is taken, being carried in the right hand and laid temporarily on the floor near the *persin*; when taking in the bell certain *kwarzam* are said.

234* The wand called *pokvet* is next taken in and laid in its
796 place, and then the things intermediate between the inner and outer room—viz., the lamp, which is hung in its place, and

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from the rest by knocking their backs three times with the dung and stick. At the Kars *ti* two buffaloes are separated in this way; at the Nòdrs *ti* five buffaloes are set apart, one of each kind, three by the *ti palol*, and two by the *wars palol*. These buffaloes are known as *ponir*. The dairy is then purified with the dung and water. The *irpasthkakul* is laid on one side, and the *palol* puts salt in the basket called *ponmukeri*, and takes it with the water-vessel called *karpun* to the place where salt is to be given, taking also the remaining sprigs of *puthimul* and a bundle of fern.

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At the place for the ceremony there is a stone called *ponkars* (when there are two *palol* there will be two stones), and at the stone the *palol* makes a vessel of clay and water so as to resemble a milking-vessel. This clay vessel is called *teukwoi* (*teu*, god, and *kwoi*, milking-vessel).

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The *palol* then takes two perfect *tudr* leaves, and fastens them together with the petioles of other leaves, so that they form a cup which is called *piivup*. Salt is placed in this leaf vessel, which is laid down by the side of the *teukwoi*. One such vessel is made for each buffalo, two at the Kars *ti* and five at the Nòdrs *ti*.

The *palol* then takes the stick called *kwarkul*, and with it makes a hole in the middle of each *teukwoi*, saying (at the Kars *ti*) "*antok teukwoi ûrtj, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* make hole, O *palol!*"). He then makes other holes round the sides of the clay vessel, saying the names of the other gods in the same manner. (At the Kars *ti* those which have already been given. At the Nòdrs *ti* the names of five gods are mentioned—Anto, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi, Kuladrvan, and Kuzkarv.) Two pieces of *tudr* bark and a sprig of *puthimul* are then placed in each hole, saying for the first, "*Antok teukwoi et, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* put, O *palol!*"), and this is repeated with the name of a different god for each hole.

Next the *palol* takes the stick called *parkul*, which has a sharpened end, and makes small holes called *upunkudi* as in the *mòrup* ceremony. At the Kars *ti* only two *upunkudi* are made; at the Nòdrs *ti* one *palol* makes three and the other two holes. *Tudr* bark is thrown three times into the holes and into the water of the spring. Water is taken from the

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171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over
[262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
415 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
778 *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
788 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

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partly as a receptacle for the milk which is about to be churned, and partly to fetch water from the stream. It is highly probable that there was at one time a third *mu* in the dairy, which was a receptacle for the buttermilk added before milking.

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At the especially sacred dairy of Kanòdrs, where ancient procedure is likely to have lingered, the buried *mu* is still used as a receptacle for buttermilk. When this dairy is unoccupied, a certain amount of buttermilk is kept in the buried *mu*, and when the dairy is again occupied, this buttermilk is used to add to the milk. In this case the continuity of the dairy procedure is directly kept up by means of the buried vessel, and this procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy is strongly in favour of the view that the buried vessel was formerly a receptacle for the *pep*.

There are other indications that the *mu* is the most sacred of the dairy vessels. It is this vessel which is touched by the *toursol* the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, as the final act which gives them their full status at the ordination ceremonies, and we shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies at Taradr a temporary building is made to represent a dairy by placing in its inner room a *mu*. In this last case, it would seem that the *mu* is regarded as the emblem of the dairy, and that placing a *mu* in the inner room of the temporary building makes it a dairy.

The representative of the *mu* at the *ti* dairy is the *peptòrzum*, but it does not seem that this vessel is specially distinguished from the rest, and it does not appear to have the sanctity and importance which attaches to this kind of vessel at the village dairy.

There seem to be two chief possibilities in explaining the existence of the buried *mu*. It may be that it was at one time the custom to bury the *pep* while the village was unoccupied, and that this custom now only persists at Kanòdrs, the *mu* at other places being no longer used for this purpose, though it has continued to be of ceremonial importance. The other possibility is that, as the *pep* acquired increased importance in the dairy ritual, the sanctity of the buttermilk was transferred to the vessel which contained it, and the

234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
445 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was there-
788 fore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan. It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

Purity and Impurity

234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
783 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised: (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koòtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 178

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. " A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
[325] " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
513 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
" on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
" of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
415 " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Mand*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mott*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mand*.

285 No. V.—*Mekari* (). Four baskets, of sizes, to hold grain, made by Todas and Kotas of bamboo and ratan. Annas 10.

445

322 No. VI.—*Pon* (). Two milk vessels, of sizes, for milk and curds, made by Todas and Badagas from bamboo joints, with handle and binding of ratan. 8 annas.

445

No. VII.—*Wak* (). Drinking vessel size of a pint, made by Todas and Badagas of small bamboos and bound with ratan. 1 anna.

000 No. VIII.—*Kuarsi*. Walking sticks, two of bamboo, two of jungle wood.

No. IX.—Four pairs of rings worn by Toda men and women. Rings made by Kotas. Rupees 4, 10 annas.

526 No. X.—Sticks and "*Cut*" used in the game *Ilida*. *See* page 7.[1] Made by Toda men. *Gratis*.

[1] [Errata: See p. 10 -- Analyst]

000 No. XVI.—*Kyshedistri*. Tied round the elbow of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Made by Toda women.

Tiffri (ஃபிரி). The bag or lump at the end contains the flower and leaf of * ? 6 pies.

● 46 No. XVII.—*Pugh*. Cocoa-nut drinking vessel, used by women for milk and *ghee*. Made by Todas out of cocoa-nuts brought from the low country. *Ovatia*.

000 No. XVIII.—*Ela*. Cloth tied round the waist of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Cloth made by Badagas in Jakanbri in this district. The same villagers make the Pálli's cloths (Tuzai). *See* page 16. Rupee 1.

301 No. XIX.—*Kaffriash* (கம்மல்). Silver earrings worn by women in each ear. Made by Kotas. Rupee ½.

No. XX.—*Fibbal* (கடகம்). Iron bracelets worn by women on the left wrist. Made by Kotas. 12 annas.

No. XXI.—*Ellie* (மோதிரம்).—Two small iron rings worn by women on the first finger of the left hand; they usually wear two, sometimes four. Made by Kotas. *Ovatia*.

This was left blank, probably till the botanical name could be ascertained. I do not know what tree is referred to.—Ed.

45 No. XXII.—*Thar'ig* (ϕϑX). Dish of bell metal made in the low country, used by Todas to eat out of. Four or five sizes will be found in each house. Rupees 3, 12 annas.

No. XXIII.—"Pôthuli." Same as No. I, but worn by women so as to hang down to the feet, and not thrown so much over the left shoulder. Rupees 2.

No. XXIV.—*Tharp* (ϕϑ.) Waistcloth worn by women high up over the breasts. The female "tharp" is larger than the man's "tharp." Procured from Seramage. 10 annas.

No. XXV.—*Sûlagir*. Necklace, made by Kotas. The chain of silver, the tassels of cowries. When worn, the tassels hang down behind. Rupees 3.

286 No. XXVI.—*Tiesigdsé* (ϑϑϑϑϑϑ). Purse made by Toda women. At funerals it is put into the pouch of the Pôthuli and burnt with the corpse. Made of coloured cotton thread. *Gratis*.

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No. XXVII.—*Kûgidsém*. Ordinary purse worn by Todas. Made in the low country and bought by Todas from traders who came to the Hills. *Gratis*.

No. XXVIII.—*Pôsadr* (ϑϑϑϑ.) Made of black and white cotton by Toda women. Tied round the waist of the corpse and burnt at funerals. Ends done up with cowries. Sometimes eight or ten are burnt at one time. *Gratis*.

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412 No. XXXVIII.—*Pat* (ᱯᱟᱛ). Wooden implement, used in cooking to stir the rice. Made by Todas.

372 No. XXXIX.—*Nirak*. Dry sticks which produce fire by friction. See page 13. Every mand has some of these sticks.

● 415 No. XL.—*Chidi* (ᱪᱤᱫᱤ). Spoon of cocoa-nut, and bamboo handle. Made by Todas.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sâmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up [353] from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the necessaries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
361 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough
417 to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

312

Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

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In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another. 415

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *pah*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikarimokh*, is often 618 621

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

115

nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its 124 234 essential accuracy.

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape 234 may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more 343 than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the 793 work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead 234 of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed 417 so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary 778 people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pül*, and there is a special part of the *pül* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source 234 from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This 312 source is called *kwoinir*, and at Mòdr, where there was a 778 *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *muhadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tülk-hadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *hadr*.

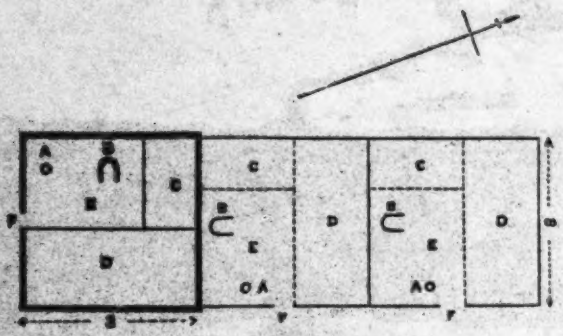
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation[1] is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces by a low enclosure wall—Tûar[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Thel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shri becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[1] [See p. 62 -- Analyst]

CHAP. VI.

351 originated in any defensive project, whether as protection
361 from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals.
417 Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

417 In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the
234 pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm[1] Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

[343] The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

333 Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for
417 Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

[1] [Letters did not reproduce here in the original text--Analyst]

the men, who hand them round to all impartially. The repast over, dancing is resumed by some, whilst the younger or more active proceed to collect the cow-buffaloes that will be wanted for the morrow, and to shut them up in the pound. Meanwhile, as might be anticipated, the daughters of Eve air their finery and keep their bright eyes and teeth in practice.

The proceedings of the second day[1] are very striking. Scene ;—The circular pen, of about thirty feet diameter, with surrounding wall, of unusual strength and neatness, about five feet high and three and a half or four feet broad, on which a dense crowd of people—Todas, Kotas, Badagas, and others—are seated, each man with staff and toga. Sun hot. Smell strong. Buzz of many voices. Squeak of many instruments. A group of buffaloes within the pound, of which, one for each dead man, wears a bell—getti, not konku—scared and desperate from the excitement of the festivity, and the alarming presence of the noisy multitude on the wall, hedging them in on every side. They make frequent timorous dashes at the wall: are as often repulsed with shouts and stick gesticulations. They crowd again, tails together, horns outwards—a habit of defence they have acquired on their hill sides to keep off wild animals: then charge the wall again, and are again repulsed. These little feints and attitudes of defence, keep up the animation of the ring till the moment has come ; when the remains of the dead, the insignificant manes—the bit of skull and lock of hair, some handfuls of ashes, a knuckle-bone or two—which have been preserved in a corner of the dwelling since the day of cremation, and now enclosed in the neat plaits of a new mantle, are laid at the gateway of the cattle pen: the ashes of the several dead whose obsequies are this day being observed, lying in the different folds of one single toga. The relatives collect around. No priest—pâlâl or kâvilâl—is present. A little hole is dug in the turf at the very opening of the pound ; to which, as before described, each interested kinsman and woman, each adult and child, approaching

[1] [of the bare kêdu, or Second funeral--Analyse]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Ao60 Toda Aw60

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to 147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way. 136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day 343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an 417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con- 234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them 778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being 262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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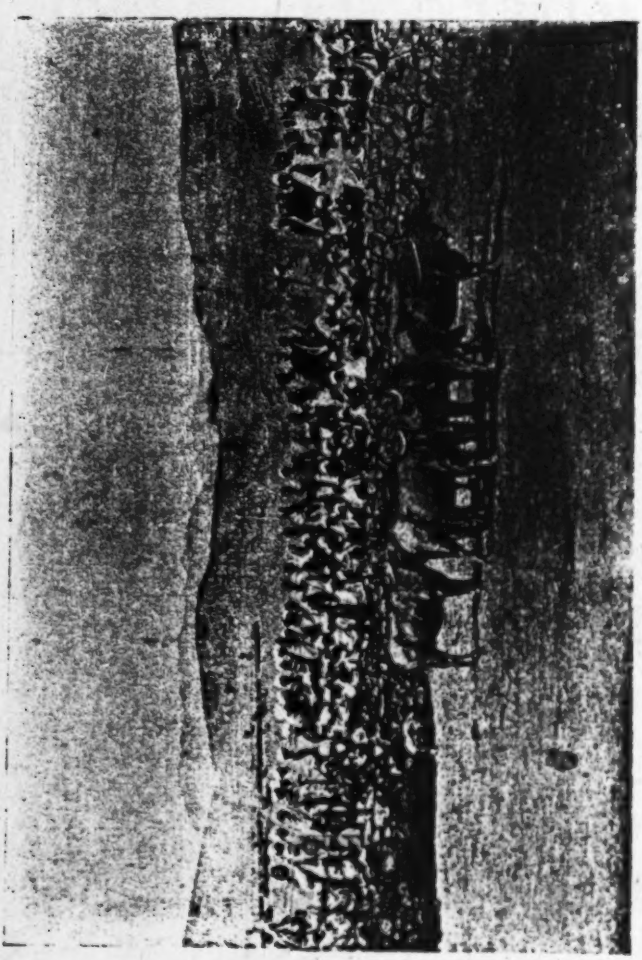

TODA BUFFALOES IN KRAAL

[facing p. 117]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351
two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to
permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343
is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others,
and usually contains two compartments separated by a
centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house
for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels.
The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342]
dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193]
than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of
the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354]
place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that
it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at
some little distance from the habitations. The huts
where the calves are kept are simple buildings, some-
what like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417
mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233
enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a
single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these,
the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422]
possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487
Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a
village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the
village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol
receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562]
women. Within the village there are also certain recog-
nised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234]
the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man
goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the
other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women
must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk
(maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562]
go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except
at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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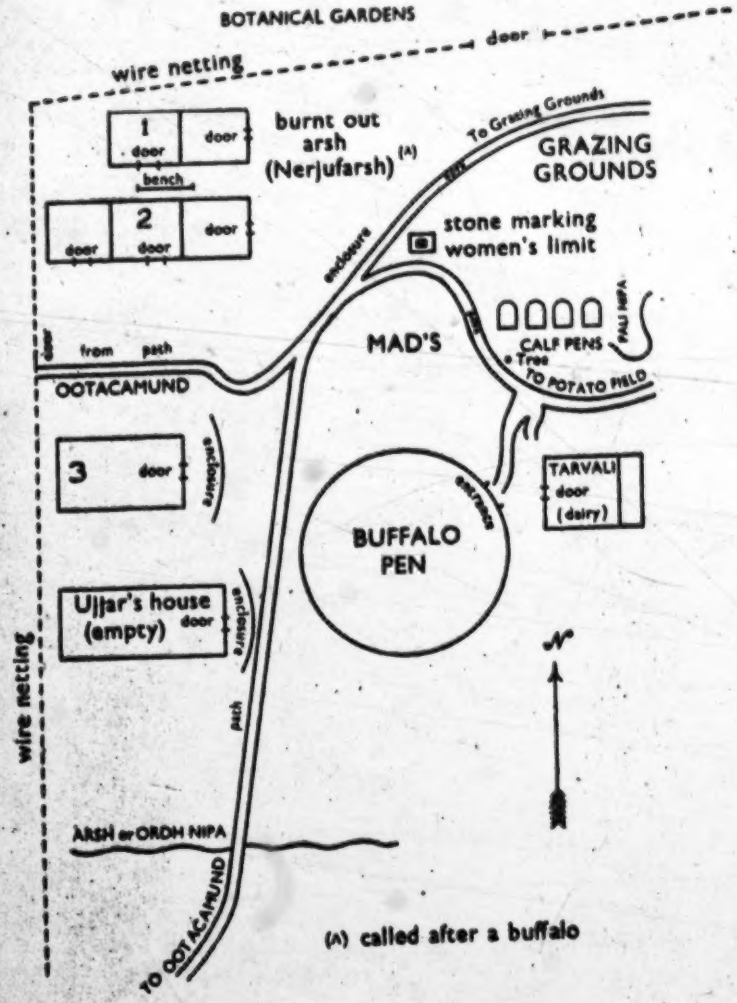

(A) called after a buffalo

Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mad*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or
621 young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh*
463 is in far more general use, and is often employed even when the dairyman is an elderly man.

778 At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies;
192 a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursuiir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

234 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its
618 reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.
621 At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in
778 constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail
421 the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There
618 were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six
621 places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7)	possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwur	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kuzhu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62). 234 421 618 621

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *piidrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeipir*; at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi. 173 234 618

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 234 463 554 618

[1] See Chapter XXIII.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions. 618

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pòlu* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are *probably responsible for the conduct of their business.*

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property. 421 618 621

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy[1] was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual 177 421 423

[1] For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan. There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends
428 on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known.
851 Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the
428 family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would
611 arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which
671 would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony was performed several generations ago. When the eldest
183 child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

421 himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the
428 buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of
611 Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become
671 extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and
183 Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursiitpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvàn or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

[601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

157 The history is also very interesting in showing that a
184 century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

which our own British forefathers in Celtic days—before the nation had become English through suffusion of Teutonic blood—used to form, has been read by every school-boy. 'It was common,' writes Cæsar, 'for a number of brothers or other near relations to use their wives promiscuously.'[2] It is not perhaps, quite pleasant to be told that such was the custom of our own ancestors, and efforts have in consequence been made to throw doubt on the correctness of the statement; but that it was indeed the habit of the Celtic portion of the inhabitants, I see no cause for doubting. If, as I believe to be the case, the custom of the ancient Britons, and of the Todas, is in this respect, identical, any light which these pages may bring to bear upon the curious and ancient practice, cannot fail to be accepted with greatly enhanced interest.

CHAP. XXIV.

000

Polyandry prevails also amongst tribes now occupying divergent tracts of the Indian Peninsula, but which, speaking various dialects of the same Drâvidian language, which is the mother-tongue of our Todas, were manifestly at one time, close neighbours—viz. in the mountains of Ceylon, and along the Southern Ghats.

It exists at this day amongst the Kalmuks, and has only just died out with the last of the Tasmanians.

It is known to be the practice of 'some families of the Iroquois.'[3]

We shall be better placed, to understand all the conditions of this venerable institution, on perusing the following few simple customs—partaking of the full force of laws—in regard to the management and inheritance of property; such as land, cattle, food and chattels, which obtain amongst the Todas;—

183 421

I. It has already been told that the tribe is divided into clans—kôleh.[4]

[2] J. Cæsar, 'De Bello Gallico.'
[3] Lubbock, 'The Origin of Civilization and Primitive Condition of Man.'
[4] Kôleh is a Drâvidian—Kanarese—word, which, though used by the

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately
621 related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without
423 the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are
234 the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of
851 both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in
595 common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the
428

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
428 *patta** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
592 "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
177 depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
461 an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from
294 the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Patta*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pattah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu.*—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket, nest.* The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor.*

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.) 1/A A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bŭguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An 609
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a [illegible]
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, Tenure of land.
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas* † of land, and 2 *Kantirdi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pittkoki*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = Or. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1/A [Plate 5A — Analyst]

177 an undefined extent of land. Further, the Badagas and Kota cultivators had always given them annually a portion of their field produce under the name of
421 *gūdu*, but, "*whether out of superstitious motives, or to induce the Todas not to*
423 "*molest them, or in acknowledgment of their proprietary right in the land,*"* was uncertain.
651

This seems to be the case for the Todas.

On the other hand there is nothing in the Toda occupation which affects the universally acknowledged right of the Government to levy full assessment on all uncultivated land, when actually brought under tillage, a right which the Government had exercised without objection in the case of all lands cultivated by the Badagas and paying *gūdu* to the Todas.

The first step in the settlement of the matter was to declare in 1843 that the Todas had an absolute right in their mands or village sites and in the spots appropriated to religious rites, and had also a claim to compensation† for abridgment of their grazing privileges, but that purchasers from Todas could only buy the right of occupying the land for pasture. On this principle compensation was paid by Government for the area now forming the Ootacamund settlement. Subsequently, on further inquiry, in connexion with the survey of the Hills by Captain Ouchterlony, it was found that the Badagas generally were not disposed to admit the right of the Todas to demand *gūdu* from them at any specified rate, although they acknowledged the practice of giving *gūdu*, and their readiness still to give it "according to their own wants or fancy." It was found too that the Badagas had for some time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the *gūdu*, and that no claim had subsequently been urged by the Todas on the buyer. On inquiry into the extent of table land over which *gūdu* was claimable, it appeared that on the whole plateau of the Hills there were not more than about a hundred mands occupied and unoccupied, and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in practice, only extended to the area surrounding each mand. Under these circumstances it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a mand or of spots appropriated to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoccupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural purposes. Every lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *gūdu* would be charged to the grantee, and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *gūdu* was payable thereon. Subsequently, in 1863, sales by public auction were substituted for leases. Under orders from Government the revenue authorities have abstained from leasing, or putting up to public auction, land which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda

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* *Despatch from the Court of Directors to Madras*, dated 21 June 1843, No. 13.

† Compensation equivalent to the *Gūdu* was to be given, and added to the assessment when the land was taken and tilled; and in case the land so taken was a portion of that for which the Todas paid the pasture tax, in proportionate share of the tax was to be remitted.

In *Minutes of Consultation*, dated 7 May 1852, the *Gūdu* equivalent was fixed at 1 anna per Kānī (cawny). A Cawny = 1·32 acres.

177 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gūdu* been claimed* for lands
421 disposed of by Government.

Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gūdu* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pottās*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gūdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gūdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— *Relig Rites Cere*

234 I. *Pālāle* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pālaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pālaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pālāls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenād, and one near Kodanād. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pālāls* must be Peikis; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarserzhāl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pālāls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilāl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pālāl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pālāl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,749, 29 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's* Letter of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gūdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

234 *Buffaloes.* These are to a very large extent individual property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes among them.

422 428 176

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.[1] When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *trvâkhtnûdr meilkûdr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

[1] On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kars clan.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Thus, if sixteen buffaloes are to be divided among four brothers, the eldest and youngest would each take four, the second and third brothers would each take three, and the remaining two buffaloes would either be sold and the purchase money equally divided, or taken by one of the brothers, who would divide three-quarters of the value of the buffaloes between the other three men. If there should be only fourteen buffaloes, the eldest and youngest sons would each take four buffaloes and the others three.

234 422 428 176

The *meilkudr* is also operative if a man divides his buffaloes among his sons in his lifetime. In this case a man usually keeps some buffaloes for himself; thus I was told that a man who had sixteen buffaloes and three sons might give four buffaloes to the eldest, three to the next, and four to the youngest son, keeping five for himself.

The Todas told me of one apparent exception to the law of *meilkudr*. If, in a family of four brothers, the two elder brothers marry one wife and the two younger marry another and the two groups separate, the buffaloes would be equally divided, but this is because each would receive a *meilkudr*. If, on the other hand, the eldest and youngest son married one wife, and the other two sons married another woman, the first group would receive two buffaloes in excess of the second. The former example is, of course, an obvious consequence of the law of *meilkudr*. I only mention it because the Todas told me of it especially, and seemed to regard it as a case which might be thought to be a departure from custom.

I gave the Todas a number of hypothetical problems of buffalo division, and all were solved in accordance with the law of *meilkudr*. I have not been able to learn of any exact parallel in other parts of the world, and it seems possible that it is an independent invention of the Todas. The division is called *kudr*, or horn, and it seems to me quite possible that at some time it occurred to an ingenious Toda that the two extremities of the family should be regarded as the two horns of the family, and that this fact should be recognised in the division of property, or, it may be, that the custom of endowing the eldest of the family above his fellows

176 existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it
234 was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore
422 the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda
428 mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

234 There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies
422 involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a
425 member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *terersthi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

234 Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas
609 and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes. 234 609

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons. 422 428 595

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljeidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men. [586]

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to 428

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351 two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343 is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342] dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193] than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354] place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417 mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233 enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422] possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487 Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562] women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234] the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562] go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

601

jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *mad*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensation to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

595 587 [623]

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoï, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *pursiitpimi* in the first instance.

[623] [851]

The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

595 422 [556]

[Melgarsh Village]

511 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following mem-
621 bers of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsod, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby
[23] calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his
428 property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the
[562] latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from
[583] their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

To 2196
302 have any except buffalo butter, which they
524 rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To 595 Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She
582 was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice.
422 When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To 595 The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel,
583 asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price.
592 (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

To 595 422 592

220a

second brother had also left, when he ran away in a huff, with one-third plus two of the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To 595 WTi 595 [592]

The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans

TODA AWGO

220C

To
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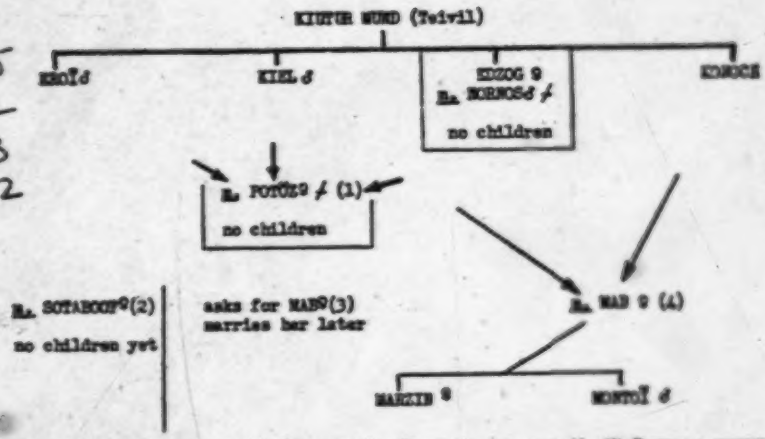

FIGURE 2. A Toda genealogy. (1) First married to Kazan when two years old. (2) Becomes a government peon; takes one-third of the buffalo plus two away. (3) Quarrels with her father over bride price; leaves with one-third of the buffalo her owner back and marries Mab after his brother, Kasuch, has already married her. (4) Kasuch originally is left with one-third of the buffalo (four). Mab becomes pregnant before Kiel joins in the marriage. † Deceased. Arrows denote polyandrous marriages.

-- p. 220c (Figure 2) --

128 601 *Straits Expedition*, with the modifications rendered necessary by the presence of polyandry and infant marriage among the Todas. In any one table the descendants in the male line only are given, descendants in the female line being recorded in the genealogies of the husbands. Thus, if one wishes to ascertain the descendants of Pilivurch in Table 1, it is necessary to turn to Table 20 recording the genealogy of Teithi, the husband of this woman. The names of males are in capital letters, those of females in ordinary type, and the name of a wife always follows the name of her husband or husbands. Under the name of each individual is placed, in italics, the name of the clan to which the individual belongs, or, in the case of a married woman, of the clan to which she had belonged before marriage. The names of those now living are given in Clarendon type, of which Mudrigeidi and Savdur in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviation i.m. stands for "infant marriage." The abbreviations d.y. and d.n.n. stand for "died young" and "died before being named" respectively. The latter implies that the child died within a few weeks of birth.

When the names of men are enclosed in square brackets, polyandry, and when the names of women are so enclosed, polygyny, is indicated.

006 In the *Torres Straits Reports* I have shown that there are definite reasons why the people should have preserved their pedigrees so fully. The pedigrees are not preserved for amusement nor out of idle interest in the doings of ancestors or neighbours. In Torres Straits the complex and far-reaching nature of the marriage regulations form the chief motive for the preservation of the pedigrees, while the transmission of property is perhaps of almost equal importance.

182 423 Among the Todas we shall see that the marriage regulations are far simpler than among the Papuans of Torres Straits, and in their case the chief motive is probably connected with the inheritance of buffaloes, the only form of property in which the Toda takes much interest. In the succeeding chapters we shall find several examples of social transactions in which the knowledge derived from the genealogical record has determined the issue.

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions. 618

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pôlu* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property. 421 618 621

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy[1] was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual 177 421 423

[1] For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etadmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan.
618 There probably never arises any real question of ownership, but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pôlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 621 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 423 234 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

851 595 428

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.) 1 A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bûguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple *salaam*; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, *Tenure of land.*
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirdi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pâthekâ*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 0p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

197 421 423 651

an undefined extent of land. Further, the Badagas and Kota cultivators had always given them annually a portion of their field produce under the name of *gūdu*, but, "*whether out of superstitious motives, or to induce the Todas not to "molest them, or in acknowledgment of their proprietary right in the land,*"* was uncertain.

This seems to be the case for the Todas.

On the other hand there is nothing in the Toda occupation which affects the universally acknowledged right of the Government to levy full assessment on all uncultivated land, when actually brought under tillage, a right which the Government had exercised without objection in the case of all lands cultivated by the Badagas and paying *gūdu* to the Todas.

The first step in the settlement of the matter was to declare in 1843 that the Todas had an absolute right in their mands or village sites and in the spots appropriated to religious rites, and had also a claim to compensation† for abridgment of their grazing privileges, but that purchasers from Todas could only buy the right of occupying the land for pasture. On this principle compensation was paid by Government for the area now forming the Cotacamund settlement. Subsequently, on further inquiry, in connexion with the survey of the Hills by Captain Ouchterlony, it was found that the Badagas generally were not disposed to admit the right of the Todas to demand *gūdu* from them at any specified rate, although they acknowledged the practice of giving *gūdu*, and their readiness still to give it "according to their own wants or fancy." It was found too that the Badagas had for some time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the *gūdu*, and that no claim had subsequently been urged by the Todas on the buyer. On inquiry into the extent of table land over which *gūdu* was claimable, it appeared that on the whole plateau of the Hills there were not more than about a hundred mands occupied and unoccupied, and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in practice, only extended to the area surrounding each mand. Under these circumstances it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a mand or of spots appropriated to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoccupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural purposes. Every lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *gūdu* would be charged to the grantee, and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *gūdu* was payable thereon. Subsequently, in 1863, sales by public auction were substituted for leases. Under orders from Government the revenue authorities have abstained from leasing, or putting up to public auction, land which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda

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* *Despatch from the Court of Directors to Madras*, dated 21 June 1843, No. 13.

† Compensation equivalent to the *Gūdu* was to be given, and added to the assessment when the land was taken and tilled; and in case the land so taken was a portion of that for which the Todas paid the pasture tax, its proportionate share of the tax was to be remitted.

In *Minutes of Consultation*, dated 7 May 1852, the *Gūdu* equivalent was fixed at 1 anna per Khai (cawny). A Cawny = 1·33 acres.

177 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gûdu* been claimed* for lands disposed of by Government.

421 Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gûdu* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pattâs*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gûdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gûdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— *Relig Rites Cere*

234 I. *Pâlâls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pâlaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pâlaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pâlâls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenâd, and one near Kodanâd. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pâlâls* must be Peikis; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarscrahâl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pâlâls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kowilâl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pâlâl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pâlâl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,749, 29 July 1868, and *Mr. Grant's* Letter of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the lease for payment of *gûdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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Avalanchē to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanchē-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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427 648 an offering or tribute, called gudu or basket, of grain, partly in compensation for the land taken up by the latter for cultivation, and so rendered unfit for grazing purposes, but chiefly as an offering to secure the favour, or avert the displeasure of the Todas, who, like the Kurumbas (*q.v.*), are believed by the Badagas to have [754] necromantic powers over their health and that of their herds. The European settlers also bought land in 648 Ootacamund from them, and to this day the Government 423 pays them the sum of Rs. 150 per mensem, as compensation for interference with the enjoyment of their pastoral rights in and about Ootacamund. Their position was, however, always a matter of dispute, until it was finally laid down in the despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 21st January, 1843. It was then decided that the Todas possessed nothing more than a prescriptive right to enjoy the privilege of pasturing their herds, on payment of a small tax, on the State lands. The Court desired that they should be secured from interference by settlers in the enjoyment of their mands, and of their spots appropriated to religious rites. Accordingly pattas were issued, granting to each mand three bullahs (11·46 acres) of land. In 1863 Mr. Grant obtained permission to make a fresh allotment of nine bullahs (34·38 acres) to each mand on the express condition that the land should be used for pasturage only, and that no right to sell the land or the wood on it should be thereby conveyed. It may be added that the so-called Toda lands are now regarded as the inalienable common property of the Toda community, and unauthorised alienation is checked by the imposition of a penal rate of assessment (G.O., 18th April 1882). Up to the date of this order, however, alienations by sale or lease were of frequent occurrence. It remains to be seen whether

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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the present orders and subordinate staff will be more adequate than those that went before to check the practices referred to." With the view of protecting the Toda lands, Government took up the management of these lands in 1893, and framed rules, under the Forest Act, for their management, the rights of the Todas over them being in no way affected by the rules of which the following is an abstract :—

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1. No person shall fell, girdle, mark, lop, uproot, or burn, or strip off the bark or leaves from, or otherwise damage any tree growing on the said lands, or remove the timber, or collect the natural produce of such trees or lands, or quarry or collect stone, lime, gravel, earth or manure upon such lands, or break up such lands for cultivation, or erect buildings of any description, or cattle kraals; and no person or persons, other than the Todas named in the patta concerned, shall graze cattle, sheep, or goats upon such lands, unless he is authorised so to do by the Collector of Nilgiris, or some person empowered by him.

2. The Collector may select any of the said lands to be placed under special fire protection.

3. No person shall hunt, beat for game, or shoot in such lands without a license from the Collector.

4. No person shall at any time set nets, traps, or snares for game on such lands.

5. All Todas in the Nilgiri district shall, in respect of their own patta lands, be exempt from the operation of the above rules, and shall be at liberty to graze their own buffaloes, to remove fuel and grass for their domestic requirements, and to collect honey or wax upon such lands. They shall likewise be entitled to, and shall receive free permits for building or repairing their mands and temples.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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648 423 6. The Collector shall have power to issue annual permits for the cultivation of grass land only in Toda pattas by Todas themselves, free of charge, or otherwise as Government may, from time to time, direct; but no Toda shall be at liberty to permit any person, except a Toda, to cultivate, or assist in the cultivation of such lands.

In 1905, the Todas petitioned Government against the prohibition by the local Forest authorities of the burning of grass on the downs, issued on the ground of danger to the shōlas (wooded ravines or groves). This yearly burning of the grass was claimed by the Todas to improve it, and they maintained that their cattle were deteriorating for want of good fodder. Government ruled that the grass on the plateau has been burnt by the inhabitants at pleasure for many years without any appreciable damage to forest growth, and the practice should not be disturbed.

564 Concerning the social organisation of the Todas, Mr. Breeks states that they are "divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz., Dêvalyâl and Tarserzhâl. The first class consists of Peiki class, corresponding in some respects to Brāhmans; the second of the four remaining classes the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi. A Peiki woman may not go to the village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis." The class names given by Mr. Breeks were readily recognised by the Todas whom I interviewed, but they gave Têrthâl (comprising superior Peikis) and Tārthâl as the names of the divisions. They told me that, when 564 574 a Têrthâl woman visits her friends at a Tārthâl mand, she is not allowed to enter the mand, but must stop at a distance from it. Todas as a rule cook their rice in [252] butter-milk, but, when a Têrthâl woman pays a visit to

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonises a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
177 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Oot-
233 acamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
425 from the Todas. The sib of the uṇkitjo:ḷ (Rivers' Pam; for
[614] details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ṣo:ḷ and melga:-ṣo:ḷ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
[311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ṣo:ḷ sib, the other of
[197] the mö:ṭo:ḷ sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ṣo:ḷ sib were sold to Government
[614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
[684] when the sib of the ka:ṣo:ḷ were in need of a large sum of money to settle parkumṣ's liability in the suicide of nörnmṣ. In general,

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To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, *pineipir*; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given being called in general *nòdrodvaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who rule." 173 234 618

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan have passed into the possession of other clans. This has happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds. 425 431

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*. 234 778

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The *nashperthir* of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the *martir*. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be 234 618 621 778

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

176 existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it
234 was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and
the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore
422 the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda
428 mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched
explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique
possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

234 There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to
another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies
422 involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a
425 member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is
one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the
marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of
buffaloes, and the *tererstthi* custom is a great source of the
passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly,
buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing,
&c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences
have led to great confusion in the classification of the
different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in
his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

234 Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas
609 and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
177 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Oot-
233 acamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
425 from the Todas. The sib of the mṇkitjo:ʃ (Rivers' Pam; for
[614] details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ʂo:ʃ and melga:ʂo:ʃ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
[311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ʂo:ʃ sib, the other of
[797] the mõʂo:ʃ sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ʂo:ʃ sib were sold to Government
[614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
[682] when the sib of the ka:ʂo:ʃ were in need of a large sum of money to settle paṛkumṇ's liability in the suicide of nõrumṇ. In general,

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

In general, 177
the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close 233
watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or 425
from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and pre- 657
vent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic 177
life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the 657
interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in con- 177
nexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature 657
of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work 241
this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings 648
in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of 434
Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes)* (Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 3 b), 123. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage customs attempted by kumuṭjall and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

There remains the important question of the effect of outside influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women by the polyandrous system combined with the monogamic institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

[Melgarsh Village]

511 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following members of the family:
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Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsod, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby
[23] calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

• 425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his
428 property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the
[562] latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from
[583] their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*.

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mud*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family.

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershutersh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singod and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal.

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join

Debt and Servitude

426 It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt, and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

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When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kûlvatkerthchi* or *kûlvatkerthiti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

[582] It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

The Position of Women

562 There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

CHAP. IV.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful, seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of opposiveness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

[1] The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike persistency; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse. At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt. When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they require the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage customs attempted by kum:ja*l*f and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

There remains the important question of the effect of outside influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): " The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women by the polyandrous system combined with the mexθortifoj institution by which a woman has at least one " lover " belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grass before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 204 THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 457 439 427 The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$, and shows that the Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of the Nilagiri Mountains.

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Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities: the Badaga acquires land on cheap terms of rental.

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to: acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of

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[1] Badagas, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.

[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.

[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Avalanchē to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanchē-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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427 648 an offering or tribute, called gudu or basket, of grain, partly in compensation for the land taken up by the latter for cultivation, and so rendered unfit for grazing purposes, but chiefly as an offering to secure the favour, or avert the displeasure of the Todas, who, like the Kurumbas (*q.v.*), are believed by the Badagas to have [954] necromantic powers over their health and that of their herds. The European settlers also bought land in 648 Ootacamund from them, and to this day the Government 423 pays them the sum of Rs. 150 per mensem, as compensation for interference with the enjoyment of their pastoral rights in and about Ootacamund. Their position was, however, always a matter of dispute, until it was finally laid down in the despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 21st January, 1843. It was then decided that the Todas possessed nothing more than a prescriptive right to enjoy the privilege of pasturing their herds, on payment of a small tax, on the State lands. The Court desired that they should be secured from interference by settlers in the enjoyment of their mands, and of their spots appropriated to religious rites. Accordingly pattas were issued, granting to each mand three bullahs (11·46 acres) of land. In 1863 Mr. Grant obtained permission to make a fresh allotment of nine bullahs (34·38 acres) to each mand on the express condition that the land should be used for pasturage only, and that no right to sell the land or the wood on it should be thereby conveyed. It may be added that the so-called Toda lands are now regarded as the inalienable common property of the Toda community, and unauthorised alienation is checked by the imposition of a penal rate of assessment (G.O., 18th April 1882). Up to the date of this order, however, alienations by sale or lease were of frequent occurrence. It remains to be seen whether

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[241] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

234 *Buffaloes.* These are to a very large extent individual property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the 422 428 property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes among them. 176

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.[1] When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *frvâkhtnûdr meilkûdr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

[1] On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kars clan.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Thus, if sixteen buffaloes are to be divided among four brothers, the eldest and youngest would each take four, the second and third brothers would each take three, and the remaining two buffaloes would either be sold and the purchase money equally divided, or taken by one of the brothers, who would divide three-quarters of the value of the buffaloes between the other three men. If there should be only fourteen buffaloes, the eldest and youngest sons would each take four buffaloes and the others three.

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The *meilkudr* is also operative if a man divides his buffaloes among his sons in his lifetime. In this case a man usually keeps some buffaloes for himself; thus I was told that a man who had sixteen buffaloes and three sons might give four buffaloes to the eldest, three to the next, and four to the youngest son, keeping five for himself.

The Todas told me of one apparent exception to the law of *meilkudr*. If, in a family of four brothers, the two elder brothers marry one wife and the two younger marry another and the two groups separate, the buffaloes would be equally divided, but this is because each would receive a *meilkudr*. If, on the other hand, the eldest and youngest son married one wife, and the other two sons married another woman, the first group would receive two buffaloes in excess of the second. The former example is, of course, an obvious consequence of the law of *meilkudr*. I only mention it because the Todas told me of it especially, and seemed to regard it as a case which might be thought to be a departure from custom.

I gave the Todas a number of hypothetical problems of buffalo division, and all were solved in accordance with the law of *meilkudr*. I have not been able to learn of any exact parallel in other parts of the world, and it seems possible that it is an independent invention of the Todas. The division is called *kudr*, or horn, and it seems to me quite possible that at some time it occurred to an ingenious Toda that the two extremities of the family should be regarded as the two horns of the family, and that this fact should be recognised in the division of property, or, it may be, that the custom of endowing the eldest of the family above his fellows

176 existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it
234 was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore
422 the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda
428 mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

234 There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies
422 involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a
425 member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *tererstbi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

234 Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas
609 and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes. 234 609

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons. 422 428 595

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljcidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men. [586]

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to 428

428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends
428 on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known.
851 Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by
428 a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would
611 arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which
691 would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony
183 was performed several generations ago. When the eldest child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlu* as

421 himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the
428 buffaloes of Kiugi's *pàlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pàlm* is closely related to that of
611 Tüliners (56), so that should the *pàlm* of Kiugi become
671 extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and
183 Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *parzàtpini* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pàlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pàlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

[601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

157 The history is also very interesting in showing that a
184 century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

CHAP. XXIV.

II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

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III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[4] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) If a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, each husband considers all the

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Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for chas.

[4] Mr. J. Brooks, late Commissioner of the Nellgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

children as his—though each woman is mother only to her own—and each male child is an heir to the property of all of the fathers. CHAP. XXIV.

X. In order to avoid the complications that would arise, in the matter of food and the guardianship of property, from the re-marriage of widows, if they entered other families, taking their children with them; either a brother or other near relation of her deceased husband, takes her to wife. She 'remains in the family.' Such is Toda expression.

The following was early Semitic custom (*see* Deuteronomy xxv. 5): 'If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger; her husband's brother'—or 'next kinsman,' says a marginal note—'shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother* unto her.' This practice, is either pure polyandry, or it pertains to that extreme communistic state of society, to which, as I shall shortly demonstrate, polyandry belongs.

I met on one occasion, the instance of a man who had just separated from a very good-looking young wife of about fourteen years of age, in order that he might marry his elder brother's widow. It was looked on as a matter of course that the widow should 'remain in the family:' and the retention of two wives, in a community where the women are considerably in the minority, is out of the question. The girl had immediately espoused another; for until children have been born, the Todas do not mind the marriage of a widow out of the family.

These and other instances of the grave, practical, and mitigating nature of this curious people, made a great impression on me at the time.

Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more

* To raise up seed unto the brother.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pōjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pōjāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
428 *patta** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
592 "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
177 depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gōdu*,† which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
461 an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from
294 the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *pattah* or *pattah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gōdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Toda; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ of the gross produce. *Gōdu*, Canarese for basket, nest. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōti* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōti*. One basket or *Gōdu* out of so many is set apart for the Toda.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor.*

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sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division. [616] [621]

616 793 837

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography). [834] [114]

562 [847]

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

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After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded
[766] to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

[Melgarsh Village]

571 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following mem-
621 bers of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsod, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby
[23] calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his
428 property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the
[562] latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from
[583] their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*. 425 428 [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512 [123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514] [296] [233] [234] [264] [291] [356] [515]

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

for the practice of feminine duties, and of acquiring useful experience in the management of affairs. If the husbands should die, the widow would be fully competent to act as trustee of any cattle they may have left, and as guardian of her children, whether she married again, or maintained her single state. CHAP. XXVI. 562 429

In the event of a woman not bearing any children to her husband, he may marry again: but in such case he must support the first wife: and, as a matter of course, he has to pay another dower for the second. 586

In possession, therefore, of these evidences of wedded life, and bearing in recollection the staid nature of this singular people, I feel convinced that separation between pairs is not lightly tolerated. Easy-tempered, thoroughly communistic, and not very nice in their discrimination of the duties of husbands and wives to one another, many of the causes which lead to separations amongst civilised people, must be absent from them, and motives for divorce would not be frequent.

What an insight does the simple practice of the dower, not give into the direct nature of their minds! Both parties *promise*, and the promise is their bond! It is not that it is a conscientious people, but so guileless and free from talent for plot, and all so much alike, that seemingly they possess almost intuitive knowledge of one another's intentions. We notice the same peculiarity amongst the inferior animals, and for want of a better word, term it instinct. I have often thought that much of this instantaneous understanding we observe in animals, as well as the rapidity with which, amongst nearly pure races of man, information is disseminated, and the unity of impulse with which they work in combining for a common end, is due greatly to close similarity in cranial contour.[1] Are sly animals ever found associated in herds or troops? 583 000

[1] This peculiarity was a remarkable feature in the Indian Mutiny of the year 1857; the rebellion of a semi-barbarous race, of striking uniformity of cranial development.

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
Toda AW60

115 him to delve into the intimate details of tribal customs. He was also a very intelligent individual who fully grasped the interest of anthropological research, and was keen to make use of the results in the hope of improving the material condition of the Todas. Without his assistance, it is doubtful whether I would have acquired so penetrating an insight into the Toda way of life, something for which I am extremely grateful to him.

[589] Kanvarsathi's father was a rather notorious character among the Todas called Kiunervan (Table 14 of Rivers' genealogical tables) who had no less than eleven wives, one after the other. Kanvarsathi was the only son of the eleventh wife, and was born in 1905 at the Toda village of Paletkwar (known as Attakoraimand in the language of the Badagas) near Or, on the left-hand side of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. Two months after his birth, his mother died, and his half-sister, Sinkup, later wife of Ujar (48, Rivers' Ushadz, one of my best informants), a daughter of his father's second wife, took him away with her and very grudgingly looked after him.

Six years later, Kiunervan also died, leaving one boy, Kanvarsathi, and two elder girls. The total number of his father's offspring had not been very great, despite the eleven wives. There were, altogether, only three sons and two daughters, of which two boys died before Kanvarsathi was born, and the two girls after, leaving him the sole survivor. Strictly speaking he became the only heir to his father's estate, which [550] consisted, at the time of death, of sixty buffaloes and some gold ornaments – quite a considerable fortune according to Toda standards. But ● [929] because he was a minor, his father's brothers' sons – his first cousins on his father's side – took the property into their custody until he should come of age. Being, however, most unscrupulous, and believing that Kanvarsathi would never find out, these cousins gradually disposed of the estate to their own advantage, so that when the time came for them to hand it over, all that he got were six buffaloes and two pairs of ear-rings.

115 691 When he was ten years old, he found out the real state of affairs and how he was being done out of his legitimate inheritance. He appealed against this to the Toda Government Agent, the Monegar, and to the most influential Toda of his day, the famous Kuriolv (52, properly speaking, Kiusharf in Toda, the other name being Badaga), but to no avail. These important people could not be bothered with the complaints of so small a boy, and all he got for his trouble was to be made to look after their buffaloes. This unfairness deeply wounded him, and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, *pineipir*; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given being called in general *nòdrodwaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who rule." 173 234 618

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan have passed into the possession of other clans. This has happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds. 425 431

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*. 234 778

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The *nashperthir* of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the *martir*. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be 234 618 621 778

given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—*i.e.*, as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo. 782 234

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

Irnörtiti to the Ti

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *tenol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310). 234 782 688 [23]

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become 234 431 782

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikun* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their atten-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
618 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
673 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
688 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the kind called *kwadrikurs*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*achok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatiti*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties. 846

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *terigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol. [431]

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf. 846 234 853 788

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

1 [The ceremony after childbirth -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

852 round the wrist of the child when it was shaved, is taken off and replaced by a piece of creeper called *peival*.[1] After the ceremony the *peival* is removed.

There was some doubt as to what was done with the lock of hair. Mr. Natesa Sastri states[2] that the hair is carefully preserved, but my informants did not confirm this, and it seemed as if they did not even adopt the precaution of hiding the hair, which is generally practised (see p. 268).

THE EAR-PIERCING CEREMONY

852 The ceremony of piercing the ears is called *kevi kûtiti*, and may be done at any time from infancy up to even twenty
574 years of age. The ceremony is often delayed until it can be
431 performed for several members of a family at the same time in order to avoid the considerable expense connected with it. The ceremony must be done on a Sunday or Wednesday, and there must be no *kedr* in the clan, *i.e.*, it must not be performed if the funeral ceremonies of a member of the clan are still unfinished.

On the day appointed for the ceremony many guests assemble at the village, and the boys whose ears are to be pierced are dressed in their best clothing. The piercing is performed by two men, one for each ear. One is the mother's brother (*mun*) of the boy, while the other is a man of the division to which the boy does not belong—a Teivali man if the boy is one of the Tartharol and *vice versa*.

The piercing is done with a piece of a small ring, so fine that it is like a needle. The ring used in this way may be of silver or gold, the latter only being used by the richer members of the community.

Each boy then salutes (*kalmelpudithti*) all those present older than himself, both male and female. Each man as he raises his foot to the head of the boy says :—

Tânenmâ,	*târmâmâ*,	*pathk mâ*,	*peda mâ*,
May it be well,	may it be well,	may he prosper,	may he prosper,

ir anâr ôl mâ,	*ôr mokh pai mâ*.
buffaloes 100 may he rule,	six sons may he have.

[1] Probably here *pei* = demon (see p. 180).

[2] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Each man also gives four annas to the boy and each chief Toda may give one rupee.

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431

The salutation of their elders seems to be conditional on this gift of money. One of the most recent cases in which the ceremony has been performed was when the ears of six of the sons of Tikievan of Kuudr and his brothers (56) were pierced. On this occasion Tikievan refused to take any money from those present, and the boys only saluted those men who had celebrated the occasion by giving buffaloes to their father.

As the *kalmelpudithti* salutation was omitted, the words given above as usually said by each person were on this occasion said collectively by all present while the six boys bowed down their heads to the ground. The ears of these boys were pierced by Teikudr (63), the first cousin of Sulnir, the mother of the boys, but regarded according to the Toda system as elder brother of the mother.

The representative of the Tartharol who pierced the other ear was Pidrvan (9), probably chosen because he was one of the oldest and most influential of the Todas who lived at Pakhalkudr, not far from Peivòrs, the home of the boys.

After the ceremony all those present receive two balls of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, even a young child receiving his two balls of food. Each person then makes a hole in his food, into which ghi is poured, and all eat, washing their hands afterwards in water brought from the *ars nipa*.

Only the ears of boys are pierced, and a boy may not enter upon the more sacred offices of the dairy till this ceremony has been performed. Among the Teivaliol, he cannot become *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*, but he may be *palikartmokh*. Among the Tartharol, a boy cannot become *palikartmokh* at any kind of dairy till the ear-piercing ceremony has taken place.

In the case of the ceremony for the sons of Tikievan I inquired into the actual expenses of the day. These were as follows :—

grain	17	rupees
jaggery	10	,,
rice	7	,,
10½ *hudi* of ghi . .	21	,,
tobacco and salt . .	2	,,

amounting to 57 rupees.

852 On the other hand, six buffaloes were given to Tikievan; two by the Badaga Monegar of Tuneri; one each from Perner and Tebner (68), whose daughter Sinmokh had married Piliagar, one of the boys. The other two buffaloes were given by Teikudr, the uncle of the boys who had taken part in the ear-piercing.

431

Several of these buffaloes were either given in return for buffaloes which Tikievan had previously given, or Tikievan would be expected to give buffaloes in return when any suitable occasion arose in the families of the donors.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Siltidz also lighted the pyre. 766 511

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kuriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainolkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *azaramkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidzeini (21), the ceremony of *pursiitpini* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matchuni*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidzeimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*pursadikina?*"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Pursad!*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidzeimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

Funeral Contributions

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainolkedr*, it was the rule that every *manmakh*, or sister's son, should 764 431 602

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 supply a buffalo, while in the case of a child it seemed that
431 buffaloes were sometimes given by the *mam*, or mother's brother.

602 Buffaloes were also given by the husbands of the daughters of a man, whether they were the *mamnokh* of the man or not. They might be given by other relatives, but it seemed that the gift was especially a duty of the *mamnokh* and *paiel*. The *mokkthodvaiel* of a woman should also contribute a buffalo for her second funeral.

At the present time the limitation of the number of buffaloes which may be slaughtered has removed the necessity for these gifts, but it still remains the custom for one of the buffaloes to be supplied by the *mamnokh* or some corresponding relative, or, at any rate, it seems to be usual for one buffalo to be supplied by relatives of a man on the male side, and the other by relatives on the female side; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (52) one buffalo was given by Kuriolv, the father of the dead child, and the other by Perner (68), the father of the child's mother, and also the grandfather of her husband.

Contributions in money may be made by any relative, and all those who have married into the family of the deceased, even if only boys, should contribute eight annas or a rupee towards the general expenses, this custom being called *tinkanik panu ttpini*. The *mokkthodvaiel* of a woman should contribute at least five rupees to the expenses of the second funeral.

The ceremony of *kachattki* (see p. 358) also involves a payment from his sons-in-law to a man of the same clan as the dead man. The money is not paid, however, till the woman who places the cloths on the body has attended twenty funerals and is, therefore, probably not paid at all in many cases, but it may be regarded as tribute from those who have married into a family at each death in the family.

The contributions of buffaloes and money from a man to the relatives of his wife are called *pàdri*.

Contributions of food are received from various relatives, who also contribute certain of the objects used for the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *mannekh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle. 764 431 602

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*putiw* or *nemai*) to the amount of five to ten *kuna*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased. 177 764

At the *marnainelkadr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tuk*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kwainemurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

Amnòdr.

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world, 772 775

[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
621 huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas
437 seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special
278 reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *u:kòren* (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
762 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

CHAP. XIII.

234 778 [198]

chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

177 234 262 431

But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

234 778

There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[2] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

[2] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, mani dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

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583 584 girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

583 584 684 In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. An entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.[2] Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—kûtacaram.

585 301 431 The husband now gives his wife a necklace,[3] of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

585 The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

[2] Literally Âl = '*husband*' or '*man*.' Kâtvoti = '*wife*' or '*she who is bound to me*.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

[3] Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kūmg. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil koṅku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koṅgu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koṅgu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kūmg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

616 Either the couple live together in the same *mad*, quite openly, or the
837 man visits the woman periodically at the house of her husband or husbands. In the case of a Tardharsh being *mokhthodvaiol* to a Teivilkh woman, because of the prohibition for those of her kind to
[621] visit the *mads* of the superior moiety, it always has to be her lover who visits her at her home. There is no objection on the part of the husbands as, in accordance with the formalities necessary to establish a *mokhthoditi* relation, they will have been consulted in advance and will have given their consent to the arrangement.

837 The usual way for a man to go about getting himself a *sedvaitazmokh* is, after having found the lady of his choice, to approach her husband or husbands, if she has any, or her father or fathers if she has none, and to obtain their consent to what he plans. He will agree to give the men a present (such as a piece of cloth or a *putkuli*) in exchange,
[431] whereupon, if the other party is in accordance, he becomes the woman's *mokhthodvaiol* without any further formality. (Rivers has it that a third party may be called in to seal the pact, (see *The Todas*, p. 527) but none of my informants said this was done nowadays.)

Some time later, he will make collective obeisance to the lady's *pailol*, that is, her male relations (fathers and brothers). This is as in a Toda marriage, there being no difference at all here between regular
[588] and irregular unions. On this occasion the man will promise to give the woman some pieces of jewellery, and her son, should she have one, a buffalo calf. It is after these promises have been made, that the *mokhthodvaiol* will perform the *kalmelpudithti* salution to the *pailol* and, significantly enough, after this has taken place, he will call his *sedvaitazmokh's* father *mun* as he would his wife's father or his maternal uncle.

While working at Melgarsh *mad*, I had the opportunity to see how such a *mokhthoditi* arrangement functioned. Amoniwuf, the common wife of the two brothers, Singharsh and Singhud, had a regular lover, a Teivilkh from Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol*, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded (his picture is shown on pages 56 and
[113] 57 of Lidio Cipriani's *I Toda, Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vol. LXVII, 1937). Things seemed to go very smoothly, and all three men as well as the woman appeared happy and on the best of terms. The Teivilkh used to come regularly to Melgarsh, at least twice a week in the afternoon, staying until the next morning when he would go home again early. I was told that he had given Amoniwuf a very
[431] nice gold necklace, which I was, however, never shown. The husbands

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment. [764]

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *ān* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366). 837 764 [301]

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough". 648 837 [834] [684] [143]

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melqarsh Village]

complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by asking me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not accede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even being tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

[123] [273] [431] [846] [847]

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mutnarsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

595 [865]

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The Todas*, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

846 796

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was unusual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

[183]

234 the milk of buffaloes belonging to the more sacred dairies has
778 a higher degree of sanctity than that churned in the lower grades.
272 The milk of ordinary buffaloes may be drunk by anyone,
784 man, woman, or child. The Todas do not ordinarily sell
[432] milk, but if they do so, they may only use the milk of ordinary buffaloes for this purpose. I have a note that anyone may also drink the milk of buffaloes belonging to the *tarvali*, but I suspect that this only applies to men who must drink it at the dairy.

The milk of the *kudrpali* may only be drunk by the *kudrpalikartmokh* himself. It is believed that any other person or animal who should drink milk from this dairy would die.

At the *wursuli* milk may be given to men at the dairy, but it must be mixed with buttermilk. At the *kugvali* of Taradr the milk of the *kugvalir* themselves is not drunk by anyone, the dairyman having certain ordinary buffaloes for his own use, and this is also the case at the *ti*. I believe that not even the *palol* would drink the milk of the *persinir*, the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*.

There is one exception to the rule that ordinary people may not use the milk of the sacred buffaloes of the village dairies (except in the form of butter and buttermilk). At the *irpalvusthi* ceremony at all the village dairies, including the *kugvali*, food is prepared with the milk of one of the sacred animals and this food is given to the people of the clan to which the dairy belongs and also to members of other clans.

In the case of the *wursuli*, I was especially told that this is the only occasion on which the milk of *wursulir* is used by people in general. At the *kugvali*, people of other clans are only given this food on the second day of the proceedings, and the distribution of the food is preceded by a ceremony in which some of the food is thrown into the fire. The milk used on this occasion is the milk of the buffalo which has recently calved, the ceremony being in celebration of this event.

At the *wursuli* it is noteworthy that the food is cooked by the *wursol* himself, the ceremony of *irpalvusthi* being the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being
●433 kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[24] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad's*, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

In general, 177 233 425 657

the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and prevent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic 177 657 life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in con- 177 nexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature 657 of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work 241 this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings 648 in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of 434 Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 5], 125. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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648 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient
434 living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great
114 importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which
616 each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his
[578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:l), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!").
581 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kum:ɣjaɮf made an
588 innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather
616 by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj
178 institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kum:ɣjaɮf or the children of this union. The example was followed in kum:ɣjaɮf's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kum:ɣjaɮf's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

●434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

142 The lineaments and characteristics of the Telingan race, as described by Pickering, seem to apply to this people in all points save one, but that a very important one, namely, the nature of the hair. According to the above author, the Telingans have "straight fine hair", but, as the hair of the Toda men is clustering, partially curled, and rather inclined to coarseness, the classification of this tribe under that head seems out of the question.

301 The most noticeable of the ornaments, generally valuable and always pleasing to the eye, worn by the Toda women, are their massive and very handsome necklaces of solid gold and silver, which, though of course varying in size and detail of design, are all of the same typical character, resembling some of the ancient [436] necklaces found in our own country. These ornaments they value very highly, and regard as heirlooms not to be parted with on any consideration, so that to procure a specimen was a matter of extreme difficulty. The one now exhibited I managed after much trouble to obtain through the medium of a friendly Moravian missionary, from a female whose interest in dress and ornament was, like herself, somewhat on the wane. Mr. Metz, the missionary in question, in the course of a residence of many years among these people, had gained their trust and confidence to an almost unlimited extent; nevertheless, it required, in addition to his oral arguments, several successive handfuls of small silver coin, finally amounting to thirty-five rupees to induce her to sell it. Even this sum (which was about equivalent to £3 : 10 : 0, in shillings and sixpences) the owner consented to accept only on condition that nothing should be said to any of her tribe regarding the transaction. This ornament is the work of the Khotas, one of the tribes that will be presently described, and its weight is nearly eight ounces of the purest silver. Nearly all the adult women have similar necklaces, many of them being much larger and more massive than the present specimen, and mostly having bunches and rosettes of cowrie shells on blue cords affixed, which hang down the back of the neck.

Their other ornaments are silver ear-rings and bracelets; gold, silver, and brass rings on the fingers, a couple of very large brass armlets above the elbows, and a brass or sometimes silver belt worn round the middle, and next to the skin. The use of the latter I fancy may be the suspension of the underclothing when worn.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man of certain fees from those members of other clans who have married into the family. 764

The cloth used is a red loincloth of a kind which is never worn by the Todas, but, so far as I could ascertain, it is only an ordinary cloth procured in the bazaar.

THE CREMATION

After the *kuchütthti* ceremony the body is replaced on the wooden bier and borne to the *methkudi*, where the funeral pyre has been erected within the wood, usually at no great distance from the funeral hut.

The bier is laid by the side of the pyre, and the dead person is then supplied with the various necessaries for the other world. Many of the things are placed in the large pocket, or *kudsh*, between the two folds of the cloak in which the body is enclosed.

The things supplied are chiefly food, ornaments, and money. The food includes grain, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey. Some of the food is put directly into the *kudsh*, while some of the grain, rice, and honey are mixed together and put in a metal bowl. Tobacco, coconuts, ghi, or articles of food from the bazaar may be added.

A number of square boxes made of rattan and called *pettei*[1] are also placed on the bier. They are procured from Mitur in the Wainad, and are often called *miturpettei* or *mitudpettei*. Jaggery and other things are put into each of the boxes, and they are covered with cloth, tied with thread, and adorned with cowries. [439]

The ornaments placed on the corpse included rings for the fingers, armlets, necklaces, and earrings.

The money is collected from all present and put in rolls into long purses, called *tinkani*. Most of the money used for this occasion is old with Arabic inscriptions and is known by the Todas as *irujkars*, the more recent coinage being called *englishkars*. In one collection of coins which 764 436 177

[1] At the *ayurmkudi* (see p. 381) these boxes are only burnt at a woman's funeral, their place at a man's funeral being taken by bamboo vessels called *mat*. This is probably also true of the *ayunmelkudi*.

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764 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and
436 among the more recent coins were included two Japanese
177 yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral
372 of a man this must be done by means of fire made by friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood
766 (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three
775 times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"*Kedr*	*tütth*	*tâzâr*	*mud*	*tirk*	*tûkitth*	*tûthi.*"
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tâzâr tûkitth kârs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

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177 There was some reason to believe that the true Toda measure
802 is the *ȧk* (probably a contraction of *achok*) and that the
804 Badagas brought their grain to the Todas in vessels called *kwȧ*. The *kwȧ* contained eleven of the Toda *ȧk*, and hence came about the very unusual proportion between two measures.

802 In giving ages or any other period of time, the word for year, *kwȯdr*, is often abbreviated to *wȧ*; thus *nȧpoth kwȯdr*, forty years, becomes *nȧpothwȧ*.

In counting the Todas use their fingers largely and have a special method of indicating the numbers. To signify one, the thumb is placed against the tip of the little finger; for two, against the tip of the ring finger; for three, against the middle finger; for four, against the forefinger; for five, the tip of the index finger is placed over the nail of the thumb; the same position is used for six, while that for seven is the same as for four, and so on, so that when ten is reached the thumb is resting again on the tip of the little finger.

Money

177 The Todas use the ordinary Indian currency. In their
436 legends and ceremonies there is frequent reference to the *panm*, or four-anna piece.

Among the coins used by the Todas at the funeral ceremonies there are many of considerable age with Arabic inscriptions, and the earlier visitors to the hills describe the Todas as possessing old Venetian gold pieces. In the legend telling how the *kaltmokh* of the Nȯdrs *ti* dispersed the invading Coorgs (p. 114), the boy made use of a small gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he had in his possession.

The Calendar

805 The Todas have twelve months, each of which begins with the new moon. The first month of the Toda year is *Tai*, which begins with the new moon in October, so that this month usually includes part of October and part of November. Some of the chief Toda ceremonies, such as that of *teutiit-*

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to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the necessaries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough
417 to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali,* where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir,* or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun,* kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
● 437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni,*
292 he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *pòdrshtuni,* is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti,* one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani,* are

234 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oñ*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
793 times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times ; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford ; and it appears that he may only use certain fords ; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

793 *kûtmeil ten idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches, the *palol* says "*Pekein,*" but all the Teivaliol reply with
576 the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil, i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was
576 said that he might not approach the *palol.* I had an interest-
783 ing example, however, of the way in which a regulation of
788 this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil,* owing
793 to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol.* He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol.*

●437 There are several regulations concerning the food of the
439 *palol.* Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was
784 formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but
793 nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir.* He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pohvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *maui.* He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh.* If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

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The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *iikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*. 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the daytime with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakaneri. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

184 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but
234 they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not
618 allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special
554 ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt,
463 this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an
554 ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the
[358] office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and
437 *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas.
439 They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy.
234 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

314 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*,
322 *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place
415

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234 778 788 783 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The lamp is not lighted directly from the *tòratthwaskal*, which is probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an intermediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[437] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any money to the *palol* at Mòdr, I placed it on a stone from which it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol* and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the *kugvali* of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of intermediate links, but there is such an example during the ordination of the *wursol*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candidate milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches ceremonially the *majpariv* and the *patat* at the beginning of the afternoon churning, while at the *wursuli* this is done both morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kabkaditi*, in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

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people other than men of the same *kudr* may visit the village during this time. 618

At the end of the month the people who have been occupying the village rub the dairy or dairies thoroughly with buffalo-dung (*palikâratiti*, dairy he purifies). All the people of the village then return and another feast takes place, in which the food is rice boiled in milk. Then the usual inhabitants of the village return to their houses, and if any men of the receiving *kudr* have come from another village, they return and life resumes its normal course. 796 621

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* may thus involve the removal of the usual inhabitants from a village for about two months, and the giving of two feasts, while the man who has offended also loses a calf. The Todas probably think little of the inconvenience of removal, though probably they are more troubled by it now than in former times, especially when they have to leave a village like Kars, which is, under normal circumstances, always inhabited at the present time. It seems that the inconvenience, together with the expense of the feasts, is sufficient to render the ceremony a very unusual incident in the lives of the Todas.

TUNINÖRTITI

The smaller importance of this ceremony as compared with *irnörtiti* is shown in several ways. The ceremony may be performed at any village at which there is a dairy, and it is not necessary for the people of the receiving *kudr* to stay at the village for a month before the ceremony is performed.

The prescribed day is Sunday, and on the previous day all the people of the same *kudr* as the giver of the *tuni* leave the village, and the men of the other division come and sleep in the dairy as before the *irnörtiti* ceremony. The man who [437] gives the *tuni* is called the *tuninörtpol*, and he procures the garment from a Badaga, paying for it about 1 rupee 4 annas.

On the Sunday morning the *tuninörtpol* comes with some companions, all having abstained from food. The *palikartmokh*, who must be of the same *kudr* as the other men at the village, goes to the front of the dairy and one of the men calls out,

763 been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

764 After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *än*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn
437 by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *än* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *än* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukuruputkuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

764 The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nòdrs, his body is taken into the three roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitün*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmekh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy.
[234] It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women
[562] are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitün*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *menkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,[1]
602 and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present.
618 Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-kedr* of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52) to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife, if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife, who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the dead body.

764 The father of each woman who places the cloth on the
767 body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth-
437 rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, the men who have married into the family of the dead person have to perform this ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth-
764 giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

[1] The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister (see Chapter XXI).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas. 234 177 437

Other Animals

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence which I possess concerning their relations with animals in general. 773 778 825

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony
291 of each funeral.

The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus,
291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago,
437 according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present
531 time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar.
463 When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*,
177 made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is
437 probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *ön* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

000 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

FOOD

262 The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and
272 sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

252 In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice, and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking
262 vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

262 A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is given by Mr. Thurston.[1] There is very little doubt that at
437 one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

252 A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from
262 *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkkartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkkartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*tôdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey,
261 are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.[2] A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four.

264 The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if
754 this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are produced by the evil eye.

[1] *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

[2] *Ashk* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koòtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 178

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 The contribution of grain from the Badagas has usually
651 been regarded as given in return for the use of the land, the Todas being supposed to be the original owners of the soil. That this is not the whole explanation is shown by the fact that the Badagas also give a tribute of grain to two other Nilgiri tribes, the Kotas and Kurumbas. Harkness[1] was told by the Badagas that the portion given to the *ti* was in return for the prayers of the *palol*, and that they did not believe that "their crops or their cattle, themselves or their children, would prosper without his blessing." The Badagas also stated that they generally desisted from cultivating their fields when the *ti* was left without a *palol*. They looked on the tribute of grain to the Todas as given of their own good will, while a similar tribute to the Kurumbas was dictated by fear of the consequences of sorcery which might be employed if the duty were neglected.

[254] It has been supposed that the fear of Toda sorcery is one reason for the maintenance of the tribute, and, since the Badagas undoubtedly fear the power of the Toda sorcerers, it is probable that this factor plays a part, though one less important than in the case of the Kurumbas.

[234] Another view which has been taken is that the Todas maintain rights over old dairies in the middle of the Badaga fields, and that any recalcitrance on the part of the Badagas might be followed by the taking up of these old rights. It is possible that the Todas have at some time threatened to resume their rights over disused dairies, but, in the case of the more sacred dairies, the fear of defilement of the sacred buffaloes by approaching a Badaga village would prevent the Todas from putting such a threat into practice.

The grain is probably given, partly because it is an immemorial custom, partly because the Badagas believe that they receive benefits and avoid evils in consequence of the custom.

177 At the present time, the amount of grain supplied by the
● 437 Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* must, however, be that supplied by

[1] P. 136.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas. 177 437

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus, from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as that described by Harkness. 177 234 609 437

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in the Toda community is in connexion with the *naim*, or council, of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of the two communities. 177 623

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other. 177

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
621 huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas
437 seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special
278 reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *u'kòren* (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
762 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

177 Badaga. While a Toda regards a Badaga as his equal, or
186 perhaps even as his superior, he looks down on the Kota as
609 inferior, as hardly to be classed as a man with himself. In their secret language, a Toda speaks of a Kota as *kimas ithwai*, "he that is beneath," and in the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) the Kotas are the only hill tribe which is not thought worthy of mention—they are not thought to be of sufficient importance to be able to cast the evil eye. When a Kota meets a Toda, he raises both hands to his face and salutes from a distance. The two people do not touch one another in general, though I do not know that contact is definitely prohibited. A Toda will not sleep or take food at a Kota village in general, but makes an exception in the case of Kulgadi in the Wainad (see p. 200). It is usually supposed that the contempt of the Toda for the Kota is due to the flesh-eating, or even carrion-eating, habits of the latter, and this is certainly one of the elements which influence the relations between the two peoples.

177 The Kotas supply the Todas with the larger part of their pottery and ironware.[1] All the earthenware vessels of the
● 437 dairies, except those of the inner rooms of the *ti* dairies, are supplied by the Kotas, and the various knives and other metal objects of the Todas are chiefly obtained from these people. The Kotas supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals and they supply the music on these occasions.

Just as the Badagas do not supply grain to the Todas only, so the Kotas do artisan work for Badagas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Kotas are the artisans, not of the Todas only, but of the whole hill district.

101 The relations between the Todas and Kotas are strictly regulated, each Kota village supplying certain Toda clans.
177 There are seven Kota villages on the hills, of which the
437 following are the Toda and Badaga names:—

In the Todanad district:—

Tizgudr, Tizgadr, or Tizgwadr (Badaga, Tirichigadi), between Ootacamund and Kanòdrs, near the Toda village of Ushadr.

[1] According to Breeks, the Kotas who supply the Todas are known as *unuffu* Kotas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kurguli (B. Padagula or Kuruvoje), near the Badaga village of Sholur. 101 177

In the Mekanad district :—

Kalmal (B. Kolamala or Kollimalai), not far from Kateri. 437

In the Peranganad district :—

Meilkukal (B. Melkotagiri or Perangada) in Kotagiri, one of the three chief European stations on the hills. Kikukal (B. Kilkotagiri or Kinnada), north-east of Kotagiri.

In the Kundanad district :—

Medrkukal (B. Menada).

The seventh is Kulgadi (B. Kalagasa) at Gudalur in the Wainad.

The village of Tizgudr is connected with the Toda clans of Kars, Melgars, Kanòdrs, and sometimes with the people of Kulhem. Kurguli supplies the clans of Nòdrs, Taradr, Kuudr, Piedr, and Kusharf, and occasionally Kulhem. Kalmal supplies Keradr, Nidrsi, Päm, Kidmad, and Keadr. Meilkukal and Kikukal are both connected with Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, and Medrkukal is the Kota village of the Panol. Kulgadi is connected only with the village of Kavidi, near Gudalur, which belongs to the Piedrol. When there were several Toda villages in the Wainad, it probably served them all.

The connexion between clans and villages seems to depend almost wholly on geographical distribution. The clans are supplied by the Kota villages which are nearest to their headquarters. An outlying village such as Kavidi has not the same Kota village as the rest of its clan. The Kidmadol, who are a branch of the Melgarsol, have not the same Kota village as the parent stock ; but, on the other hand, the Panol, who now live chiefly among other Todas near Governor Shola, are still connected with the Kundah Kotas.

Each Kota village is responsible for the supply of the clan or clans with which it is connected. Its inhabitants make the various utensils used in the household and in the less sacred dairy work of the Todas. At the funeral of any member of a clan with which they are connected, they provide the music and the following objects :— 177 437 764

At the *etvainolkedr*, a cloak in which the corpse is wrapped,

177 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*),
437 and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the
764 grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudshmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given
437 clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given
food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten
609 on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk,
796 buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day
to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified
609 butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests
796 whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kuruh*, which often 101
sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is 609
called *âr kârthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them.

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from 177
the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, 437
which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood.

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas 177
and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical 754
powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge.

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. 177
With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could 787
not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *tenol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners.

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. 177
According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto 773
deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf;

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 775

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 204

THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241

They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 457 439 427

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$, and shows that the Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of the Nilagiri Mountains. 177 262 437

Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities: the Badaga acquires land on cheap terms of rental. 439 427

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to: acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of 174 177

[1] Badagas, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.

[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.

[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

CHAP. VIII.

the low country, into a district so cold, wild, and inaccessible as this must, by contrast, have appeared to them, we have strong presumptive evidence of the two tribes having, previous to their migration, long lived side by side, mutually dependent one on the other; the Todas, for the supply of grain they had not the energy to raise for themselves: the shrewd Badagas, for the nei which they obtained so easily from this most unmercantile people.

Similarly, another native tribe—the Kota—not so advanced as the Badaga, but more laborious, and thus skilled, than the Toda, followed the fortunes of this simple people on retirement to the Nilagiris; possibly influenced, amongst other motives, by knowledge of the fact that the live male buffalos, the carcasses of the females, and the skins and horns of both, were to be had almost gratis, so long as they maintained adherence to their old friends. Thus we see—no matter how primitive the stage of society, how microscopic the tribe—the universal mundane process at work; of the strong preying on the weak, and the clever on the stupid: races, like individuals, supporting themselves by utilising and depressing their simpler brethren.

> Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them;
> Little fleas have lesser fleas; and so on *ad infinitum*.

To what other cause but grievous national improvidence can we attribute their having acquiesced in promptings to part with an amount of meat sustenance, that would, if utilised, nearly double their food supply? And to permit skins and horns of vast herds—whose sale would have brought a very welcome addition to their revenue—to be removed as return payment for a little trumpery Kota music, and primitive ironmongery?

What the buffalo is to the Toda, so is the Toda to these slightly superior tribes; the milch-cow.

There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals. CHAP. XV.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tirièri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tirièri in its natural form. 272 778 234

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes. 234 437 793 556

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tirièri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tirièri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes. 177 793 754 692

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about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaroɪn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuɪsodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–280.

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animals which have not yet reached the milch stage and which otherwise would unprofitably use up the community's scanty pasturage. It seems also that the Christians still retain some of their original feeling that wealth is to be measured by possession of cattle. They tend to acquire more and more head of cattle and because of the pressure on their own pasture area the superfluous beasts are kept with the tribe almost permanently or in alternation with unproductive animals. In these cases the man who provides pasturage gets the produce, milk and the resulting products. In all cases when cattle are pastured on tribal lands, it seems that it is the buffalo that is so treated; cows are kept at the Christian colonies, since the tribal Todas do not own cows.

The Todas live in economic symbiosis with the other aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiris, viz. the Kotas and the Kurumbas, and with the Badagas, who settled in the Nilgiris perhaps five centuries ago. The mechanism of the economic interchanges has not yet been described in detail,[6] but an outline of the Toda relations with the Kotas will be given here. The Kotas are blacksmiths and potters, and all the Toda needs in these departments are supplied by them, as well as music for the Toda funerals. In return the Kotas receive the carcasses of all Toda buffaloes that die or that are slaughtered at funerals, as well as certain other minor perquisites, such as cane for house-building, bamboo churning-sticks, and a certain amount of clarified butter. The interchanges are made between individuals, who are in a permanent and usually hereditary relationship to each other, referred to by the Todas as [keL], by the Kotas as [keL]. The relationship includes also the right of the Kota to obtain by purchase from his Toda opposite number such buffaloes and buffalo calves as he may need for his own economic purposes. In most cases one Toda has several Kotas who supply him, the relative numbers of the tribes and the Kotas' similar relationships with the Badagas making such an arrangement necessary. This economic relationship has broken down formally so far as the Christian Todas are concerned. But in spite of this, there is a tendency among the Christian Todas to retain the relationship with their hereditary Kota partners. They obtain their iron tools and pots from these Kotas and recompense them on a more strictly commercial basis than the original one. *E.g.* [kanfuusodj] retains such relationships with the Kota who was his father's partner and has in addition formed a new relationship with another Kota. He at least still uses the term [keL] in referring to his relationship with these two men, though my Kota linguistic informant was insistent that the Kota

[6] Reference may be made to Rivers, chap. 27. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has made more extensive notes on the subject and it is hoped that his account will soon appear.

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term [kel] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas. 648 437 184

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing.

797 797 535 [562] [184]

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[7] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc-

797 533

[7] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 543–560. [113]

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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for short or longer periods has however been passed and with changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations; whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area. 177

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments. 177 128

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained 177 233 262 262 648 437

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from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse. At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt. When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

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is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonizes a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the heeda. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

793 *kûtmeii ten idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches,
576 the *palol* says "*Pekein,*" but all the Teivaliol reply with the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil, i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was
576 said that he might not approach the *palol.* I had an interest-
783 ing example, however, of the way in which a regulation of
788 this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil,* owing
793 to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol.* He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol.*

437 There are several regulations concerning the food of the
439 *palol.* Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was
784 formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but
793 nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir.* He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pokvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *masi.* He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh.* If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *iikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kewenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvu* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*. 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the day-time with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakanori. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutiitusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. The churn or *hòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

234 314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man of certain fees from those members of other clans who have married into the family. 764

The cloth used is a red loincloth of a kind which is never worn by the Todas, but, so far as I could ascertain, it is only an ordinary cloth procured in the bazaar.

The Cremation

After the *kachütthti* ceremony the body is replaced on the wooden bier and borne to the *methkudi*, where the funeral pyre has been erected within the wood, usually at no great distance from the funeral hut.

The bier is laid by the side of the pyre, and the dead person is then supplied with the various necessaries for the other world. Many of the things are placed in the large pocket, or *kudsh*, between the two folds of the cloak in which the body is enclosed.

The things supplied are chiefly food, ornaments, and money. The food includes grain, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey. Some of the food is put directly into the *kudsh*, while some of the grain, rice, and honey are mixed together and put in a metal bowl. Tobacco, coconuts, ghi, or articles of food from the bazaar may be added.

A number of square boxes made of rattan and called *pettei*[1] are also placed on the bier. They are procured from Mitur in the Wainad, and are often called *miturpettei* or *mitudpettei*. Jaggery and other things are put into each of the boxes, and they are covered with cloth, tied with thread, and adorned with cowries. [439]

The ornaments placed on the corpse included rings for the fingers, armlets, necklaces, and earrings.

The money is collected from all present and put in rolls into long purses, called *tinkani*. Most of the money used for this occasion is old with Arabic inscriptions and is known by the Todas as *irajkars*, the more recent coinage being called *englishkars*. In one collection of coins which 764 436 177

[1] At the *marambali* (see p. 381) these boxes are only burnt at a woman's funeral, their place at a man's funeral being taken by bamboo vessels called *mat*. This is probably also true of the *arunalkali*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

765 After the buffalo is killed dancing takes place at the funeral
535 of a male. The men only dance and they may begin soon after the killing of the buffalo, while other ceremonies are still in progress. In the dancing the same tall pole (*tadri* or *tadrsi*) is used as is carried by the Teivali man who wears the cloak of the *narskedr*. It is a tall pole which, it was said, might sometimes be as much as 39 feet in length. I only saw a *tadri* at one funeral, when it was much smaller. It is decorated with rings of cowries, which are called *nîrpul*, the ornaments in general being called *tadri asteram* (see Fig. 67).

[439] The pole is procured from Malabar through the Kurumbas. It is used at the funeral of males only of both the Teivaliol and Tartharol, and is burnt at the end of the *azaramkedr*.

In the only dance which I had the opportunity of seeing the men danced within the circular wall surrounding the funeral hut. In this case the floor of the enclosure was below the general level of the ground. The men formed a circle and danced round in slow step; one man said the name of the slaughtered buffalo—in this case, Purkirsi—and another repeated this name; then the first man said "*hau! hau!*" which was repeated by the second man.

After a time one of the men took the *tadri* and they danced round in a similar way, taking the pole with them as they danced (*i.e.*, they did not dance round the pole).

After the dancing is over, food is distributed to all the people present and most return to their homes, while the remainder wait at the funeral place till the following morning, when are held the final ceremonies, which are known as the *azaramkedr*.

The Azaramkedr

765 This is the name applied to the ceremonies connected with the final burning of the remains and burial of the ashes. After food has been distributed at the *marvainolkedr*, many of those attending the funeral return home. The remainder stay at the spot during the evening, those nearly related to the deceased lamenting in the usual fashion almost continuously. At a funeral attended by Samuel, the people took

602 this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified
605 butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-
765 in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

765 The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the
177 *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male :—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain
439 called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus. 765

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi* *tavai*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*. 177 439

(*c*) A *nammakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *kootiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trktpmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place. 765

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankâti*. At the funeral of a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *asaram*, where they 602 605 765

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Perhaps the ornaments, likely to be equally primitive with these armlets, are the heavy bunches of coiled iron wire or of little bits of the same metal, worn like charms from both waist and elbow. Very tasteless and heavy. 301

I do not see, in the form of their finger and ear rings, necklaces and girdles, anything deserving of remark. They do not appear to me to be especially characteristic of the Todas, but rather, just what they can purchase from the tribes surrounding them. The photographs of women, show the nature of necklace worn as marriage tokens. [430]

The nose and lips are never perforated or ornamented; nor are bangles for the ankles, or bells on the toes, worn. [304]

You may distinguish a boy from a girl by the mode in which the hair is cut. With the latter, the entire back-hair is kept short from infancy till the approach to marriageable age. The former have a band of hair cut short, or shaved, along the head, from the nape of the neck, over the poll to the top of the forehead, and a cross slip carried over the top of the head from ear to ear. The smallest male infants are often so distinguished. 302

The wearing apparel of the sexes is identical. First comes the loin-cloth—Kûvn—corresponding to the Hindustani Lungoti, over which the toga—Putkuli—measuring about six feet long by four feet broad, made of coarse unbleached cotton, and worn double; ornamented at the two ends with red and blue stripes, and sometimes with a little embroidery in blue cotton. This mantle is sufficiently large to envelope a woman most completely. A decent though cumbersome garment to wear, better suited for sitting and sleeping in than for any purposes of labour. Pockets are made in the corners of the mantle, by sewing the double cloth together at those places. This dress is more properly Drâvidian than mere Toda, and is purchased in the bazaars. 291 439

They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises 000

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

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THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 457 439 427

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$, and shows that the Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of the Nilagiri Mountains.

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Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities: the Badaga acquires land on cheap terms of rental.

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to: acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of

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[1] Badagas, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.

[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.

[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

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the low country, into a district so cold, wild, and inaccessible as this must, by contrast, have appeared to them, we have strong presumptive evidence of the two tribes having, previous to their migration, long lived side by side, mutually dependent one on the other; the Todas, for the supply of grain they had not the energy to raise for themselves: the shrewd Badagas, for the nei which they obtained so easily from this most unmercantile people.

Similarly, another native tribe—the Kota—not so advanced as the Badaga, but more laborious, and thus skilled, than the Toda, followed the fortunes of this simple people on retirement to the Nilagiris; possibly influenced, amongst other motives, by knowledge of the fact that the live male buffalos, the carcasses of the females, and the skins and horns of both, were to be had almost gratis, so long as they maintained adherence to their old friends. Thus we see—no matter how primitive the stage of society, how microscopic the tribe—the universal mundane process at work; of the strong preying on the weak, and the clever on the stupid: races, like individuals, supporting themselves by utilising and depressing their simpler brethren.

> Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them;
> Little fleas have lesser fleas; and so on *ad infinitum*.

To what other cause but grievous national improvidence can we attribute their having acquiesced in promptings to part with an amount of meat sustenance, that would, if utilised, nearly double their food supply? And to permit skins and horns of vast herds—whose sale would have brought a very welcome addition to their revenue—to be removed as return payment for a little trumpery Kota music, and primitive ironmongery?

What the buffalo is to the Toda, so is the Toda to these slightly superior tribes; the milch-cow.

There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

174 long ago deserted, some of which by the girth of the trees which have since grown up in them, have evidently been abandoned for centuries.

177 It would appear that the Todas have always maintained some intercourse with the western coast, as the cowrie necklaces of the women imply. The earliest notice of 489 them I know of, is to be found in the Journal of the Archbishop of Goa, Alsixo de 175 Meneses; Coimbra, 1606, the following extract from which has been kindly furnished me by Dr. Gundert:—

175 "From Malabar the Vicar' regular report, from their hitherto neglected and paganised churches, came in to Goa (in 1599). At this time two Cattanars had been to Todamala in the country of the Zamorin, 50 leagues distant from the furthest churches. There (in Todamala) there are still Christians, who speak a language different from the Malabar language. They call their god 'Bidi'* (=fado, fatum). They have a Trinity of persons, viz., an old man, a youth, and a small bird. They say Thomas taught them, but because the king of Mylapūr killed all Christians, they took refuge on these mountains, that there their Cattanars have died, their books have been lost, and all idea of God has disappeared, but still they have a picture very much injured of that Trinity. The objects of that picture they try to keep in mind. They knew that in Cochin there were people of their own caste, on which account they called the two Cattanars brothers, and summoned men and women together to hear them, when the Cattanars explained from the picture the Trinity to the people. The Jesuit Roy was very glad of this report, and spoke of it as not a singular instance. In other places also (near the hills) remains of former Christian congregations were discovered. He (Roy) became Bishop of Angimale in 1601, and Archbishop of Cranganore in 1605."

This report seems to have led to further investigations, as we find by the following abstract of a manuscript in the British Museum kindly furnished me by the Reverend Mr. Whitehouse:—

At the synod of Udiamparūr in the state of Cochin,† held under Archbishop Meneses in 1599, information having been received that there were certain villages of Christians in a country called Todamala, who anciently belonged to the Syrian church of Malabar, but then had nothing of Christianity except the bare name, it was ordered that priests and preachers should be sent thither immediately to redeem them to the Catholic faith, baptize them, &c. Francisco Roy, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Syrian Christians, in 1602 sent a priest and deacon of the Christians of St. Thomas with a good guide to find out the place and collect information. They reached the Todamala; but, as the account brought back by them, was not so sure and complete as was desirable, Bishop Roy requested the Vice-Principal of the Jesuits to depute a priest of his own order to make further inquiries. The Rev. Jacome Ferreiri was selected for this mission. He started from Calicut, the place of his residence, and was permitted to return safely, after undergoing great exposure and fatigue, with a good deal of information about the hill tribes, their manners and customs, but with no tidings of any Christian colony, which had either become extinct or removed elsewhere, if it had ever been there at all.

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* Dr. Gundert says, "Bidi or Vidhi is a well-known name of Brahma."

† Todamala is included in a list of Christian churches given in Assemani Bibl. Orient., but this only refers to the date of this same synod.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaRoɪn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuisodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people"[18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognize that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 105.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse. At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt. When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[30] Rivers, p. 702.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kīmg. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil koṅku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koḍgu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koṅgu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kīmg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

101 gods, are very close indeed; so close in fact that to know them really
648 well it would be necessary to make a special study of them from the point of view of each of the five communities in turn. As others who
121 have worked solely on the Todas before me, I am, however, only acquainted with these relations from the Toda viewpoint, and consequently can only briefly account for them here as described to me from that angle.

648 Of the four, the Badaga community is the largest. It is said, too, that it is the latest to have arrived in the Blue Mountains, but even so, this must have been quite a long time ago, as there are Portuguese descriptions of it going back for more than three centuries. The Todas
[186] consider the Badagas as practically their equals, and their name for them is *Mav*. They depend on them for much of their livelihood, as
[439] they are the agriculturists who supply them with grain, and all relations with the outer world are conducted to a large extent for the Todas through their intermediary. They pay a specified grain tribute called *kur* (Rivers' *gudu*) to the Todas, and the priests of the latter's most important temples may eat only Badaga grain (which includes rice) and none other. Furthermore a Badaga from the village of Tuneri is by right a member of the Toda tribal council, when it decides questions of inter-tribal importance, and at certain ceremonies in the principal temples, a Badaga, known as a *tikelvmav* has to be in attendance.

[186] The Kotas, called *Kuv* by the Todas, are looked down upon by them
[439] and considered low-caste. They are the artisans who supply metalware and pottery to their neighbours, and, as is often the case with smiths in India, also music at festive occasions. They are indispensable at Toda funerals, where they have very distinct duties such as providing a band, giving cloth, grain, ceremonial bows and arrows, money etc. for the proper disposal of the corpse, besides taking away the sacrificed buffaloes which they eat.

The Kurumbas and Irulas are slight, dwarf-like aborigines who inhabit the forest-clad, malarial southern and western slopes of the Nil-
[186] giris. They are known respectively as *Kurub* and *Erl* by the Todas, who fear them greatly as sorcerers and magicians. It is on them, and
[439] principally the Kurumbas, that the tribe is dependent for its supply of bamboo vessels, of a certain long pole, the *tari*, used at funerals, and more especially of medicine, which appellation includes poison. The Todas make habitual use of the latter when they want to fight each other in personal or inter-clan feuds. In Toda mythology, the two last named of their neighbours as well as the Kotas, but not the Badagas, are mentioned.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tlir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[241] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the necessaries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough
417 to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?'"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

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A thing of exceeding joy to the Todas was my Salter's 123
hand-dynamometer, the fame of which spread from mand 141
to mand, and which was circulated among the crowd at funerals. Great was the disgust of the assembled males, on a certain day, when the record of hand-grip for the morning (73 lbs.) was carried off by a big-boned female, who became the unlovely heroine of the moment. The largest English feminine hand-grip, recorded in my laboratory note-book, is only 66 lbs. One Toda man, of fine physique, not satisfied with his grip of 98 lbs., went into training, and fed himself up for a few days. Thus prepared, he returned to accomplish 103 lbs., the result of more skilful manipulation of the machine rather than of a liberal dietary of butter-milk.

The routine Toda dietary is said to be made up of 262
the following articles, to which must be added strong drinks purchased at the toddy shops :—

(*a*) Rice boiled in whey.

(*b*) Rice and jaggery (crude sugar) boiled in water.

(*c*) Broth or curry made of vegetables purchased [443]
in the bazar, wild vegetables and pot-herbs, which, together with ground orchids, the Todas may often be seen rooting up with a sharp-pointed digging-stick on

* Average 73.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sālep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sālep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following :—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nīlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[294] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari :—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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262 from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly
437 or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last
648 transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse.
443 At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund
439 and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply
437 all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on
[29] corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If
[426] a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit
[452] and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt.
[657] When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years
[652] ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

648 The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their
437 contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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lamp in the morning unless it is dark, nor does he pray. The milk poured into the *patat* overnight will have coagulated, so that it forms a solid mass called *adrpars*. The dairyman puts the churning-stick into the *patat* and churns for a little time till he has broken up the *adrpars*.[1] Then he pours off most of the semi-fluid milk into another vessel (also a *patat*), leaving about one *kudi*[2] in the churning-vessel. He adds to this some butter from a previous churning, which he takes from the *parskadrvenmu*, adds also some water, and churns the mixture till butter is formed. He pours out the buttermilk into the *majpariv*, keeping the butter in the *patat*, adds more coagulated milk and water, and churns again, transferring the buttermilk to its vessel when butter is formed. He continues in this way till all the milk has been churned, and he then transfers the butter which has been formed to the vessel called *penpariv*, also putting a small portion in the *parskadrvenmu*.

The *palikartmokh* then goes out to milk, with the *irkarthpun* and the wand called *parskurs* or *ularwurthkurs*. He puts into the milking-vessel some buttermilk, the buttermilk used for this purpose being called *pep*, and he also smears some butter on the edge of the vessel to put on the teats of the buffaloes. When he goes out, he salutes by raising the *irkarthpun* and *parskurs* to his forehead in the same manner as is shown in Fig. 27. When he has filled the milking-vessel, he goes into the dairy and empties the milk into the *patat* and returns to the buffaloes. This is repeated till all the buffaloes have been milked, after which the dairyman takes food and buttermilk, but with no prescribed ritual as in the case of more sacred dairies. He also gives out buttermilk to the people of the village. After the work of the morning is over, the *palikartmokh* may go out to look after the buffaloes, or may collect firewood, leaves, or other things necessary for his work. During the later hours of the morning the *palikartmokh* may often be seen lying down taking a rest before he begins the work of the afternoon, which is more ceremonial than that of the morning.

[461]

[1] This is literally 'cooked milk.' It probably receives this name because the coagulation is often hastened by heating.

[2] About four pints.

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
788 the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture. 174 771

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great. 172 174 182 [517 53]

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.[1] Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show. [461]

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

[1] The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
421 *patta** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
● 461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Patta*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pattah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu.*—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket, nest.* The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kéri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kéri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor.*

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648 464 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it 461 [241] beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda 562 512 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described [157] [171] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans 177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, 609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even [735] the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, 114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most 177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, 164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 356 412 462 512 While the men are doing their work, the women will have been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently woman's work.

They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 296 356 462 531 Though these are the three operations which are regarded as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 574 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between 576 a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the *ti*, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place. 114 234

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by males, and males only are allowed to take any part either in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed. 173 234 462

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, Ön, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan. 234 773

Dairy Procedure

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the procedure. 234 512

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

562 community towards the sex. The laws regulating the relations of the dairymen with women also can hardly have contributed to raise the esteem in which they are held. The special ceremonies in which women are concerned involve various disabilities due to the ideas of impurity connected with these ceremonies. The seclusion-hut of a woman has attached to it the same ideas of impurity which attach to a corpse or its relics.

562 Not only are women excluded from any share in the work of the dairies connected with the sacred buffaloes, but 562 they are also prohibited from any part in the milking of the ordinary buffaloes or in the churning of their milk, which is performed solely by males in a part of the hut with which women have nothing to do. It seems that at one time women had the one function of tending the buffaloes at the time of calving, but even this is no longer allowed them.

In other household matters, the duties of women are very limited in scope. Their chief work is the pounding and sifting of grain, the cleaning of the hut, and the decoration of clothing. I am doubtful whether they are allowed to cook, at any rate to cook food in which milk forms one of the ingredients. With such occupations as divining and sorcery they have nothing to do, but one woman has the reputation of possessing the powers of healing which belong to the *utkòren*.

562 I could not learn of any matters of social importance in which women are consulted. When collecting genealogies in Torres Straits, I found that women were often repositories of this important branch of knowledge, but I received no indication that this was the case with the Toda women, though I cannot say definitely that they may not have possessed some knowledge of this and cognate subjects.

Though thus unimportant in ceremonial and of little influence in the regulation of social affairs, women have nevertheless much freedom. In general social intercourse the two sexes always seemed to be on the best of terms, and I never saw or heard anything to indicate that women are treated harshly or contemptuously.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat. 264 576

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men. 252 462

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide. 273 177 276

FIRE-MAKING

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon, 372

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Âdabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Âdabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
593 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of Âdabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

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The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

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It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of [574] grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, 262
except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as
yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as
some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This [462]
consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds,
which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing
the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones,
the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar
to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, 231
though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other
domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of
man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the
equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their
munds. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as
a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the Euro-
pean Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced
towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into 616
two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a 793
better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are
called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*.
These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community
somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as
it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No
marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes,
though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at.
Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry,
and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like
himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to
qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory
ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest,
naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from
wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these
elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his
fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests [292]
are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The
subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

Il:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

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The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 109-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

291 more fully described in Chapter XXIV. It will be sufficient to say here that when showing reverence, a Toda bares his right arm, this method of wearing the cloak so that the arm is exposed being called *kevenarut*. It is shown in Figs. 1 and 10.

The Daily Life of the Todas

234 The daily life of the Toda men is largely devoted to the care of their buffaloes and to the performance of the dairy 463 operations. As we shall 512 see later, much of the dairy work is the duty of certain men set aside to look after the sacred buffaloes and the sacred dairies connected with them. A large proportion, however, of the Toda buffaloes are not sacred, and their care falls on the ordinary Todas. The milking and churning is chiefly the duty of the younger men and boys, but the older men also take their part, while the head of the family exercises a general superintendence.

FIG. 10.—KÒDRNER PERFORMING THE SALUTATION CALLED 'KAIMUKHTI.' HIS RIGHT ARM IS BARED ('KEVENARUT'), AND HE HAS REMOVED HIS TURBAN.

512 On rising in the morning, the men salute the 783 sun with the gesture called *kaimukhti*, shown in Fig. 10, and then they turn to their work of milking the buffaloes and churning the milk.

512 When the dairy operations of the morning are over, the buffaloes are driven to the grazing ground, the people take their food and go about any business of the day. Some may

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed. 181 234 771 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life. 793

The Dairy Organisation

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. 825 234

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*. 234 621 463 778 192

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *paḷthḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *hart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or
621 young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh*
463 is in far more general use, and is often employed even when the dairyman is an elderly man.

778 At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies;
192 a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursutir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the dairyman, or *wursol*, must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpalikartmokh* and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the *wursol* must be taken either from the members of the other chief division of the Tòdas or from one special clan of the Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between Tartharol and Teivaliol.

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The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali*, meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh*, who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh*.

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs*, which is called a *poh*, and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol*. The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti*.

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali*. The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli*, and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, and *wursuli*. Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli*, others *kudrpali* and *wursuli*. At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 621 778 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of the *ti* or the *tiir*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mad* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 778 463 793 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmokh* or, more rarely, *kavelol*. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti* should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mad* had two dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmokh* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *poh*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tirieri*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv. 104 196

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity. 234 463

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *haltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*. 621 778

[1] This word, in the forms *hoa*, *hoath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to
177 the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain
412 a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground
415 outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkati*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There
171 are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

The Care of the Ordinary Buffaloes

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda
463 terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another. 415

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali uipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

The Tarvali

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often a 618 621

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
463 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
618 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh*
621 is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
513 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
554 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
558 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time
784 in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
788 the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

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Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62). 234 421 618 621

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *pudrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeipir*; at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi. 173 234 618

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 234 463 554 618

[1] See Chapter XXIII.

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary
793 person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

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leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oñ*" each time. 234 415 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *penpariv* by means of the same vessel.

The Dairy of Kanòdrs

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph. 343

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those called *nashperthir*. 234 463 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used. 778

234 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oñ*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
793 times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

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ti was not allowed to do so and had to use a ford nearer to the dairy at Mòdr.

The *palol* must be celibate, and if married, he must leave his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers. According to the account given by Finicio in 1603, the *palol* could send for his wife and meet her in a wood every week or so and might also send for the wives of any other Todas. It is possible that this may still happen, but I failed to obtain an account of it and understood that the *palol* was really celibate. According to Finicio the restriction to which the *palol* is subject is that he may not touch a woman in the house. We have seen that in the lowest rank of the dairyman-priesthood intercourse with women in the house is allowed at any time and in the higher ranks only on certain days of the week. It is quite consistent with this that in the highest rank intercourse in the house should be altogether forbidden, but might still be allowed in the forest, and it is quite possible that Finicio is correct. I was unacquainted with his account at the time of my visit, and all other writers had been so unanimous as to the complete celibacy of the *palol* that I did not press my inquiries on this point very closely.

If a death occurs in the clan of a *palol*, he cannot attend any of the funeral ceremonies unless he gives up his office. If he resigns he is not again eligible for the office till the second funeral ceremonies have been completed. When a man of one clan gives up his office in this way, his place must be taken by a man of some other clan. Karkievan of Piedr was *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* eighteen years ago and resigned when his wife died, his place being taken by Tulchievan of Kusharf. Two years later Karkievan resumed office and has been *palol* continuously since that time. Though there have been many deaths among the Piedrol, he has not attended a funeral, and has not, therefore, had to resign his post again.

In old times, it seems probable that it was usual to give up the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan. According to tradition, the division of the Keadrol into the Keadrol and Kwaradrol by Kwoten (see Chap. IX) was ordained in order that there might still be men to undertake the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan, the men of the

234 Keadrol taking office when there was a death among the
463 Kwaradrol and *vice versa*.

It has been stated by several writers on the Todas that the
556 *palol* does not profit in any way by his sacred office. I made
784 most careful inquiries on this point, and there seemed to be no
793 doubt that the *palol* may often make a considerable income from the sale of the ghi made from the milk of the herd under his charge; one *palol* was stated to make six rupees a week in this way, and while he has been in office is said to have increased his own herd (*i.e.*, that of his own family) by no less than twenty-five buffaloes. In one recent case, a man has resigned the post of *palol* to the Pan *ti* because he found the income was too small.

234 According to my informant, Kaners, a man used always to
463 accept the office of *palol* unwillingly. When the offer came
554 to him, he would say, "I cannot leave my buffaloes; I cannot
556 leave my wife and my children." Then the people would say,
793 "You are born for the *ti*; it is your birthright; you must not refuse"; and the man would reluctantly consent. Now the Todas are in more need of money than they used to be, and there is no difficulty in obtaining candidates for those dairies at which the pecuniary advantages are sufficiently great, so that people will now beg to be appointed as *palol* to certain dairies, and it is even whispered that bribes have been offered in order to obtain office. There is no doubt whatever that the pecuniary reward is the chief inducement to people to undertake the charge.

234 The Nòdrs *ti* has the largest herd of buffaloes, and I was
463 told that this *ti* is very much coveted, while others which
554 have few buffaloes are unable to obtain a *palol* at all. My
793 Teivali friends invariably talked about the *ti* in exactly the same kind of way that an Englishman talks about a benefice.

At the present time there are several instances in which the office of *palol* is vacant, and there seems to be a growing difficulty in filling many of these places. There is little doubt that the chief reason for this is that the herds have become very small, so that the resulting profit does not offer sufficient inducement; but there is also no doubt that the exclusion from the home and the limitation of intercourse

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with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *nursir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Bat*," and the Tarthar man replies "*Ir kadat*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kuarsam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 793 576

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upharvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pûl* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kwm*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 784 793

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 314 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspok*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the *warspok*.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi. At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the
463 ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
178 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

pohvelkars in front of the dairy. The *palol* asks three times, "*Tunitusthpacha?*"—"Have you returned from washing the *tuni?*"—and each time the boy replies, "*tunitusthpuspini*"—"I have come from washing the *tuni.*" Then both *palol* and boy go to the front of the *kadr* in which the calves are kept and the *palol* puts into the gate three bars (*tasth*), which shut the opening of the enclosure. The boy asks three times, "*Tasthvatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tasth?*"—and each time the *palol* replies "*Tasthvat!*" The boy, who hitherto has been *perkursol*, now touches the *tasth*, and by so doing attains the full rank of *kaltmokh*, and at once goes and pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol*.

The latter parts of the ordination ceremonies of the *kaltmokh*, from the point at which he receives *petuni* from the *palol* to the touching of the *tasth*, are always performed whenever the *kaltmokh* returns to the *ti* after a journey in which it has been necessary to degrade himself to the rank of *perkursol* (see p. 100). The initial stages of becoming a *kaltmokh* are known in general as *niròdibudnudr*.

The Ordination of the Palol

In accordance with the fact that the *palol* belongs to the highest and most sacred grade of the dairy-priesthood, we find that the ceremonies preceding his entrance upon office are far more elaborate and prolonged than for the minor grades.

In order that a Teivali man may become a candidate for the office of *palol* he must first have gone through a preliminary qualifying ceremony called *tesherst*. When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the people of the clan to which the *ti* belongs are restricted in their choice to those men who have been through this ceremony. When one of these qualified men has been selected, he then goes through the proper ordination ceremonies, known as *niròditi*.

In the case of a *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, the *niròditi* ceremonies are performed partly at Nòdrs, partly at Òdr, one of the most sacred villages of the Nòdrs clan, and finally at the *ti mad* where he is to hold office.

Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another. 618

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter. [623]

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers, who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source. [578]

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted. 618 184 554 463

The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 *monegar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council
184 are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and
554 *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have
463 certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavòdiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

Laws of Descent

611 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male
851 line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursütpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.[1] I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

[1] Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuli*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony
291 of each funeral.

The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus,
291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago,
437 according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers
531 who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar.
463 When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*,
177 made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is
437 probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *ax* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

000 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

304 man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had [752] to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pöturers*, is used to hasten the healing.

[755] Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *sunurkudi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

304 Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns
531 consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.[1]

304 I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory
521 information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

304 The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might under-
463 take the business. The following are at present recognised as
465 experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *utkòren*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

304 The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

[1] Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

CHAP. VII.

553 intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

558 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred
562 places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given
846 about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—
551 porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure
463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda,
551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIV.

TIRIÊRI PRIESTS.

The Pâlâl—The Kâvilâl—The Pâlâl is a God—The Peiki Clan termed 'Sons of God'—Duties of the Pâlâl—No mysteries—Sacred nature of Priests—The Pâlâl becomes man again—Purification for holy orders—The Tûde tree; its botanical name and distribution—The use of the Tûde, an ancient practice—The Pâlâl enters on his duties.

CHAP. XIV.

EACH tiriêri, with its drove of cattle, is in the charge of an ascetic milkman or priest, styled pâlâl,[1] and an equally ascetic, though not equally holy, herdsman or kâvilâl.[2] And according as the herd may be small or large, there are found from one to two of the former, and from one to three of the latter, attached to the tiriêris.

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The pâlâl, whose personal acquaintance I had made in the course of taking information on the interesting subject of the bell-god, was a man of about thirty-five years of age, who had spent some fifteen of them in holy orders, vacating his post in favour of a brother. The effect of that lengthy period of ascetic and solitary life on his personal appearance, was somewhat striking. It was perhaps *de rigueur* for one who had so long been in sacred office to wear his hair dishevelled, and to neglect the cleanliness of his person: but the more than usually motionless eyebrow, the gloomy solemnity of his look and his

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[1] Pâlâl, pâl, is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; âl = *person*.

[2] Kâvilâl, kâval = *guard*; âl = *person*.

The former is a Turkish word. Yet kâ is the Drâvidian root for *protect, guard*. In Tamil we have a kind of reduplication of it; thus, pâtu, kâ. The Sanskrit corresponding root is pâ. [POPE.]

CHAP. IV. fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

793 124 But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

463 554 793 Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

212 788 793 No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

000 The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive 234 788 the existence of any very mystic rites among them. Whatever is done in these tiriêris, is known to every intelligent

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ÊTUD MAND.

Customs of the Village Dairy or Pâlthchi—Duties of the Pâlkarpâl—Important difference in the duties of the Pâlâl and Pâlkarpâl—The Tarvâl—The inside of a Dairy—The Dairy of an Êtud Mand is a Shrine—The Badagas term it Mui Mand: why?—Toda form of oath.

CHAP. XVII.

THE customs and ceremonies of the tirièri or Toda cathedral—seat of a divine milkman, established as the medium of conveying the Gods' gift to man—are repeated, though in less awfully sacred form, in every Mand of the tribe; in the village dairy or pâlthchi. 234 463 793

The configuration of the dairy has already been described in Chapter VI.

Similarly as one or more nearly-naked recluses belonging to the Peiki clan, are established as pâlâls for the care of the tirièri, assisted by their kâvilâls; so a lesser luminary, generally from the same clan, is the unclothed, ascetic, but more mildly sacred pâlkarpâl,[1] who, also living *en garçon*, but without any pretensions to God-head, presides over the dairy of each village, helped under certain circumstances by a somewhat similar character in the vorshâl.[2] Both of these men also, have been purified in that wonderful juice which qualifies to the holy offices of milking buffalos and the charge of relics.

I state that the pâlkarpâl is generally, though not always, of the Peiki clan; for as I observe, the Peikis permit the 234 793 618

[1] Pâlkarpâl. See note 4 of Chapter VI.
[2] See note 4 of Chapter VIII.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaroɪn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuɪsodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 397 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nilgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nilgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

13: Peter E-5 (1939,1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 [621] [592] his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 595 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroï, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] [587] Then the following occurred: Eroï found employment as a government peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotsbuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the
621 house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly,
[754] nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children,
[735] whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to
[123] me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund
[464] Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress
[291] in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that
[124] I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

(6) Nalsirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pads. She is twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knowns it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife. 159 621

(7) Mutnarsh: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [464]

(8) Kuddhue: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mad*, in the tribe's *wursulis* for which he is very much sought after. [732] [793]

(9) Munbokwutn: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Ernigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mad* where he apparently likes to stay. [595]

(10) Ernigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda woman who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so [842]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 621 in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative. [276] He takes snuff and rarely goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being reserved for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-shaven except for a short moustache. He is a forest guard of the Madras [464] Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from [291] Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda *putkuli* and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz, [897] whom she helps a lot. She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been accepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, handsome, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at the *mad*'s *tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies [293] the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

(23) PILKHLIVOWUTN: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early [464] twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding moustache.

(24) KIRSHARPWUTN: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershörsh, and is a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 159 621

(25) Närshmali: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhlivowutn have to search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Närshmali had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershti* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them. [832] [837]

(26) Pufvkiarge: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that surviving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also works as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [847] [797] [464]

(27) Mutmali: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns after some days, without Pufvkiarge exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmali came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again. [832] [837]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Iram slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertilkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiarot: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Smami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

304 man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had [752] to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pöturers*, is used to hasten the healing.

[755] Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *sunurkudi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

304 Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns
531 consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.[1]

304 I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory
521 information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

304 The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might under-
463 take the business. The following are at present recognised as
465 experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *utkòren*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

304 The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

[1] Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? 847
Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the open- 178
ing of the buffalo-pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were [732]
sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth with a cloth thus—here pantomimic action. It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas for the deed." The [465]
old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance to a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not.* The Missionary Metz † bears out the statement that the Toda babies were killed by suffocation.

At the census, 1901, 453 male and 354 female [162]
Todas were returned. In a note on the proportion of the sexes among the Todas, Mr. R. C. Punnett states ‡ that "all who have studied the Todas are agreed upon the frequency of the practice (of infanticide) in earlier times. Marshall, writing in 1872, refers to the large amount of female infanticide in former years, but expresses his conviction that the practice had by that time died out. Marshall's evidence is that of native assurance only. Dr. Rivers, who received the same assurance, is disinclined to place much confidence in

* Ellis. History of Madagascar.
† Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills. By a German missionary, 1856. [113]
‡ Proc. Cambridge Philosoph. Soc., XII, 1904.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Debt and Servitude

426 It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt, and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their 593 father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is 466 regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kâlvatkerthchi* or *kâlvatkerthiti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

[582] It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

The Position of Women

562 There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of grain, and in the evening I met him on his return carrying a large and heavy bag. He had travelled over thirty miles, had gone down and again come up some 3,000 feet, and most of his journey had been in a climate much warmer than that of his native hills. 147

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FIG. 1.—TODA MAN. FULL FACE.

My guide at the end of the day would sometimes go a distance of eight or ten miles and back to arrange for my supply of men for the next day's work, and I have seen him on these occasions running at a steady pace which he would keep up for miles. In going from one part of the hills to another, a Toda always travels as nearly as possible in 147
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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

147 a straight line, ignoring altogether the influence of gravity,
481 and mounting the steepest hills with no apparent effort.
153 In all my work with the men, it seemed to me that they were extremely intelligent. They grasped readily the points of any inquiry upon which I entered, and often showed a

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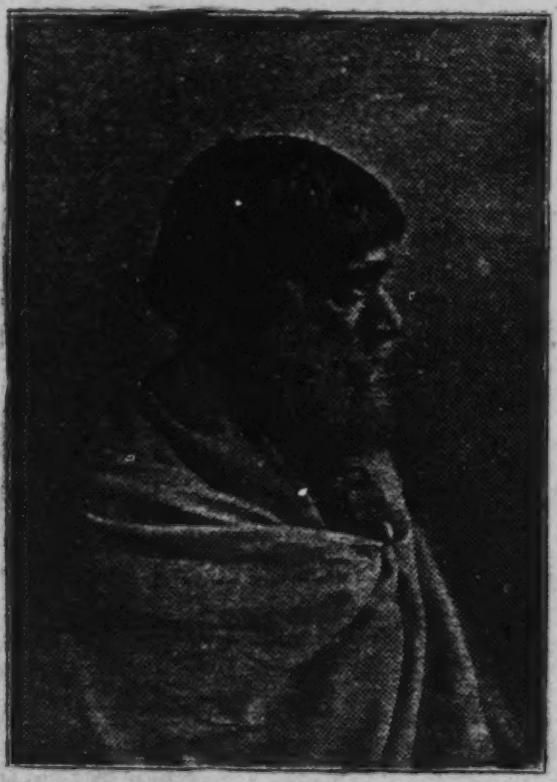

FIG. 2.—TODA MAN. SIDE FACE.

marked appreciation of complicated questions. They were interested in the customs of other parts of the world, and appeared to grasp readily the essential differences between their own ways and those of other peoples. It is very difficult to estimate general intelligence, and to compare definitely the intelligence of different individuals, still more of people of

CHAP. XVI.

778 Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

124 'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us. 773 Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are ap- 778 proaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline, and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!' 234 shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls remain behind, and, you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[3] had come up to about [481] ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the maṇi from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

778 Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

[3] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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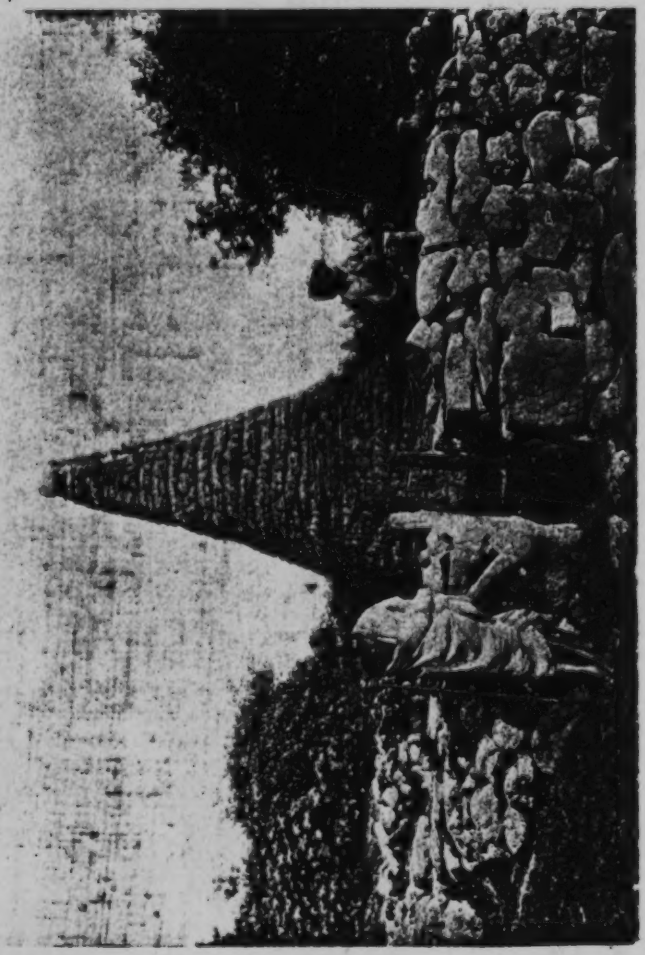

"TODA CATHEDRAL"

[facing p. 131]

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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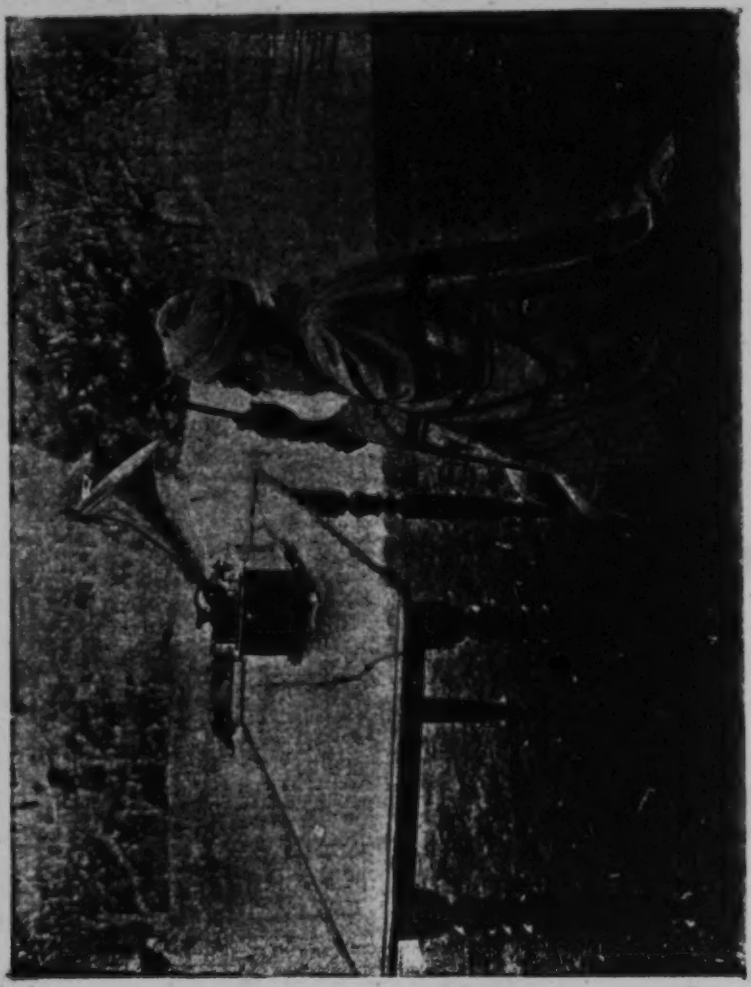

TODA AND PHONOGRAPH.

[facing p. 145]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

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FIG. 29.—TO SHOW THE METHOD OF CARRYING THE CONTENTS OF THE DAIRY. THE BOY KALMAD (64) IS CARRYING THE 'PATATPUR'; KARSÜLN (15) THE 'ERTATPUR.' IN FRONT OF KALMAD IS THE ENTRANCE OF THE PEN AT KARS CALLED 'ALTHPTU' (see p. 649).

234* the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary
221 work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the
796 women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpun*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*ekirzam meidjam*," the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray,
[415 using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the
● 482] dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütusht*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

[562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

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FIG. 30.—1. A. The *mudth*. B. A *patat*. C. Another *patat*. D. The *parshadvonmu*. E. The *irkartpun*.
2. A. The axe. B. The fire-sticks. C. The *mujparin*. D. The *pölmachok*. E. The *ertatpun*. F. A *tek*. G. The lamp.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also accompany the procession. [177]

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take part in the procession must go without food on the morning of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual. The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the *pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere, is in or near the wall of the *tu*. 234x 221 796

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*. The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions. 234x 284 415 482

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the *pütusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug* is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar* are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back, one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy, and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi* is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate between those of the inner and those of the outer room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its 796

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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burdens is carried by the *palol* on his left shoulder in the same way as is shown in Fig. 29, illustrating the method of carrying the things of the village dairy.

The *mani* is carried by the *palol* on his right side. A staff of *kiaz* wood is cut, about five cubits (*mogoi*) in length, which must be perfectly straight with a fork at one end. The bell is covered completely with *kiaz* leaves tied with rattan fastenings, and put on the fork of the staff by its ring. The staff is carried upright in the right hand of the *palol*; if he becomes tired he may rest it on his shoulder, but this must be done in such a way that the forked end of the stick carrying the bell comes in front of his body, otherwise the *palol* would be presenting his back to the sacred object.

At the Nòdrs *ti* there is an exception to the ordinary rule in the case of the *mani* of the *tiir*. It will be remembered that this bell is reputed to have been born in a *persin* during the migration from Amnòdr, and the bell is therefore carried in one of the *persin* during the migration from one dairy to another. In its place the *palol* of the *tiir* carries in his right hand the churning stick with its churning end upwards.

The *mani* is the only object of the inner room which is covered with leaves, so that it may not be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The lamp is also hidden from view within the *idrkwoi*, but I do not know whether this is for the same reason or merely because it is a convenient way of carrying it.

The *mòrol* carries the large earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*), which are at least four in number. They are tied on a staff by means of *tedshk* in the same manner as are the *persin*. This is done by the *kaltmokh*, who puts the staff and its burden on the left shoulder of the *mòrol*, taking particular care that the vessels do not touch the man. The *mòrol* carries one of the horns in his right hand.

Before the procession starts each *mani* is hung on the neck of a calf, left on for a minute or so, taken off and put on its staff. The *mani* of the *tiir* called Persin is put on the neck of a two-year-old calf of the *unir*, and that of the *warsir*, Keu, is put on the neck of one of the *perithir*.

If any dairy vessels or implements are not taken with the buffaloes, they are not left in the dairy, but hidden in a wood.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nɔ:rnmɨ (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son sirjar; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a tɔ̃u and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief alreay mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is sɔmj (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmɨ (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
514 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
793 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas
184 belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol. This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
654 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

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Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

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In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

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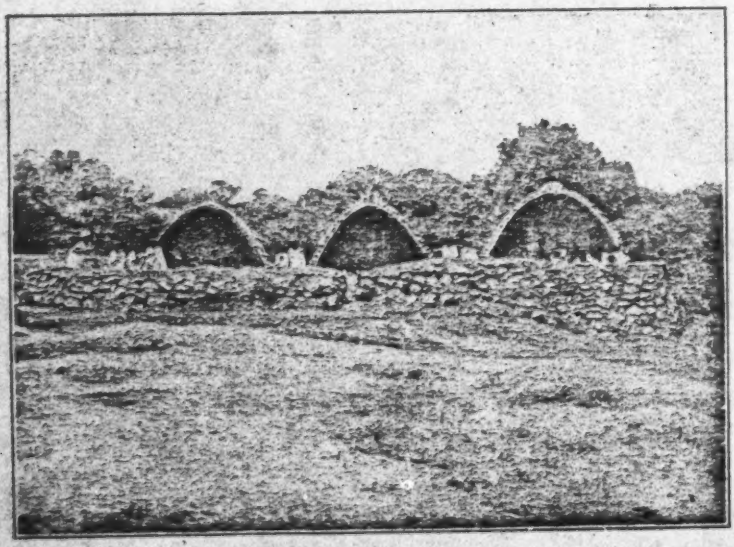

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FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

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372 is probably also the case at the first funeral ceremony. I did not definitely ask whether fire by friction is ever made by a woman, but I am fairly confident that this would never happen.

I only heard of one case in which men were prohibited from making fire. The Kidmadol and Karshol, who suffer under several disabilities, are not allowed to make fire by friction, and this is due to a quarrel with their parent-clan many years ago.

Whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose[1] the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call *kiaz* or *keadj*, except in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which the wood of *muli* is used.

There are also definite regulations as to the kind of wood which is to be burnt in the fires of all ceremonial occasions. In various ceremonies I have recorded the Toda names of the woods prescribed, and if more were known about their identity, it is possible that some light might be thrown on the original home of the Todas, in the same way as has been suggested in the case of the sacred *tudr* tree.

STONES

778 The Todas have many stones which may be held to have some degree of sanctity; certainly many have their place in
● 487 the religious ceremonial. All these stones have names, either
211 general or individual, but two stones with the same name need not necessarily have the same function.

At the *ti* there are stones marking the spots where the dairy vessels are taken up and put down during the migration ceremonies, but the most interesting stones at these dairies are those called *neurzülnkars*. At several dairies these stones are anointed, and their appearance indicates that they have undergone the process for very long periods of time; at other places they are so weathered and worn away that they must obviously be of great antiquity. At some dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* these stones take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh* in the ceremonies accompanying migration, but at other places they are said to have different uses.

[1] For the special method employed see p. 581.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At an ordinary village the stones usually belong to one of the following classes :— 778

(*a*) Stones to mark off boundaries or places, such as the *majvatvaikars*, marking the path or spot used by the women in fetching buttermilk from the dairy. 487 211

(*b*) Stones used in the ceremonies in which offerings are made, the *irnörtkars* and the *pilinörtkars*.

(*c*) Funeral stones, at which the buffaloes are killed. These are, of course, only found at funeral villages, but there are certain other stones, such as the *imudrikars*, which may be found in any village. Such a stone may mark the spot where the body is laid, or may even, as in the case of the *imudrikars* of Kars, form a mound on which the body is laid.

(*d*) Stones in or near the *tu* or buffalo pen, such as the *mutchudkars* and *pudothkars*. I do not know the origin or use of these, but in some villages there are stones in the pen marking the places where the *mu* or dairy vessels are buried, and it is possible that the above stones are in some way connected with the buried dairy-vessels.

(*e*) The lifting stone or *tukitthkars*. This is usually a large round stone which sometimes resembles in appearance stones of a ceremonial character.[1]

(*f*) Commemorative stones. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 13), and certain stones with the same name lying between Nòdrs and Teidr, had their origin in events connected with the death of a man belonging to the village of Teidr who was once *wursol* at Nòdrs. When he was told to milk one of the buffaloes, he replied, "If I milk it, the milk will not fill this place," pointing to a small depression on his thumb. Still the people told him to milk, and when he did so the milking-vessel was completely filled. Then the *palikartmokh* was very angry, and, taking the wand which the *wursol* was carrying, he struck him so that he flew in the air and fell down midway between Nòdrs and Teidr. When the people came to the place they found that the man was dead, and they tried to take up his body and carry it to the funeral place. But 211 778 773

[1] Burton (*Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 316) brands the Todas as inveterate liars, because, evidently owing to some misunderstanding, he was told that a "putting-stone" was the "grandfather of the gods."

101 was larger than it is at present, and it is tempting to suppose
174 that we have here evidence of the route of the Toda migration.
There are, however, facts which make it improbable that this
361 clue is of any value. If the villages about Gudalur had been survivals of the migration they would almost certainly have been sacred villages, but it was quite clear that they had no sanctity whatever and were not even saluted when seen from a distance. Unfortunately I did not visit Kavidi, the only village which remains, and if I had done so I might have discovered some evidence of sanctity and antiquity, but from what I was told it is very unlikely that any such evidence exists. This absence of sanctity is further in agreement with the traditions of the Todas, who say that the settlement at Gudalur is recent. There are, however, other facts which point to an ancient connexion of the Todas with this district. Some of the buffaloes of the most sacred and ancient Nòdrs *ti* are said to have come from Perithi in the Wainad, and the Taradrol, in many ways an exceptional Toda clan, are said to have their own future world or Amnòdr at this place.

174 It will thus be seen that, in addition to the points of similarity in custom and belief, there are definite facts pointing
487 to connexion with Malabar, and if we suppose that the Todas migrated from this district we have next to conjecture the path by which they travelled. If any importance is attached to the belief in the paths taken by the dead, we should regard it as the most probable view that the Todas travelled over the Kundahs, the two divisions of the people travelling by slightly different routes. The Toda tradition that men were created on the Kundahs is perhaps in favour of this route, which would seem to correspond with the road to the Nilgiris known as the Sisipara Ghat. If, on the other hand, we attach importance to the settlement at Kavidi, the route followed would be that through Gudalur. At the present time the latter road is far the easier of the two, and, if the Todas had travelled during the last few years, it would have been the natural road by which to come, but it does not appear that there was any essential difference in the difficulties of the two routes before the roads were made. The evidence in favour of either route is very scanty, but if the Todas came from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Malabar it is probable that they came by one or other of these paths.

There are two other districts which have some claim to be considered as possible places from which the Todas may have migrated—*viz.*, Mysore and Coorg.

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The Todas regard with some reverence a Hindu temple at Nanjankudi in Mysore, and visit it to pay vows, and there is little doubt that they have done this for a long time. Further, Nòdrs, one of the oldest and most sacred of the Toda villages, is close to the present road from Mysore and may have been near the most convenient route from Mysore in ancient times. I think, however, that, though not recent, the relations with the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi are not of very great antiquity, and I am inclined to ascribe the Toda reverence for it to their association with the Badagas, who almost certainly came from Mysore. I have not been able to find many parallels to Toda customs in Mysore. In one case, however, the resemblance is very close. Among the Gollavalu of Mysore[1] a woman after delivery is turned out into a leaf or mat hut, about 200 yards from the village, and on the fourth day a woman of the village pours water over her. In this case the woman lives in the hut for three months, her husband also living in a special hut. Again, among the Kadu (or forest) Gollas of Mysore[2] the mother and child remain in a small shed outside the village for seven to thirty days.

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The other district which has customs especially resembling those of the Todas is Coorg. Among the people of Coorg cloth-giving appears at one time to have formed the essential marriage ceremony, and there still exist what are called 'cloth-marriages,' in which a man becomes the husband of a woman merely by giving her a cloth. There is also some evidence that polyandry has been practised in Coorg, and I have already referred to the resemblance between the *pursütpimi* ceremony of the Todas and the Coorg custom of giving a little bow and arrow to a newly born boy. The bow is made of a stick of the castor-oil plant and for the arrow

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1889, vol. i. p. 535.
[2] *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, Pt. i. p. 521.

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351 two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343 is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342] dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193] than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354] place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417 mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233 enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422] possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487 Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562] women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234] the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562] go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

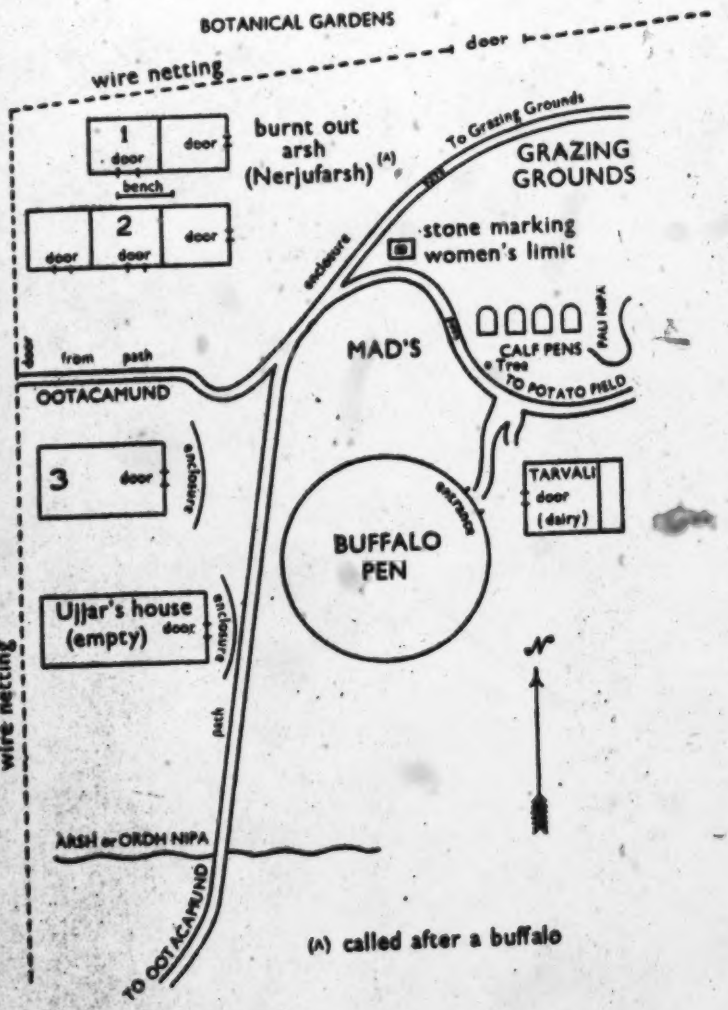
ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60



(A) called after a buffalo

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Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh *mad*.

13: Peter E-5 (1939,1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House"
648 in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out
[491] in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced
[137] here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind,
342 made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers,
361 never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*),
621 and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

14* The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an aver-
000 age, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ä = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot		z = zero
dh = Greek delta		tch = chap	ö = word	u = blue	è = simply tonic
	ng = ring	k = kit	oi = hoy	ù = cook	
e = met	h = aspirate	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
ei = date	i = hit		r = rot	ü = French	

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TABLE No. III. *Census.*

Mands		Houses					Inhabitants													
							Male					Female							Particulars regarding Inhabitants	Remarks M = Mands I = Inhabitants
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Grand Total			
Diljâvenu	Karikall	3	3	2	1	6	—	3	3[1]	4	10	1[2]	2	—	6[2]	9	19	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairyman. 3. Two of 12 years of age.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.	
Kakhodi	Kakhodi	2	2	1	1	4	—	3[1]	—	2	5	—	2[2]	—	—	2	7	1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married: hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north. I. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor.	
Berusthro	Karrsthro	2	1	1	—	2	—	4[1]	—	3	7	—	4[2]	—	1	5	12	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.	
Kozu-hour	Kozu-hortti	3	2	1	—	3	—	4	3[1]	3	10	—	4[2]	1[2]	1[2]	6	16	1, Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.	
Elgodu	Elgodu	4	3	1	1	5	1[1]	4[2]	4[2]	3	12	1[2]	4[2]	—	6[2]	11	23	1. About 85 years. Admitted to this Mand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 26 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 75 years of age. 5. One in	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant	

Bhagdis	Bhagdis	4	2	1	—	3	1[2]	4	1[2]	6	14	1[2]	4	—	4[1]	10	24	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 20, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	M. Much exposed, but well drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Kurdik	Kundal	5	3	0	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	2	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Mhamdd	Mardini	3	3	1	1	5	1[2]	6[2]	1[2]	3	12	1[2]	6	—	4	12	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kuhhir	Kalkeri	3	2	1	—	3	—	6[2]	1[2]	3	12	—	6[2]	—	3	9	21	2. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 13. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Poor. A girl squints. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Kinho	Kundero	2	1	1	—	2	—	2	1[1]	2	5	1[2]	2	—	1[2]	4	9	1. A dairyman, 15 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south and east. I. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.
Mathark	Munchakil	4	3	1	—	4	1[2]	4	2[2]	1	8	—	3[2]	—	1[2]	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Bairyman aged 15. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and vigorous. Comfortable.
		35	23	13	4	42	5	49	22	36	112	7	47	1	29	84	196		

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6 We find there to be 49 undoubtedly married men, and 47 married women.

If this ratio[1] was strictly true, I should be in a position to announce that the practice of polyandry had become extinct. But if to these 49 men, we add the 12 who are married *de facto*, we get 61 husbands for the 47 wives, or the proportion of 100 : 77. Such, in my belief, is the existing state of polyandry in the tribe—formerly, the discrepancy was perhaps as much as 100 : 40.

7. The total of the Table[2] gives a return of 196 people; from whom, if we deduct the 10 dairymen who live apart, we find that 186 people, of both sexes and all ages, live in 35 rooms, the dimensions of which we know to be 8ft. by 8ft. each; or 5·3 persons, on an average, in each of such rooms. Such is the average domiciliary condition of the tribe. But in village Mênmadd, 23 are shown to be living in 3 rooms, or 8 in some rooms.

If such be the custom of the people when in a state of health, we can scarcely form a conception of their miserable plight when epidemics arise: but we can at once comprehend how fatal any form of contagious disease is too sure to become, if it obtains a footing in the homesteads of any primitive race. Let this essential condition of savage life make a deep impression on our minds, if we would realise any one of the numerous forms of suffering, hardship, or disaster, to which our forefathers must all, from time to time, have been exposed. Rapidly as intelligence spreads amongst civilised nations in these modern days, through the quick interchange of ideas; we may feel very confident, that in the retirement of mountains, swamps, and jungles, at an era when all mankind was young and inexperienced; isolated tribes each gaining their separate knowledge through means of the repeated hard knocks to which their own ignorance of the working of natural laws had rendered them liable, must have undergone the severest trials.

A perusal of the column in Table No. 3, which affords

1 [See pp 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

 A perusal of the column in Table No. 3[1] which affords

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particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

b. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaʀoɪn] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kaʀfuɪsodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 507 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[24] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

[Melgarsh Village]

571 621 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following members of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsod, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 [23] The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 428 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding. [562] [583]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

291 more fully described in Chapter XXIV. It will be sufficient to say here that when showing reverence, a Toda bares his right arm, this method of wearing the cloak so that the arm is exposed being called *kevenarut*. It is shown in Figs. 1 and 10.

The Daily Life of the Todas

234 463 512 The daily life of the Toda men is largely devoted to the care of their buffaloes and to the performance of the dairy operations. As we shall see later, much of the dairy work is the duty of certain men set aside to look after the sacred buffaloes and the sacred dairies connected with them. A large proportion, however, of the Toda buffaloes are not sacred, and their care falls on the ordinary Todas. The milking and churning is chiefly the duty of the younger men and boys, but the older men also take their part, while the head of the family exercises a general superintendence.

FIG. 10.—KÒDRNER PERFORMING THE SALUTATION CALLED 'KAIMUKHTI.' HIS RIGHT ARM IS BARED ('KEVENARUT'), AND HE HAS REMOVED HIS TURBAN.

512 788 On rising in the morning, the men salute the sun with the gesture called *kaimukhti*, shown in Fig. 10, and then they turn to their work of milking the buffaloes and churning the milk.

512 When the dairy operations of the morning are over, the buffaloes are driven to the grazing ground, the people take their food and go about any business of the day. Some may

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 356 412 462 512 While the men are doing their work, the women will have been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently woman's work.

They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 296 356 462 531 Though these are the three operations which are regarded as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 574 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

574 called *kalmelpudithti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually
576 a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

234 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated.
512 When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the
788 enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddiben*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the *ti*, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place. 114 234

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by males, and males only are allowed to take any part either in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed. 173 234 462

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, Ön, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan. 234 773

Dairy Procedure

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the procedure. 234 512

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

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234 512 and then the churning is continued till the milk separates into a solid part, which I shall speak of as 'butter,' and a liquid, which I shall call 'buttermilk.' It must be remembered, however, that these do not correspond to the butter and buttermilk of a European dairy. The milk coagulates before the cream has risen in any quantity, and there is no skimming. The 'butter' consists of both the fat and casein of the milk, while the 'buttermilk' ought perhaps rather to be called 'whey.'

In order to avoid this ambiguity in the use of the words 'butter' and 'buttermilk,' it might have seemed desirable to use the Toda terms for these products; but I have not done so, partly in order to avoid the too frequent use of Toda words, partly because the names are not constant among the Todas themselves, different terms being used in different dairies.

When the churning is finished, the butter and buttermilk are put into their appropriate vessels, and the dairyman goes out to milk the buffaloes, using for this purpose a bamboo milking-vessel, into which he has put some buttermilk from the previous churning. The newly drawn milk is poured into the earthenware vessels, in which it stands till the afternoon. By this time the milk will have become solid, and is churned as in the morning.

The 'butter' is used chiefly in the form of ghi, or clarified butter, for which the Toda name is *nei*. The butter is clarified by keeping it over the fire after the addition of grain or rice. The latter sinks to the bottom of the vessel, while the *nei* consists of the liquefied fat of the milk. The *nei* or ghi is partly used by the Todas, but is largely sold at the bazaar. The deposit of grain or rice is called *al*, and is one of the chief Toda foods. It is, no doubt, mixed with part of the proteid constituents of the milk precipitated during the process of clarification.

234 415 The milking-vessel is of bamboo, and several of the small vessels used in the dairy procedure are also made from bamboo of various sizes. The vessels into which the milk is poured and in which it is churned are of earthenware, and the vessels in which the butter and buttermilk are kept are also

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234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

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lamp in the morning unless it is dark, nor does he pray. The milk poured into the *patat* overnight will have coagulated, so that it forms a solid mass called *adrpars*. The dairyman puts the churning-stick into the *patat* and churns for a little time till he has broken up the *adrpars*.[1] Then he pours off most of the semi-fluid milk into another vessel (also a *patat*), leaving about one *kudi*[2] in the churning-vessel. He adds to this some butter from a previous churning, which he takes from the *parskadrvenmu*, adds also some water, and churns the mixture till butter is formed. He pours out the buttermilk into the *majpariv*, keeping the butter in the *patat*, adds more coagulated milk and water, and churns again, transferring the buttermilk to its vessel when butter is formed. He continues in this way till all the milk has been churned, and he then transfers the butter which has been formed to the vessel called *penpariv*, also putting a small portion in the *parskadrvenmu*.

The *palikartmokh* then goes out to milk, with the *irkarthpun* and the wand called *parskurs* or *ularwurthkurs*. He puts into the milking-vessel some buttermilk, the buttermilk used for this purpose being called *pep*, and he also smears some butter on the edge of the vessel to put on the teats of the buffaloes. When he goes out, he salutes by raising the *irkarthpun* and *parskurs* to his forehead in the same manner as is shown in Fig. 27. When he has filled the milking-vessel, he goes into the dairy and empties the milk into the *patat* and returns to the buffaloes. This is repeated till all the buffaloes have been milked, after which the dairyman takes food and buttermilk, but with no prescribed ritual as in the case of more sacred dairies. He also gives out buttermilk to the people of the village. After the work of the morning is over, the *palikartmokh* may go out to look after the buffaloes, or may collect firewood, leaves, or other things necessary for his work. During the later hours of the morning the *palikartmokh* may often be seen lying down taking a rest before he begins the work of the afternoon, which is more ceremonial than that of the morning.

[461]

[1] This is literally 'cooked milk.' It probably receives this name because the coagulation is often hastened by heating.

[2] About four pints.

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About three o'clock in the afternoon he goes to the dairy, bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead (*pavnersatiti*, Fig. 20), enters and touches a vessel on the *patat* side, and then a vessel on the *ertat* side. He then lights the fire and inspects the milk drawn in the morning. If it has not become solid, he puts it on the fire for a few minutes to hasten the coagulation. He lights the lamp and prays,

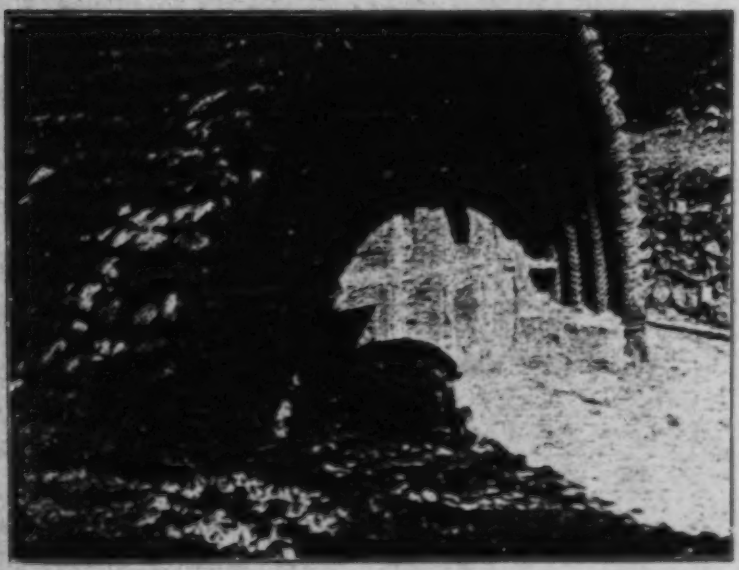

FIG. 20.—THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' SALUTING THE THRESHOLD OF THE DAIRY AT KIUDR 'PAVNERSATITI.'

using the prayer of the dairy (see Chap. X), and then churns as in the morning. When he has finished churning, he clears the churning-stick of the butter clinging to it, and after holding it to his forehead and uttering the sacred word "*On*," he puts it in the stand called *agar*. He then goes out to milk as in the morning, taking buttermilk in the milking-vessel. When the milking is over, he shuts up the buffaloes in the pen for the night, and as he does so, he repeats the prayer of the dairy, the prayer being exactly the same as that used when lighting the lamp. He then takes food and

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234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

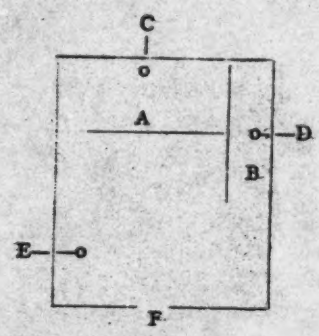
234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
788 the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oh*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

343 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made
352 by Kòdrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Pátatmar*.
B. *Ertatmar*.
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Waskal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same
512 general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and
788 method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to
272 the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to
415 the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

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234 In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows
512 down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*,
788 touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursuli* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

THE KUGVALI OF TARADR

234 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in
618 many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village
621 and the institution to be described in the next chapter—the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*pòlm*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmokh*. This dairyman must be a

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234 354 other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkafttha-waskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

THE DAILY LIFE AT THE TI

234 512 788 793 The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say "*ekirzam meidjam*."[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *tòratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *pòdrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the Pan *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

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234 prayer, but after I had settled on the foregoing description as
512 correct I was allowed one day by the *kaltmokh* to go near
788 the dairy while the *palol* was praying, and was able to hear
793 the beating on the earthenware vessel with each word of the prayer.

The next step is to take up the *pokvet* and place it against the wall, and then the *palol* begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle *persin*, milk in this state being here called *kudabpol* instead of *adrpars*, as in the ordinary dairy.

In those cases in which the *mani* is 'fed,' the *palol* puts *kudabpol* on the bell shortly after beginning to churn. This is done three times, the syllable *On* being uttered each time. When the *palol* does anything three times in this way, he says that he does it *mushtiu*. This expression for 'thrice' is not used in the ordinary dairy.

The next steps are to pour into the *kwoi* and *karitòrzum* most of the coagulated milk which has been broken up by the churning, to add to the milk remaining in the *persin* some *persinpen*, or butter especially kept for the purpose in the *peptòrzum*, to add water, and to churn the mixture of coagulated milk, water, and butter in the middle *persin*. When the new butter is formed, the *palol* pours out the buttermilk into the vessel called *idrkwoi*, keeping back the butter with his hand. The buttermilk is transferred from the *idrkwoi* to one of the *alug* in the outer room. Some of the milk which had been put into the *kwoi* or *karitòrzum* is then poured back into the middle *persin*, more water is added, and the mixture is churned, after which the buttermilk is again transferred by means of the *idrkwoi* to the *alug*, while the butter is kept in the *persin*. This procedure is repeated till all the milk of the middle *persin* has been churned.

The *persin* on the right-hand side of the *palol* is then taken, and its position exchanged with that of the vessel hitherto used, and the churning is continued in exactly the same manner. The buttermilk is transferred to the *alug*, but the butter when formed is transferred to the *persin*, which had been originally in the middle. When the contents of the second *persin* have been churned, the third *persin* is placed in the middle and the same procedure is followed, so that when

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234 the churning is over all the butter which has been formed will
512 be in the *persin* which was originally in the middle. Some
788 of this butter is put into the *peptòrzum* to act as *persinpen* on
793 another occasion, and the remainder is transferred to the butter *alug* by means of the *idrkwoi*. The two *tòrzum* are then put on the tops of two of the *persin* as covers, the *peptòrzum* being placed on the middle *persin* and the *palol* takes the milking-vessel (*kwoi*) and wand (*kwoinörtpet*) in his right hand and goes out to milk, having first put some buttermilk, called *pep*, into the *kwoi*.

When the *palol* leaves the dairy, he raises the milking-vessel and wand to his forehead and salutes in the way shown in Fig. 27. The Todas say that he is saluting the sun and the buffaloes. It is probable that, in general, the *palol* faces approximately east as he salutes, but there is no doubt that, at the present time, his salutation is chiefly to the buffaloes. He salutes in the same direction both morning and evening, and certainly pays no attention to the direction in which the sun lies.

This salutation is now often done in a very perfunctory manner. The vessel and wand may be raised hastily to the forehead for a few seconds only as the *palol* goes towards his buffaloes, and I am doubtful whether the salutation is ever performed exactly as shown in the figure, for the vessel contains some of the buttermilk called *pep*, which might be spilt if the vessel were held quite horizontally.

When the *palol* salutes, he says "*Oñ*" three times, and repeats two or three clauses of the dairy prayer, usually the *kwarzam* of the more important gods of the dairy.

When going to milk and when going from one buffalo to another, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* are always held together in the right hand. When the *kwoi* is filled, it is taken into the dairy. If it is the custom of the dairy to put milk on the *mani*, this is now done three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and then the milk is poured into the middle *persin*, the *kwoi* being held in the left hand, and the *palol* goes out again to refill the *kwoi*. When all the *persinir* have been milked, the milk of the three *persin* is mixed together by pouring from one to the other. The reason for this is that the buttermilk, called *pep*,

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234 is only taken out in the *kwoi* on first going to milk, and
512 in consequence the *pep* would affect the milk of the middle
788 *pers.in* only if its contents were not mixed with those of the
vessels filled later.

793 The *palol* next goes out to milk the *punir*, taking for this

FIG. 27.—THE 'PALOL,' KARKIEVAN, SALUTING AT MÒDR. HE IS STANDING IN THE 'PEPKARMUS.' THE BUILDING NEXT TO THE 'PALOL' IS THE 'TI POH'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'KARENPOH,' AND BETWEEN IT AND THE 'TI POH' CAN BE SEEN THE HUT WHERE THE INHABITANTS OF THE 'TI MAD' SLEEP.

purpose the vessel called *karpun* and an ordinary wand, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* being only used for the more sacred buffaloes. There was some difference of opinion as to what should be done with the milk of the *punir*. According to

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some it may be used to fill the *persin* if these are not filled by the milk of the *persinir*; according to others it is wrong to do this, and the milk of *punir* should on no account be put in the more sacred vessels of the inner room. I think there is no doubt that at the Nòdrs *ti* at any rate the first procedure is followed. At this *ti* the *punir* outnumber the *persinir* by far, and it is probable that the milk of the former is used to supplement that of the more sacred buffaloes, although it is contrary to tradition that this should be done.

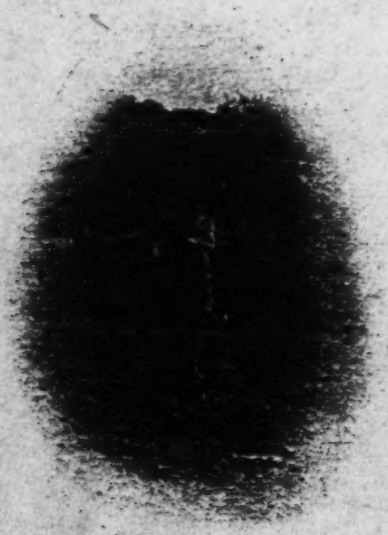

FIG. 28.—TO SHOW THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE 'PALOL' WHEN PRAYING.

The three *persin* being filled, the *tòrzum* are again put on as covers, and the *palol* takes up the wand called *pokvet*, and prays, standing in front of the screen (*patun*) with his hands lying over one another crosswise on the top of the stick as shown in Fig. 28. He recites the full prayer of the *ti*, then replaces the *pokvet* between the *persin* and the *patun* and this act of replacing the wand marks the end of the more sacred part of the dairy operations. If a Toda wishes to ascertain if the work of the dairy is over, he asks, "Has he taken the *pokvet*?"

The *palol* now unties his hair, sees to anything necessary in connexion with his food, fills the *uppun* with buttermilk, and then leaves his dairy and goes to sit on the seat called *pokvelkars* on one side of the door of the dairy, viz., on the opposite side to that on which the *mani* is placed. At Mòdr he sits on the stone on the right side of the door when going

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in (K in Fig. 26), and the fact that he does so is one of the reasons which make it probable that the arrangement of the *pok* of that place is as I have given it in the plan.

When the *palol* has seated himself on the *pokvelkars*, he calls out to the *kaltmokh* "*Kaishvatitva*," "Come here and pour buttermilk!" When the *kaltmokh* comes, the *palol* gives the *uppun* to the boy, who says three times "*Kaishvatkina*," "Shall I pour buttermilk?" and the *palol* replies each time, "*Vat*!" The *kaltmokh* pours from the *uppun* into a cup made of the leaf called *kakuders* held by the *palol*, who drinks after raising to his forehead. This is repeated till the *palol* is satisfied, when the leaf-cup from which he has been drinking is thrown away,[1] and he goes again into the outer room to get food. He gives food to the *kaltmokh*, who eats it in the sleeping-hut, while the *palol* himself eats sitting on the *pokvelkars*. If any *mòrol* (see p. 107) are present, they are fed at this stage with buttermilk and food by the *kaltmokh*, who gives them the buttermilk out of the *mòrpun*, pouring it into leaf-cups as when giving to the *palol*.

The rest of the morning is passed in looking after the buffaloes, cutting firewood, plucking leaves used as cups and plates, or doing any other work connected with the *ti*.

In the afternoon the *palol* returns to his dairy and goes through the same operations as in the morning, except that he fetches water from the *kwoinir* early in the proceedings, usually bringing enough for the work of that afternoon and of the next morning. He churns the milk drawn in the morning, and when the time for milking has arrived, the buffaloes will have returned to the milking-place, and as soon as they arrive their calves are let out from the house (*karenpoh*) in which they have been kept.

When the churning and milking are over, the buffaloes are shut up in the *tu* for the night. The *palol* then takes buttermilk as in the morning, and both he and the *kaltmokh* take their food. The latter eats his food in the sleeping-hut as in

[1] In the story of Kwoto and the Keradr *ti* (Chap. IX) the *kaltmokh* has to pour away buttermilk at an appointed spot. It is probable that this buttermilk is that unfinished by the *palol*, and possibly this custom is still followed but was not mentioned by my informants.

234 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oñ*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
793 times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SHADES OF EVENING.

The people assemble—The cattle come home—Day's food—Prayer to the Setting Sun—The family retires to rest—Maternal aspect of Nature in Mild Climates.

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THE long day draws to a close. The party who had gone out in the morning to collect kûdu, have returned from the distant Badaga villages, apparently not very successful; for they grumble, and look suspicious and uneasy, as they throw their bundles on the ground. The women at home have long completed the performance of their women's work; the infants have been suckled over and over again, and passed from arm to arm of the girls of the family: the house floor and bed have been plastered, and the village frontage swept down water is in the vessels, and wood is in the slings. There is nothing now to do but curl their hair for the night, whilst gossiping with the visitors.

Gradually, and as the evening approaches, the people grow restless and absent-minded: stand up to look, and with hand to eyebrow, scan the broad pasture lands lying under the setting sun. Something of importance seems to be looked for. Rumour spreads, that the buffalos are coming in. The dense mass may now be seen approaching, slowly and leisurely—as well-fed animals should—and led by the more pressing milch cows, who filing through the intervening swamp, and with ears pricked forward, rise the hill where the familiar homestead lies nestled. Here the herd stops: a few, for reasons of their own,

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saunter into the fold: the rest chew the cud in an indolent group outside.

512 The people sit about watching. And whilst some lads stand round the herd, to quiet the nervous with their voices, and to stop flirtations with their sticks, lest any disturbed cow should withhold a portion of her milk; the naked pâlkarpâl with honnus in hand, and pushing forward the mopê-eyed sucking-calves, eases each mother in turn, of her oppressive load. Over all, the ripe glow of the declining sun; hallowing the innocent domestic scene which his rich beams have just ceased from glorifying.

Faces cheer up as the man returns to his dairy: and talking is resumed. We understand now their late anxiety and their present ease; the evening's *supply of food has been assured to them.*

Shortly, the mistress of the house may be observed through the little door of her cabin, squatted on the hearth inside; deftly feeding the fire in the vorshkâll, stick by stick, as she cooks the evening meal: head thrown back, eyes half-closed, with a hand outspread, warding the heat from her face. Outside, the family sit about or occupy themselves in shutting up the calves.

512 We note a man leaning against the village wall, mutter
788 'ekarvashk'—sunset. He rests his wand against the stones, and taking both arms out of his mantle, maintaining it in place with the elbows, leisurely puts feet to the ground. Bending slightly, and with joined hands to forehead, he says in a low tone, 'Êyan, appn! danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama!' Then readjusting his cloth, steps back again to his seat. He quietly watches the luminous God as it subsides in oriental glory behind the hill: then resuming the *sotto voce* conversation, enquires after the health of the new born calf, and if the mother has begun giving milk. An innocent grave smile plays on his face when told that both are doing well. 'A good cow!' he remarks, slowly nodding.

Long looked for dinner appears to be ready; for the heated woman now emerges into the open air, and the men and boys enter the hut, leaving the females to prolong the talk. When each member of the community has in turn, eaten, and the offerings to bhumi tai have been swept out of doors, the whole family in the village join grouped about in primitive dinginess, and quiet unconspicuous attitude; some under the veranda eaves, others on the tûar, or under its quiet shelter: and there rehearse the day's events. The naked pâlkarpâl also, having completed his separate cooking, squats apart upon the wall, whence he can hear the news and add his distant note to the conversation. CHAP. XXVIII. 512 264 571

And thus the shades of evening close in upon them. The air grows chill, and the careful mother of the smallest, rises to take the infant she has kept under her dress, into the well baked house. She stops a moment: looks round to the sky where the Blushing moon, ascending vertically through the trees in hot pursuit of the now vanished sun, illumines her womanly face. 'Swâmi, Swâmi!' she mutters, with hands to forehead, supporting the while, her young one in the bend of her arm, 'Mokh ultama, ellam ultama:' and stoops in at the little doorway. Two or three sleepy-headed children soon stagger in after her. Note the pretty daughter in her teens, plump and white teethed, with hair tightly curled, and eyes that brilliantly catch the sparkle of the moon. She has been taught to say her prayers: but unmarried and without a care, the sense of responsibility is not strong upon her; she has no child to shiver for. She gives a rather hurried salute, bringing her head down to her hands, rather than take the young arms out of their envelope in the chill: a quick 'Êyan, appa!' and in she ducks, shutting the door after her. A prolonged rustle may be heard as the brood settle themselves in the dark, to rest on the warm hearth; with a mantle on the floor and another covering all their nakedness. The healthy baby, with eyes wide open, trying in vain to penetrate the gloom, disturbs the mother on the raised bed, who is now 512 788 771 512

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heard hushing and patting, hushing and patting, hushing and patting. A few nursery skirmishes, and all is still, within.

'Îrzhtâshk' says a man outside in the dark, yawning, 'it is night—bed time.' 'Îrzhtâshk' is repeated by these men of few words, rising. They separate for their different huts. Two to join our family party, stopping before the door, quietly make their short address to the moon, asking *it*[1] to be gracious, and that all may be well with the cattle and with the village. Again the door shuts. A little more settling: the snatch of a song: the low mutter of talk: the cry of the disturbed baby, and all again is hushed.

Îrzhtâshk, I iterate, and impressed with the lonely and exceptional beauty of the position, mount the hill; to see and to think. Not a sound is to be heard over the vast expanse, save the curious tick ticking of nature at work in the short grass. Overhead, the dear moon, now brilliant, pursuing her serene course in the transparent ether,

> 'this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestic
> roof fretted with golden fire,'

illumines hill and dale, close prospect and far distant view, miles away down in the plains below: now showing the rounded outlines of tracts of forest, and the spurs of receding hills: now throwing a brilliant dart through the poor man's woods close by; bringing out each stick of the gnarled trees with the free hand of an accomplished artist, and sheening gracefully into the women's secluded bathing place: then resting firmly and fully, but softly, on the roof of his humble dwelling in the open patch of hill side—the home, the sanctum—and counting his cattle in their pen; tinting each horn and moving shiny back of the living group, the better to see them. She traverses all his free domain; the undulating pastures and the lonely tarn: examines the single tree out on the wild,

[1] Some savage races reverence the moon as a god, ever in pursuit of the sun goddess; but the Todas are very ignorant, and do not know to what sexes these luminaries belong.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

648 464 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it 461 [241] beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda 562 512 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described [157] [171] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans 177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, 609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even [735] the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, 114 177 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, 164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*. 425 428 [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512 [123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514] [296] [233] [234] [264] [291] [356] [515]

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before
● 512 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would
[234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond
[264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position,
[606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and
[278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *ash* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back to the *ertillkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.
845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kwn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtul*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sawi* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
798 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of

FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Ok*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
613 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,
784

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
557 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. " A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
[335] " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
● 513 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
354 " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
" on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
" of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
415 " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Maná*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Maná*.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen
[518] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiarox: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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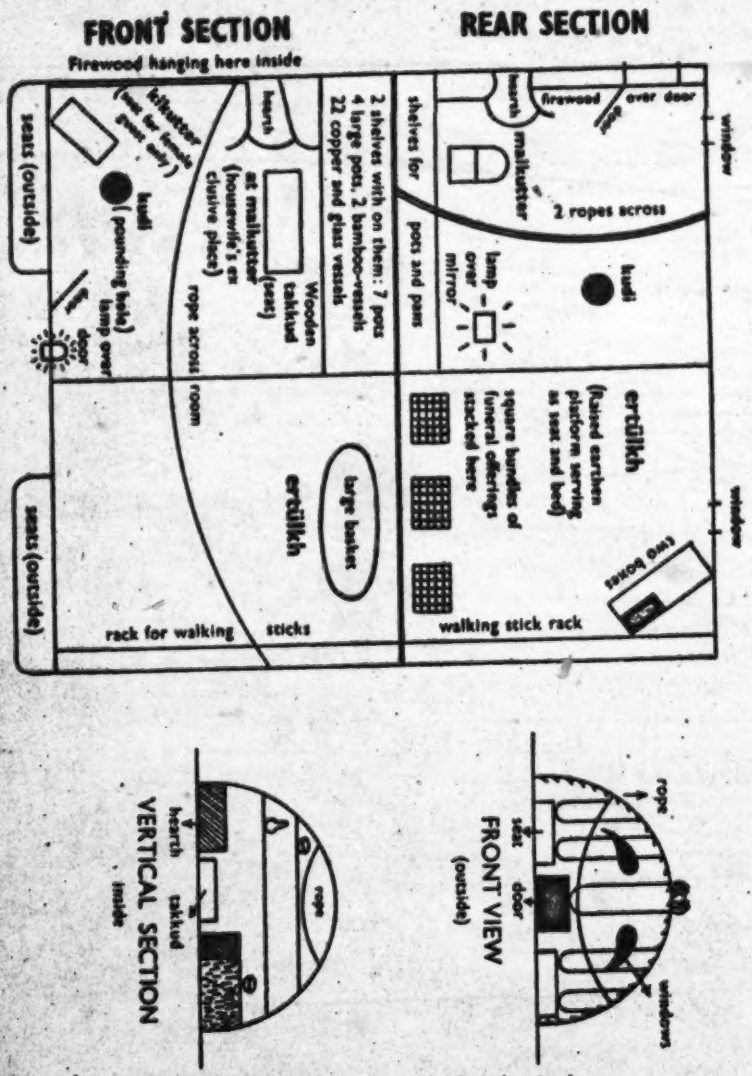

Fig. 19. House No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*.
Inhabitants of front part: Karnoz, Nalsirwuf, Sodup and Odzel; the last named sleeps on the floor, the other three on the *ertülkh*.
Inhabitants of the rear part: Singharsh, Amoniwuf, Singud and Munbokwutn; the last named sleeps on the *ertülkh* with either of the brothers, while the other alternatively sleeps on the floor with the common wife.

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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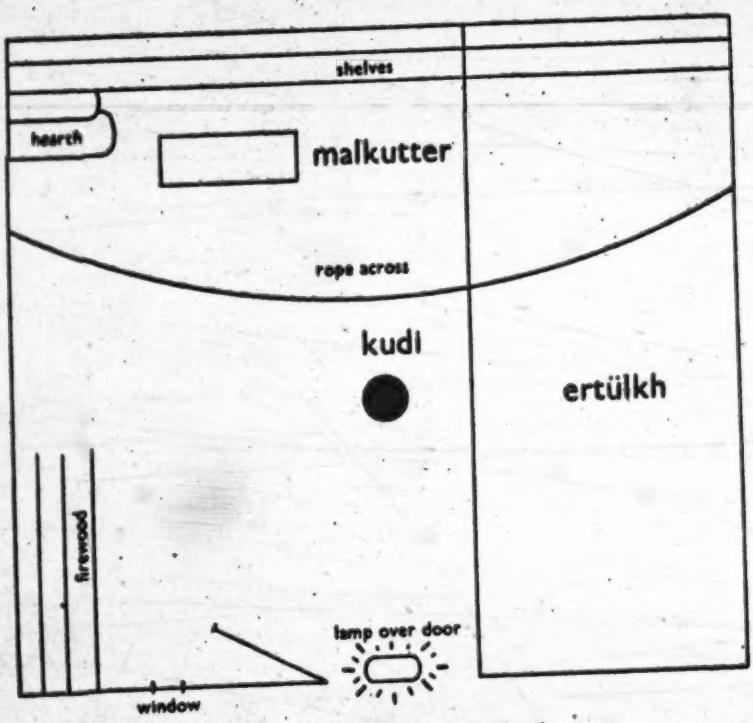

Fig. 21. House No. 3, the *Pudharsh*.

Inhabitants: Pilkhiivowutn, Närshmali, Motsod, Izam and Kirsharswutn; the two first of these sleep on the *ertülkh*, the older couple on the floor, the younger boy sleeps on the *ertülkh* too, with his head towards the back of the arsh. Motsod is very often out, either as priest-dairyman, when he sleeps in the tarvali, or to see friends in other mads. Kirsharswutn often helps his father in the tarvali, when he also sleeps in the dairy-temple.

[592]
[513]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*.

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family.

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal.

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join

 They are a dirty people; yet very much of their dirt arises

from circumstances somewhat beyond their control; such as crowded establishments and poverty. They bathe their bodies in the running brook, and even sometimes use hot-water for the same purpose. Yet I do not remember to have seen a Putkuli fresh from a wash.

A pretty sight, that rewarded one of my expeditions, was a group of women and girls just returned from the stream, sitting, clean and bright, curling one another's hair. The locks were separated neatly, and the partings made accurately with the finger-nail. Each lock having been dressed straight, either with the fingers or a forked stick, is twisted and twisted until it has formed a tight coil, when the end is tucked in among the roots. The *well developed* female back-head looks remarkably pleasing under this treatment—unadorned, adorned the most. The curls are opened out in the morning.

The eyebrows are sometimes touched up with a charred stick from the fire-place; the fancy being to join them over the bridge of the nose.

If they would only not grease the hair with butter, I could close this description of the toilette without unpleasant reminiscences of some phrenologising experiences.

The mouth and teeth are often kept in wonderful order up to a late age. But they take care of them; using daily a little wood ash—not charcoal—and the forefinger, for dental purposes. I have seen people of all ages with teeth as bright, and mouths as fresh-looking as an infant's—or a dog's.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA HUT.

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[facing p. 127]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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"TODA CATHEDRAL"

[facing p. 131]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

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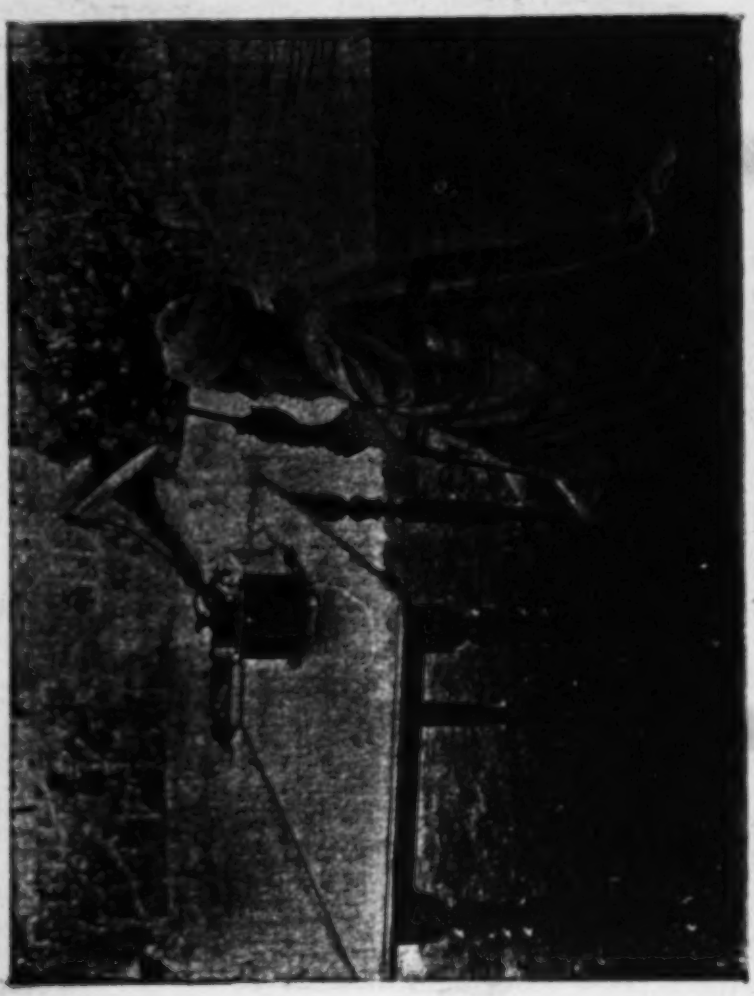

TODA AND PHONOGRAPH

[facing p. 145]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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Fig. 28. Erzigwuf with Peterozn, Mutnarsh and the twins, Sodup and Sodam.

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Fig. 29. Kuddhue.

[p 300-D]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good performance. 526

At many villages there is a large globular stone called *tukitthkars* (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukittthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings. 147 526 778

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream called Kavageir, winning eighteen *nakh* (three-year-old 517 526 211 525 177

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even
517 little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all thes mes are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

in Torres Straits, where hardly a day would pass without seeing games being played. 517

The chief interest in the case of the Todas is the clear evidence they give of games arising owing to the sportive imitation by children of the more serious occupations of their elders. In some of these cases the games so arising are useful in providing the younger members of the community with practice in feats which they will in later life be called upon to perform. 857

RIDDLES

The Todas are very fond of riddles, which they call *werat*. [517] The following are examples :— 524 539

Mers illâth karthti, poi illâth ûdti? Mâ, nelu.
Udder without milks, mouth without drinks? Rain, earth.

I.e., What is it that gives milk without an udder, what is it that drinks without a mouth? Rain, earth.

Urk mers illâth, kâdak kal illâth, athinu? Kûdi, pob.
In (or to) village udder without, in forest leg without, what is it? Hen, snake.

Kerûd mokh perûd aiu, perûd mokh kerûd aiu? Kûdr, kevi.
Little son big becomes, big son little becomes? Horn, ear.

This riddle depends on a comparison of the horn and ear of the buffalo. The horn of the calf is very small, the ear is relatively large.

Pûv pûvadi, kaim kaimadi? Tâf.
Flower does not blossom, berry does not ripen? Fern.

Wûrâdr nelu, mokh pachtam, pîr ârchtam, ithithanithi ank? Pishkimân.
Whole year days, son begetting, pregnant, this is custom to it?

Pishkimân is a tree which bears flowers or is giving fruit the whole year round.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture. 174 771

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great. 172 174 182 [517 53]

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.[1] Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show. [461]

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

[1] The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

847 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Metz's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

517 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Ilâta*, which is
526 played as follows :—

A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Ilâta* is a variety of *tipcat*.

Another game is called *Nârthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some mands a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Kâriâlapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B.[1]

291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows :—

"The garment* in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, "cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

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* *Toda : Pûthuli.*

[1] [Category 116, pp. 117-128.-- Analysis]

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We did our work according to his orders, and this excellent order was an ample one. Now this ———, a chief of the Todas, son of———, a deceased Toda, the above man joined with the moniagar of ——— village, joined together, and, dealing with bribes, now they arose against us, and doing this great troubles on us, and also, by this great trouble, one day Mr. ——— came for shooting snapes (snipe) by that side. By chance one grazing buffalo came to him, push him by his horns very forcely, and wounded him on his leg. By the help of another gentleman who came with him he escaped, or he would have die at the moment. Now the said moniagar and ——— joined together, want to finish the funeral to his late father on the 18th instant. For this purpose they are going to shut the buffaloes without food in the kraal on the 18th instant at 10 o'clock. They are going to kill the buffaloes on the 19th instant at 4 o'clock in the evening. But this is a great sin against god. But we beg your honour this way. That is, let them leave the buffaloes in the grazing place, and ask them to catch and kill them at the same moment. And also your honour cannot ordered them to keep them in the kraal without food. And, if they will desire to kill the buffaloes in this way, these buffaloes will come on us, and also on the other peoples one who, coming to see funs on those day, will kill them all by his anxious. And so we the Todas begs your honour to enquire them before the 18th, the said funeral ceremony commencing, and not to grant the above orders to them." 648 764 782

A Whit Monday at Paikāra was given up to an exhibition of sports and games, whereof the most exciting and interesting was a burlesque representation of a Toda funeral by boys and girls. A Toda, who was 51 536 764

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fond of his little joke, applied the term pacchai kēdu (green funeral) to the corpses of the flies entrapped by a viscous catch'em-alive-oh on the bungalow table. To the mock funeral rites arrived a party of youths, as from a distant mand, and crying out U, hah, in shrill mimicry of their elders. The lad who was to play the leading part of sacrificial buffalo, stripping off his putkūli, disappeared from sight over the brow of a low hillock. Above this eminence his bent and uplifted upper extremities shortly appeared as representatives of the buffalo horns. At sight thereof, there was a wild rush of small boys to catch him, and a mimic struggle took place, while the buffalo was dragged, amid good-tempered scuffling, kicks, and shouting, to the spot where the corpse should have been. This spot was, in the absence of a pseudo-dead body or stage dummy, indicated by a group of little girls, who had sat chatting together till the boy-beast arrived, when they touched foreheads, and went, with due solemnity, through the orthodox observance of mourning in couples. The buffalo was slain by a smart tap on the back of the head with a cloth, which did duty for an axe. As soon as the convulsive movements and twitchings of the death struggle were over, the buffalo, without waiting for an encore, retired behind the hillock once more, in order that the rough and tumble fight, which was evidently the chief charm of the game, might be repeated. The buffalo boy later on came in second in a flat race, and he was last seen protecting us from a mischievous-looking member of his herd, which was grazing on the main-road. Toda buffaloes, it may be noted, are not at all popular with members of the Ootacamund Hunt, as both horses and riders from time to time receive injuries from their horns, when they come in collision.

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

304 man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had [752] to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pöturers*, is used to hasten the healing.

[755] Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *sunurkudi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

304 Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns
531 consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.[1]

304 I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory
521 information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

304 The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might under-
463 take the business. The following are at present recognised as
465 experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *utkòren*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

304 The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

[1] Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by
[264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poljoɪl or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poljoɪl of the opposite sex.

602 533 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poljoɪl of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

●521 602 196 192 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poljoɪl or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to
[353] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is
[522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯɾɣŭɑrt–, "neck-cut," and kŭɑrtɣŭɯrt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɖjvöɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

196 521 192 602 Thus aḍð-, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also kuɪʃt-, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nuṛtj-, "make walk," is permitted when uɪr, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb paɪj-, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj-, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪtj-, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again ɑtvɑt is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way puɪn, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [841] [304] Similarly poɪθj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kɪpoṇt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 521 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ündmortkvæidvoj or poɪjoɪj within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

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[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

618 wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this
539 poljoɪl are forbidden to become poloɪl to this tiɪ. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the moγδɯtkoɪt ʃvojvoljoɪl of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a
[522] tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories[1] were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the kŭɯdzɯl, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the poljoɪl should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

602 A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse
835 between ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poljoɪl of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's mod), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his poljoɪl or his ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the noɪjm or council takes cognizance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

602 Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same tɯn or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

[1] [See pp. 106 and 107, cat. 539 -- Analyst]

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by [264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poɭjoɪɭ of the opposite sex.

602 533 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poɭjoɪɭ of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 602 196 192 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to [833] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is ● [522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯɾγŭɑɾt–, "neck-cut," and kŭɑɾtγŭɯɾt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪdjvŏɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

KORATEU OR KUZKARV

773 776 Korateu was the son of Teikirzi. One day when Teikirzi was going from one village to another she went into a cave called Teivelkursh, by the side of a stream called Kathipa, near Kakhudri, and there gave birth to a son, who was called Azo-mazo. The afterbirth dropped into the stream and was carried down to Teipakh (the Paikara river). It travelled down the river as far as a place called Marsnavai, where there were growing two plants called *tib* and *purs* in which it became entangled. The afterbirth then slowly arose and became a boy, and the boy was Korateu. When Azo-mazo became a man he went to live at Pernòdr in the Kundahs, but Korateu lived in the river till he was eight years old. The river Teipakh was the brother of Teikirzi. As he sat in the lap of his uncle Korateu used often to play at making the buffalo horns called *tebkuter* (Fig. 35).[1] When he was eight years old he founded a *ti* and created a male and a female buffalo, making both out of earth. He also built a dairy and a buffalo pen and made the garment called *tami*. As soon as the buffaloes had a calf, he went to fetch a churning-stick from Kaiers, beyond Makurti Peak, and took it to Nerva, near Mòdr, where his buffaloes were standing. He then went to Kurkòdr, a bamboo grove near Meipadi in the Wainad, and made a *kuoi* or milking vessel. He next made the *perzin* and the

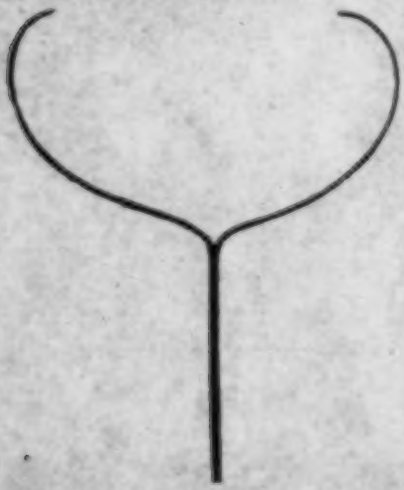

FIG. 35.—IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

[524]

[1] Usually called *pekuter*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

GAMES

541 It is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies, and in the old days when the *marvainolkedr* lasted two days, the first day, devoted to catching the buffaloes and putting them in the pen, must have been largely of a sportive character. Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is a spectacle which is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place.

The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired in a certain degree a ceremonial character.

524 526 177 In one of these games called *narthpini*, a boy squeezes through a narrow tunnel formed by a flat slab of stone over two upright slabs. Two boys start from different distances, and the object of the nearer boy is to squeeze through the tunnel before the other can touch his feet. I did not have an opportunity of seeing this game, and I only saw the stones with which it is played at one village. This was at Nödrs, where the three stones are called *menkars* and mark the spot at which one of the ordinary buffaloes is killed at the funeral ceremonies. The *menkars* is shown in Fig. 12 in front of and a little to the right of the entrance to the dairy.

Another game resembling tip-cat is called *olu*, and at some villages there is a special stone where the game is played. A piece of wood pointed at both ends is propped against the stone and struck with a stick, and should be caught by someone at a distance. The name for this game is probably Badaga,[1] and this suggests that the game has been borrowed from this people.

According to Breeks another game called *kiridlapini*, resembling 'puss in the corner,' is played by the Todas. The name suggests a true Toda game and I regret that I know nothing about it.

[1] The game is described by Breeks and Thurston under the name of *ilate*, but this again is certainly not Toda.

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even
517 little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all these games are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *sunkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpini* game, while the *tubitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *ela* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

in Torres Straits, where hardly a day would pass without seeing games being played. 517

The chief interest in the case of the Todas is the clear evidence they give of games arising owing to the sportive imitation by children of the more serious occupations of their elders. In some of these cases the games so arising are useful in providing the younger members of the community with practice in feats which they will in later life be called upon to perform. 857

RIDDLES

The Todas are very fond of riddles, which they call *uerat*. [517] The following are examples :— 524 539

Mers illith kerthil, pal illith dabi? Mil, nelu.
Udder without milks, mouth without drinks? Rain, earth.

I.e., What is it that gives milk without an udder, what is it that drinks without a mouth? Rain, earth.

Ur̥k mers illith, kkdak kal illith, athiru? Kkdi,
In (or to) village udder without, in forest leg without, what is it? Hen,
pak.
snake.

Kerdd nuth perdd ain, perdd nuth kerdd ain? Kkdr,
Little son big becomes, big son little becomes? Horn,
kuri.
ear.

This riddle depends on a comparison of the horn and ear of the buffalo. The horn of the calf is very small, the ear is relatively large.

Pôo pdrudi, kaim kainudi? Tôf.
Flower does not blossom, berry does not ripen? Fern.

Wkrdd nelu, nuth puchiam, pir drchiam, ukkkarôki
Whole year days, son begetting, pregnant, this is custom
ank? Pishkimdu.
to it?

Pishkimdu is a tree which bears flowers or is giving fruit the whole year round.

524 539

Puzkhrfudsh	*adtpolqthi?*	*Kúdi*	*kágiti.*
Calls out if	why that says no?	Cock	crows.

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

Nuln	*tiri*	*kai,*	*pen*	*tiri*	*pův?*	*Eln.*
Earth	goes round	fruit,	sky	goes round	flower?	The tip-cat game.

Mudál	*plr*	*satsai,*	*pin*	*marsuati;*	*pin*	*plr*
First	pregnant	who becomes,	later	is delivered;	later	pregnant

satsai,	*mudál*	*marsuati?*	*Tâmi,*	*kudj.*
who becomes,	first	is delivered?	A grain,	barley.

Tami or *samai* (*patm*) is the grain from which *patcherski*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

Poetry and Music

533 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter
538 on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kunedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are
[195] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarzam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarzam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

They do not attempt to till the ground.

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

While the funeral game was in progress, the men showed off their prowess at a game (eln),* corresponding to the English tip-cat, which is epidemic at a certain season in the London bye-streets. It is played with a bat like a broomstick, and a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. The latter is propped up against a stone, and struck with the bat. As it flies off the stone, it is hit to a distance with the bat, and caught (or missed) by the out fields. 526

At the Muttanâd mand, we were treated to a further exhibition of games. In one of these, called narthpimi, a flat slab of stone is supported horizontally on two other slabs fixed perpendicularly in the ground so as to form a narrow tunnel, through which a man can just manage to wriggle his body with difficulty. Two men take part in the game, one stationing himself at a distance of about thirty yards, the other about sixty yards from the tunnel. The front man, throwing off his mantle, runs as hard as he can to the tunnel, pursued by the 'scratch' man, whose object is to touch the other man's feet before he has squeezed himself through the tunnel. Another sport, which we witnessed, consists of trial of strength with a heavy globular stone, the object being to raise it up to the shoulder; but a strong, well-built-man—he who was entrusted with slaying the funeral buffalo—failed to raise it higher than the pit of the stomach, though straining his muscles in the attempt. A splendidly made veteran assured me that, when young and lusty, he was able to accomplish the feat, and spoke sadly of degeneration in the physique of the younger members of the tribe. [147]

Mr. Breeks mentions that the Todas play a game resembling puss-in-the-corner, called kâriâlapimi, which 524

* Called by Breeks ilata, [which, Dr. Rivers suggests, is a Badaga name.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

•524 was not included in the programme of sports got up for our benefit. Dr. Rivers writes that "the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport." I have, on several occasions, come across young children playing with long and short pieces of twigs representing buffaloes and their calves, and going solemnly through the various incidents in the daily life of these animals. Todas, both old and young, may constantly be seen twisting flexible twigs into representations of buffaloes' heads and horns.

539 Of Toda songs, the following have been collected :—

Sunshine is increasing. Mist is fast gathering. Rain may come. Thunder roars. Clouds are gathering.

Rain is pouring. Wind and rain have combined.

Oh, powerful god, may everything prosper!

May charity increase!

May the buffaloes become pregnant!

See that the buffaloes have calves.

See that the barren women have children.

Go and tell this to the god of the land.

Keygamor, Eygamor (names of buffaloes).

Evening is approaching. The buffaloes are coming.

The calves also have returned.

The buffaloes are saluted.

The dairy-man beats the calves with his stick.

Milk has been offered to the bell.

It is growing dark.

This is a buffalo with beautiful horns.

A buffalo stupidly given away by the Badaga.

A buffalo brought to the Kāndal mand.

To 302 524 have any except buffalo butter, which they rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To 595 582 422 Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To 595 583 592 The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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At many villages there is a large globular stone called *tukitthkars* (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukittthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings. 147 526 778

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream called Kavageir, winning eighteen *nakh* (three-year-old 517 526 211 525 177

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even
517 little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all thes mes are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

GAMES

541 It is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies, and in the old days when the *marvainolkedr* lasted two days, the first day, devoted to catching the buffaloes and putting them in the pen, must have been largely of a sportive character. Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is a spectacle which is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place.

The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired in a certain degree a ceremonial character.

524 In one of these games called *narthpimi*, a boy squeezes
526 through a narrow tunnel formed by a flat slab of stone over
177 two upright slabs. Two boys start from different distances, and the object of the nearer boy is to squeeze through the tunnel before the other can touch his feet. I did not have an opportunity of seeing this game, and I only saw the stones with which it is played at one village. This was at Nòdrs, where the three stones are called *menkars* and mark the spot at which one of the ordinary buffaloes is killed at the funeral ceremonies. The *menkars* is shown in Fig. 12 in front of and a little to the right of the entrance to the dairy.

Another game resembling tip-cat is called *eln*, and at some villages there is a special stone where the game is played. A piece of wood pointed at both ends is propped against the stone and struck with a stick, and should be caught by someone at a distance. The name for this game is probably Badaga,[1] and this suggests that the game has been borrowed from this people.

According to Breeks another game called *kâridlapimi*, resembling 'puss in the corner,' is played by the Todas. The name suggests a true Toda game and I regret that I know nothing about it.

[1] The game is described by Breeks and Thurston under the name of *ilala*, but this again is certainly not Toda.

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CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys
526 game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling
578 disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing
411 or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence
204 of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda
262 diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they
177 were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they
262 are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as
437 rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other
439 small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items
427 are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

947 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Metz's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

517 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Ilâta*, which is played as follows :—

526 A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Ilâta* is a variety of *tipcat*.

Another game is called *Nârthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some mands a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Kâridlapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B.

291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows :—

"The garment* in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, "cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

* *Toda : Pâthali.*

[Category 16, Pp. 117-123. -- Analyse]

but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bêti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kêd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kêdmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hoh! hoh! ôr kar uitamá*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kêd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kêd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *manigakâran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchâyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE X

526

TODAS AT PLAY

285 415 No. V.—*Mdsuri* (ᡳᡳᡳᡳ). Four baskets, of *ôsu*, to hold grain, made by Toda and Kotas of bamboo and rotan. Annas 10.

322 415 No. VI.—*Pus* (ᡳᡳᡳᡳ). Two milk vessels, of *ôsu*, for milk and curds, made by Toda and Badagas from bamboo joints, with handle and binding of rotan. 8 annas.

No. VII.—*Wâl* (ᡳᡳᡳᡳ). Drinking vessel size of a pint, made by Toda and Badagas of small bamboo and bound with rotan. 1 anna.

000 No. VIII.—*Kasrol*. Walking sticks, two of bamboo, two of jungle wood.

No. IX.—Four pairs of rings worn by Toda men and women. Rings made by Kotas. Rupees 4, 10 annas.

● 526 No. X.—Sticks and "Cut" used in the game *Ilâta*. *See* page 7. Made by Toda men. Gratis.

[Errata: See p. 10 -- Analyst]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

While the funeral game was in progress, the men showed off their prowess at a game (eln),* corresponding to the English tip-cat, which is epidemic at a certain season in the London bye-streets. It is played with a bat like a broomstick, and a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. The latter is propped up against a stone, and struck with the bat. As it flies off the stone, it is hit to a distance with the bat, and caught (or missed) by the out fields. 526

At the Muttanâd mand, we were treated to a further exhibition of games. In one of these, called narthpimi, a flat slab of stone is supported horizontally on two other slabs fixed perpendicularly in the ground so as to form a narrow tunnel, through which a man can just manage to wriggle his body with difficulty. Two men take part in the game, one stationing himself at a distance of about thirty yards, the other about sixty yards from the tunnel. The front man, throwing off his mantle, runs as hard as he can to the tunnel, pursued by the 'scratch' man, whose object is to touch the other man's feet before he has squeezed himself through the tunnel. Another sport, which we witnessed, consists of trial of strength with a heavy globular stone, the object being to raise it up to the shoulder; but a strong, well-built-man—he who was entrusted with slaying the funeral buffalo—failed to raise it higher than the pit of the stomach, though straining his muscles in the attempt. A splendidly made veteran assured me that, when young and lusty, he was able to accomplish the feat, and spoke sadly of degeneration in the physique of the younger members of the tribe. [149]

Mr. Breeks mentions that the Todas play a game resembling puss-in-the-corner, called kâriâlapimi, which 524

* Called by Breeks ilam, which, Dr. Rivers suggests, is a Badaga name.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kumu- 588
ja/i's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kumuja/i, who was a man of great force and influence, was able
to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon
as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the
buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man
who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor
also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when
they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to
be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess
in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 526
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while
the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the tod/i moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the tor/ja moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the tor/ja moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:-dairies, which now belong to the tor/ja moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

887 764 554 526 [598] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanniṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumṇjaṇ, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kenoda (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a 698 526 cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacmund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

29 170 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [198] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go 234 inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XVII

SACRED DAYS AND NUMBERS

WE have seen that nearly every Toda ceremony has its appointed day or days, and that the choice of these is often dependent on another Toda institution, the sacred day, either of the village or of the dairy. Every clan has certain days of the week on which people are restricted from following many of their ordinary occupations, although they are not the occasions of any special ceremonies. These sacred days are the *madnol* or village day, and the *palinol* or dairy day. Another occasion to which the same kinds of restriction apply is the *arpatsnol*, the day of the week corresponding to that on which the father of a man has died. 527 796

THE MADNOL AND PALINOL

The *madnol* is literally the village day. Each village has its *madnol*, and in some cases it would seem that different villages of a clan might have different *madnol*, but in general the *madnol* is the same for the whole clan. 527 784 621

Certain things may not be done on the *madnol*:—

(i) *ponkisthogadi*, a feast may not be given (lit. feast may not divide, *i.e.*, food must not be shared out).

(ii) *kkdvlogadi*, funeral ceremonies may not be performed.

(iii) *kwadrogadi*, nothing may be given (from the village). Since buying implies the departure of money from the village, a secondary consequence is that nothing may be bought on the *madnol*, but if anything is given to an inhabitant of the village, he may bring it into the village on this day.

527 (iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women
784 from other places come to the village.

621 (v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

234 Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of
527 the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day
784 or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *pohnol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

527 There are various recognised methods of evading the rules
784 for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

183 Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law. 527 784 183

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules[1] are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days. 527 784 688 626 787

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*, 527 769 787

[1] [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days. -- Analyst]

527 Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and
769 the *tenol* found that the desecration of the *arpatsnol* was one of
787 the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday, the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that
764 funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days.
796 There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *wursulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *wursulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was chosen.

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Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans; thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be performed.

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It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòdrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they
796 might fall.

Several previous writers, when recording the choice of
621 certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the
618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good
or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday,
777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi* ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in
777 this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the present time a given act is done or not done on a given day, the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing that the act shall or shall not be done on that day. 527 C

There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations connected with certain days of the week which have probably arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days. 777

There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays, on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol* is visited by Todas other than the *mòrol*. Such facts suggest that the three days on which the rivers should not be crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday. The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to the whole community may be connected with the belief in lucky and unlucky days. [784]

Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas evidently regard the first half of the month as most auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for the period of the full moon or for the second half of the moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may take place in the second half of the month, but I have no doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity. 527 796

The definite values assigned to different days of the week is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madnol* we have an institution very closely resembling that of the Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the existence of different *madnol* for different clans of the community would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on the business of life, and such a community would probably agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At present the *madnol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other 527 621

527 621 sacred days, and if the latter were then to be neglected, we should have a community in which various activities were prohibited on one day of the week, and the institution so arising would differ very little from the Hebrew Sabbath. It is possible that the Todas show in an early stage the institution of a Sabbath in which the whole community has not yet settled on a single and joint holy day.

Sacred Numbers

788 801 Certain numbers recur with great frequency in the dairy ceremonial, and may be regarded as having a special sanctity on this account. There seems to be a general preference for uneven numbers, and this preference comes out very strongly in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which an uneven number of men must take part on any one occasion. The number of men performing this ceremony together must be three, five, seven, nine, &c.

In the dairy ritual the numbers which occur chiefly are three, seven and nine, but other numbers have also been singled out in other branches of Toda lore. The numbers which occur in ceremonial may now be considered in detail.

Three.—A large proportion of the ritual acts of the dairy are performed three times, usually with the accompaniment of the sacred syllable. *Om* uttered thrice, once with each performance of the act. This three-fold performance is especially marked in the ceremony of putting milk or curds on the sacred bells and in the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk. In the ordination ceremonies, the number occurs less frequently. The purificatory drinking is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, but after drinking, the candidate rubs himself three times with the shoots or bark, and, at the ordination of a *palol*, the candidate drinks three times seven on several occasions. Other acts during the ordination of the *palol* are also performed thrice, and the same number occurs in the ordination of the *kaltmokh*.

Acts are performed thrice with special frequency in the ceremonial of the *ti*, and, at the ordinary dairy, this number is especially connected with the 'feeding' of the sacred

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture. 174 771

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great. 172 174 182 [517 53]

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.[1] Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show. [461]

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

[1] The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 356 412 462 512 While the men are doing their work, the women will have been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently woman's work.

They pound the grain with the *mask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 296 356 462 531 Though these are the three operations which are regarded as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 574 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXIV

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

181 THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple.
234 The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the
Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life
177 are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote
their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy.
This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character
that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find
little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the
affairs of daily life.

181 The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little
developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony
531 that little is left for the development of art, even of a
primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and
are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the
person, and even here we shall find that the methods of
wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced
by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their
amusements again we shall find that the influence of
ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely
imitations of ceremonial occupations.

821 I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas
which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive
astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less
degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun,
moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observa-
tions and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony
291 of each funeral.

The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus,
291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago,
437 according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers who came from Semmuge in Coimbatore, but at the present
531 time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar.
463 When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukurupuhkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*,
177 made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is
437 probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *ös* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

000 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

304 man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had [752] to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pöturers*, is used to hasten the healing.

[755] Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *susurkudi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

304 Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns
531 consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.[1]

304 I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory
521 information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

304 The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might under-
463 take the business. The following are at present recognised as
465 experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *atkòrsu*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

304 The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

[1] Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Âdabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Âdabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
573 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of Âdabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pôjári* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pôjári*.

421 Each family has a recognized head, in whose name the Government grazing
428 *pattá** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
592 "the wisest." (Compare *Mosa*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonize *Mosa's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gôda*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt; indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
651 an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from
294 the low country, for ornament to some of their clothes. They use the Nilagiri nettle for stitching their clothes, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the
262 Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattá*, commonly spelt *pattah* or *patteh*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gôda.*—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators in the Tamil, said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{16}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gôda*, Cameron for *basket*, *mat*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kôti* (corral in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kôti*. One basket or *Gôda* out of so many is set apart for the Toda.

‡ See bills in Government appended to *Preface*. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor.*

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AutoToda Auto

ringlets precisely such as ladies in this country wore about 302
twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and the long ringlets hang on either side of the oval face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life; the hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. The female dress on ordinary occasions consists 291
simply of a single robe similar to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand. This, as one very soon learns, generally constitutes the sole garment of the wearer, for the Toda women have a habit, even in the presence of strangers, of throwing open the mantle to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting it on the shoulders. Some of them indeed hardly take the trouble to hold it together in front at all, and this was especially the case at a *mund*, near Coonoor, which, as I was quartered in the immediate vicinity, I had frequently to pass. I 202
used to notice that the men watching their herds on the opposite heights, separated by a wide glen from where I was, would announce my coming by shouting across to the women at home, who were accordingly always on the *qui vive* at the roadside prepared to greet me with their usual begging cry *Enam Kurro*, "give me a present." The way that these men carry on conversations with one another across wide intervening valleys, and apparently without effort, reminded me of the Kaffir herdsmen, every word of whose voices I have heard from hill-tops at distances that seemed incredible.

I have on occasions of ceremony seen the women with under- 292
clothing fastened round the middle in addition to the above 531
everyday costume. I may observe that they often embroider the corners of these robes with blue thread, and shew very considerable taste in the devices.

Neither slippers nor sandals are ever seen among them, men, 291
women, and children alike, going barefooted. The young children are generally pleasing in their appearance. I noticed that the 142
boys up to eight or ten years old are of the same light colour as the girls, the dark hue of later life being gradually developed with each year's exposure to the sun and mountain air until the age of manhood. It is to be noted, however, of the females that, though equally exposed to climatic influences, their complexions remain nearly the same all through life.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[334] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[1155] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkûli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda
elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-
gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr.
Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their
appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the
absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the
ground that they were too poor to afford the expense
of the operation, or that they were always suckling or
pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation
would not be free from danger. The dots and circles,
of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked
out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the
spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and
decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in
the following cases:—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells
on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with
cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger;
silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes
of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

304 2. Aged 28. Tattooed with a single dot on chin; [531] rings and dots on chest, outer side of upper arms, back of left hand, below calves, above ankles, and across dorsum of feet. Wears thread armlet ornamented with young cowries on right forearm; thread armlet and two [301] heavy ornamental brass armlets on left upper arm; ornamental brass bangle and glass bead bracelet on left wrist; brass ring on left little finger; two steel rings on left ring finger; bead necklet ornamented with cowries.

3. Aged 35. Tattooed like the preceding, with [531] the addition of an elaborate device of rings and dots on the back.

4. Aged 35. Linen bound round elbow joint, to [301] prevent chafing of heavy brass armlets. Cicatrices of sores in front of elbow joint, produced by armlets.

5. Aged 23. Has one child. Tattooed only below calves, and above ankles.

141 The following are the more important physical measurements of the Toda men, whom I have examined:—

	Av. CM.	Max. CM.	Min. CM.
Stature	169·8	186·8	157·6
Cephalic length ...	19·4	20·4	18·2
Do. breadth ...	14·2	15·2	13·3
Do. index ...	73·3	81·3	68·7
Nasal height ...	4·7	4·9	4·6
Do. breadth ...	3·6	3·8	3·4
Do. index ...	74·9	79·9	70·

Allowing that the cephalic index is a good criterion of racial or tribal purity, the following analysis of the Toda indices is very striking:—

69 ◆◆
70 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
71 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

(2) Tying balls of thread and cowry shells on the arm of the corpse, just above the elbow; 764

(3) Setting fire to the funeral pyre, which was, on the present occasion, done by lighting a rag fed with ghī with a match.

The buffalo capture took place amid the usual excitement, and with freedom from accident; and, later in the day, the stalwart buffalo catchers turned up at the travellers' bungalow for a *pourboire* in return, as they said, for treating us to a good fight. The beasts selected for sacrifice were a full-grown cow and a young calf. As they were dragged near to the corpse, now removed from the arbour, butter was smeared over the horns, and a bell tied round the neck. The bell was subsequently removed by Kotas, in whose custody, it was said, it was to remain till the next day funeral. The death-blow, or rather series of blows, having been delivered with the butt end of an axe, the feet of the corpse were placed at the mouth of the buffalo. In the case of a male corpse, the right hand is made to clasp the horns. [It is recorded by Dr. Rivers that, at the funeral of a male, men dance after the buffalo is killed. In the dancing a tall pole, called tadri or tadrsi, decorated with cowry shells, is used.] The customary mourning in couples concluded, the corpse, clad in four cloths, was carried on the stretcher to a clear space in the neighbouring shola, and placed by the side of the funeral pyre, which had been rapidly piled up. The innermost cloth was black in colour, and similar to that worn by a palol. Next to it came a putkūli decorated with blue and red embroidery, outside which again was a plain white cloth covered over by a red cotton cloth of European manufacture. Seated by the side of the pyre, near to which I was courteously invited to take a seat on the stump of a rhododendron,

764 782

764 [535]

[531]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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[791] etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
[197] "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
302 A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[782] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[788] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[765] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

(7) Boy, aged 6. White spot painted between eyebrows. Hair shaved on top and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead. Hair brought forward in fringe over forehead on either side of median strip, and hanging down back of neck. 302

(8) Male child, aged 18 months. White spot painted between eyebrows. Shaved on top and sides of head. [531]

Todupuzha Vellāla.—For the following note, I am indebted to Mr. N. Subramani Aiyar. Besides the Nanchinād Vellālas, there are, in Travancore, two sections of the Vellāla caste, inhabiting the mountainous Todupuzha tāluk. These are the Tenkanchi and Kumbakōnam Vellālas. The former are known by the popular name of Anjuttilkar, or the five hundred, and the latter are designated Munnutilkar, or the three hundred, in reference to the number of families which originally settled in the taluk. Like the Nanchinād Vellālas, they take the title of Pillai, and, in special cases, the honorific prefix Kanakku.

The Tenkanchi Vellālas appear to have dwelt originally in the Tenkāsi taluk of the Tinnevelly district, and to have emigrated, as the legend goes, on account of the demand of a Vaduka ruler for the hand of a member of their community in marriage. The Vadakkumkur Rājas were ruling over Todupuzha at the time of their migration, and afforded them a safe asylum. The Kumbakōnam Vellālas believe that they emigrated to Travancore about the commencement of the Malabar era from Kumbakōnam in the Tanjore district. Both divisions speak Malayālam, but there are clear indications in their speech that their mother-tongue was once Tamil, and they always use that language in their ceremonial writings. The Anjuttilkar women have

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuanoin] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuisodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 507 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

000 think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'[1]

322 Our friends appear to *dream* buffalo. Sitting, apparently
532 'thinking of nothing at all,' a man will pick up a bit of cane or forked twig from the ground, and like the typical Yankee is supposed to whittle a stick while he speculates, so the Toda will employ himself for an hour at a time, splitting his bit of cane or rounding the little branches of his twig into the likeness of buffalo horns, as he muses. Children may be seen coming in from cattle-driving, with strings of these small horns. And these treasures are found lying about their houses and haunts. Two of them are shown in Photograph No. 15.

182 In the history of most, if not of all nations, savage and
771 civilised alike, we may trace the alliance, more or less intimate,
234 of religion, in its various rites and performances, with food; in its nature, source, or care, or in the occasions or symbols of its use. This correlation is certainly a marked feature in Toda customs. Though the Todas have no actual religion or system of faith leading to the performance of duties to a God, yet they hold to certain practices and certain habits in daily life, which are to them in the place of a religion; being performed with all the strictness and certainty that should be bestowed on sacred observances.

234 These performances or habits are intimately allied with
778 the care and distribution of the *divine fluid*—milk. The buffalo is to a certain degree held sacred, as being the

[1] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 21.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

No. 15

Opp. p. 138

411
778
532

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

THE TUDE OR SACRED BUSH.

WEAPONS, BOW & ARROW, USED AT WEDDINGS & FUNERALS.

IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
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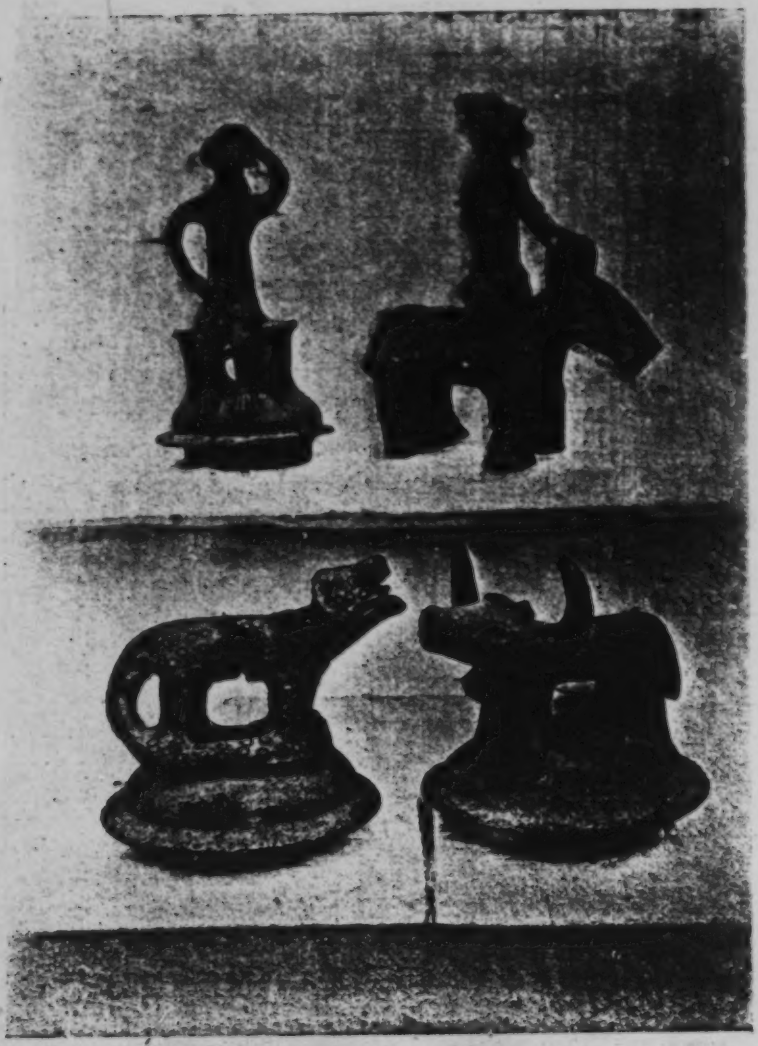

FIGURES FROM NILGIRI CAIRNS.

[facing p. 137]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived,
764 some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of
the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instru-
[533] ments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine,
and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and
drum. The musicians become especially active while the
body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp
sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the

FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

764 Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair
765 is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the
second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead
person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their
541 agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
765 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the
787 second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner, and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
627 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
765 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

other was also composed by Teitnir for the first funeral ceremony of Pidrvan (9) of Kars. 533 539 765

The Toda name for these laments is *kunedsthin* or *kunedsti*, and certain men have great reputations as composers both for funerals and on other occasions, and Teitnir was one of these. The following is the lament for Tersveli :—

Isa	*hâçh*	*ia*,[1]	*isa*	*kutei*,	*atâth*
O	woman	oh !	O	woman,	not born before
atia,	*pervath*	*perpia*,	*pâv*	*trsimitch*	*ia*
you were born,	renowned	you were born,	flower	lime	oh !
pâv	*alet*	*ia*,	*kawath*	*kud*	*katathik*,
flower	(a bush)	oh !	proper husband (?)	found	you married,
patath	*kud*	*patiathenk*,	*tevukhk*	*murs*	
proper wife	found	I married,	(*kwarnam* of Piedr) to	beautiful	
ir	*notsi*	*kadrthenk*,	*âthkark*	*murs*	*makh*
buffalo	looked	I gave,	(*kwarnam* of Kundr) to	beautiful	woman
notsi	*patiathenk*,	*kutria*	*mun*	*kutenathuk*,	*kokiji*[2]
looked	I married,	built	house	we built,	imitation bracelets
kis	*narsiathûk*	*kûter*	*kis*	*narsiathûk*,	
made	we played,	imitation buffalo horns	made	we played,	
ôr	*makh*	*punchiathûk*,	*ôr*	*ir*	*tâ*
six	children	we would produce,	six	buffalo	pen
adathûk,	*orppasan* (?)	*oithik*	*pudrkwadr*	*ners*	
we would enjoy,	liberal	you were,	umbrella tree	shade	
oithik,	*irom*	*ed*	*ithothûk*,	*pukhom*	
you were,	we will live	that	we thought,	we will go together	
ed	*poithûk*,	*kalav*	*ir*	*kadathûk*,	*pâa*	*tadri*
that	we went,	strong	buffalo	we bought,	?	pole
pustathûk	*tudw*	*athi*	*ed*	*kadrtethûk*,	*udi*	*athi*	*ed*
we beat,	fine	it is	that	we gave,	have	it is	that
kadrthûk,	*kutei ath*	*kotei*	*poithûk*,	*koirtith*	*keir*		
we gave,	built	bungalow	we went,	running waters	reservoir		
poithûk,	*ô*	*katcheri*	*poithûk*,	*ô*	*kapel*		
we went,	seven	courts (law)	we went,	seven	ships		
poithûk	*pudrk*	*muri*	*ituthûk*,	*pash*	*it*		
we went,	Tamil to	complaints	we spoke,	words	spoke		

[1] This is also the usual vocative termination.

[2] *Kokiji* is the Kota name for a toe-ring worn on the second toe of the right foot by Kota women (see Brooks, p. 123). A similar word is used for bracelets of vine made by the Todas as a game.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

533 539 765

pudrè	*histhdè*	*pudrè*	*it*	*pudrè*	*histhdè,*
prize	we won (made),	prize	spoke	prize	we won,

dhudrem	*ed*	*thdè,*	*han*	*wdjem*	
we will not be shaken	that	we said,	eye	we will not fear	

ed	*thdè,*	*mdn*	*dwem*	*ed*	*thdè,*	*en*	*it*
that	we said,	face	?	that	we said,	me	here

pachelnia,	*en*	*it*	*ptshelnia,*	*purs*	*han*	*nîr*
keep you went,	me	here	leave you went,	right	eye	water

pirevinen,	*purs*	*matkvi*	*kurseivinen,*	*patnenk*	*kandnen,*
I shed,	right	nostril	I smart,	I bewailed	I could not find,

pisodethenk	*kandnen,*	*enè*	*ed*	*swdmi*	*aivinen.*[1]
I called out	I could not find,	to me	one	god	I have.

The free translation of this is as follows:—

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower, lime, O flower, tree. Having found a proper husband you married; having found a prope. wife I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuudr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

This translation is based partly on the literal meanings of the *kwarsam*, partly on explanations and renderings given to Samuel by Teitnir. The dead wife was a Piedr woman and the husband a Kuudr man. The mention of injustice refers

[1] In some cases Samuel could not give the literal meanings, and has only given the general sense of the *kwarsam*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to trouble which arose when other men wished to take his wife from Teitnir. The visits to bungalows, &c., probably refers to a time when Teitnir and his wife lived in Ootacamund under the protection of the Zenana Mission. The ships must be purely imaginary on Teitnir's part, unless he is referring to boats on the lake at Ootacamund. The numbers six and seven are those generally used for 'many' under ordinary conditions, and there is a clause towards the end which probably refers to the evil eye. Teitnir was under, or pretended to be under, missionary influence, and his reference to "one God" at the end is certainly due to this.

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539
765

The following is the lament composed by Teitnir for Pidrvan :—

Epukers		*ia!*	*alipukers*		*ia!*	*Pudth*	*tedkh*
Kwarzam of	*maiir*	oh!	*kwarzam* of	*maiir*	oh!	rattan	ring
fr	*ia!*	*Pukh*	*kudnik*	*kinim*	*ia!*	*poivalei*	*muk*	*ia!*
buffalo	oh!	?	?	plate	oh!	?	?	oh!
kivali	*mkdr*	*ia!*	*kapasth*	*kal*	*ia!*	*kkdukatith*	*kkdr*	*ia!*
necklace	neck	oh!	trousers	leg	oh!	ear	horn	oh!
ana	*mutu*	*ia!*	*arshan*	*mudr*	*ia!*	*atawdv*	*ia!*
elephant	foot	oh!	European	walk	oh!	sambhar	oh!
wurz	*frk*	*kan*	*ikitkenk,*	*kalockikwn*	*ed*
beautiful	buffalo to	eye	I kept,	old woman to (?)	that
thfuk,	*kalikwn*	*ed*	*thfuk*	*indreikhri*	*indrvan,*
they said,	old man to (?)	that	they said,	*kwarzam* of	Kars chief,
iza	*kdra*	*ö*	*vdr*	*kada,*	*pdrvunkdra!*
O	chief	seven	village	chief,	conqueror oh!
pudrvantol[1]	*ia!*	*kwatkdra!*	*Kavanadi*	*pali*	*put*
peace-loving man	oh!	strong man oh!	Kavanadi	dairy	carried
aia!	*tö*	*vut*	*tkli*	*ia!*	*atdth*	*ud*
oh!	pen	carried	posts	oh!	not born before	one
atithk,	*pervuth*	*ud*	*pertithk,*	*pda*	*kftm*
you were born,	renowned	one	you were born,	?	council
pancithk	*saver*	*kkithk,*	*ter*	*ud*	*ölk*
you held,	money fine	you imposed,	buffalo fine	one	man to
ektathk	*mokk*	*ud*	*ölk*	*kisthk,*	*maiir*
you told,	girl	one	to man	you made,	barren buffaloes
kudk	*poithk,*	*pirer*	*mkdk*	*poithk*
in the midst	you went,	buffalo	to the neck	you went,

[1] A play on Pidrvan's name.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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pude	*hdichi*	*pritkh,*	*pam*	*avandkh,*		
chosen number	best	you went,	chosen number	you ran before,		
kal	*ir*	*hdirkh*	*painoti pilhidkh*	*ainch*	*ed*	*hahi*
leg	dance	you danced	? ?	your	one	new things
hiarkh,	*ainch*	*ed*	*hak*	*hiarkh*	*id*	*hau*
you made,	your	one	invention	you made,	to-day	eye
ndin	*dvini,*	*Kars*	*hanan*	*pudtka?*	*parmarr*	
face	I saw,	Kars	*hanan*	has it come?	*hanaran* of *hanan*	
pudtka?	*mathkdds*	*mai*	*hanidvini*	*dchrarr*	*hanyk*	
has it come?	burning-place at	when	heaped,	*anavan* at	green	
patanini.[1]						
grew up.						

The first part of this lament begins with the *hanaran* of the *mastir*, or barren buffalo, slaughtered at the funeral. It is not quite clear which of the clauses at the beginning refer to the buffalo and which to the man. I do not know the meaning of the second clause. The free rendering of the third and fourth was said to be, "Your horns crept so well; your horns crept well to the front." The general sense of the other clauses was said to be as follows: "O, your leg like trousers, your horns like a car, your foot is like that of an elephant, you walk with a step like a European soldier, your appearance is like that of a sambhar. I saw you were the most beautiful buffalo of all." It seems probable that the lament so far refers altogether to the buffalo. Then follows, "They said that you would be the parent of the dead, but now you are dead yourself"; or, "When old people are yet alive, why are young ones taken?" Then follows the *hanaran* of the Kars clan, and the rest obviously refers to Pidrvan himself: "O chief of many villages, conqueror, peace-loving and yet strong man. You were like Kavanadi, who carried the posts of the buffalo-pen.[2] O man of wonderful birth, renowned you were born; you held councils; you fined some by money and some by buffaloes; you settled who should marry the women. In

[1] As both these funeral laments were obtained from Samuel, I cannot guarantee that the method of spelling adopted is the same as that used elsewhere in the book; this is especially the case with the sign 'th,' which, in agreement with the practice customary in South India, was used by Samuel for the lingual 'ṭ,' and sometimes for a sound for which I have used the letter d.

[2] For the story to which this refers, see Chapter XXVIII.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and shouted freely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *ammam* place I see nothing but grass growing." 533 539 765

Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of the first new moon after the *marvainalkedr*. 234 783

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred buffalo will have been killed by the *wurzal* and the sacred bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral the *wurzal* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wurzal* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wurzal* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wurzal*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wurzal* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nîpa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wurzal*, or the old *wurzal* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner. 793 765 778

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

524 *Pookkiyadde* *ookiyadikki?* *Kkoli* *kkyiti.*
539 Calls out if why does says no? Cock crows.

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

Nilu *tiri* *kai,* *pen* *tiri* *pilu?* *Kin.*
Earth goes round fruit, sky goes round flower? The tight-rope game.

Modili *pir* *wutai,* *pin* *marwati;* *pin* *pir*
First pregnant who becomes, later is delivered; later pregnant

wutai, *modili* *marwati?* *Tawi,* *kuji.*
who becomes, first is delivered? A grain, barley.

Tawi or *sawai* (*pasw*) is the grain from which *patchersti*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

Poetry and Music

533 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter
538 on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kwedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are
[195] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarzam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarzam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTERISTICS.

Talking Voices—Modes of Salutation—Home Life—Frank and obliging Natures—Colour of the Skin—Tattoo Marks—Ornaments—Boys distinguished from Girls—Apparel—Toilette.

CHAP. IV.

THE Toda talking voice is peculiar; particularly so that of the women. Whilst on the part of the men it is strikingly grave and sedate, spoken almost *sotto voce*: the women's voice, on the contrary, is rather high, appearing to come altogether from the region at the back of the ear—the 'mastoid process.' In both sexes, but particularly with the female, the sound of the voice is somewhat musical and refined, though fatiguing to listen to from its monotonous tone. Indeed, it is somewhat astonishing that some harsh syllables of their language should come so softly from such mouths. The refinement arises doubtless, from the gentleness of their dispositions—void of asperity; its friendliness, accompanied by desire to please. Not from any innate sense of tune, for they have no more ear for music than so many crows.

Their amiability shows itself also in their observance of courteous customs. The salaam of the East, performed amongst the Todas by raising the thumb-edge of the right hand vertically to the nose and forehead, is a respectful form of address; used in addressing superiors, and on approach to sacred places, and other like occasions. When asked by what name they styled that form of salute, they replied: 'Itvâ eshken, swâmi eshken,' or, 'I say, come! I say, Lord!'

That mode of salutation which is most employed amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DRY FUNERAL.

The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.

CHAP. XXI.

If the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of the bara kêdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance. 764 765

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable numbers at the kêdu Mand, and display their ornaments on these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1] 765 177 533

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' 000

[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.' [192]

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.) 1 A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Būguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 595
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Māv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, *Tenure of land.*
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas* † of land, and 2 *Kantirdi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pālthchi*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = Or. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

The pouch of the *pútkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kūtēr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pell*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Āmunādgu seruṇū,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tilimā.**

Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle † is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Tārnāt Mand the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzāram* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the *eairn*.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 290. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Ilhūt, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhūts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
773 from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought
173 about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
773 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
776 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pâltchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute emuneration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,* and Nātanēri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
773 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mūttinād mand, near the top of the Segūr Ghât. † To the right of the Crocmund road.

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by [264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poḷjoɪḷ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poḷjoɪḷ of the opposite sex.

602 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, 533 and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poḷjoɪḷ of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as 602 decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have 196 had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which 192 both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poḷjoɪḷ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to [333] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is [522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (muɹɣŭɹt–, "neck-cut," and kŭɹtɣŭɯɹt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪḍjvöɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

[765] separating to select a new partner, each couple saluted by bowing the head, and raising thereto the feet of the other, covered by the putkūli. [I have seen women rapidly recover from the outward manifestations of grief, and clamour for money.] From time to time the company of mourners was reinforced by late arrivals from distant mands, and, as each detachment, now of men and now of women, came in view across the open downs, one could not fail to be reminded of the gathering of the clans on some Highland moor. The resemblance was heightened by the distant sound as of pipers, [648] produced by the Kota band (with two police constables [533] in attendance), composed of four Kotas, who made a weird noise with drums and flutes as they drew near the scene of action. The band, on arrival, took up a position close to the mourning women. As each detachment arrived, the women, recognising their relatives, came forward and saluted them in the manner customary among Todas by falling at their feet, and [576] placing first the right and then the left foot on their head. Shortly after the arrival of the band, signals were exchanged, by waving of putkūlis, between the assembled throng and a small detachment of men some distance off. A general move was made, and an *impromptu* procession formed, with men in front, band in the middle, and women bringing up the rear. A halt was made opposite a narrow gap leading into the shola; men and women sat apart as before; and the band walked round, discoursing unsweet music. A party of girls went off to bring fire from the spot just vacated for use in the coming ceremonial, but recourse was finally had to a box of matches lent by one of our party. At this stage we noticed a woman go up to the eldest son of the deceased, who was seated apart from the

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60
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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764. 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhuthina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -küuɪr. This is clearly the noun küuɪr "stream," "path," or "horn." One man küamgüuɪr (63, Kwongudr) is named after küamgüuɪr, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. noɪrgüuɪr (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tögoɪr. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iṣxüuɪr (21, Idrshkwòdr) <iṣfoḷ, a valley (poḷ) near the mund toɪroɪr; iɪdzxüuɪr (23, Idjkudr) <iɪdzfoḷ, a valley near the mund paʃtaɪr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. töɪsxüuɪr (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund æɪpuɪsgoɪr. In many other names however -küuɪr can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word küuɪr has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyze the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæmxüuɪr (62, Kangudr), where kæm refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxüuɪr (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoɪr, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms küuɪr "stream" or "path" and küuɪr "horn."[7]

[7] I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

puɪfysmitʃ	peɪk æɪfus
flower-lime fruit	crowd-for I became
teɪʃomoɪḷ	tuɪk æɪfus
pole-who are-men	bushes-to they became

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The teɪʃ is a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

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55 614 very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly töɪn, a son of piljog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because [237] honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kuɪüuɪtoɪl, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (töɪn) has just been analyzed, and one, piljaɪr, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the töüfiljoɪl moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toɪroɪroɪl sib, belonging to the toɪrθasoɪl moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toɪrθasoɪl sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kuɪüuɪtoɪl and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piɪtoɪl have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the töüfiljoɪl moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any [124] definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association [533] with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

551 193 §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

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of female-denoting significance, is -ɪɪdz. E.g. ɑrlɪɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from ɑrl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noɪṣoɪ; it was at noɪṣ that the goddess töɪkɪsj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

mɑxɑrxoj	potsɯθnoɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
mɑxɑrɑrl	oɪkjɯθnoɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noɪṣ) the sacred place where töɪkɪsj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that ɑrl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with töɪkɪsj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moṇɪɪdz (7, Manidz); moṇ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—iṇefæɪdʒ, moṇefæɪdʒ "quarrels (pæɪdʒ) about women (iṇ, a Badaga word) and land;"

iṇexüɑɪṭ	koṭjɑθik
woman-bungalow	you built
moṇexöɪr	kertɑθik
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɑrmɪɪdz (44, Termidz) < tɑrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nüɯɪṭɪɪdz (3, Notidz) < nüɯɪṭ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪṭ, koṇenüɯɪṭ "dancing (oɪṭ) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koṇ)." poṇɪɪdz, daughter of küɯɪlpɑx (52, Kulpakh) < poṇ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit oṭsodjfoṇ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sɪnɪɪdz (21, Sinidz) < sɪn "gold." lɑɪbɪɪdz, daughter of töɪküɯɪr (63, Teikudr), < lɑɪbm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). rɑɪpojɪɪdz (also rɑɪpoj), daughter of kömnɑɪs (34, Kemners), < rɑɪpoj "rupee." rɑɪmɪɪdz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. rɔɪdʒɪɪdz, daughter of pɔɪdz (34, Podj), < rɔɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪɪdz (28, Pirkidz) < pɪrkɪtsn, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nilgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmɪɪdz (63, Sanmidz) < sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

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551 193 ●533 name is possibly made with thought of the song-pair: kuɪɾefɑɾ, keresonm "a crowd such as has not gathered before, the people in a crowd such as has not assembled before." motʃiɪdz (21, Matchidz) < motʃ "cot," with thought of the song-unit sinɑ̆motʃ "golden cot," which occurs in descriptions of the possessions of a wealthy man or of his wife. ofuliɪdz (16, Ovalidz; 24, Ovelidz) < ofuɪl "rice puffed over the fire."

551 193 §25. The suffix -ɑɾ is found in several names; e.g. koɪsɑɾ (57, Kosar) < koɪs "coin, rupee" and piʃjɑɾ (21, Piliarh) < piʃj "silver." noɪxoremj (10, Nagerami) contains a suffix -emj found in several other names; the first part of the name is to be compared with the first part of noɪxoroɪdɑn (§17). In sinog (27, Sinakh) we have sin "gold" and a suffix -og. In several names there is a suffix -uɪl; e.g. sinuɪl (28, Sinul) < sin "gold."

§26. Many names are compounds. Frequent first members are sin "gold," pun "gold" (used in this sense in songs and proper names only), piʃj "silver." E.g. sindɑɾm (10, Sindarm) with tɑɾm "charity" (for the song-association cf. tɑɾmiɪdz in §24); sindɑgɑs (62, Sintagars) with tɑgɑs "chain," with special reference to a chain as a neck-ornament; sinboṇm (63, Sinpanm) with poṇm "4-anna piece;" singüɑɾ, daughter of töɪkü̆uɪɪr (63), with küɑɾ "umbrella," a frequent word in songs; sinbydj, daughter of the same man, with pydj "wisdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit buddhi); sinmɑl, daughter of tɪɪbxü̆uɪɪr (68, Tebkudr), with mɑl "mountains, esp. the Nilgiris," a frequent word in songs; sindoḍ (38, Sindod), with toḍ "army," a frequent word in songs (indirectly from Sanskrit daṇḍa); siniɪr (56, Sinir), with niɪr "water;" sinuɪr (41, Sinur), with uɪr "town, city;" singupj (14, Sinkupi), with kupj "the cowries or beads dangling in a bunch from a woman's armlet;" sinduɪfj (58, Sinduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" sinbɑ̆uɪfj (65, Sinbuthuvi), with pɑ(θ)-tuɪfj "eagle's feather;" sines (8, 40, Siners), with es "leaf;" sindɑɾx (3, 25, 56, Sinderg; 53, Sinterg), with tɑɾx "plate from which food is eaten," and singöb (43, Singib), with köb "small bamboo cup from which milk is poured to drink," probably have reference to feeding visitors in the song-pair: tɑɾxü̆uɪɾɑʃkj, köbü̆uɪɾʃoɪs "rice in a plate, milk in a cup;" sindɑɾp (68, Sintharap), with tɑɾp "key." In a number of names the vowel -ɑ- is inserted between the two parts of the compound: sinɑmut (43, Sinamut), with mut "pearl;" sinɑmoṇj (24, Sinamani), with moṇj "bell" (see note 10); sinɑbuɪf (8, Sinabuv), with puɪf "flower;" sinɑ̆ɑʃj (1, Sinaveli), with piʃj "silver." Names with pun "gold" are: punɑduɪfj (68, Punduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" punbɑ̆uɪfj (8, Punbuthuvi), with pɑ̆uɪfj "eagle's feather;" punuɪr (66, Punur), with uɪr "town, city;" punɑɾx (26, Pündergh), with tɑɾx, cf. sindɑɾx above. punɑbuɪf (10, Punabuv), with puɪf "flower," contains the inserted vowel -ɑ-. pundü̆u-

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551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæibj, daughter of öiknuɪs (8, Arkners), <"baby;" pentʃ, daughter of korxüuṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), <"bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæisn; a woman's name tæis is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kajniir, 3, Kainir).

§30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiifj (8, [177] Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandiifj, daughter of küuilpax (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 614 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and küurm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. öingüuṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 193 §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I [614] have not discovered.[11] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even [177] comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

[562] [533] [178] [11] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the küurm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

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when I recorded such names. The tendency appears to use words that have song-associations, and one may refer especially to the large class of names with pun "gold," a word used in this sense in songs and not so used in ordinary speech. It may be that this tendency is even more powerful than appears to the non-Toda observer, since it is extremely difficult for him to know what connotations a word may or may not have and informants are inarticulate on this matter. It may be, again, that the feeling that an outsider receives, that Toda women's names are generally rather poetical in the Western sense, i.e. in their reference to objects with aesthetic associations, is not entirely in accordance with Toda feelings. I can only adduce a small bit of evidence which I have already used in *The Songs of the Todas*.[13] In composing a song lamenting the death of the late King George V, the composer changed kiŋsoɪrdʒ, the Toda form of the king's name, into siŋsoɪrdʒ. He gave as the reason for this change that the former is not "poetical" and the latter is; my interpreter explained that kiŋ- suggests the word for "small" while siŋ- suggests the word for "gold," i.e. sin. This being so, we may conclude that women's names with the element sin "gold" are poetical to the Todas, i.e. they suggest to them the vocabulary of song. We have already seen that those with pun "gold" are poetical in the same sense, and I think that it is possible to conclude that women's names in general have for the Todas much the same connotations that they have for us. They are connected with the expressions of song and derive their connotations from the songs, and so may be justly said to be poetical.

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[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 533.

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term [kel] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas. 648 437 184

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing. 797 797 535 [562] [184]

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[7] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc- 797 533

[7] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77, 342-360. [113]

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797 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might
533 some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfuisodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 I have shown elsewhere [8] that the personal names of Toda males are
797 in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and
[614] more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but
[533] in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytised from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When
553 we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is
797 different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no
[113]

[8] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40. 205–222.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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887 764 554 526 [510] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumṛjaṭṭ, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemodz (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a 648 521 cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas before-[789] hand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

29 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairyman, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷoḷ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the tiṛ. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the tōuθmṭ and the tōunoṭ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the urfeilfmat, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. kauθem, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hō! at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as ko:t-n, after it as urf.

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is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːʈ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noːʈoːselm	kuːtjuθnoːʈ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tõuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːʈ), the sacred place to which the goddess tõːkiɲj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθarm	kumʈtmθnoːʈ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mʈeθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noːʈexuːdtk	pimθnoːʈ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tõuenoːʈk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tõuθuʈ, the tõunoːʈ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tõunoːʈ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tõunoːʈ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair: paːrauːrθa, paːʈpauːrθa "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (hutem)" of the mund myːnj, which is paːrauu, said to mean "the standing-place (uu) of the 1600 gods (represented by paːr for paːrauu)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

601 561 114 [576] Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as ɐoo. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as ɐoo. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɨ̨ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɨ̨ or en-goɨ̨ "my friend" (in address -es is added), num-goɨ̨ "your friend," ɐn-goɨ̨ or tɐn-goɨ̨ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193] When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocxoɨ̨jɐɨ, eningoɨ̨jɐɨ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[114] [126]

[601] [561]

in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister terms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as ɐoo the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496-98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of ɐoo is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[114] [8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 943-60, 1937), especially pp. 949-49.

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526-29.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song piʃjɑɪr (Piliar, 52) and merṇɪɪs (Mudriners, 57) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another sindɪɪrp (Sintharap), wife of kʊɪɪsjɑʃf (Kuriolv, 52), and koɪsɑr (Kosar, 57) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: tæɪθjxæɪn, son of sirjɑɪr (Siriar, 20), and tʊʊθʊɪɪ, son of toɪkʊs (Tokas) and pɪɪnɪɪr (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter ejɑɪ "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ego's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ego's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., mɑn-mox "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ego" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and mɑn-gɪɪx "daughter, etc." may be replaced by en-okng-fæɪdfoj-mox "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," en-ɪɪrr-fed-mox-fæɪdfoj-zɪɪx "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference močiṇj "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (en-in-močiṇj "my father's cross-cousin," en-af-močiṇj "my mother's cross-

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoɨ̨ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɨ̨lkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɨr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɔrliɨ̨ had married piɨ̨kor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the möɨ̨ patrilineal sib, whose mund pun is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kön(ɨ̨)-koɨ̨poɨ̨ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the puɨ̨s-uɨ̨t or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

BELLS

778 These are the most sacred of the sacred objects of the Todas. It is necessary, however, to distinguish three kinds
177 of bells, the *mani*, the *tukulir mani*, and the *kwungg*, and it is
534 only the first of these which has any great sanctity.

The *tukulir mani* is only used in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the second funeral (p. 376), and between these occasions is kept by the Badagas or Kotas. I am doubtful whether it is a true Toda object, and suspect that it is a Badaga or Kota bell which is used in a ceremony borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these peoples.

The *kwungg* is the household bell and is kept in the hut. It is used in the funeral ceremonies on two occasions, being hung on the neck of one of the ordinary buffaloes before the animal is killed, and it is also the bell which is rung in the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. The bell may be touched or carried by women, and I have seen a *kwungg* removed from the neck of a slaughtered buffalo by a Kota who handed it to a woman. Though the bell is used in ceremonial, the fact that it may be touched by both Kotas and women shows clearly that it is not regarded as possessing any sanctity whatever. In general appearance, however, the *kwungg* probably differs little from the *mani*, being a large bell of the same oblong shape which is characteristic of cattle-bells.

778 The *mani* is a bell which, so far as I could ascertain, never
534 has a tongue, though this loss may be nothing more than a sign of its antiquity.

There are several kinds of *mani*. At the *ti* dairy there are two distinct varieties: the *mani* proper which is kept in the inner room and is hung on the neck of a chosen calf of the *persinir* on the occasion of the migration ceremonies, and the *kudrsmani* which is kept outside the door of the dairy. The latter appear to have little sanctity, but the former are probably the most sacred of Toda objects of veneration. They are said to be extremely ancient; some are reputed to have come from Amnòdr, and others are believed to have had miraculous origins, one having been born in a vessel of milk

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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while the buffaloes were on their way from Amnòdr, while another came from the sea. The Todas believe that some of these bells are of gold, and one was reputed to be made of three metals—gold, silver, and iron. The bell born in milk is said to be of iron.

It seems probable that each of the more sacred herds at the village had at one time its own *mani*, and that a clan which possessed both *wursuli* and *kudrpali* would have had two bells of this kind or two sets of such bells.

At the present time, many of the clans have lost their sacred bells, and those which possess *mani* have only one or two of them. My most definite account for the Tartharol comes from Kars, where it is clear that the *wursuli* has two bells, the same as those reputed to have been hung on the neck of Enmon in the legend of Kwoto.[1] The *kudrpali* also had two bells which have now been lost, but the place where they used to hang still shares in the dairy ritual and is fed with milk just as the bells would have been if they had been there.

Since it is the *wursol* who takes the prominent part in the funeral ceremonies of a male, it seems also clear that the bells which are hung on the necks of the slaughtered buffaloes are those of the *wursuli*, but I did not definitely ascertain whether the bells of a *kudrpali* might not be used for this purpose, and indeed I am not altogether certain that any rigorous distinction is made between *wursuli mani* and *kudrpali mani*.

One striking distinction between the dairies of the Teivaliol and Tartharol was said to be the absence of *mani* among the former, except in the Piedr clan, and here there was something exceptional, for when this bell is used at a funeral it is hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to Nòdrs. I was often told that, with this exception, the Teivaliol had no *mani*, and it was only towards the end of my visit that I became aware of the existence in the dairy of Kiudr of six bells called *mani*, two distinguished as *patatmani* and four as *ertatmani*.

[1] According to another account, these bells are kept at the *wursuli* of Nammòdr, and the *wursuli* of Kars has three *mani* in addition to these.

778 Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind,
534 and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

778 Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to
788 them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell
234 called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan
534 *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

771 Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the
778 Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a
534 definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent, regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Possibly the Todas may have some clear ideas about the connexion between their bells, gods, and dairies, but I could not discover them, and am inclined to believe that the people are now very hazy about the exact place of the bell and the god in their theology. 771 778 534

It was quite clear that they believed an offence against the dairy was punished by the gods, and I cannot say definitely that in this case the bell may not have been personified as a god, but I do not think that this was so.

It seems to me probable that the present sanctity of the bell has come about by a process of transference[1] from the buffalo to the object worn by it. Probably at one time the buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be at present. There is evidence that even in recent times the bell-cow or buffalo which carried the bell was an object of especial veneration. In such books as those of Harkness and Marshall, the bell-cow seems to occupy a more prominent position than, so far as I could tell, it occupies at present. 234 778 534 174 771

In the present day the *mani* of the *ti* is only hung on the neck of a buffalo at the migration from one *ti mad* to another and at the Nòdrs *ti*, only for a few minutes even then. At the village dairy, the *mani* is never, so far as I could tell, put on the neck of a buffalo except at the funeral ceremonies. The idea in the latter case seems to be that a sacred buffalo should wear its bell, and in order that the buffalo slaughtered at a funeral should go to Amnòdr with its bell, the *mani* is hung on its neck while it is being killed. The legend of Kwoto and Punatvan shows that the bells are believed to travel to Amnòdr with the buffaloes.

The following may be suggested as a sketch of the probable evolution of the sanctity of the bell. At one time the buffaloes were the chief sacred objects of the Todas. Then this sanctity was concentrated in the persons of the bell-buffaloes, and later became partially attached to the bells, and the Todas then probably reached a stage in which it was doubtful how far the sanctity of the bell-buffalo was due to its position

[1] As we have already seen (p. 243) there is some reason to think that there has been example of such transference of sanctity to an object in the case of the *mu* or buried dairy vessel.

234 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is
778 possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea
534 in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas.
174 We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more
771 and more attached to the bell, less and less to its possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

Relics

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

The Buffalo and its Milk

234 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies
778 we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

occasion, and Mr. Thurston[1] has recorded examples of several such compositions. 538

Dancing takes place at the funeral ceremonies, and exhibitions of these or other dances are sometimes given by the Todas. The only dancing I saw was at a funeral and it was of the simplest possible description, the men who took part forming a circle and moving slowly round and round. 535 545

The only musical instrument of the Todas is a simple flute, called the *buguri*. It is shown in Fig. 68, where it is being played by the man on the right. The instrument is not much used by the Todas and is not, so far as I know played on any ceremonial occasion. The music at the funeral ceremonies is always performed by Kotas. 534

[1] *Bull.* iv. p. 7.

" border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
" under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
" leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
" lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

" The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
" to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
" shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bûguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

" their song is death"
" And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 595
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, *Tenure of land.*
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirâi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pâlthchi*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = Or. 4a. Sp. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

PLATE XI.

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● 634

TODAS WITH CLUBS &c.

301 No. XXIX.—*Kévilth* (ಕೆವಿಲ್ತ್). Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; burnt with the body at funerals. 30 rupees.

No. XXX.—*Billeall* (ಬಿಳ್ಳಲ್). Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.

No. XXXI.—*Thaggér* (ತಗ್ಗರ್). Brass chain worn by women round their waist next to the skin. Made at Kota village. Rupees 1, 4 annas.

No. XXXII.—*Mòdara* (ಮೊದರ). Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.

No. XXXIII.—*Pittah*. Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

372 No. XXXIV.—*Keelth* (ಕೀಲ್ತ್). Bamboo for blowing up fires. Made by Todas.

764 [5C] No. XXXV.—*Puffi*. A square basket covered with cloth and cotton, and ornamented with cowries; at dry funeral for a female, 15 or 18 will be burnt, each containing a piece of jaggery, garlic, safron, sandalwood, and some nār (fibre) for sewing thread, the latter prepared by Toda women; the basket is made by the Kurumbas.

No. XXXVI.—*Kettheelth* (ಕಟ್ತ್ಹೀಲ್ತ್). Burnt at the dry funeral of a female. Made by Kotas.

● 534 No. XXXVII.—*Buguri* (ಬುಗುರಿ). Musical instrument; a sort of flute. Made by the Todas, and played by them and by Badagas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

765 After the buffalo is killed dancing takes place at the funeral
535 of a male. The men only dance and they may begin soon after the killing of the buffalo, while other ceremonies are still in progress. In the dancing the same tall pole (*tadri* or *tadrsi*) is used as is carried by the Teivali man who wears the cloak of the *narskedr*. It is a tall pole which, it was said, might sometimes be as much as 39 feet in length. I only saw a *tadri* at one funeral, when it was much smaller. It is decorated with rings of cowries, which are called *nîrpul*, the ornaments in general being called *tadri asteram* (see Fig. 67).

[439] The pole is procured from Malabar through the Kurumbas. It is used at the funeral of males only of both the Teivaliol and Tartharol, and is burnt at the end of the *azaramkedr*.

In the only dance which I had the opportunity of seeing the men danced within the circular wall surrounding the funeral hut. In this case the floor of the enclosure was below the general level of the ground. The men formed a circle and danced round in slow step; one man said the name of the slaughtered buffalo—in this case, Purkirsi—and another repeated this name; then the first man said "*hau! hau!*" which was repeated by the second man.

After a time one of the men took the *tadri* and they danced round in a similar way, taking the pole with them as they danced (*i.e.*, they did not dance round the pole).

After the dancing is over, food is distributed to all the people present and most return to their homes, while the remainder wait at the funeral place till the following morning, when are held the final ceremonies, which are known as the *azaramkedr*.

THE AZARAMKEDR

765 This is the name applied to the ceremonies connected with the final burning of the remains and burial of the ashes. After food has been distributed at the *marvainolkedr*, many of those attending the funeral return home. The remainder stay at the spot during the evening, those nearly related to the deceased lamenting in the usual fashion almost continuously. At a funeral attended by Samuel, the people took

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

occasion, and Mr. Thurston[1] has recorded examples of several such compositions. 538

Dancing takes place at the funeral ceremonies, and exhibitions of these or other dances are sometimes given by the Todas. The only dancing I saw was at a funeral and it was of the simplest possible description, the men who took part forming a circle and moving slowly round and round. 535 545

The only musical instrument of the Todas is a simple flute, called the *buguri*. It is shown in Fig. 68, where it is being played by the man on the right. The instrument is not much used by the Todas and is not, so far as I know played on any ceremonial occasion. The music at the funeral ceremonies is always performed by Kotas. 534

[1] *Bull.* iv. p. 7.

CHAP. XXI.

765 768 177

ceremonial, In the very early morning of the first of a two days' and long before these guests have begun to arrive, the family of the deceased have a little private ordinance of their own; in burning all his personal property, such as his stick or staff, the honnu or milk vessel, and clothes: also a *flute* or flageolet, and a model of *a bow with bamboo 'strings,' and arrows.*[2] I could not ascertain any reason whatever for this musical instrument and these spurious weapons being burnt. Be it particularly borne in mind that the Todas have no sense of music and do not possess a flute in the whole tribe: that they never hunt, and have no weapons of the chase. These toys are made by the Kotas entirely for the occasion. Thus it was, I experienced some difficulty in buying the bow, which will be found in photograph No. 15. The first question asked of the man who purchased it for me from the Kota, was 'Who is dead?'

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The opening public ceremony of the day, is a kind of dance performed by from twenty to fifty men. The dance I witnessed was monotonous enough. It consisted of the body of men, keeping step whilst striding round and round like the spokes of a wheel; each spoke having three men arm in arm: and all exclaiming, rather than shouting, 'A! U! A! U!'[3] in time with their steps. I could trace nothing symbolic in the exhibition except that strange number three, which I notice in all religious matters, to be constantly appearing. It may be that the dance and shout are both merely a Toda mode of giving vent and expression to a festive state of mind.

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Whilst this dance is being carried on by the men, the women prepare food in the hut described in the last Chapter, which has been repaired or renewed for this occasion. Here all the guests assemble, the two sexes sitting apart. The women of the family serve out the supplies from the diminutive door to

[2] Captain Forsyth, in his 'Highlands of Central India,' writes of the Bygas, 'their bows are made entirely of the bamboo, "string" and all.'

[3] The Toda word for *I shout*, is 'A! U! bisharthken,' or *I call out* A! U! [i.e., the bara Kêdu, or second funeral—Analyst]

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bûguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hok*,
Hok.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a [illegible]
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâe*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, *Tenure of land.*
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirâi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pûthkoli*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = Or. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is [77] devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and [535] sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other [20] guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and [70] otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bëti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's [578] dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

[545] The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now [546] and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kéd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kédmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! ér kar ullamá*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kéd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kéd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *manigakáran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchâyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1/2 [of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analyst]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

(2) Tying balls of thread and cowry shells on the arm of the corpse, just above the elbow; 764

(3) Setting fire to the funeral pyre, which was, on the present occasion, done by lighting a rag fed with ghi with a match.

The buffalo capture took place amid the usual excitement, and with freedom from accident; and, later in the day, the stalwart buffalo catchers turned up at the travellers' bungalow for a *pourboire* in return, as they said, for treating us to a good fight. The beasts selected for sacrifice were a full-grown cow and a young calf. As they were dragged near to the corpse, now removed from the arbour, butter was smeared over the horns, and a bell tied round the neck. The bell was subsequently removed by Kotas, in whose custody, it was said, it was to remain till the next day funeral. The death-blow, or rather series of blows, having been delivered with the butt end of an axe, the feet of the corpse were placed at the mouth of the buffalo. In the case of a male corpse, the right hand is made to clasp the horns. [It is recorded by Dr. Rivers that, at the funeral of a male, men dance after the buffalo is killed. In the dancing a tall pole, called tadri or tadrsi, decorated with cowry shells, is used.] The customary mourning in couples concluded, the corpse, clad in four cloths, was carried on the stretcher to a clear space in the neighbouring shola, and placed by the side of the funeral pyre, which had been rapidly piled up. The innermost cloth was black in colour, and similar to that worn by a palol. Next to it came a putkûli decorated with blue and red embroidery, outside which again was a plain white cloth covered over by a red cotton cloth of European manufacture. Seated by the side of the pyre, near to which I was courteously invited to take a seat on the stump of a rhododendron,

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764 [535]

[531]

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

term [kel] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas. 648 437 184

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing. 797 797 535 [562] [184]

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[7] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc- 797 533

[7] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 543-560. [113]

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalisation of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

Piɨldjnɯs (Püldenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to pɔnɯs (Paners, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumɑɪ. The wives of these men were sinmiɪr (Sinmir) married to piɨldjnɯs, and pæɪrgɑ́ɨlj (Pergveli) married to pɔnɯs. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmiɪr would have called pæɪrgɑ́ɨlj grandmother (piɑfɑɪ). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmiɪr should have called pæɪrgɑ́ɨlj mimjɑɪ (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmiɪr's mother ocɑ́ɨlj (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pæɪrgɑ́ɨlj, both being daughters of the same mother pɯmbuɪf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmiɪr called pæɪrgɑ́ɨlj mother (ɑfɑɪ).

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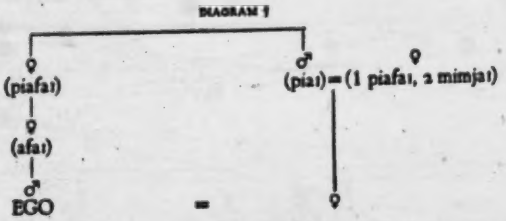
DIAGRAM 7



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piɑɪ) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumɑɪ). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piɑfɑɪ), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjɑɪ) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[14] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[15] an account of the rules regulating

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[14] Toda *Marriage Regulations and Taboos*.

[15] Pp. 367-71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

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535 dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such
614 religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy
765 (poj-ful-fæst), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such
unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration
[648] under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a
Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc.
[616] At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not
dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place,
dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal
sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojoɪl, i.e., wife's father or brother,
wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's
daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides
members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoɪl, only those members of her father's patrilineal
sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning
still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is
related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relation-
ship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead per-
son, or by pojoɪl relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is
[616] prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he
[837] has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is
prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress"
relations, and for his sons.

Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are
535 allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person
614 belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard
616 to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person
may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite
764 moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person
765 there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of
a member of the ŋkitj, nirj, and puŋoɪr sibs of the tɔrθas moiety, since the munds of
[837] these sibs are far from any munds of the töüθlj moiety. In this case members of the same
moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her
[851] pregnancy to legitimize the child (pæs-æjt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine,
Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should
be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was
mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The signifi-
[621] cance of "chief mund" (æt-ɑwɑj-mod) as opposed to other munds (mæx-mod) has been explained in my paper *Toda*
Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp.
113–15. [18] See reference in note 9 above.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojot/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same patrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work nołkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajniŋ (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ołliŋ had married piłkoŋ (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mõiŋ patrilineal sib, whose mund pon is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kiŋ(ŋ)-koŋpoł "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pus-uŋt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

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We did our work according to his orders, and this excellent order was an ample one. Now this ———, a chief of the Todas, son of———, a deceased Toda, the above man joined with the moniagar of ——— village, joined together, and, dealing with bribes, now they arose against us, and doing this great troubles on us, and also, by this great trouble, one day Mr. ——— came for shooting snapes (snipe) by that side. By chance one grazing buffalo came to him, push him by his horns very forcely, and wounded him on his leg. By the help of another gentleman who came with him he escaped, or he would have die at the moment. Now the said moniagar and ——— joined together, want to finish the funeral to his late father on the 18th instant. For this purpose they are going to shut the buffaloes without food in the kraal on the 18th instant at 10 o'clock. They are going to kill the buffaloes on the 19th instant at 4 o'clock in the evening. But this is a great sin against god. But we beg your honour this way. That is, let them leave the buffaloes in the grazing place, and ask them to catch and kill them at the same moment. And also your honour cannot ordered them to keep them in the kraal without food. And, if they will desire to kill the buffaloes in this way, these buffaloes will come on us, and also on the other peoples one who, coming to see funs on those day, will kill them all by his anxious. And so we the Todas begs your honour to enquire them before the 18th, the said funeral ceremony commencing, and not to grant the above orders to them." 648 764 782

A Whit Monday at Paikāra was given up to an exhibition of sports and games, whereof the most exciting and interesting was a burlesque representation of a Toda funeral by boys and girls. A Toda, who was 52 536 764

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fond of his little joke, applied the term pacchai kēdu (green funeral) to the corpses of the flies entrapped by a viscous catch'em-alive-oh on the bungalow table. To the mock funeral rites arrived a party of youths, as from a distant mand, and crying out U, hah, in shrill mimicry of their elders. The lad who was to play the leading part of sacrificial buffalo, stripping off his putkūli, disappeared from sight over the brow of a low hillock. Above this eminence his bent and uplifted upper extremities shortly appeared as representatives of the buffalo horns. At sight thereof, there was a wild rush of small boys to catch him, and a mimic struggle took place, while the buffalo was dragged, amid good-tempered scuffling, kicks, and shouting, to the spot where the corpse should have been. This spot was, in the absence of a pseudo-dead body or stage dummy, indicated by a group of little girls, who had sat chatting together till the boy-beast arrived, when they touched foreheads, and went, with due solemnity, through the orthodox observance of mourning in couples. The buffalo was slain by a smart tap on the back of the head with a cloth, which did duty for an axe. As soon as the convulsive movements and twitchings of the death struggle were over, the buffalo, without waiting for an encore, retired behind the hillock once more, in order that the rough and tumble fight, which was evidently the chief charm of the game, might be repeated. The buffalo boy later on came in second in a flat race, and he was last seen protecting us from a mischievous-looking member of his herd, which was grazing on the main-road. Toda buffaloes, it may be noted, are not at all popular with members of the Ootacamund Hunt, as both horses and riders from time to time receive injuries from their horns, when they come in collision.

been my chief guides to Toda lore. One man who had 123
pointed out to me certain sacred places fell ill and made up his mind that he was going to die. Another man lost his wife a few days after he had shown me the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies. A third man who had revealed to me the details of the ceremonial of the most sacred Toda dairy, suffered the loss of his own village dairy by fire.

The Todas consulted their diviners, who ascribed these events to the anger of the gods because their secrets had been revealed to the stranger. In consequence my sources of information ran dry to a large extent, and the difficulties in the way of the investigation of the more sacred topics were greatly increased. By the time it was settled that I was to blame I was nearly at the end of my visit, but it was in the last two or three weeks that I had hoped to overcome the scruples of the people and to obtain information on many doubtful points about which I had to come away unsatisfied.

One of the subjects on which my material is defective is the 114
folk-lore. I have a number of tales, but they are only 173
a small part of the store of Toda legend. I regret especially 538
the incompleteness of my work in this respect because I 796
believe that the Todas are rapidly forgetting their folk-tales and the legends of their gods, while their ceremonial remains to a large extent intact, and seems likely to continue so for some time.

I was especially struck by this because, in previous anthropological experience in the islands of Torres Straits with Dr. Haddon, we had found the exact opposite to be the case. In these islands, the ceremonial had disappeared, and the only record of it to be obtained was that derived from the memories of the oldest inhabitants. Nevertheless in Torres Straits the store of legend was still ample, and the agreement of the stories obtained from different individuals was so great that it was evident that the people had preserved their folk-lore with fidelity.

The difference between the two communities is easily ex- 000
plained. In Torres Straits missionary influence is strong, and missionary effort is always directed to break down the practices

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

000 associated with belief. The ceremonial in Torres Straits had been swept away, while the stories of the legendary heroes were almost all that remained to the people of the old life and were in consequence still cherished.

177 Among the Todas missionary influence, whether of Christian or Hindu, has had little effect, and the ritual of the Todas in
● 538 some parts of the hills is almost, if not quite, untouched by
797 outside influences.[1] The effect of intercourse with other peoples seems to be showing itself largely in the form of loss of interest in the stories of the past.

171 One of the most striking aspects of the customs and ceremonies of the Todas is that these have in many cases no exact parallels in other places. Perhaps the most definite result which modern research in anthropology has brought out is the extraordinary similarity of custom throughout the world. Customs apparently identical are found in races so widely separated geographically and so diverse ethnologically that it seems certain the customs must have developed in total independence of one another. There seems to be an identity of idea actuating custom in peoples very different from one another in their surroundings and conditions of life.

The nearest parallels to Toda custom and ceremonial are undoubtedly to be found in the Indian peninsula, but even here, though there is often a general resemblance, this breaks down on going into detail. Even when the resemblance is so close as to suggest a common origin, the differences in detail are often very great.[2]

177 One clue to this exceptional nature of Toda custom and belief is to be found in the geographical position of the people, which has to a large extent isolated them from the world in general.

133 The plateau on which they live, broken by numerous hills and valleys, is the top of a scarp formed by the meeting of the Eastern and Western Ghats. Some of the hills project

[1] As we shall see later, this is only true of some parts of the hills and some institutions.

[2] With more exact knowledge of Indian customs and ceremonies which have lingered on side by side with, though often obscured by Brahmanism, it is possible that these differences would be found to be much slighter than the evidence at present available suggests.

524 539

Puzkârṇûdr	*adetpoloṭki?*	*Kûdi*	*kâgiti.*
Calls out if	why that says no?	Cock	crows.

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

Nelu	*tiri*	*kai,*	*pon*	*tiri*	*pûv?*	*Eln.*
Earth	goes round	fruit,	sky	goes round	flower?	The tip-eat game.

Mudâl	*pîr*	*vatvai,*	*pin*	*marsvati;*	*pin*	*pîr*
First	pregnant	who becomes,	later	is delivered;	later	pregnant

vatvai,	*mudâl*	*marsvati?*	*Tâmi,*	*kodj.*
who becomes,	first	is delivered?	A grain,	barley.

Tami or *samai* (*patm*) is the grain from which *patcherski*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

POETRY AND MUSIC

533 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter
538 on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kunedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are
[195] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarzam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarzam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

occasion, and Mr. Thurston[1] has recorded examples of several such compositions. 538

Dancing takes place at the funeral ceremonies, and exhibitions of these or other dances are sometimes given by the Todas. The only dancing I saw was at a funeral and it was of the simplest possible description, the men who took part forming a circle and moving slowly round and round. 535 545

The only musical instrument of the Todas is a simple flute, called the *buguri*. It is shown in Fig. 68, where it is being played by the man on the right. The instrument is not much used by the Todas and is not, so far as I know played on any ceremonial occasion. The music at the funeral ceremonies is always performed by Kotas. 534

[1] *Bull.* iv. p. 7.

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
773 from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought
173 about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
773 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
776 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pâltchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute emuneration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,** *and Nātanéri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
773 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mūttinād road, near the top of the Segūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Crocomand road.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

771 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion
776 seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at
794 the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs"
234 he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiǫj and the rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθmṭ. Since they are distinct from the töunoṭ, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθmṭ. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may pro-
771 bably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product
174 of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly
794 general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by
234 which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kiǫj and the other töuθmṭ for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiǫj and the gods
[776] associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods,
776 the töuθmṭ, stories are still told in the vague way of which
●538 Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

771 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no
234 change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such
794 change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete
173 abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical
178 alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-8 worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234* up, light the fire, warm himself, and then go out and sit
793 on the same spot as on the previous evening. He remains
796 there till the two *palol* come to him to continue the ceremony in which he is concerned.

●539 When the *palol* rise they do their usual work, and when they have milked they perform a ceremony called *karkutkîr-siti*,[1] in which the calves are prayed for in the same way that the buffaloes were prayed for on the previous evening. The second *kaltmokh* collects the calves in the *pepkarmus*, or milking-place of the buffaloes, and the two *palol*, each with empty *kwoi* and with *kwoinörtpet*, pray as on the previous evening using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and some of the *kwarzam* of the gods, and then bawl out in a high key three times in order to scatter the calves.

The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* is then continued. Each of the *palol* takes the vessel used for ladling buttermilk (*mòrkudriki*); one *palol* fills his vessel with the milk of *punir* and the other fills with *nei* (clarified butter). Each leaves his dairy, and they both call to the *kaltmokh*, who comes to the threshold of the *ti poh*, and stands there while the two *palo*, mix the milk and *nei*. The *kaltmokh* is then told to hold out his hands, and each *palol* pours out the mixture into the hands of the boy, who rubs it over his head first, and then all over his body. After the *kaltmokh* has thus been bathed in milk and *nei*, the three people walk in procession to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been sitting, the *kaltmokh* going first, followed by the *wars palol* and the *ti palol* in order. As they walk, the two *palol* say the following words :—

Kōda	*md;*	*pîrzi*	*puti*	*vurmd;*	*pub*	*ers*	*vurmd;*	*per*	*pûglith*	*vurmd*	*pâkk pâdith*
die	may (he);	tiger	catch	(him) may;	snake	bite	(him) may;	steep hill	fall down	(on him) may;	river fall
vurmd	*pudi*	*ers*	*md;*	*bâdr*	*pat*	*md;*	*kelrman*	*par*	*md.*		
(on him) may[2];	wild boar	bite	may;	wild beast	hold (catch him)	may;	bear	carry (him) away	may.		

[1] This word was translated "he prays for the calves." One verb is used in naming the ceremony of praying for the calves and another in the case of praying for the adult buffaloes.

[2] Probably this should be translated "may the river (when in flood) swallow him.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

When they come to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been given the food, the boy remains standing there while the two *palol* turn round and walk back in the dairy, saying:— 234x 793 796 539

Kōds md, idwaik, ultūmd; pīrzi par md,
die may (he), as was said, may he be well; tiger carry away may,
idwaik para vōmd; pur pur md, idwaik,
as was said, carry away may not; steep hill fall may, as was said,
pura vōmd; pīb ori md, idwaik, oria vōmd; pākh pur md,
fall may not; snake bite may, as was said, bite may not; river fall may,
idwaik, pura vōmd; kādr pat md, idwaik, pata
as was said, fall may not; wild beast catch may, as was said, catch
vōmd; kalrman par md, idwaik, para vōmd;
may not; bear carry away may, as was said, carry away may not;
pudi ori md, idwaik, oria vōmd.
wild boar bite may, as was said, bite may not.

The *ti palol* then enters his dairy and brings out an especially large ball of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, more than can possibly be eaten at one sitting. It is given to the *kaltmokh*, who sits on the same spot as before, and eats as much of it as he can. 234x 793 796

All this ceremony has been done after milking, and before drinking buttermilk (*kaishvatiti*), which is now poured out by the second *kaltmokh* for the *palol*, who then go about their usual business. When the first *kaltmokh* has eaten as much as he can of his ball of food he leaves it on the spot where he has been sitting, and goes with the *palol*. The Todas say that the food left behind will never be touched by the crows, who will eat any other food.

In the afternoon the *palol* transact their ordinary dairy business and the *kaltmokh* returns to his place and resumes the consumption of his ball of food, staying on the spot till the end of the day. When the two *palol* have gone into the sleeping hut for the night, the *kaltmokh* goes into the hut after them and may then talk to the other occupants, and after this follows the usual routine.

During the whole of this ceremony the *kaltmokh*, who takes so prominent a part in it, is called the *nurzutpal*.

At the other dairies of the Nōdrs *ti* a ceremony which is obviously closely connected with that which has been

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There are two chief reasons which induce a sorcerer to work his magic on another. One is when a request by the sorcerer for assistance has been met by deception. If the sorcerer asks a rich man for a buffalo, or for money, and the rich man refuses point-blank, it does not appear that the sorcerer proceeds farther; but if the rich man promises a gift and does not give it, or if he delays giving a positive answer and puts off a decision from day to day, it is a clear case for the application of occult measures. The other chief motive for sorcery is a quarrel with a sorcerer. The methods are different in the two cases. In the first case the sorcerer procures some human hair—it may be the hair of any one, even his own hair. It is not the hair of the man he wishes to injure because it would be impossible to get it. Five small stones are taken and tied together by means of the hair, and both hair and stones are tied up in a piece of cloth. Then, holding the stones and hair in his hand, the sorcerer utters the following incantation:—

Pithioteu Ön idith, Teikirzin Tirshtin idith; ā teu sati udānādr;
those gods power if there be;

an nādr nādr udānādr; an kar markhi peu ud; an ir ilrgi pāti
his country country if there be; his calf sleep go may; his buffaloes wings grow

pāv ud; ath an nīr ud puk ākku nīr an ud; an nīkh as puk
fly may; he I water drink as he also water drink may; I thirsty am as

ākku nīkhai ud; an eirt puk ākku eirth ud; an mokhu
he also thirsty be may; I hungry as he also hunger may; my children

idrth puk an mokhu idr ud; an tammokh kātu pāi puk an
cry as his children cry may; my wife ragged cloth wear as his

tammokhu kātu pāv ud.
wife ragged cloth wear may.

This incantation was freely rendered by Teitnir as follows: For the sake of Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti; by the power of the gods if there be power; by the gods' country if there be a country;[1] may his calves perish; as birds fly away may his buffaloes go when the calves come to suck; as I drink water, may he have nothing but water to drink; as I am thirsty, may he also be

[1] I am very doubtful whether the meaning of this and the preceding clause is correctly given in these words.

754 thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my
789 children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears only a ragged
539 cloth.

791 When he has uttered the incantation, the sorcerer takes the hair and stones in their cloth to the village of the man upon whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall, and hides them secretly in the thatch of the roof of the man's hut.

It seemed that this method of sorcery is only justified when the sorcerer is a poor man, and the references in the incantation to the poverty of the sorcerer confirm this.

[782] When a man who has prevaricated with the request of a sorcerer suffers any evil fortune, he consults the diviners, and they may tell him not only who has produced the misfortune, but why the sorcerer has brought the misfortune upon him and they may advise the sufferer to become reconciled with his enemy and to give him what he has asked. The man goes to the sorcerer, who is usually only too ready to take the credit of the affair, and it is arranged that he shall come to the village of the sufferer. Whenever he comes a third person must be present, who is called the *nadrvol*, or intermediate man.[1] The *nadrvol* brings about the reconciliation, and arranges the terms, and then the sufferer bows down before the sorcerer and performs the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. The sorcerer then utters the following formula while his foot is resting on the head of the man:—

ā ten nāttuddr, an nādr nāttuddr; tanad pen nd; tern
Those gods if there be, his country if there be; cold go may; mercy

ai pen nd; in ir kurk ain nāttud; an mann ain
become, go may; this buffalo calf to all be we?"; my mind all

nāthāpini, tan manam tāll nd.
cleaned from guilt have I, his mind also clear may.

Teitnir rendered this freely as follows:—

By those gods if there be gods, and by their country if there be a country; as water is cold, so goes my anger; as mercy comes, may my anger go; may his buffaloes and

[1] The middle room of a three-roomed dairy is the *nadrwrsh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

calves be well; I have now nothing evil in my mind, you must also have no evil in your mind. 754

Food is then given to the sorcerer, who also obtains the object for which he had originally asked. Later the sorcerer goes secretly to the hut of the man and takes out the stones and hair which he had hidden in the thatch. 789 539 791

In removing the spell the sorcerer does not mention the names of the four gods, but speaks of them as "those gods." The object of this is that the names of the four gods whom the sorcerer invokes shall not become generally known.

If any one quarrels with a sorcerer, the method adopted by the latter is different. He obtains a bone of a man, buffalo, or some other animal, or if unable to obtain a bone, he may use a lime. He sits, holding the bone or lime in his right hand, and utters the following incantation:—

Pithiten On ithik, Tuikirtin Tirskiin ithik; a ten sati nikinuhdr, an nhdr
nikinuhdr; ank pudro pirsh put ud; ank ud nihkkkth
to him will destroy disease come may; to him one incurable

pun pi ud; an hal mari nud; an hai mdri dud;
sore come may; his leg broken may be; his hand broken may be;

an hun pudri dud; an ôri udrsh an hkkipal dokkind
his eye destroyed may be; his house into his family to all

nikitum pi ud; ith ank nikitum hurni ogi anku
trouble come may; he to me troubles did who accordingly to him also

nikitum ô ud; ain nhdr nali ed arikun ô
troubles occur may; his country there is that we shall know those

ten nali ed hankun; i ehr nali ainin
gods there is that we shall see; this bone into the ground what happens,

ed ithu alî ud.
that man to also happen may.

The only clause of this incantation of which the meaning is not clear is the penultimate, and the free rendering of this was said to be "as there are undoubtedly gods, we shall see all this happen"; it seems that *arikun*, which means literally "we shall know," is often used in the sense "without doubt." If he is using a lime, the sorcerer substitutes *irsimitch* for *ehr* in the last clause.

The bone or lime is then buried in a wood near the village of the man who is to suffer the misfortune.

754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *nedrvol* as in
the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
539 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer.
791 When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of
the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpudithti* to the sorcerer,
and the spell is removed with the following words:—

tan udānudr, an nōdr udānudr; tanod pen mā; term ai pen mā[1]; *melk*
son

madrik an kudilpel elmk; in mel en mans elm tūlvlnem
children to his family all to; this after my mind all cleared from guilt

in wli agi āmā; nāv put, nudri put pen mā.
(as I) this well be may; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
754 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most
578 intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide.
In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mani kudupel*; "it is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food.

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr[1] which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtpol bon!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pilinörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:—

Tünemmâ,		*târmâmâ;*	*atch*	*kar*	*tâ*	*mâ,*	*atch*
May it be well,		may it be well;	little	calf	give	may,	little
mokh	*tâ*	*mâ;*	*kar*	*kulâth,*	*kar*	*kuleiti*	*tâ*
son	give	may;	calf	not refuse milk,	calf	take milk	give
mâ,	*kar*	*nesâth,*	*neseiti*	*tâ*	*mâ;*	*opath*	*âtm*
may,	calf	not kick away,	stand	give	may;	once	meal
âthi	*pûnerd*	*kwar*	*arki*	*madi;*	*nâ*	*ârk mâ;*	
it is	twelve	years	vow	will;	may there be	no disease;	
mudri	*ârk mâ;*	*kasun*	*ârk mâ;*	*per*			
may there be	no trouble;	may there be	no *kasun;*	may there be			
ârk mâ.							
no Tamil.							

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kasun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

[1] This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their
541 agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
765 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the
787 second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner, and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
627 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
765 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

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other was also composed by Teitnir for the first funeral ceremony of Pidrvan (9) of Kars. 533 539 765

The Toda name for these laments is *kunedstkin* or *kunedsti*, and certain men have great reputations as composers both for funerals and on other occasions, and Teitnir was one of these. The following is the lament for Tersveli :—

Isa	*kûgk*	*ia*,[1]	*iza*	*kutei*,	*atâth*
O	woman	oh !	O	woman,	not born before

atia,	*pervath*	*perpia*,	*pûv*	*trsimitch*	*ia*
you were born,	renowned	you were born,	flower	lime	oh !

pûv	*elet*	*ia*,	*kavath*	*kud*	*katethik*,
flower	(a bush)	oh !	proper husband (?)	found	you married,

patath	*kud*	*patiathenk*,	*tevukkh*	*nurs*	
proper wife	found	I married,	(*kwarzam* of Piedr) to	beautiful	

tr	*notei*	*kadrthenk*,	*âtthkark*	*nurs*	*mokh*
buffalo	looked	I gave,	(*kwarzam* of Kuudr) to	beautiful	woman

notei	*patiathenk*,	*kuteia*	*mun*	*kutenothuk*,	*kokiji*[2]
looked	I married,	built	house	we built,	imitation bracelets

kis	*narsiathûk*	*kûter*	*kis*	*narsiathûk*,	
made	we played,	imitation buffalo horns	made	we played,	

âr	*mokh*	*puchiathûk*,	*âr*	*tr*	*tû*
six	children	we would produce,	six	buffalo	pen

odathûk,	*orppasan* (?)	*oithik*	*pudrkwadr*	*ners*	
we would enjoy,	liberal	you were,	umbrella tree	shade	

oithik,	*irom*	*ed*	*ithothûk*,	*pukhom*	
you were,	we will live	that	we thought,	we will go together	

ed	*peithûk*,	*kalav*	*tr*	*kadathûk*,	*pha*	*tadri*
that	we went,	strong	buffalo	we bought,	?	pole

pasiathûk	*tudu*	*athi*	*ed*	*kadrtethûk*,	*udi*	*athi*	*ed*
we beat,	fine	it is	that	we gave,	have	it is	that

kadrt thûk,	*kutei ath*	*kotei*	*peithûk*,	*keirtith*	*keir*
we gave,	built	bungalow	we went,	running waters	reservoir

peithûk,	*ō*	*katcheri*	*peithûk*,	*ō*	*kapel*
we went,	seven	courts (law)	we went,	seven	ships

peithûk	*pahk*	*muri*	*ituthûk*,	*pash*	*it*
we went,	Tamil to	complaints	we spoke,	words	spoke

[1] This is also the usual vocative termination.

[2] *Kokiji* is the Kota name for a toe-ring worn on the second toe of the right foot by Kota women (see Breeks, p. 123). A similar word is used for bracelets of vine made by the Todas as a game.

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pudth	*kisthûk*	*pudth*	*it*	*pudth*	*kisthûk,*
prize	we won (made),	prize	spoke	prize	we won,

ûkudrem	*ed*	*thûk,*	*kan*	*udjem*
we will not be shaken	that	we said,	eye	we will not fear

ed	*thûk,*	*mûn*	*ânem*	*ed*	*thûk,*	*en*	*it*
that	we said,	face	?	that	we said,	me	here

puckvînia,	*en*	*it*	*pîskvînia,*	*purs*	*kan*	*nîr*
keep you went,	me	here	leave you went,	right	eye	water

pîrevînen,	*purs*	*metûvi*	*kurseivînen,*	*patnenk*	*kanânen,*
I shed,	right	nostril	I smart,	I bewailed	I could not find,

pesodutkenk	*kanânen,*	*enk*	*ud*	*swâmi*	*aivînen.*[1]
I called out	I could not find,	to me	one	god	I have.

The free translation of this is as follows:—

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower, lime, O flower, tree. Having found a proper husband you married; having found a proper wife I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuudr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

This translation is based partly on the literal meanings of the *kwarzam*, partly on explanations and renderings given to Samuel by Teitnir. The dead wife was a Piedr woman and the husband a Kuudr man. The mention of injustice refers

[1] In some cases Samuel could not give the literal meanings, and has only given the general sense of the *kwarzam*.

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to trouble which arose when other men wished to take his wife from Teitnir. The visits to bungalows, &c., probably refers to a time when Teitnir and his wife lived in Ootacamund under the protection of the Zenana Mission. The ships must be purely imaginary on Teitnir's part, unless he is referring to boats on the lake at Ootacamund. The numbers six and seven are those generally used for 'many' under ordinary conditions, and there is a clause towards the end which probably refers to the evil eye. Teitnir was under, or pretended to be under, missionary influence, and his reference to "one God" at the end is certainly due to this.

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The following is the lament composed by Teitnir for Pidrvan :—

Epukers	*ia!*	*alipukers*	*ia!*	*Podth*	*tedikk*		
Kwarzam of	*maiir*	oh!	*kwarzam* of	*maiir*	oh!	rattan	ring
tr	*ia!*	*Pekk*	*kudeik*	*kinim*	*ia!*	*peivalei*	*muk*	*ia!*
buffalo	oh!	?	?	plate	oh!	?	?	oh!
keiveli	*mkdr*	*ia!*	*kapasth*	*kal*	*ia!*	*kûduhatith*	*kûdr*	*ia!*
necklace	neck	oh!	trousers	leg	oh!	car	horn	oh!
ûna	*matu*	*ia!*	*arzhan*	*mudr*	*ia!*	*atamûv*	*ia!*
elephant	foot	oh!	European	walk	oh!	sambhar	oh!
nurs	*trk*	*kan*	*âkithenk,*	*kalochikum*	*ed*
beautiful	buffalo to	eye	I kept,	old woman to (?)	that
thfnk,	*kalolkum*	*ed*	*thfnk*	*indtvidshti*	*indtvan,*
they said,	old man to (?)	that	they said,	*kwarzam* of	Kars clan,
iza	*kdra*	*ē*	*vûr*	*kada,*	*pûrvunkdra!*
O	chief	seven	village	chief,	conqueror oh!
pudrvantol[1]	*ia!*	*kavathdra!*	*Kavanadi*	*pali*	*put*
peace-loving man	oh!	strong man oh!	Kavanadi	dairy	carried
eia!	*tâ*	*vut*	*tâli*	*ia!*	*atâth*	*ud*
oh!	pen	carried	posts	oh!	not born before	one
atithth,	*pervoth*	*ud*	*pertithth,*	*pûa*	*kûtm*
you were born,	renowned	one	you were born,	?	council
panvithth	*zuver*	*kûithth,*	*ter*	*ud*	*ûlk*
you held,	money fine	you imposed,	buffalo fine	one	man to
adstethth	*mukk*	*ud*	*ûlk*	*kisethth,*	*maifr*
you told,	girl	one	to man	you made,	barren buffaloes
kadk	*peithth,*	*pirer*	*mkûk*	*peithth*
in the midst	you went,	buffalo	to the neck	you went,

[1] A play on Pidrvan's name.

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pudr *ðdichi* *peithth,* *pan* *ertevlthth,*
chosen number beat you went, chosen number you ran before,
kal *ðt* *ðdithth* *peiveli pileidih* *ninth* *ud* *kalvi*
leg dance you danced ? ? your one new things
kisethth, *ninth* *ud* *kek* *kisethth,* *id* *kan*
you made, your one invention you made, to-day eye
mûn *ðvini,* *Kars* *hasun* *podtha?* *parsners*
face I saw, Kars *hasun* has it come? *kwarzam* of *hasun*
podtha? *methhûdis* *mai* *hoisivini* *ðstratrs* *hargh*
has it come? burning-place at ashes heaped, *asaram* at grass
patevini.[1]
grew up.

The first part of this lament begins with the *kwarzam* of the *maiir*, or barren buffalo, slaughtered at the funeral. It is not quite clear which of the clauses at the beginning refer to the buffalo and which to the man. I do not know the meaning of the second clause. The free rendering of the third and fourth was said to be, "Your horns crept so well; your horns crept well to the front." The general sense of the other clauses was said to be as follows: "O, your leg like trousers, your horns like a car, your foot is like that of an elephant, you walk with a step like a European soldier, your appearance is like that of a sambhar. I saw you were the most beautiful buffalo of all." It seems probable that the lament so far refers altogether to the buffalo. Then follows, "They said that you would be the parent of the dead, but now you are dead yourself"; or, "When old people are yet alive, why are young ones taken?" Then follows the *kwarzam* of the Kars clan, and the rest obviously refers to Pidrvan himself: "O chief of many villages, conqueror, peace-loving and yet strong man. You were like Kavanadi, who carried the posts of the buffalo-pen.[2] O man of wonderful birth, renowned you were born; you held councils; you fined some by money and some by buffaloes; you settled who should marry the women. In

[1] As both these funeral laments were obtained from Samuel, I cannot guarantee that the method of spelling adopted is the same as that used elsewhere in the book; this is especially the case with the sign 'th,' which, in agreement with the practice customary in South India, was used by Samuel for the lingual 'ṭ,' and sometimes for a sound for which I have used the letter d.

[2] For the story to which this refers, see Chapter XXVIII.

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the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the 533
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the 539
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and 765
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing."

Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of 234
the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*. 783

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred 793
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred 765
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral 778
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

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in Torres Straits, where hardly a day would pass without seeing games being played. 517

The chief interest in the case of the Todas is the clear evidence they give of games arising owing to the sportive imitation by children of the more serious occupations of their elders. In some of these cases the games so arising are useful in providing the younger members of the community with practice in feats which they will in later life be called upon to perform. 857

RIDDLES

The Todas are very fond of riddles, which they call *werat*. [517] The following are examples :— 524

Mers illäth kartkti, poi illäth ädti? Mä, nelu. 539
Udder without milks, mouth without drinks? Rain, earth.

I.e., What is it that gives milk without an udder, what is it that drinks without a mouth? Rain, earth.

Urk mers illäth, kädak kal illäth, athinu? Kädi, poh.
In (or to) village udder without, in forest leg without, what is it? Hen, snake.

Keräd mokh peräd ain, peräd mokh keräd ain? Kädr, hevi.
Little son big becomes, big son little becomes? Horn, ear.

This riddle depends on a comparison of the horn and ear of the buffalo. The horn of the calf is very small, the ear is relatively large.

Pöv pövadi, kaim kaimadi? Täf.
Flower does not blossom, berry does not ripen? Fern.

Wärädr nolm, mokh pachtam, ptr drchtam, ithithanithi ank? Pishkimän.
Whole year days, son begetting, pregnant, this is custom to it?

Pishkimän is a tree which bears flowers or is giving fruit the whole year round.

524 *Purkárṇúdr adetpoloṭtki? Kúdi kúgiti.*
Calls out if why that says no? Cock crows.

539 What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

Nelu tiri kai, pon tiri pův? Elu.
Earth goes round fruit, sky goes round flower? The tip-eat game.

Mudál pir vatvai, pin marsvati; pin pir
First pregnant who becomes, later is delivered; later pregnant

vatvai, mudál marsvati? Támi, kodj.
who becomes, first is delivered? A grain, barley.

Tami or *samai* (*patm*) is the grain from which *patcherski*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

Poetry and Music

533 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter
538 on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kunedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are
[195] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarzam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarzam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

The pouch of the *pútkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kūtēr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pell*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Ammaddgu seruvū,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tiliwā.**

Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle † is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Tirukt Mand the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzāram* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the cairns.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 250. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhūt, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhūts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
173 from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he
173 enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
173 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
176 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pālchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute enumeration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,** *and Nātanēri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
173 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mūttūtāl mund, near the top of the Sugūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Crossmund road.

First Story.

A Pekkan* Ēn, and his wife who was with child, went from Kūltul mand to Okadnâdmand. The husband brought fibres of a thorn tree, and in due course the wife brought forth a pumpkin!† The Pekkan said, "What! this child is dead, we must make a *Kéd*." They made a *Kéd*, and when the fire touched the pumpkin it split in two, and one half contained a male child; they brought it to Ootacamund, and it lived there, until one day the father found it playing in the kraal, and blew some dust on it, when it became a kite, and flew away. In those days the gods used to assemble on Doddabett, and the kite used to sit with them. One day the gods took counsel, saying "Why does the kite come here, let us drive him out;" so one of them, named Kodātha, took the kite home to Kodātha-betta (Hulikaldūrga), and pushed him over; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodātha's head, so that it split into three pieces. Again the kite joined the assembly of the gods, who said, "The kite does everything; will he turn backwards the stream of Picwakmund? will he catch hold of the sun?" The kite turned back the stream, and tried to catch the sun, first with iron, then with bell-metal chains, both of which melted; at last he made the hook and part of the chain with stone, and caught the sun, and brought it down to Nérvēnmand. Then the world was dark: then the gods went to the kite and said, "You are very great, let the sun go;" so he let the sun go, and the river return to its course. 539 773

Before death began, one Ēn, a Todi of Muttanâd Mand,‡ used to go to the other world and return, accompanied by Ponetwan of Okadnâdmand. One day when they were in the other world, the kite came and said to the people of Okadnâdmand, "Ēn and Ponetwan will not return, therefore tie bells to thirty buffaloes and make the *Kéd* ceremony on their account;" and they did so. As Ēn and Ponetwan returned, they met buffaloes with bells coming; so Ponetwan cried, "The kite has done this;" and he touched the buffaloes with his forehead and wept, and his tears became a spring of water; and he blew his nose and there sprang up a tree. Then both said, "They have killed buffaloes for us, we must go back to the other world;" so they went, and took the buffaloes with them. Afterwards a man died in a circle of stones on the right hand side of the road to Kalhatti.§ People tried to lift the body, but could not, so they burnt him there. As there were no posts to the circle, they made women with rice-pounders stand at the entrance all night, and next day the buffaloes were killed.

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* A Pekkan of Manjakal Mand.

† Comp. *Ramayana*, *book* 1, *chap.* xl. Soumati, the wife of king Sagara of Ayodhya, gave birth to a pumpkin, which broke, and from it issued the 60,000 sons she had been promised. Afterwards the 60,000 were reduced to ashes in an encounter with Vishnu, but obtained Swarga on being sprinkled by the Ganges, by the advice of Garuda, whose appearance seems to make it possible that the Toda story may really be a corruption of this very old legend.

‡ To the left hand of the Segūr road, near the top of the Ghāt close to Seven Cairn hill. The "Boa" (*Plate* XIII.) is at this mand, which from the position it holds in all these stories, I imagine to be one of the oldest.

§ Nearly opposite Muttanâd Mand. There are several circles here, some apparently kraals. I dug out the circle built on rock and found that it had nowhere more than a foot of soil above the rock, so that the posts could not have been fixed. There are many *Asārams* on a neighbouring hill, and the place seems to have been an old funeral mand. This story looks like an invention to account for this abortive kraal, when the real story was forgotten.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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As the Paikāra *Tiriari* buffaloes had gone with Ēn and Ponetwan, Pūrsh, Ēn's daughter, went to the other world and brought them back. But when they returned, they said, "We will not give you our milk, Pūrsh; let our calves have it." Pūrsh went and told this to Ēn, who said, "Give the *Tōd* tree bark to the buffaloes, and they will cease to speak, and you can take their milk." Again, Pūrsh went to ask for the golden milk-vessels and churn, which she had left in the other world; but Ēn said, "You left them here, and I will not give them back: use bamboos for milk vessels, and make a churn with five branches like the kafle flower,* and do not come here any more."

When Ēn was gone, there was no head of the Todas, so Pūrsh was made head; and she lived at Muttanâd temple (*Plate* XIII.), and established the *Pâlâls*, *Tiriaris*, *Mands*, and *Boas*. One day an army of horsemen from Mysore came near; when Pūrsh heard of it she said, "Let them all become stones;" so they were turned into stones;† but a few escaped. After this another troop came, and halted at Segūr. Four of them came up the hill, captured a Todi, and asked him, "Who turned the first army into stones?" and they bribed him to tell them of Pūrsh's curse. Then the Mysoreans returned and told their chief; and he said, "Take mutton, and throw it at Pūrsh's door, and the flesh will expel the god." They did so, and Pūrsh came out like a fire, and was transformed into the hill behind Muttanâd Mand.‡ Then the Mysoreans came up and plundered the Todas. Before this time the Todas used to see and speak to their gods, but from the time Pūrsh disappeared, and from the day that a Toda betrayed his people, the gods are seen no more of men.

Second Story.

Kotēn, Tekudi, and Elna were three brothers, who lived respectively at Hona Mand, Tārnāt Mand (*Plate* VIII.), and Muttanâd Mand.§ The wife of the former cursed her husband, saying, "You possess no *Kotagiri*, no *Tiriari*." Kotēn went to his brother and said, "I am cursed, I can't eat or go to the house; give me a *Tiriari* and some Kotas." Then Tekudi gave him a *Tiriari* bell and buffaloes from the Muttanâd *Tiriari*, and Elna gave him a Kota man and woman.

Kotēn went off with these to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Pâlâls*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri*, called by Todas Mĕrkōkâl.‖

When the Paikara Pâlâl drove Elna's buffaloes to the Sholūr Tiriari, where the god Ênta presides, the buffaloes refused to go, and said they could not go without the bell which Tekudi had taken. The Pâlâl told Elna, who told Ênta. He said he would give a stick, which was to be given to a Pekkan of Manjakal Mund, who was to take a horn to be cut from the head of a living buffalo, and blow it in front, when the buffaloes would follow. Even now when the Paikara buffaloes go to the Sholūr Tiriari, a Pekkan must go in front with a horn, and the horn is blown every evening when the Pâlâl has finished his meal. Ênta added that he would kill Tekudi by a bow and arrow within eight days.

* Such as the Todas still use. Two are seen in *Plate* IX. leaning against the hut.

† A variety of this story is connected with some upright stones, apparently slabs from a half-destroyed cairn, near Mr. Findlay's plantation at Kodanâd. Mr. Findlay tells me that he was told by a Toda, that these were once soldiers who insulted the Pâlâl of a neighbouring Tiriari, whereupon he threw some milk over them and turned them into stones.

‡ The hill nearest Muttanâd Mand is Seven Cairn Hill, connected with the story of Dirkish.

§ All these mands belong to the Todi clan, which is the largest, and possibly the oldest from its position in these stories.

‖ Merkōkâl means the Kota village of the Kundahs. Mĕr is the Toda for Kundahs, and Kōkâl for Kota village.

As Tekudi came from Tarnât Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air. 539 773

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikâra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Tarnât Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotên went to a Kurumba village in Bâni Shîma,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swâmi ‡ woman, by name Têrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotên returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotên slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring § and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Têrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotên and Têrkosh, on the Sisapâra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Têrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotên.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanâd. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanâd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ên's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Mands. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swâmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ên one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ên's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bâni Shîma, the country of the Bhawâni (Bhowâny) river.

‡ Swâmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nîrvên, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotên's ring. Nîrvên claims to be a direct descendant of Kotên. He professes to have lost the spear.

‖ These five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodîtha, Pûrah, Kotên, and Têrkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Maleswaramalê. 776 772

¶ This seems to have been connected to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanâd Mand.

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriaris*. They themselves became *Pālāls*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āzāram*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnād Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Ámunád*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Ámunád*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Ámunád*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of
771 which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

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* *Pūjā*, worship.

582 601 618 114 some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poɭjoɪɭ are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

196 A note on the semantics of the word poɭjoɪɭ may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the poɭj." The most usual meaning of poɭj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called ɑɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ũmd-voɭjoɪɭoɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ũmd) poɭj (i.e. poɭjoɪɭ)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poɭjoɪɭ institution. The semantic development of poɭj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poɭjoɪɭ and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poɭjoɪɭ. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate paḷḷi, "building, temple."

613 539 As was said above, there are at present five sets of poɭjoɪɭ among the toɪrðɑs. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinɑl of the kerɑmroɪɭ (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The kũɑtæmboɭjoɪɭ or oɪrvɑtʂɑɪkvoɭjoɪɭ is said to be descended from kũɑtæm (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poɭjoɪɭ make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oɪr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɑtʂ). A crow (kɑɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moγðɑtkoɪtʃvojvoɭjoɪɭ, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

618 539 order to strengthen a new-born child, they smeared it all over with butter and put it in front of the fire; as a result the child died. Another is called mukoɾðurktoɪɾjvmɪvojvoʎjoɪʎ, "people of the house of those who carried large baskets to the mukoɾ swamp" or moɪvɣoɪṇoðmöʎɣüɑɾtvojvoʎjoɪʎ, "people of the house of those who ground pepper without seeing the deer." It is told that seeing carrion-eating birds circling over a swamp they assumed that there was a dead deer there and went off with large baskets to bring back the flesh, telling the women meanwhile to grind a large heap of [831] pepper for the curry. Of the other two, more indelicate stories are told. One is called pikukveṇvotsvojvoʎjoɪʎ, "people of the house of one who put butter on the navel." A woman covered her navel with butter and made a dog lick it and have intercourse with her. The other is called pɯlt ʃvoʎjoɪʎ. It is said that formerly a man and woman of this poʎjoɪʎ had sexual intercourse with one another. The women of this line are said to be particularly strong in their sexual passions; the verb with this meaning ɑɾtsti, "she is [192] passionate," and the noun ɑɾikn, "passionate woman" are tabooed under the conditions described below, and it is said that the element pɯlt ʃ–, not otherwise found, has the meaning of these tabooed words.

Six poʎjoɪʎ of the töüvɪʎj survive: one other is known to have become extinct some years ago with the death of küɯɪsjɣümɪɾ of the koʎemoɪʎ (Kurikudr in Rivers' Table 72). The others are as follows. The üɑɪvɑɣðɯɾspodjvæɪṭoɪḍjvojvoʎjoɪʎ," people of the house of one who hunted the pig in the üɑɪvɑx swamp" are so named because one of the line hunted a pig which he had seen for a whole day and night and yet let it escape him. Another is called nöɪṇgoɪṭkvɑɾɪɣɑɾtjvojvoʎjoɪʎ,"people of the house of those who sent fuel to nöɪṇgoɪɾ." Men of this line saw a hare, and intending to hunt it for food, set the family to work to collect fuel to roast it for three days. A third is called oɪɾvmṭɣeɪɾjvoʎjoɪʎ. The story is the same as for the oɪɾvɯṭɣɑɪkvoʎjoɪʎ of the other division, except that the cakes were in a basket mukeɪɾj, to which the element keɪɾj in the name is equivalent. Another, the pevɯɪtɣoʎɪjvoʎjoɪʎ, "people of the house of the stealer of a large piece of meat," are so named because one of the line stole a large piece of meat at the sacrifice of a calf (æɪɾɣɯmtt, "act of killing male buffalo").[9] A fifth is called kuðurɣoɪlvɑʎjt ʃetɑpeʎköʎkjvojvoʎjoɪʎ,"people of the house of one who seizing a horse's leg pole-vaulted." It is told that a man, finding a dead horse, cut off the leg and vaulted with it until he reached the door of a house where he was beaten by the occupants. The last is called ömöüköɾkojvɯṇæɪtpɯɪṭvɯɾkɯṭvojvoʎjoɪʎ, "people of the house of one who taking the milking-pot in his left hand at the ti; dairy called ömöü broke

[9] See Rivers, p. 274.

4 [Sets of poljoiʎ among the todas -- ANALYST]

618 wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this
539 poʃjoɪʃ are forbidden to become poʃoɪʃ to this tiɪ. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the moɣðutkoɪt ʃvojvoʃjoɪʃ of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a
[522] tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the kūmdzul, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the poʃjoɪʃ should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

602 A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse
835 between ūmdmortkvæɪdvoj and poʃjoɪʃ of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's mod), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as ūmdmortkvæɪdvoj) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his poʃjoɪʃ or his ūmdmortkvæɪdvoj). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the noɪjm or council takes cognizance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

602 Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same tuṇ or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

[See pp 106 and 107, cat. 539 -- Analyst]

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about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkûlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkûli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

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778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikāra river.

733 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

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524 was not included in the programme of sports got up for our benefit. Dr. Rivers writes that "the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport." I have, on several occasions, come across young children playing with long and short pieces of twigs representing buffaloes and their calves, and going solemnly through the various incidents in the daily life of these animals. Todas, both old and young, may constantly be seen twisting flexible twigs into representations of buffaloes' heads and horns.

539 Of Toda songs, the following have been collected :—

Sunshine is increasing. Mist is fast gathering. Rain may come. Thunder roars. Clouds are gathering.

Rain is pouring. Wind and rain have combined.

Oh, powerful god, may everything prosper!

May charity increase!

May the buffaloes become pregnant!

See that the buffaloes have calves.

See that the barren women have children.

Go and tell this to the god of the land.

Keygamor, Eygamor (names of buffaloes).

Evening is approaching. The buffaloes are coming.

The calves also have returned.

The buffaloes are saluted.

The dairy-man beats the calves with his stick.

Milk has been offered to the bell.

It is growing dark.

This is a buffalo with beautiful horns.

A buffalo stupidly given away by the Badaga.

A buffalo brought to the Kândal mand.

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Innerovya (name of buffalo).
Like this buffalo there is no other.
Parkūr (name of a Toda).
Like him there is no man.
The sun is shining. The wind is blowing.
Rain is coming. The trees are in flower.
Tears are falling. The nose is burning.
He is coming, holding up his umbrella.
He is coming, wearing a good body-cloth.
He is coming, wearing a good under-cloth.
He (the palol) is coming, wearing a black cloth.
He is coming, holding his walking-stick of palai wood.
I have a god. What is to become of me?
I am inclined to cry, my heart being heavy.
Oh, my child! Do not cry. It is still crying.
Thuree. Thuree. See. Be quiet.
A robust bull buffallo. Ach! Ach!
A big buffalo not intended for killing. Ach! Ach!
Is leading the cow buffalo. Ah! Ah!
Two or three men are driving it. Ah! Ah!

Song in honour of the arrival of the Maharāni-Regent of Mysore at Ootacamund.

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All we Todas go to her house, and dance before her.
She gives us fifteen rupees.
She comes near our women, and talks to them.
She gives cloths to us.
Next day we take milk, eight bottles in the morning, four in the evening.
Month by month she pays us for our milk.
She goes back to Mysore, and, when she goes, we stand in a row before her.

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539 She gives us presents; cloths and three rupees.
[648] The women cut their hair, and stand before her.

Marriage Song.

Boys and girls are singing.
Much money are they spending.
To the girl her father is giving five buffaloes.
The husband tells his wife that she must curl her hair.
If her hair is curled, all the people will rejoice.
The buffalo is slain, and now we must all dance.
Why are not more people here? More should come.
My buffalo is big, very big.
Go quickly and catch it.
The Todas are all there. They are standing in a row.
Who will run, and catch the buffalo first?
To him will a present of five rupees be given.
I will go and catch it first.
The Todas are all fighting.
The Todas are all feasting.
People give them rice.
The buffalo is coming. Two men run to catch it by the neck.
Ten men collect the buffaloes. They pen them in a kraal.
At one o'clock we take our food.
The buffalo is running, and I hit it on the back with a stick.
It swerves aside, but I drive it back to the path.
Night comes, and we all dance.
Next morning at ten o'clock we bring out the buffalo, and slay it.

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At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539

At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.

At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793

He lights the lamp.

At eight he milks his buffaloes.

He puts on no cloth.

He places butter and ghi before the god.

Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.

Then he puts on his cloth.

At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.

He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.

He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.

He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.

He alone may sleep in the temple.

At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.

At seven he milks them.

The woman's house is down the hill.

The priest must not go in unto the woman.

He may not marry.

When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.

Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, etc. 771 114 771 177 788

is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːṭ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noːṭoːselm	kuːṭjuθnoːṭ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tōuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːṭ), the sacred place to which the goddess tōːkiṛj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθarm	kumṛtmθnoːṭ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mṛeθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noːṭexuːḍtk	piːmθnoːṭ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tōuenoːjtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tōuθmṭ, the tōunoːṭ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tōunoːṭ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tōunoːṭ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; paːrnuːrθu, puːṭpuːrθu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kuaṣm)" of the mund myːnj, which is paːrnma, said to mean "the standing-place (nma) of the 1600 gods (represented by paːr for paːrnur)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoɪ/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words. 535 614 616 764 765

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other. [533] 614

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɪlkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɪɪr (Kainir, 3) on the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɑrliɪg had married piɪlkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mõɪr patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is 539 614 775 196 114

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kõɪ(k)-koɪpoɪ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pus-ɑɪt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320. [576]

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

539 614 [775] [114]

pərmaxθur,[22] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kujniɪr asked what it was he was told: il·θon·uji puɪrotj·noɪj yst "It is just here that the puɪrotj·noɪj [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poljoɪ·xuɪrjfojoɪ θud·mortk·fæɪdfoj·xuɪrjfojoɪ ṇ puɪrotj·noɪj ysti; poljoɪ ṇoɪṇjti; oɪtoɪ xurəti' udng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The puɪrotj·noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poljoɪ feel shame; the oɪtoɪ laugh.' " The word poljoɪ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɪ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poljoɪ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɪ, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poljoɪ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poljoɪ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪäkj (cf. the verb noɪṇjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kuɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

[764] [578]

pulkümrθoɪr	poljoɪ·ṇoɪäkj	oɪjxümθum
pærθoɪr	oɪtoɪ·ṇoɪṇ	oɪjxümθum
noɪḍoɪk·noɪäkj	oɪjxümθum	
sɪmjoɪk·eig	oɪjxümθum	

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poljoɪ, the oɪtoɪ, the people of the country (noɪḍoɪ), the people of the district (sɪmjoɪ; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poljoɪ and the oɪtoɪ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poljoɪ and oɪtoɪ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[22] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Padmanabhaiah: pp. 398–400); his account is in general incomplete.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says: 196 539 614

poljoɨ-ṇoɨïkj	æɪfʉnen
oɪɪoɨ-foṇt	æɪfʉnen
noɪɪoɨ-ṇoɨïkj	æɪfʉnen
sɪmjoɨ-sig	æɪfʉnen

"I have become ashamed before the poljoɨ; I have become a word [i.e. a subject for ridicule] before the oɪɪoɨ; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of pont "word" with oɪɪoɨ seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's poljoɨ would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The poljoɨ and the oɪɪoɨ together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

poljoɨk-noɪïkj	æɪfʉnen
oɪɪoɨk-foṇt	æɪfʉnen

"I have become ashamed before the poljoɨ; I have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɨ." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by poljoɨ and oɪɪoɨ, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way. [777]

Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

poljoɨ-ṇoɨïkj	æɪfʉnum
oɪɪoɨ-foṇt	æɪfʉnum

"We have become ashamed before the poljoɨ, we have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɨ." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, poljoɨ and oɪɪoɨ seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we feel that the poljoɨ relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

196 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

539 nolkonɯɯk sydj-mil-sydj pɯɽɯθik
poljoɯl-xoɪrjm oɪɪoɯl-fonɽ öštjɯdoɪ ɯdɯθik
614 om orjen enk öštoθ sotj-moɪdkin ɯdɯθɯng noɪrnɯsfum

"You sent message after message to the mund omgoɪs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poljoɯl.' Noɪrnɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poljoɯl, oɪɪoɯl is used as demanded by convention, as is also ponɽ "word," but to fit the pertinent word poljoɯl (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪrjm,[32] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪɪoɯl-fonɽ, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, noɪrnɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poljoɯl, is to be explained.

115 609 114

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poljoɯl, oɪɪoɯl did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poljoɯl, oɪɪoɯl may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 835

It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪrnɯs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[32] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences. 234 764

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among the younger and more agile of the community, but at an important funeral the older and more experienced men may undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for the adroitness with which they perform the feat. 555 616 764 541

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is not satisfactory. 234 764

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

burial-place three times ringing the bell, while another man goes with him holding him by the waist. The man who rings the bell then takes a new pot, ordinarily used for carrying water, and, raising it over his head, brings it down and breaks it on the stone covering the ashes. He bows down and touches the stone with his forehead, gets up, and goes away to the funeral hut without looking back toward the *azaram*. All the others present bow down to the stone in the same way and go away from the spot without looking back. The ceremony of bell-ringing and stone-saluting is called *kwungg tûki kârs ṇersaṭiti*, "bell lift, stone he salutes." 765

At the funeral of a woman, the bell is rung and the pot broken by her husband or by one of his brothers if he be dead. If it is the husband, he will have been wearing the cloak over his head[1] up to this time, and he takes it off just before he bows down to salute the stone. At the funeral of her husband, a widow will similarly remove the cloak from her head before she salutes the stone.

After saluting at the *azaram*, all go to the funeral hut, where they take food, having fasted during the night. Each person cuts a lock of hair from the head as a sign of mourning and then all return home.

At the funeral of a woman, the funeral hut is burnt before the people leave, this being called *ars pon atipimi*, "house up we send." It is the duty of the woman who first lighted the *azaramtût* to set fire to the hut.

The foregoing account of the second funeral ceremonies is that of the proceedings at the present time. When the *marvainolkedr* was prolonged over two days, the proceedings of the first day opened with the capture of the buffaloes, which were put in the pen, and then followed a scene in which the Todas entered the pen, flourishing heavy clubs. The animals were belaboured and driven round and round the pen, and at intervals several men would catch and hold down a buffalo. According to some accounts the bells were hung round the necks of the buffaloes during this performance, but at a funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse[2] this was not done, and he believed that the 234 541 765

[1] See p. 365. [2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii. p. 35.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their
541 agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
765 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
787 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
627 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
765 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

GAMES

541 It is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies, and in the old days when the *marvainolkedr* lasted two days, the first day, devoted to catching the buffaloes and putting them in the pen, must have been largely of a sportive character. Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is a spectacle which is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place.

The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired in a certain degree a ceremonial character.

524 526 177 In one of these games called *narthpimi*, a boy squeezes through a narrow tunnel formed by a flat slab of stone over two upright slabs. Two boys start from different distances, and the object of the nearer boy is to squeeze through the tunnel before the other can touch his feet. I did not have an opportunity of seeing this game, and I only saw the stones with which it is played at one village. This was at Nòdrs, where the three stones are called *menkars* and mark the spot at which one of the ordinary buffaloes is killed at the funeral ceremonies. The *menkars* is shown in Fig. 12 in front of and a little to the right of the entrance to the dairy.

Another game resembling tip-cat is called *eln*, and at some villages there is a special stone where the game is played. A piece of wood pointed at both ends is propped against the stone and struck with a stick, and should be caught by someone at a distance. The name for this game is probably Badaga,[1] and this suggests that the game has been borrowed from this people.

According to Breeks another game called *kâriâlapimi*, resembling 'puss in the corner,' is played by the Todas. The name suggests a true Toda game and I regret that I know nothing about it.

[1] The game is described by Breeks and Thurston under the name of *ilala*, but this again is certainly not Toda.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

766 the whole were clad in clean, white, soft-looking mantles, and wore ear-rings and necklaces of gold and silver. A plaintive monotonous wail was sustained while each man arriving passed before and bowed towards the dead man's ashes.

766 All the males, except one or two grey-headed old patriarchs
0541 who sat with great dignity a little aside, now danced together in
231 a circle holding hands, the Khota musicians accompanying them
782 with tom-toms and pipes. ⅄

When this was concluded half-a-dozen young men, evidently selected for their strength and activity, came forward, each carrying a long heavy club made of dark wood and pointed at the thicker end. Having thrown off the usual mantle, they stood in a kind of kilt of thick white cloth, having a red border round the lower edge, or skirt, the upper part of their bodies, as well as the legs, being bare. In this picturesque and most becoming costume they looked exceedingly handsome fellows, models as they were of muscular symmetry. At once advancing towards the cattle enclosure, with all the women and children running after them in the greatest excitement, these combatants leaped in among the buffaloes, the crowd instantly closing round and completely covering the wall, each endeavouring to get as good a view as possible of the coming spectacle.

The buffaloes were, as may be supposed, alarmed by these unusual proceedings, and their alarm became all the greater when the clubmen dancing wildly in their midst commenced striking them with their clubs. When their panic was at its height the men, watching their opportunity, sprang two together on the necks of three of the largest animals simultaneously, seizing them by the horns and nostrils and endeavouring to bear them to the ground, and affix a collar and bell round their necks. This bell is of the kind usually worn by one or more animals in every herd when grazing, and is of the ancient four-sided form, made of a single plate of metal and roughly riveted.

Marvellous was the agility displayed by these gladiators, as we may term them, in avoiding the savage thrusts of the huge sharp-pointed horns and in getting in behind them on to the animal's neck, wrestling in desperate strife as they were borne here and there among the trampling feet, now dashed against the wall, now on the ground.

To escape unhurt in such a combat was impossible, and it was

⅄ [Second funeral rites -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Au60 Toda Au60

not long before we saw one of the men receive a dangerous wound in the neck from the thrust of a horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. He at once became an object of the greatest solicitude among the women, and was led away as a hero to the small tent, where he received every care and attention at their gentle hands. 766 541 231 782

As, one after another, fresh animals were attacked and borne to the ground with terrific struggles, those already belled and liberated turned on the common enemy, angrily tossing their formidable horns and butting so savagely that, had it not been for the extreme quickness and coolness of these men, some of them must have been killed. Their clubs now swung round and aloft with greater rapidity, and the heavy blows fell thicker and faster, the loud shouts and excited gestures of the male spectators, the exulting *Hau, hau* of the combatants, the weeping and occasional shrieks of the women, the stamping and rushing in the arena, the bellowing of the buffaloes, whose nostrils were covered with blood and foam, and the circling clouds of dust half-hiding the writhing mass, formed a whole more easily pictured in the mind than in words. A bag of the deceased's ashes was now laid at the entrance to the kraal, and the high priest, taking a handful or two of earth, threw some of it on the ashes, and some into the kraal amongst the buffaloes. One of these lay dead in the enclosure, and the rest were one by one led, or rather dragged out to their final doom, struggling violently, and plunging right and left in vain endeavours to escape from their brawny captors, who still clung to their necks. Forced up to a post fixed in the ground, at the foot of which lay the robe, ornaments, and ashes brought from the temple, the battered, bleeding animals were at length despatched there by the high priest's sacrificial axe as an offering to the dead.

Though the women had beheld with interest and excitement the torture of these unfortunate brutes, they now exhibited the greatest grief at their death, sitting and kneeling round the carcases with clasped hands and streaming eyes, addressing them in the most affectionate terms, as "Are you happy?" "Is it well with you?"

The mourners, male and female, next drew near to each other in couples, the man putting out first the right foot and then the left towards the woman he approached, who, dropping on one 766

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

occasion, and Mr. Thurston[1] has recorded examples of several such compositions. 538

Dancing takes place at the funeral ceremonies, and exhibitions of these or other dances are sometimes given by the Todas. The only dancing I saw was at a funeral and it was of the simplest possible description, the men who took part forming a circle and moving slowly round and round. 535 545

The only musical instrument of the Todas is a simple flute, called the *baguri*. It is shown in Fig. 68, where it is being played by the man on the right. The instrument is not much used by the Todas and is not, so far as I know played on any ceremonial occasion. The music at the funeral ceremonies is always performed by Kotas. 534

[1] *Bull.* iv. p. 7.

114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same com-
173 pleteness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.

601 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to
551 whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they
784 had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead. 124 173 601

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure. 551 784 [616]

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kôdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect. 124 173 601

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres* 128 601

[1] [pp. 749-788]

601 171 The Toda system appears to be closely related to that of the Dravidians of Southern India. In several cases the names for certain kin are identical with or closely resemble those of other South Indian languages.

The three most characteristic features of the Toda system are (i.) the use of the same term for mother's brother and father-in-law, &c.; (ii.) the marked development of vocative forms of the kinship terms; (iii.) the marked development of distinctions according to age. These three features are also found in Tamil, and as far as my information goes in Telugu and Canarese. The Toda system appears to be a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity. The resemblance between the Toda and the Tamil names seems certainly to be closer than that between the Toda names and those of the Telugus and Canarese.

I do not wish here to consider these resemblances and differences in any detail, but in the Table on the opposite page I have given a list of those kinship terms in which the Todas resemble other inhabitants of Southern India. The Tamil terms I owe to Mr. K. Rangachari of Madras; the others I have taken from Morgan's *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race.*

Kinship Taboos

601 551 784 A man never mentions the name of his *mun.* If he wishes to make clear of whom he is speaking he will give the name of the place at which his *mun* lives, as "*Tedshteiri ithvai en mun podchi,*" "My uncle who lives at Tedshteiri." This restriction only applies to the own brothers of his mother. Other more distant *mun* may be spoken of by name, and as we have already seen, if a man wishes to make it clear of whom he is speaking, he mentions the name in addition to the kinship term.

A man is also prohibited from uttering the name of the man from whom he has received his wife—*i.e.*, to whom he has done *kalmelpudithti* (see p. 502). This man, who is called the *mokkudrtwaid*, is usually the father of the wife and would normally be also a *mun*, but sometimes the place of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

mokhudrtvaiol is usurped by somebody else and in such a case there might be no restriction on the name of the wife's real father. In the only case of this kind of which I have a record, the marriage of Siriar (20) and Pupidz, the place of *mokhudrtvaiol* was taken by Kuriolv, who was living with Pilimurg (7), the girl's mother, and though he was no real

	Toda.	Tamu.	Telegu.	Canarese.
Son	mokh	maghan		
Elder brother	an (anna)	aṇṇan (aṇṇa)	anna	anna
Elder sister	akkan (akka)	akkal (akka)	akka	akka
Mother's brother	mun (mémi)	amman or maman (mama)	mena mama	mava
Father-in-law	mun (mama)	mamaner (mama)	mama	mava
Father's sister	mumi (mimia)	attai		
Wife of mother's brother	mumi (mimia)	ammami		
Wife's mother	mumi (mimia)	mamiyar (ammami)		
Sister's son	manmokh	maruman or marumakan		
Mother's brother's son	matchuni	maittunan (?)		
Father's sister's son	matchuni	attan or maittunan		
Wife's brother	matchuni or paiol	machchinan or maittunan		

relative of the wife, Siriar might not mention his name. In spite of the fact, however, that Kuriolv had become his *mokhudrtvaiol*, Siriar went privately to Patirsh (35), the real father of his wife, and did *kalmelpudithi* and would also refrain from saying the name of this man.

A man is prohibited from saying the name of his wife's mother (*mumi*), but my notes do not make clear whether he is also prohibited from saying the names of other *mumi*—*i.e.*,

601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this restriction only applies to near relatives.

551 A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,
576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 The various tribes on the hills have secret names; thus,
551 both Badagas and Tamils are called *tutâr katvai*, he who wears or ties the turban; a Kota is called *kîmas ithvai*, he who is beneath; a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, the man who watches the way; a European is called *pelthpol*, or white man. A forest guard is called *petuni ütvai*, *petuni* being here used as a term for uniform, so that if a forest guard has come, they will say, *petuni ütvai podvuchi*.

195 Several of the words used in the secret language do not appear to have any other meaning and are not ordinarily used.
198 Thus the ordinary word for tooth is *pars*, but in secret language *kâtô* or *kâtû* is used. This word is the name of the wall of a buffalo-pen and it is possible that it may mean stones, but I could not ascertain whether this was the derivation, and could only learn that it was another word for tooth. Similarly the ear, of which the ordinary name is *kevi*, is called *pertars*, and the question "Did you wear gold earrings?" becomes *pertarsk ütshia*? "to ear did you wear?"

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXVI

PERSONAL NAMES

551

THE ceremonies of name-giving have already been considered, the chief point of interest being that the name of a boy is given to him by his maternal uncle, while that of a girl is probably given by her paternal aunt. In this chapter I wish to consider the general nature of the personal names of the Todas and some special customs connected with them.

The genealogies provide a large store of material, for it is exceptional for two Todas to have the same name, and no Toda should bear a name which has been borne by another for four generations, and certainly not one which has been borne by one of his own family.

The great majority of Toda names have distinctive terminations which are different for men and women.

The common terminations for males are *-van*, *-kûdr*, *-kût* or *-kûtan*, *-olv*, *-eidi*, and *-ners*. The first was said to be the same word as *pan* or *pun*, the Toda name for the stone circles found on the summits of the hills. The names of deities often receive the same termination; thus Nòtirzi is also called Nòtirzivan, and, in several cases, men received the names of gods or hills followed by the syllable *-van*. The same termination is also given to names which have other derivations.

The terminations, *-kûdr* or *-gûdr*, *-kût* or *-kûtan*, are different forms of the word *kûdr*, which means primarily 'horn,' and when it occurs in a name seems to mean 'child.' The termination in *-kûdr* or *-gûdr* seems to be much more

551 frequently used by the Teivaliol than by the Tartharol, and in both divisions it is rare in older generations.

I do not know the meaning of the terminations in *-olv* and *-eidi*: it is noteworthy, however, that *-olv* is also a frequent ending of the names of dairies.

The termination *-ner* or *-ners* sometimes becomes *-ntr*, and it may be the word for water, possibly with the idea of 'spring.'

The usual terminations of female names are *-veli*, *-veni* or *-vani*, *-eimi*, and *-idj* or *-idz*. Of these, the first is by far the most frequent, being usually pronounced with a *th* sound, as in *-velthli* or *-vilthli*. It is possibly the same word as a frequent Indian name of Venus, which is also the Toda name for this planet. The word also means silver and in the form *pelthiti* is used for 'white.'

The termination *-veni* or *-vani* is probably derived from *pani*, which is said to be an ancient name for a Toda woman. Occasionally the latter form occurred, as in the name of Sinadapani (67), and one of the wives of Kwoten was named Kwaterpani. I know nothing of the derivation of the terminations *-eimi* and *-idz*.

The names of Todas are often derived from villages, dairies or dairy vessels, hills and their deities, and objects of various kinds. There seems to be no objection to use the names of deities or of such sacred objects as the *mani* as personal [177] names, but only as those of men. Recently the Todas have begun to use words of Hindu or even English origin for the names of their children.

103 It is the names of men which are chiefly derived from villages, and at least twenty examples occur in the genealogies. 551 In some cases the name of the village is used without any suffix, as in Ushadr (48) and Madsu (58); in other cases one or other of the customary terminations is used, as in Keradrkutan[1] (26), Nongarsivan (62), Kuirsiners (18), and Karseidi (8). The special point of interest here is that the names of villages which have now disappeared may be preserved as personal names; thus Harkness mentions the village of Kattaul as being near Ootacamund, and, though the

[1] This name also occurs in the story of Kwoten.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

village has now disappeared, its memory is preserved in the name Katolvan (44), borne by one of the Melgarsol, to whom the village belonged. Again, the village of Kepurs, an extinct village mentioned in the legend of Kwoten, is preserved in the name of Kepursvan (18), borne by one of Kwoten's clan, the Panol. 103 551

In general, when a man receives a name derived from a village or other place, the village or place is one belonging to his own clan. Names may be derived from *ti* places as well as from ordinary villages, of which Makars (10) and Pursas (42) are examples.

The special feature of interest about these sources of nomenclature is that personal names may thus preserve records of the past, and a full investigation of the genealogies from this point of view might bring to light the names of many other villages now extinct.

Names are also derived from dairies, buffalo-pens, stones, and other objects of the village; thus Tarziolv, the special name of the *kudrpali* of Kars, is borne by a member of the Karsol (15), and Tilipa (12) is probably a corruption of Tilipoh. A boy of Nidrsi is named Punatu (43) after the buffalo-pen of his village, and the men called Agar (7), Pepners (44), and Persinkudr (16), have received names connected with the operations of the dairy. 551

The names of stones occur in the examples Menkars (10) and Mutchud (45). Several men are named after the sacred bells, or *mani*, of which examples are Nalani (35), Kerani (35), Pongg (47), while Mudriners (57) is named after Mudrani, one of the *patatmani* of Kiudr. The name of Eshkiaguln of Kars (8) is very much like that of one of the bells of Nidrsi, Eshkiakudr, and in one case a man is called Maniners (62).

The *kwarzam* of the prayers form a frequent source of personal names. Thus the name of Puthion (64) occurs in the last clause of the Kuudr prayer, and no less than six men take their names, either directly or with some modifications, from the Kiudr prayer; these are Kil, Erai, Etamudri, Kwelthipush from Kwelpushol, Kishkar from Arsvishkars, and Keikudr, who was also called Parvakudr, derived from

551 another *kwarzam* of this prayer. In one of these cases the name is taken from the *kwarzam* with so much modification that I should not have guessed its derivation if I had not been told; and if this extensive modification is frequent, there may be many more names derived from *kwarzam* than appears to be the case at first sight.

The names of deities are not uncommonly adopted as personal names; the chief examples being Nòtirzi (47), Meilitars (44), Teipakh (20), Etepi (26), Karzo (12), Pòrzo (4), and Pakhwar (16). Two people are also called Tevò (3 and 53), which is a corruption of Teipakh, and a boy is called Kòdrthokutan (43). In many cases men are named after hills, of which Drugevan (40), Kòdrner (7), and Mopuvan[1] (16) are examples, and it is not improbable that these hills are also provided with deities. Two of the instances given above are the names of river-gods, and there is also a man, Palpa (16), named after the stream by which Kwoten met the goddess Terkosh. Punatvan (53) is named after one of the personages in the story of Kwoto. Among these names it is noteworthy that Nòtirzi, the name of a female deity, is borne by a man, and that there is no instance in which a man is named after one of the three ancient and important deities, Pithi, Ön, and Teikirzi.

551 This use of the names of deities as personal names seems to point to the absence of any high degree of reverence 771 for the divine beings. The Todas are by no means free from the ideas of danger and disrespect connected with the utterance of names; and if their gods still received any great degree of veneration, I think it is improbable that their names would be allowed to be in everyone's mouth, as must be the case when used as personal names. It is possible that this use of the names of deities is recent; it is certainly more frequent at the present time than in the older generations recorded in the genealogies, and I strongly suspect that the practice adds another indication to those already given of the decay of the religious sentiment of the Todas.

551 It seems to be extremely rare for persons to have the same

[1] Mopuvan is named after the hill Mopuvthut, which is mentioned in the legend of Puzi (193).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

names as buffaloes. There is only one doubtful example in the genealogies, Kerani (35). This is also the name of a bell, and I am doubtful whether it is really a buffalo-name. It is probable that the absence of the names of buffaloes is merely utilitarian and has no deeper significance. Buffaloes are generally referred to by name, and it would obviously be inconvenient that they should have the same names as people. 551

Many other names are derived from objects or from the language of everyday life. Examples of such are Nipa, stream; Perol, unsanctified man; Irsimitch, lime; Sakari, sweet; Kakar, a grass; Mogai, cubit; Kapur, camphor; and Pòl, a two-year-old calf. Sometimes such words become names by the addition of the terminations *-kûdr* or *-veli*, as in Panmkudr, the horn of a four-anna piece, and Nirveli and Kadakveli, derived from the words for water and for the wild rose. Probably with a wider knowledge of the Toda vocabulary, it would be found that a very large number of the names are formed in this way.

In one case a girl was called Mudukugh (72). She was the third girl in the family, and the name was no doubt given to commemorate the fact.

Often two or more children of a family are given names with a considerable degree of similarity to one another. In one case two brothers are called Mongeidrvan and Tergeidrvan (53); in another, Piliar and Piliag (52); and in a third, Singudr and Sinar (55); three sisters are called Teinesveli, Ternersveli, and Kenerveli (51), and in such cases it seems probable that new names are invented.

At the present time children are in many cases receiving Hindu names. Three young boys are called Arjun, Parvishki, and Sandisparan, and a young girl is called Natcham, which was said to represent Latchmi. Other Hindu names are Katcheri (Cutcherry), Sirkar, Kedjeri, and probably there are many others. 177 551

In a few cases names of English origin have probably been given, as in the case of Pensil, and the name Birkidj was said to be derived from Breeks.

The genealogical record shows clearly that this use of names derived from external sources is quite recent. There is a very

177 striking difference in general character between the names of the present and those of older generations, and a foreign 551 origin is especially frequent in the names of children less than ten or fifteen years of age. The evidence from names would seem to point to a rapid spread of outside influence during the last ten years.

Shortened forms of names are often used. The termination of a word may be dropped; thus Nurmaners is often called Nurman, Ultzkudr becomes Ultz, and Paniolv, Pani. Sometimes the contraction is of a different kind; thus the girls Astrap and Pumundeivi are usually called Asp and Pumidz, and the name of the boy Kulpakh often becomes Kulen.

In addition to his proper name nearly every Toda has a nickname, usually given to him by the Badagas. These names often refer to some personal peculiarity, and this is probably the reason why nicknames were usually given to me with great reluctance, there being a distinct reversal of the condition found in communities of lower culture, where the proper names are usually kept secret, while only nicknames are uttered. Arpurs (46) was nicknamed Suri (knife) on account of his sharp nose, and Nertolvan (16) is called Teinkan or 'Bee eye,' on account of the smallness of his eyes, like those of the honey bee. In other cases I do not know the origin of the Badaga names, but they have usually different forms from those of true Toda names, often terminating in *-oin* or *-iiln*. Sometimes the Badaga name is merely a modification of the Toda name, as when Tudrvan becomes Utudiki. In a few cases I heard the Badaga name of a man more often than his Toda name; thus Tövoniners is usually called Aravoin, and a noted Toda of the last generation is always spoken of by his Badaga name, Mervoin. In a few cases, men long dead are remembered by their Badaga names, while their Toda names are forgotten.

551 As I have already indicated, nicknames are often used by people of low culture as a means of evading taboos, and though, as we shall see shortly, such taboos exist among the Todas, I met with no instance in which a Toda, who was unable to utter a name, gave a nickname in its stead.

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From the foregoing account it is evident that in the names of the Todas we have a storehouse of words the investigation of which might lead to many discoveries in connexion with their half-forgotten folklore and past history. We have seen that the names of villages which have now entirely disappeared may still be preserved in the names of persons, and I have little doubt that a complete investigation of the names included in the genealogies would furnish a record of many more extinct villages and possibly provide clues to institutions which have now wholly disappeared. 551

Change of Name

There are three chief conditions which lead Todas to change their names. If two men have the same name, and one of the two should die, the other man would change his name, since the taboo on the name of the dead would prevent people from uttering the name of the living. The most recent example of this occurred about six years ago. There were two men named Matovan, one of Pan (19) and the other of Kwòdrdoni (34). The Kwòdrdoni man died and Matovan of Pan changed his name to Imokhvan, and it is this name which will be found in his pedigree. 553

This change of name may also be effected even when there is only a similarity between two names. Thus when Punbuthuvi, the wife of Parkurs (8), died, Sinbuthuvi of Kusharf (65) changed her name to Pukuruveli. Similarly when Òners of Kuudr (56) died, Ìners of Piedr[1] (64) changed his name to Tokulvan.

A person may also change his name merely because it is the same as, or very similar to, that of another, this being done simply to avoid inconvenience and misunderstanding. It sometimes happens that a child is given the same name as some other child, and then one or other is renamed. Thus a boy was named Oblodj, but it was found later that there was a girl at Kars called Obalidz (12), and so the name

[1] It will be noticed that, in these two cases, the old names are those which occur in the genealogies. My informant probably remembered these better than the new names, which had been assumed only late in life.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

553 of the boy was changed to Meilitars (44). A boy of Päm was called Kudeners, but it was found that there was another Kudeners at Taradr (25), so the name of the former was changed to Arparners, often shortened to Arpar (38).

When Kainir (3) married, his wife's name was Kanir, but she changed it since it was so like that of her husband. It was said to have been changed to Singub, but she was always known as Udz at the time of my visit.

Change of name of this kind is not obligatory, and there are several cases in which two people now living have the same name. When a change is made because two people have the same name or similar names, it is the younger of the two who changes. In most of the cases in which two people bear the same name it will be found that one belongs to the Tartharol and the other to the Teivaliol, and I am doubtful whether in this case names are changed except as the result of death.

553 A third reason for changing names is illness or other misfortune. When a man is ill, change of name is sometimes
755 recommended by a diviner, but this is not often done. One of my guides, Kutadri (7), had changed his name twice. His original name had been Okeithi or Okvan, but as there was another Okvan of Keadr (68), he became Tagarsvan. Later he fell ill, and, on the recommendation of a diviner, Tagarsvan changed his name to Kutadri, and I never heard him spoken of or addressed by any but this name during my visit.

Taboos on Names

551 The only definite restrictions on the utterance of the names of living people are those connected with kinship which have already been considered in Chapter XXI. A man may not utter the names of his mother's brother, his grandfather and grandmother, his wife's mother, and of the man from whom he has received his wife, who is usually the wife's father. The names of the above are tabooed in life, while after death the restrictions are still wider, and it is forbidden to utter the name of any dead elder relative, while the names of the dead are in any case only said reluctantly.

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551

It may seem strange that this reluctance should exist among a people who possess so full a genealogical record. The reluctance probably only extends to the public utterances of ordinary life and disappears when the people discuss affairs in which genealogical lore plays a part, or when they are transmitting this lore to others.

In addition to the definite taboos, there is often much reluctance in uttering personal names. The Todas dislike uttering their own names, and a Toda, when asked for his name, would often request another man to give it. Sometimes my guide was obviously reluctant to give me the names of the people who came to see me, and it seemed to me that this was especially so when the people were related to him by marriage, *i.e.*, men who had married into his clan; but I could not satisfy myself definitely that it made him more uncomfortable to utter the names of such relatives than those of other people.

In some parts of the world the taboo on the names of the dead involves also a taboo on the names of the objects which correspond to the names of the dead or to parts of these names. If such restrictions existed among the Todas, they would have on the death of Nirveli and Panmkudr to find other names for water and for a four-anna piece. It was quite clear, however, that there were no such restrictions, and that this frequent cause of change of vocabulary has not been at work in the case of the Toda language.

CHAP. VII. 553 intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

858 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred 562 places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given 846 about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames— 551 porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure 463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda, 551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

those ordinary sources. Nor, as I notice, are they ever called 'of such a village,' 'of the brae,' 'of the hill;' presumably because every Mand has its duplicate, with a different appellation and varying nature of locality.

An informant acknowledged with much laughter and shamefacedness, that his own nickname was Gurugudugan or Gurugurgan—so far as could be understood through his modesty. It appears that when driving an *old* buffalo—let this be remembered when we describe funeral obsequies—purchased from a Badaga village for funeral purposes, it died on the road. And this word, whatever its meaning may be, seems to have been given him in ridicule for having purchased an animal that at once died.

His father, he said, was termed Bülta, from Bült, a bird; being noted for swiftness of foot in his occupation of driving cattle.

Here are a few nicknames:

Kalkutti.	Mûrukâlu.
Kûndagalla.	Kûndemati.
Bira.	

Some *sobriquets* have, as might be expected, indecent meanings.

'Are you called by your name or by your nickname?' I asked of a young man. 'Generally by my porra hesru; but when they want anything of me they are more civil, and use my proper name.'

I do not know if women have any such *sobriquets*. Indeed some delicacy is shown in mentioning women's names at all. And I experienced difficulty in obtaining the following; each man being willing to tell those of every man's wife and daughter but his own. I observe in a book on the Todas by a late author, that the designations he has given are literally 'wife or daughter of so and so'—being a man—but not the actual name of a woman:

CHAP. VII.

551

Quêldirth.	Jinvani.
Tushquilth.	Nastufi.
Muneth.	Ânchaguti.
Penpuv.	Chizarêm.
Dirthavilli.	Pentirêm.

553 A woman retains her maiden name on marriage; being known, for instance, as Nastufi, the wife of Beliâni.

551 It is etiquette in speaking of another man's wife to term her
576 either kottê or pannê;[7] the first, if her husband is of the
601 Pyki clan, the second if of the Pekkan, Tôdi, Kenna, or Kuttan clans.

A man calling to his wife, or a wife to her husband, would not say 'come here Nastufi or Beliâni,' but 'kukh itva, come here woman,' or 'âl itva, come here man.'

But the more proper term by which a man speaks of his wife is yen kâtvoti.[8]

According to these rules, people talking of the woman Nastufi, would describe her as Beliani pannê, or kottê. *He* would mention her as kâtvoti. He would *call out* to her as kukh.

List of Relationships.

601 Man, person, husband . . Âl.
Man—young . . . . Varsh.[9]

[7] Kottê. Pannê. Such terms are difficult. They are frequently of a depreciatory character.

Kôṭṭa = *a fort* or *large dwelling*. Kôṭṭi = *a person of a fort, a superior inhabitant*. Paṇi = *jewel*. Paṇi = *work*. [POPE.]

[8] Yen Kâtvoti. Yen or en = *my*, constantly prefixed in Drâvidian to words indicative of relationship.

Kaṭṭu = *bind, join*. V is an insertion of tense, used in forming verbal nouns with a future or indefinite temporal signification.

Ati is a feminine termination.

The word means, '*she who is bound to me*.' [POPE.]

[9] This is, I think, Sansk. : purusha. But there is vîras, *a hero*.

In old high Tamil we have virral, and the termination al becomes in Toda sh as a general rule. [POPE.]

and kiss its face: then sitting in groups of pairs—both sexes indiscriminately—with the tops of their foreheads joined, give way to wailing and lamentation. A most singular and interesting spectacle, rendered more piquant and real, by the aspect of a small boy who, not finding his pair, was running about from one crying group to another, blubbering till his face was distorted and swollen, looking amongst the mantles for a spare head to rest his own against. CHAP. XX. 764

Thus they remain till the body has been consumed: when the lock of hair that had been cut off, together with portions of the half-burnt skull—nirrzh[9]—are collected in a piece of cloth, to be deposited in a corner of his house,[10] henceforth kept shut up, till the bara kêdu. [765]

The silver and gold of the burnt jewellery are sought for from the ashes, but little valueless odds and ends—as knives, iron rings and other ornaments, the rings off the ends of wooden pestles—together with the ashes of the dead, are buried in the ground. The hole which contains these remains is then filled up with earth, on which water *is* poured. Over all a stone. The earthen vessel which held the water is broken.

Having saluted the spot where the ashes have been buried, by touching it with their foreheads, they leave the place, avoiding it henceforward, but merely on account of the painful associations connected with it. A person once dead is never *named*, though he may be made the subject of conversation. 769 551

It is a mistake to suppose these people have a feast—a jollification—after this funeral. Indeed they are as little disposed for anything of the sort as we should be in the same position. But a number of friends from a distance have to be fed, and as all are not real *mourners*, and have many of them brought excellent appetites, they eat. 765

[9] Nirrzh. Nhru.=*sacred ashes, ashes.* This is at the root of it. [Pope.]

[10] Some such custom would be the origin of the Manes and Penates.

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniyen, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them.

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kiba Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pújári*. Any mand may celebrate the Kiba Shastra if the *pújári* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring ckole. The Pelki *Pawáldi* comes with three holy branches of the *Tir* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tir*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *cavala*, *ambu*, or *kow* tree, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast.

The institution is *Mimoli*,† they say, and was ordained by Koton, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two.

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Pawáldi*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pálúlan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a central temple (*kow*), the *Pawáldi* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pálúkoli*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and

* Cf. *Sinder* vii. 9.

† *Mimoli* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Badagaras is described by *Ouseley* (*Peoples of India*, p. 94). In this case the *Pawáldi* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pálkchi* and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female
● 551 child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's
584 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead. An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claim-
583 ing his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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601 * Names used to express relationships in Toda.

English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1. Father	*Ên, Epen.*	
2. Mother	*Ef.*	
3. Son	*Mödi.*	
4. Daughter	*Kidi.*	
5. Father's elder brother	*Peudin*	Great father.
6. " younger "	*Kwedin*	Little do.
7. " elder sister	*Mönö.*	
8. " younger "		
9. Mother's elder brother	*Mönön.*	
10. " younger "		
11. " elder sister	*Peudaf*	Great mother.
12. " younger "	*Kwedaf*	Little do.
13. Father's brother's son	*Ên*	Brother.
14. " " daughter	*Ákkon*	Sister.
15. " sister's son	*Mudon.*	
16. " " daughter	*Tajmukk*	Female.
17. Mother's sister's son	*Ên*	Brother.
18. " " daughter	*Ákkon*	Sister.
19. " brother's son	*Mudon.*	
20. " " daughter	*Tajmukk*	Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear reasonable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no names for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Ên* and *Tajmukk*, which simply mean man and woman. In *Anthropological Journal for January and July* 1871, page 38, *ye* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

Male Names.	Female Names.
1. Kivi, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tarwed* is so called.	1. Kithawk, (lit.) silver coin.
2. Pawdi, literally a great man.	2. Dandikide, (lit.) a jewel coin.
3. Kárkide, (lit.) child of jewel.	3. Tikkide, (lit.) gold coin.
4. Pookide, (lit.) child of gold.	4. Borith, so meaning that I am find out.
5. Tikkide, (lit.) do.	5. Dapkili, (lit.) silver ring.
6. Pudchikide, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.	6. Pandakikamed, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. Kidikide, (lit.) the man of the funeral.	7. Kamakes, (lit.) Cutchery, flower offer.
8. Ákkide, (lit.) a man.	8. Pilimarugu, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. Belawin, (lit.) like silver.	9. Pilimaru, (lit.) white ring.
10. Kwedi, (lit.) little man.	10. Tikkin, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

537

943 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[593] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tâli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes [592] a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sapiens glaucus*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kûdal it is *Pirshelikhen*.
" Muttinhd " *Pirshivikh*.
" Kodanhd " *Kerrhdeerich*.
" Manjakal " *Belipdrif*.

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nîpo* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Mûnâ* and *Shûtro*. One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow we have got a wife who is with child.*"†

796 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the 557 respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordsei Kôdu*), which takes place 765 soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marsendi Kôdu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

[301]

* The *Tâli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tâli.

† *Sun Cooey Mountain*, by Rev. H. Mengling, p. 40 :—

"As soon as a Cooey boy is born, a little bow of a cane-like plant stick (*Bambusa conomonis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is then, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"? That such marriages have been a recognized practice in India from ancient times is evident from Manu, iii. 33.

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[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock; *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 9 :—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolized by capture or purchase, or among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not valued but enslaved to her husband."

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, pp. 381-12, 1937); in that paper, ŋ, ɲ, ɳ should be read for ŋ, ń, ṇ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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551 patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions
[614] the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondwiidz. One of these is the daughter of imuuxfuun (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midxrüuiɪ (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondwɪr to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary
771 to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of
234 munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and
[192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as tôö "god" or ɪ̂ɪ̂ɪ "sacred place" or by the compound tôönoɪɪ, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and
776 noɪɪ when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some
778 extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the
[179] gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god ôm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the tôönoɪɪ, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619-27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543-60, 1937).

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It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the küasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of küasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toirüasoɨ̨ moiety, but not among the töüfiɨ̨joɨ̨), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tiɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of küasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one küasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one küasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the küasm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and küasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. üuɪʂoɪɪ of the melguɪsoɨ̨ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paɪng (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maɪkaɪs of the kaɪsoɨ̨ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiɪ-places of this sib. toɪsjaɨ̨f of the kaɪsoɨ̨ (15, Tarsiolv) has the name of the kuɪpoɨ̨j dairy at the mund kaɪs. kɔmdüuɪ of the toɪroɪroɨ̨ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoɨ̨j dairy at the mund toɪroɪɪ. pepoɪb of the melgaɪsoɨ̨ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuɪsaɪs, a mund of the sib. köɪroɪxüuɪṭn of the köɪroɪroɨ̨ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second küasm of the people of the sib. oɪtjaɪs of the puɪgoɪroɨ̨ (34, Atiurs) has the second küasm of the people of the sib. munoɪnbiɪʃtj, son of koɪtsiɨ̨j (12, Kacheidi) has one of the küasm of the buffaloes of his sib.

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AW60 Toda AW60

778 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this
551 is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has
614 been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæɪθj in §12 and ʈæɪθjxæɪn, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tuɪpuɪsxūuɪʈn, son of tæɪpux (20, Teipakh), and tuɪɪfnuɪs (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoʃj dairy at the mund toɪroɪŋ, which is named tuɪpuɪsforū. In the case of one man panuɪs (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is koɪnuɪs, which is the first kūasm of the mund paʃtaɪr of the toɪroɪroɪʃ, but that a real kūasm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name panuɪs is based on the second kūasm of this mund, paɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged kūasm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. öɪkjaʃf (24, Irkiolv) after the kūasm öɪrnuɪs, öɪkjaʃf, and oɪxūuɪlɪn (24, Orguln) after the kūasm oɪrnuɪs, oɪxūuɪlɪn; the kūasm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
776 existent is clear, for kiɪrnuɪs of the niɪrjoʃ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second kūasm of the mund niɪrj, and orjxæɪs of the
614 möɪroʃ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second kūasm of the mund pan. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always
551 clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of
103 compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. töūmod (24, Teimad) <a valley (paʃ) called töūmodfaʃ. mogoj (24, Mogal) <mogojnæɪs "cubit (mogoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtsūuɪ of his sib.[6] kakaɪr (20, Kakar) <kakaɪrxūut, an open place in the middle of thickets (kūut) near the mund toɪroɪŋ. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiθjmuɪrj (20, Kidimudri) <kiθjmuɪn, a mountain; muɪn is the peak of a hill and muɪrj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

[6] Rivers (p. 622) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

[114]

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§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -kūmɪr. This is clearly the noun kūmɪr "stream," "path," or "horn." One man kūmɪngūmɪr (63, Kwongudr) is named after kūmɪngūmɪr, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. nomɪgūmɪr (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tōgoɪr. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iṛxūmɪr (21, Idrshkwòdr) <iṛfal, a valley (pal) near the mund tomoɪr; idzxūmɪr (23, Idjkudr) <idzfal, a valley near the mund paʃtɪr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. tōɪrxūmɪr (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund æpɪmɪgoɪr. In many other names however -kūmɪr can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word kūmɪr has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyze the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæmxūmɪr (62, Kangudr), where kæm refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxūmɪr (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoɪr, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms kūmɪr "stream" or "path" and kūmɪr "horn."[7]

[7] I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

pæʃyomiʃ	peṛk æɪfum
flower-like fruit	crowd-for I became
teṛjomoʃ	tæɪk æɪfum
pole-who are-men	bushes-to they became

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The teṛʃ is a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

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193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -kūwṭṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in pwtʃofxūwṭṇ (a son of sirjuɪr 20)<pwtʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in twɪpwɪsxūwṭṇ (20; referred in §6)<twɪpwɪsforū, the kogfoʃj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæɪnxūwṭṇ, son of toɪlirθj and nertnwɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners)<kæɪnaʃf, the ūwɪsoʃj dairy at the mund korkos. A son of kūɪroɪn of the pwɪrgoɪroʃ (34, Kwodron) is named ɪsojxūwṭṇ<ɪsojwɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib. köɪkisjxūwṭṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the [177] Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxūwṭṇ in table 25)<köɪkisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fwn; e.g. in kɪrorfwn (21, Karadrvan)<kɪrorθwṭ, name of a mountain (twṭ) near toɪroɪr; wɪrkūwɪrfwn (24, Idrkudrvan)<wɪrkūwɪrfaɪw, a river (paɪw) near Mt. kɪrorɪ; pwtʃefwn (24, Pachievan)<pwtʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. pwtʃofxūwṭṇ in §9); kergæɪrfwn (25, Kerskedrvan)<kergæɪrfaɪw, a stream near the mund pɑʃtɪɪr; ɪsojfwn<ɪsojwɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the pwɪrgoɪroʃ, is another name of poɪfwṣ (35, Patirsh; cf. ɪsojxūwṭṇ in §9); mupuɪfwn (16, Mopuvan)<mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoɪʃ or pæɪθoɪʃfwn, kæɪnodz or kæɪnodzfwn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mwn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pwn, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

[83 553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, op. cit., p. 489.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. 831 192 The three meanings given for pwn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fwn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of kūasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. mymj of the kuɪrūmṭoɪʃ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kūasm is paɪrnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪs) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭṇuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nul- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kūasm koɪnuɪs of the mund nyɪlṇ of the meḷgaɪsoɪʃ is to be interpreted as koɪn-nuɪs "the place of the god koɪn;" kom or komśōū is the mountain near this mund. The first kūasm of the mund meḷgaɪs is naɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two kūasm of the people of this sib, naɪsśoɪr, naɪsfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrθaɪsoɪʃ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kūasm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsiʃṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪs, naɪsūuɪ (i.e. naɪs-tūuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪs is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kluɪr of the kuɪrūmṭoɪʃ and kūaɪrθyṇj of the puɪrgoɪroɪʃ, have kūatæmuɪs as their first kūasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of kūatæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the möɪroɪʃ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not kūasm, with this element are poʃjnuɪs "the place of the funeral-ḥut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪrūmṭoɪʃ, and maɪnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the möɪroɪʃ, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and kūasm of munds. A brother of momgiɪθj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kluɪdnuɪs, whose name is the first kūasm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kaɪsnuɪs (56, Karmers) < the first kūasm of the mund taɪmuɪr of his sib. The name kimuɪs (26, Kiner) is derived from kimuʃnuɪs, the first kūasm of the mund köɪroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

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is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboos work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 120).

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●551 193 suitable ending for personal names. E.g. panuɪ and tuɪɪfnuɪ (§6); kūuɪrjnuɪ (25, Kudeners) < the relic-burning place kūuɪrjoɪsoɪrm at the funeral-place tyʃtsūuɪ; piɪḷdjnuɪ (21, Püldenir) < piɪḷdjxɪsfem, the slope of a hill near the mund kūuɪrmɪɪ; nertnuɪ (24, Nertiners) < nerpɑʃt, an alternative name, or unerpɑʃt, the first kūɪsm, of the mund tæɪlgūuɪr.

[103] §12. Another suffix of quite unknown meaning, but probably originally at home in place-names, is -iθj. ertsiθj (20, Ircheidi) is taken without change from the name of a hill near the mund kɪrkoɪ. All the other names with this suffix that I can derive show it as a suffix or as a substitute for some other element; e.g. tuɪziθj (20, Tirseidi) < tuɪkisjxöɪr, a pool at the mund toɪroɪr. He was a brother of ertsiθj, but his eldest brother, and so his name was not influenced by the latter's, but vice versa, and both were probably influenced either in formation or in choice by that of their father tæɪθj. This last name is puzzling, but is said to be derived from tæɪf, the name of the mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, and we may suspect that -θj is related to the suffix -iθj. Two other brothers of tuɪziθj have names with the same formative -iθj, tuɪnpiθj (Tanpeidi) < kūuɪṭθuɪnp, the raised grassy mound (tuɪnp) where the corpse is laid at the funeral-place tyʃtsūuɪ, and muɪḍbiθj (Madbeithi) < muɪḍboɪrθuɪt, a mountain near toɪroɪr. pɑɪkiθj (21, Parkeidi) < pɑɪkefem, the slope of a hill near the mund kɪrkoɪ. toɪliθj (24, Tòleidi) < toɪlfɑɪu, a stream (pɑɪu) near the mund tæɪlgūuɪr. It was said that puɪlkiθj (22, Pulkeidi) was named after the mund puɪlkūuɪr and the mountain kiθjmuɪn near the mund kūuɪrmɪɪ; this is possible, but derivation from puɪlkūuɪr alone is possible in view of the preceding examples. kydziθj (21, Kudztheidi) < kyd, a male funeral-place of the toɪroɪroɪʃ. kūuɪrṭiθj (21, Kuteidi) < kūuɪṭθuɪnp, see tuɪnpiθj above. These two men were brothers, an elder brother was pɑɪkiθj (explained above), their father was petūuɪθj and another elder brother was oɪrdūuɪθj; the similarity of endings is striking, and is paralleled by various similarities of ending (such as that given earlier in this paragraph) or of beginning in various families. The ending found in the last two names is probably -tūuɪθj. I know it in these names only. oɪrdūuɪθj (Arthothi) derives from ertoɪʃ, an open stretch of ground (toɪʃ) near the mund ertoɪʃ. The origin of petūuɪθj (Peratuthi) is unknown.

§13. Another ending is -odz; e.g. kæɪnodz (21, Keinodz) < kæɪnejʃ, the ūuɪsejʃ dairy at the mund kɪrkoɪ. This ending appears preceding another suffix in the name of tyʃjodzxūuɪr, son of toɪliθj (24), named after tyʃjpuɪʃ, a path through a thicket near toɪroɪr; tyʃjxūuɪr would have been possible, but this name is borne by another man, as is also tyʃjodz (62, Tiliodz), which is derived from kɪtyʃj, the kūɪsm of the gateposts of the pen at the mund piɪr.

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§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nasom (a son of tæɪpax [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. kūuɹom of the puɹgoɪɹoɹ̨ (34, Kwodron), who is named after the mund kūuɪɹθynj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. panuɹ in §6). The suffix -aɪɹ is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ar "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinaɪɹ (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. sirjaɪɹ (20, Siriar) <*siriuggam*, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piɹ̨jaɪɹ (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun piɹ̨j "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kuɹfoɹ̨j dairy at the mund kuɪɹūuɹ, which has as kūasm piɹ̨jag, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag). 551 193 [614]

§15. Rivers took -oɹ̨l (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So toɪsjoɹ̨l in §5, and ōɪkjoɹ̨l in §6; the latter is one kūasm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one kūasm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are kūuɪsjoɹ̨l (52, Kuriolv) and paɹuɪkiɪsjoɹ̨l (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from kūuɪsuɹn, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at pirts, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from punaɪsoɹ̨l, the second kūasm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. paɹuɪkiɪsjoɹ̨l<paɹuɪkiɪsjniɪ, the watering place of the kuɹpoɹ̨j dairy at the mund kaɪs, with the ending from toɪsjoɹ̨l, the name of the kuɹpoɹ̨j dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in porō used as a personal name, viz. tyɹ̨jporō (12, Tiliya), which is derived from poɹōyɹ̨jporō, the kūasm of the ōuɹeɹ̨j dairy at the mund naɪsminoɹ. Usually some change is made, as in taɹpaɪɹōwɪtɹ and taɪɹfaɪɹ in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piɹ̨(j)aɪūaɪɹ in §21. 551 193 234

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. panaɪɹ (23, Paner)<*panarōō*, the second kūasm of Mt. 551 193 [553]

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55 193 [553] pəirθotj near the mund kərkəs. edzen (22, Idjen) <ɪɪdzfəl, a valley near the mund pəʃtəɪr; this man was afterwards called küərzəs, from a rocky ground near the mund tæɪlgüɪɪr, since there was another man called edzen. nətyljj (25, Natuli) <kinxətyljj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund pəʃtəɪr; kinxətyljj = "small (kin)-stone (kəs)-deep pool (tyljj)," and nətyljj = "beauty (nəs)-deep pool (tyljj)." I could not discover that nətyljj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tærθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tærθj and kæm, a brother of tærθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmənlf, cf. kæmgüɪtn (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkirθj, for which see §12.

55 552 674 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or küərm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjəɪr in §14. Others are moɪronuɪs, a son of töüθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪrəmn, i.e. Mariamma; noɪxoroɪdzn, a son of sirjəɪr (table 20), <noɪxuɪr "Nagore" or noɪxuɪrxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roɪdzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noɪxor or noɪxoroɪf "cobra."

55 796 197 §18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ərdʒon "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda n is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ərdʒ. The other name is idjoɪn (a son of tæɪpəx, table 20). This is from idroɪdzn "king (roɪdzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in ömgüɪtn (20, Enkutan); öm, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes küəlöü, who belonged to the sib of the melgəɪsəlf, had another name mæɪltərz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meiltarz).

55 197 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. kəɪntsərz, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (ərz is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa ərasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

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also means "Englishman, European in general." It may be that the Tamil urusan is also concerned in the origin of the Toda word, but in that case we should expect final -n to remain.). It is to be expected that names of Badagas might be adapted, and perhaps such cases occur, but I have no record of any. 551 177

§20. One name that I know of has reference to an incident in the life of a man's father. udjoisn (34, Udiosan) was made from udj "a government appointment" and oisn "he who became," since when this man was born, his father held an appointment as a forest-ranger. 551 554

§21. Many of the examples given above are names of men of the toiroiroj sib. In order to give a comprehensive view of all the names of one sib, I collect those here with references to the paragraphs where they are treated above and add all those that have not yet been mentioned. A few names given in Rivers' tables of this sib are not remembered by my informants, either because they belonged to children who died before they made any mark in the tribal life, or because the taboos on the names of the dead have caused them to be forgotten. I mark with an asterisk those names that follow the norm of derivation from names of places, objects, etc., connected with the sib. 551 614

RIVERS' TABLE 20

*tæɪθj (§12)
*tuɪzɪɪθj (§12)
*tuɪppɪɪθj (§12)
*nöɪrnuɪs (Narsners) < unöɪrof, the second köarm of the mund tæɪlgüuɪr (see nertnuɪs, §11)
*muɪdbɪɪθj (§12)
*ertsɪɪθj (§12)
*kakuɪr (§7)
*tæɪpaɪ (Teipakh) < tüuɪrkæɪpaɪ, a pen at the mund toiroiɪ sirjuɪr (§§14,17)
*tæɪfxüuɪr (Tavkudr) < Mt. tæɪf near toiroiɪ, "he who has horns as tall as Mt. tæɪf" (cf. §8)
*kiɪθjmurj (§7)
*paɪpxüuɪr (Pankudr) < paɪpdüuɪ, two pens, one at toiroiɪ, one at karkos (cf. §8)
*köɪkirjxüuɪtp (§9)
*æɪdʒ, son of kakuɪr, < æɪdʒaɪxuɪt, a ravine near poʃtaɪr (cf. §7)
idjom (§18)
nasom (§14)
*tuɪpæɪxüuɪtp (§§9, 15)

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ömgüwtp̣ (§18, and cf. §9)
notxoroidn (§17)
*tæθjxæm (§16)
*pwtʃofxüwtp̣ (§9)

Rivers' Table 21

petüwiθj (§12)
*karorfum (§10)
*oirdüwiθj (§12)
*puikiθj (§12)
*kydsiθj (§12)
*küwitiθj (§12)
*piɭdjnus (§11)
*kæmodz (§13)
*iṣxüwir (§8)
*munæis (Muners), name of a mountain near the funeral-place tyʃtaüwi (cf. §5)

küoḍxurts (Kudrvas), son of kæmodz; this was the name of the father or grandfather of petüwiθj, a great man of former times. The origin of the name is unknown; a guess was hazarded that the first part (küoḍ) represents the Badaga word for an umbrella and has to do with the shape of a tree connected with the sib.

komtsasz (§19)

Rivers' Table 22

*puɭkiθj (§12)
*kiṇjxæir (Kiuniar), a level ground where the game el, tipcat, is played near the mund pəʃtair (cf. §5)
*poiɭgar (Polgar), a valley between torrorr and pəʃtair (cf. §5)
*edzen, alias *küṇzas (§16, and cf. §5)
*pundüwi (Pundu) < pundüwi, a cooking ground at kurkos (cf. §16)
*kömuwif (Keinmuv) < kömmuifniv, the dairy watering-place at pəʃtair (cf. §7)
*pəʃtxüwir (Pushtikudr) < nerpəʃt (§§8, 11) with special reference to the pəʃt "large flat lichen-covered rock" at the mund
*tuikküwṣ, son of poiɭgar, < tuikküwṭeθj, a mountain, formerly a semi-mythical hero who belonged to the sib

Rivers' Table 23

*ponus (§§6, 11)
*toikas (Tokas), a mountain near kurkos (cf. §5)
*punior (§16)

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*tööθuxn (Teitukhen), a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. §5)
*ɪidzxüɯɪr (§8)
*koɪndüɯɪ (§5)
*töötüɯɪ, son of ɵɪkos and puɪnɯɪr, <name of the general pen at toɪroɪr (cf. §5)
*moɪronɯɪs (§17, and cf. §11)

RIVERS' TABLE 24

*puɪtʃefɯn (§10)
*ɯɪrküɯɪrfɯn (§10)
*kidʒxüɯɪṭn (Kidjkɪtan), origin unknown to my informants (cf. §9)
*öɪkjoʎf (§§6, 15)
*töümod (§7)
*oɪxüɯɪḷn (§6)
*toɪliθj (§12)
*nertnɯɪs (§11)
*mogoj (§7)
*piʃtjxümɪr (Pushtkòdr) <piʃtjforü, the second küɑsm of the üɯsoʎj dairy at toɪroɪr (§15, and cf. §8)
*tyʎjodzxüɯɪr (§13 and cf. §8)
*kæɪnxüɯṭn (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 25

*nɑfyʎj (§16)
*kergæɪrfɯn (§10)
*küɯɪrjnɯɪs (§11)
*tɯɪfnɯɪs (§§6, 11, 15)
ɑrdʒon (§18)

§22. This list contains 66 names, plus one alias; 6 of those in Rivers' tables were unknown to my informants. Of the 67 names, 2 are of unknown origin, one (küɑdxɑrts) is doubtfully connected with the sib, 8 are definitely not connected with the sib, and 56 (55 plus one alias) are definitely connected with the sib. Expressed in percentages and counting the one doubtful case with the two of unknown origin, we have approximately 83.6% accounted for as being sib-names, 4.5% of unknown origin (and the presumption is that they are sib-names), 11.9% derived from other sources than the sib. In a similar enquiry into the names of the pɪṭoʎj, 59 names (one an alias) were known to my informants. Of these, two could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, 56 were certainly sib-names, and one was doubtful. This last was komdsön (62, Komjon) "queen-bee." When he was born, his parents were living at kafiθj in the Wynad where honey is

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55/614 very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tōɪn, a son of pi/jog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because [537] honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kwɪrūwṭoɪ/, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tōɪn) has just been analyzed, and one, pi/jaɪr, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the tōūfi/joɪ/ moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toɪroɪroɪ/ sib, belonging to the toɪrθaɪroɪ/ moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toɪrθaɪroɪ/ sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kwɪrūwṭoɪ/ and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the pɪrṭoɪ/ have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the tōūfi/joɪ/ moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any [524] definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association [533] with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

55/193 §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

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of female-denoting significance, is -ɪdz. E.g. ɐrlɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from ɐrl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noɪṇoɪ; it was at noɪṇ that the goddess tɔ̄ɪkɪsj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

maxarxoj	potsɐ̄ṇoɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
maxarɐrl	oɪkjɐ̄ṇoɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noɪṇ) the sacred place where tɔ̄ɪkɪsj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that ɐrl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with tɔ̄ɪkɪsj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moṇɪdz (7, Manidz); moṇ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—iṇefædʒ, moṇefædʒ "quarrels (pædʒ) about women (iṇ, a Badaga word) and land;"

iṇexɐ̄ɪṭ	koṭjɐ̄ɪk
woman-bungalow	you built
moṇexɔ̄ɪr	kertɐ̄ɪk
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɐrmɪdz (44, Termidz) < tɐrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nɐ̄ɪṭɪdz (3, Notidz) < nɐ̄ɪṭ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪṭ, koṇenɐ̄ɪṭ "dancing (oɪṭ) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koṇ)." poṇɪdz, daughter of kɐ̄ɪlɪpex (52, Kulpakh) < poṇ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otɪodjɪoṇ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sɪnɪdz (21, Sinidz) < sɪn "gold." laɪbɪdz, daughter of tɔ̄ɪkɐ̄ɪr (63, Telkudr), < laɪbɐ "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). ruɪpojɪdz (also ruɪpoj), daughter of kɔ̄mɐnɪz (34, Kemners), < ruɪpoj "rupee." rɐɪmɪdz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. rɔ̄dʒɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), < rɔ̄dʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪdz (28, Pirkidz) < pɪ̄rkɐs, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nīlgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sɔ̄mɪdz (63, Samidz) < sɔ̄m "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

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551 193 533 name is possibly made with thought of the song-pair: kuɹɹefaɹ, keresonm "a crowd such as has not gathered before, the people in a crowd such as has not assembled before." motʃiɹdz (21, Matchidz) < motʃ "cot," with thought of the song-unit sinɐmotʃ "golden cot," which occurs in descriptions of the possessions of a wealthy man or of his wife. ofuliɹdz (16, Ovalidz; 24, Ovelidz) < ofuɹ "rice puffed over the fire."

551 193 §25. The suffix -aɹ is found in several names; e.g. koɹsaɹ (37, Kosar) < koɹs "coin, rupee" and piʃjoɹ (21, Piliarh) < piʃj "silver." noɹxoɹemj (10, Nagerami) contains a suffix -emj found in several other names; the first part of the name is to be compared with the first part of noɹxoɹoɹdzn (§17). In sineg (27, Sinakh) we have sin "gold" and a suffix -eg. In several names there is a suffix -uɹ; e.g. sinuɹ (28, Sinul) < sin "gold."

§26. Many names are compounds. Frequent first members are sin "gold," pun "gold" (used in this sense in songs and proper names only), piʃj "silver." E.g. sindaɹm (10, Sindarm) with taɹm "charity" (for the song-association cf. taɹmiɹdz in §24); sindogaɹ (62, Sintagars) with togaɹ "chain," with special reference to a chain as a neck-ornament; sinboṇm (63, Sinpanm) with poṇm "4-anna piece;" singüaɹ, daughter of tɔiküuɹ (63), with küaɹ "umbrella," a frequent word in songs; sinbydj, daughter of the same man, with pydj "wisdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit buddhi); sinmal, daughter of tubxüuɹ (68, Tebkudr), with mal "mountains, esp. the Nilgiris," a frequent word in songs; sindoḍ (38, Sindod), with toḍ "army," a frequent word in songs (indirectly from Sanskrit daṇḍa); siniɹ (56, Sinir), with niɹ "water;" sinuɹ (41, Sinur), with uɹ "town, city;" singupj (14, Sinkupi), with kupj "the cowries or beads dangling in a bunch from a woman's armlet;" sinduɹfj (58, Sinduvi), with tuɹfj "feather;" sinbɐuɹfj (65, Sinbuthuvi), with po(ɐ)-tuɹfj "eagle's feather;" sineɹ (8, 40, Sinerr), with eɹ "leaf;" sindaɹx (3, 25, 56, Sinderg; 53, Sinterg), with taɹx "plate from which food is eaten," and singɔb (43, Singib), with kɔb "small bamboo cup from which milk is poured to drink," probably have reference to feeding visitors in the song-pair: taɹxüuɹeʃkj, kɔbüuɹfoɹs "rice in a plate, milk in a cup;" sindaɹp (68, Sintharap), with taɹp "key." In a number of names the vowel -a- is inserted between the two parts of the compound: sinamut (43, Sinamut), with mut "pearl;" sinamoṇj (24, Sinamani), with moṇj "bell" (see note 10); sinabuɹf (8, Sinabuv), with puɹf "flower;" sinafij (1, Sinaveli), with piʃj "silver." Names with pun "gold" are: punduɹfj (68, Punduvi), with tuɹfj "feather;" punbɐuɹfj (8, Punbuthuvi), with poɐuɹfj "eagle's feather;" punaɹ (66, Punur), with uɹ "town, city;" pundaɹx (26, Pündergh), with taɹx, cf. sindaɹx above. punabuɹf (10, Punabuv), with puɹf "flower," contains the inserted vowel -a-. punüüm-

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ṭeuj (10, Punduteimi), with tāuṭ "handle of a bamboo vessel" (frequently found in songs), has also the suffix -emj mentioned in §25, pij "silver" is found in pijmoʃt (54, Pilimasht), with moʃt "ax;"[19] pijniv (55, Pilinir), with niv "water;" pijmut (35, Pilimut), with mut "pearl." 551 193

§27. As first member of a compound is found nas- "beauty;" nastuij (49, Narstuñ), with tuij "feather;" naspij (35, 52, Naspilthi), with pij "silver." It is found in the form nal- with insertion of -a- in nalabuif, daughter of panur (23, Paners), with puif "flower." puif "flower" is found as first member of a compound in puñij (20, Puveli), with pij "silver;" with inserted -a- in puifamut, daughter of sirjair (20), with mut "pearl;" with suffix -ids and pij "silver" in puñidsñij (65, Puvizveli).

§28. Other compounds are found with more sporadic members. konmalj, daughter of ortjars and udjoman (34, Atiurs and Udiotan), from kon "rupee" and malj "garland;" konsñij (11, Kosaveli), from kon "rupee" and pij "silver" with inserted -a-; cf. konar §25. nirñij (63, Nirveli) from niv "water" and pij "silver." arniv (16, Arsner), from ar "European" and niv "water." mutnirñij (51, Mutnirveli), from mut "pearl," niv "water" and pij "silver," is rather exceptional in having three members. pumar (23, Pumers), from pum "fruit" and er "leaf;" cf. ainer §26. Several contain English words: sorpniv (6, Sapnir), from sorp "shop" and niv "water;" pofurmut, daughter of ortjars and udjoman (34), from pofur "power," referring to the electric power line across the hills, and mut "pearl." Three refer to Miss C. F. Ling who was formerly a missionary among the Todas.[20] ligmiaj (23, Lingimishi) represents Ling Missy (i.e. Miss Ling), which is the ordinary way in which a South Indian would refer to this lady; ligjabuif, daughter of tumpoir (48, Ushadr), has puif "flower" with an inserted -a- and an unwarranted j; misjamut, daughter of kōmanar (34, Kemnerv), is misj "missy" and mut "pearl" with an inserted -a-. 551 190 193

§29. Uncompounded words without any suffix are found as names: tingual, daughter of kāmarjaʃñ (52, Kurisiv), "moon;" sarder (62, Sever) "1000;" yrmitʃ (12, Irsimitch) "lime (the fruit)," cf. the appendix to note 7; munar (56, Munat), "affection." poṭoam (34, Paton) is the word found in Sanskrit as paṭṭana "city" and is the usual Toda word for Madras city. kapil (41, Kapal) seems to denote the compound of a bungalow and refers especially in the songs with its pair kotamj to the law-courts in Ootacamund. A few English words have been taken as names changed only to such 551 193

[19] Mij "ax" and moʃj "hoe" (cf. ainamj §26) form a sing-pair, denoting two of the objects found in dairies.

[20] See *The Songs of the Todas*, footnote 2 and p. 554.

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551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæ̃ŋj, daughter of ōiknuz (8, Arkners), <"baby;" pentʃ, daughter of kortūuṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), <"bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæsn; a woman's name tæn is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kajniz, 3, Kainir).

[177] §30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tidj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amondidj, daughter of kūulpax (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 614 778 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and kūam "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or mounds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. ōingūuṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 193 614 §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.* Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. These names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

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* It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the kūam "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

[562] [533] [778]

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when I recorded such names. The tendency appears to use words that have song-associations, and one may refer especially to the large class of names with pun "gold," a word used in this sense in songs and not so used in ordinary speech. It may be that this tendency is even more powerful than appears to the non-Toda observer, since it is extremely difficult for him to know what connotations a word may or may not have and informants are inarticulate on this matter. It may be, again, that the feeling that an outsider receives, that Toda women's names are generally rather poetical in the Western sense, i.e. in their reference to objects with aesthetic associations, is not entirely in accordance with Toda feelings. I can only adduce a small bit of evidence which I have already used in *The Songs of the Todas*.[9] In composing a song lamenting the death of the late King George V, the composer changed kipaowdy, the Toda form of the king's name, into sipaowdy. He gave as the reason for this change that the former is not "poetical" and the latter is; my interpreter explained that kip- suggests the word for "small" while sip- suggests the word for "gold," i.e. sin. This being so, we may conclude that women's names with the element sin "gold" are poetical to the Todas, i.e. they suggest to them the vocabulary of song. We have already seen that those with pun "gold" are poetical in the same sense, and I think that it is possible to conclude that women's names in general have for the Todas much the same connotations that they have for us. They are connected with the expressions of song and derive their connotations from the songs, and so may be justly said to be poetical.

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[9] Op. cit., p. 333.

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797 533 ceeful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfusodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

● 551 797 [614] [533] I have shown elsewhere [1] that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytized from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When 553 797 we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no [113]

[1] *Personal Names of the Toda*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40, 399-411.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unpredictable. The adult members of the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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(11) PERSHRÖSHWUTH, abbreviated to PERSHRÖSH: The eldest boy of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is noticeably proud. He likes to go out to other munds, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mud*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman. 159 621 283

(12) NARJILKHWUTH, abbreviated to NARJILKH: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Munbokwutn, his youngest father.

(13) Pengelam: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friendly. She is gay and playful, and is nearby always in the company of Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris. 159 621 [123]

(14) SOOTP: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exceptionally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop. [155]

(15) Sodam: She is as dull and backward as Sodup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) PÉYEMOON: Called after me (*Roon* being Toda for Raja = Prince) who was his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived [123] [551]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Dairy

234 343 There are two forms of Toda dairy. One resembles very closely the ordinary hut, and, but for its situation and the higher wall which surrounds it, it might often be supposed to be one of the huts. The vast majority of dairies are now of this form. The other kind of dairy is circular with a conical roof. There are now only three or four of these buildings in existence, though others have only fallen into ruins in recent times. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says[1] that at that time there were four, and a fifth in ruins.

The best known of these dairies is that at Nòdrs (the Manboa of Breeks), shown in Fig. 13. It has received the name of "the Toda Cathedral," and is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another (shown in Fig. 25) is at Kanòdrs (the Mutterzhva of Breeks). Both are village dairies of especial sanctity; the Nòdrs building is in full working order, while that of Kanòdrs is only occupied occasionally. A third dairy of the conical form is at the *ti* place of Anto near Sholur (the Kiurzh of Breeks) and should be regularly visited once a year, though the year in which I was on the Nilgiris was an exception. The fourth dairy of the kind (called by Breeks Tarzhva) is at Tarsòdr on the Kundahs. It is also a *ti* dairy, but is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The ruined dairy mentioned by Breeks (Katedva) is said to be still in the same condition. It was used as a *ti* dairy, and is near Makurti Peak.

There is no doubt that conical dairies were at one time more numerous. There was one at the *ti* place of Enòdr, not far from Ootacamund. There was another at the village of Kars, and the circular wall which once surrounded the dairy still remains, and has been converted into a buffalo pen.

104 196 234 343 552 The various names given to the Toda dairies are at first sight very confusing. We have already seen that each kind of dairy is named according to the kind of buffalo connected with it—according to its position in the dairy-series connecting *tarvali* with *ti*. Each dairy has also its own special or indi-

[1] *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, 1873, p. 14.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv. 104 196

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity. 234 463

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palal* and *haltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*. 621 778

[1] This word, in the forms *hea*, *heath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

his dairy the *palol* always turns to the left, so that he faces north-east as he goes towards his buffaloes. In a few dairies the door faces directly west, and, according to Breeks, this is the case at the conical dairy of Anto. 343

THE TODA BUFFALO

The Toda buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo, but the life on the hills seems to have produced a much finer animal than that of the plains. Although thoroughly under the control of the Todas, the buffaloes are semi-wild and often attack people of a different race from their owners, and Europeans have frequently been severely injured by the onslaught of these animals. 136 231 234 825

The Toda name for the male buffalo is *er*, and for the female *ir*, but either term may be used when the people speak of buffaloes collectively. Calves have different designations at different ages. A young calf is *kar*, one from one to two years of age is *pòl*, and a three-year-old calf is *nakh*.

Defective buffaloes, and especially those with only one horn, are called *kwadrir*, and those whose horns bend downwards are *kughir*. Barren buffaloes are called *maiir*.

There are considerable differences of colour among the buffaloes. Those much lighter than the rest are called *nerir* or *pushtir*, and there is a legend about the origin of these buffaloes, which, however, I failed to obtain. The only obvious way in which the animals differ from one another in marking is that some have a black stripe running down either side of the neck very much in the position which would be occupied by the chain suspending a bell.

There do not seem to be any physical differences between the buffaloes of different classes, and, as we shall see shortly, the nature of the breeding of the Toda buffaloes is such as would have entirely destroyed any distinctions of the kind if they had ever existed.

Every adult female buffalo has an individual name, which is usually given when her first calf is born. The number of buffalo names is limited, so that many buffaloes bear the same name. 234 552

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Köji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkisi, and Òrsum.

234 552 778 Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumpthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

232 234 778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

114 234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name. 173 221 234 621 773

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*. 234 552

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak 234 343 352

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf. 173 234 618

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltuokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55). 773 793

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.' 234 552 778

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Önâwpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost. 234 354 552

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudœthkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teignun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.) 773 778

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Cotacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit. 173 234 621 773

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarzam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri. 234 793

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and [552] 234 778

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the kūasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kūasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toirθasoɨ̨ moiety, but not among the töūfiɨ̨joɨ̨), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tiɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of kūasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kūasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kūasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kūasm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and kūasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. ūuɪṣoɪr of the meɪgaɪsoɨ̨ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paɪng (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maɪkaɪs of the kaɪsoɨ̨ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiɪ-places of this sib. toɪsjaɨ̨ of the kaɪsoɨ̨ (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kurpoɨ̨j dairy at the mund kaɪs. komθūuɪ of the toɪroɪroɨ̨ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoɨ̨j dairy at the mund toɪroɪr. pepoɪb of the meɪgaɪsoɨ̨ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuɪsaɪs, a mund of the sib. köɪroɪrxūuṭṇ of the köɪroɪroɨ̨ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second kūasm of the people of the sib. oɪtjaɪs of the puɪrgoɪroɨ̨ (34, Atiurz) has the second kūasm of the people of the sib. munoɪnbiɪʃtj, son of koɪtsiθj (12, Kacheidl) has one of the kūasm of the buffaloes of his sib.

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pɑɪrθotj near the mund kɑrkoɾ. edzɛn (22, Idjen) < ɪɪdzɛfɑl, a valley near the mund pɑʃtɑɪr; this man was afterwards called kûɑrxɑɾ, from a rocky ground near the mund tæɪlgûɪɪr, since there was another man called edzɛn. nɑtyłj (25, Natuli) < kinxɑtyłj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund pɑʃtɑɪr; kinxɑtyłj = "small (kin)-stone (kɑɾ)-deep pool (tyłj)," and nɑtyłj = "beauty (nɑɾ)-deep pool (tyłj)." I could not discover that nɑtyłj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæɪθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæɪθj and kæɪm, a brother of tæɪθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæɪnɑłł, cf. kæɪngûɪɪtɲ (§9) and kæɪnodɪ (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pɪnlkɪɪθj, for which see §12.

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§17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or kûɑɾm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sɪrjɑɪr in §14. Others are

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moɪrɑnɪɪs, a son of tôôθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪrɑmn, i.e. Mariamma; nɔɪxɔroɪdzn, a son of sɪrjɑɪr (table 20), < nɔ́ɪxɪɪr "Nagore" or nɔɪxɪɪrxɪɪrj "the temple at Nagore" with roɪdzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word nɔɪxɔr or nɔɪxɔroɪf "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ɑrdʒoɲ "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ɲ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ɑrdʒ. The other name is idjoɪn (a son of tæɪpɑx, table 20). This is from idroɪdzn "king (roɪdzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in ömgûɪɪtɲ (20, Enkutan); öm, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes kûɑłôû, who belonged to the sib of the melgɑɪsoɪł, had another name mæɪltɑɾ, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

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§19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. koɪntsɑɾ, a son of kæɪnodɪ (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (ɑrɪ is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa ɑrɪsu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷo:ḷ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nȯdrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nȯdrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nȯdrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töuθut and the töunoṭ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the uṛicitmut, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. ka:θum, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hõ:i at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as no:ṛ, after it as uṛ.

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[532] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

852 buttermilk from the dairyman, and there the mother uncovers
854 the child's face.

I was not told that the covering of the face is designed to protect the child from the influence of the evil eye, but this is the probable motive. The object of the ceremony is probably to minimise the danger incurred when the covering is removed by putting the child, if a boy, into relation with the three sacred objects, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes, and the sun. If a girl, the child is taken to the spot nearest to the dairy where women are allowed to go.

NAMING THE CHILD

553 The child is named after its face has been uncovered. The ceremony is called *per vasthpimi*, "name we give," and it may
852 take place immediately after the ceremony of uncovering the face, or a few days later. In the former case, the child, if a boy, is taken by his father from the place where the buffaloes are standing to the front of the house, and there the father shaves the middle part of the head of the child. Then the boy's maternal uncle (*mun*) gives the name, and promises a calf, saying, *pòl ud todein*, "calf one I have given," followed by the name of the child,[1] and raises each foot to the head of the boy and touches his forehead, the salutation on this occasion being called *kalkartiti*. Three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the boy and three into his back-hair, and then the grains are thrown away.

There was some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named. It seemed clear that the name is given by a woman, and I was told definitely by some that it is given by the father's sister (*mumi*) of the child. The wife of the *mun* would also be the *mumi* of the child, and it is possible that this relative may give the name. No calf is given to a girl, this being only done when boys are named.

After the naming, the parents of the child may give a feast
[574] if they are rich, but this seems to be now exceptional. After
953 receiving its name, the child is given food for the first time, having been suckled up to this day, but my notes do not

[1] For the nature of the name see Chapter XXVI.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled. 653

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpül* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye. 852 854 951

The Tersamptpimi Ceremony

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face. 852 553 765

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmän*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised. [412]

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put 852

[1] *Rosa Leschenaultiana.* [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

602 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own
764 father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by
604 different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tarsampt-piui* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

602 Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated
605 together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

From the foregoing account it is evident that in the names of the Todas we have a storehouse of words the investigation of which might lead to many discoveries in connexion with their half-forgotten folklore and past history. We have seen that the names of villages which have now entirely disappeared may still be preserved in the names of persons, and I have little doubt that a complete investigation of the names included in the genealogies would furnish a record of many more extinct villages and possibly provide clues to institutions which have now wholly disappeared. 551

Change of Name

There are three chief conditions which lead Todas to change their names. If two men have the same name, and one of the two should die, the other man would change his name, since the taboo on the name of the dead would prevent people from uttering the name of the living. The most recent example of this occurred about six years ago. There were two men named Matovan, one of Pan (19) and the other of Kwòdrdoni (34). The Kwòdrdoni man died and Matovan of Pan changed his name to Imokhvan, and it is this name which will be found in his pedigree. 553

This change of name may also be effected even when there is only a similarity between two names. Thus when Punbuthuvi, the wife of Parkurs (8), died, Sinbuthuvi of Kusharf (65) changed her name to Pukuruveli. Similarly when Òners of Kuudr (56) died, Einers of Piedr[1] (64) changed his name to Tokulvan.

A person may also change his name merely because it is the same as, or very similar to, that of another, this being done simply to avoid inconvenience and misunderstanding. It sometimes happens that a child is given the same name as some other child, and then one or other is renamed. Thus a boy was named Oblodj, but it was found later that there was a girl at Kars called Obalidz (12), and so the name

[1] It will be noticed that, in these two cases, the old names are those which occur in the genealogies. My informant probably remembered these better than the new names, which had been assumed only late in life.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

553 of the boy was changed to Meilitars (44). A boy of Pam was called Kudeners, but it was found that there was another Kudeners at Taradr (25), so the name of the former was changed to Arparners, often shortened to Arpar (38).

When Kainir (3) married, his wife's name was Kanir, but she changed it since it was so like that of her husband. It was said to have been changed to Singub, but she was always known as Uds at the time of my visit.

Change of name of this kind is not obligatory, and there are several cases in which two people now living have the same name. When a change is made because two people have the same name or similar names, it is the younger of the two who changes. In most of the cases in which two people bear the same name it will be found that one belongs to the Tartharol and the other to the Teivaliol, and I am doubtful whether in this case names are changed except as the result of death.

553 A third reason for changing names is illness or other misfortune. When a man is ill, change of name is sometimes
755 recommended by a diviner, but this is not often done. One of my guides, Kutadri (7), had changed his name twice. His original name had been Okeithi or Okvan, but as there was another Okvan of Keadr (68), he became Tagarsvan. Later he fell ill, and, on the recommendation of a diviner, Tagarsvan changed his name to Kutadri, and I never heard him spoken of or addressed by any but this name during my visit.

Taboos on Names

551 The only definite restrictions on the utterance of the names of living people are those connected with kinship which have already been considered in Chapter XXI. A man may not utter the names of his mother's brother, his grandfather and grandmother, his wife's mother, and of the man from whom he has received his wife, who is usually the wife's father. The names of the above are tabooed in life, while after death the restrictions are still wider, and it is forbidden to utter the name of any dead elder relative, while the names of the dead are in any case only said reluctantly.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 • Toda

young mother—infanticidal, polyandrous—is sitting on the earthen floor, just within the doorway, enveloped in a mantle of unbleached cotton. On her left arm, snuggling next her bare body, inside the garment, lies something like a comic doll, with long black hair, cream-coloured skin and pink points. The palm of the woman's right hand, uppermost, is directed towards the child. Her body, foreshortened by reason of the lowness of the door. The nut brown gipsy face, all eyes and teeth, just a bit delicate, is upturned towards the visitor: and speaking volumes by look and by attitude of hand, appeals for a present for the one-month-old. The inside of the room—such as remains visible—pitch-dark. There she was, smiling away, little knowing of my groundless suspicions.

A boy is named—peru or pesru or hesru—a name—and his ears are bored some time within about three months of his birth.

The child appears to be kept out of sight until the naming day; when the father, unaccompanied by the mother, takes it, hidden in the folds of his mantle, up to one of the sacred buildings of his Clan: and standing in front of the door, but outside of the surrounding wall, salutes the sanctuary with hand to forehead. Then kneeling on the ground, he for the first time opens out the infant's head to vision, and pressing its little forehead down till it touches the soil, names the child, reciting the following prayer; 'dânenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, eliam ultama;' the meaning of which is: 'Be beneficent: may it be well with the children, the people, the cattle, the calves, and everyone.'[1]

I see now before me, a woman who had accompanied her husband till *within sight* of the building, standing on an eminence, witnessing from a distance, with hand shading

[1] Strictly speaking, the prayer means, 'May it be well with the *male* children, the *men*, the *cows*, the *female* calves'—in fact, all that is useful —'and everyone;' in which latter category are probably included the women and girls.

CHAP. VII.

intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

553 The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

558 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred
562 places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given
846 about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—
551 porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure
463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda,
551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

CHAP. VII.

551

Quêldirth.	Jinvani.
Tushquilth.	Nastufi.
Muneth.	Ânchaguti.
Penpuv.	Chizarêm.
Dirthavilli.	Pentirêm.

553 A woman retains her maiden name on marriage; being known, for instance, as Nastufi, the wife of Beliâni.

551 576 601 It is etiquette in speaking of another man's wife to term her either kottê or pannê;[7] the first, if her husband is of the Pyki clan, the second if of the Pekkan, Tôdi, Kenna, or Kuttan clans.

A man calling to his wife, or a wife to her husband, would not say 'come here Nastufi or Beliâni,' but 'kukh itva, come here woman,' or 'âl itva, come here man.'

But the more proper term by which a man speaks of his wife is yen kâtvoti.[8]

According to these rules, people talking of the woman Nastufi, would describe her as Beliani pannê, or kottê. *He* would mention her as kâtvoti. He would *call out* to her as kukh.

List of Relationships.

601 Man, person, husband . . . Âl.
Man—young . . . . . Varsh.[9]

[7] Kottê. Pannê. Such terms are difficult. They are frequently of a depreciatory character.

Kôṭṭa = *a fort* or *large dwelling*. Kôṭṭi = *a person of a fort, a superior inhabitant*. Paṇi = *jewel*. Paṇi = *work*. [POPE.]

[8] Yen Kâtvoti. Yen or en = *my*, constantly prefixed in Drâvidian to words indicative of relationship.

Kaṭṭu = *bind, join*. V is an insertion of tense, used in forming verbal nouns with a future or indefinite temporal signification.

Ati is a feminine termination.

The word means, '*she who is bound to me*.' [POPE.]

[9] This is, I think, Sansk. : purusha. But there is viras, *a hero*.

In old high Tamil we have virral, and the termination al becomes in Toda sh as a general rule. [POPE.]

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them.

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pālāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pālāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Vershā* comes with three holy branches of the *Tēr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tēr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *nerale*, *mutlu*, or *hera* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast.

The institution is *Mānāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two.

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Parshōrā*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pekiam man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*ken*), the *Parshōrā* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālīchi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their females and

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mānāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 86). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pâlthchi*
551 and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's
584 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead.
583 An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claiming his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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601 * Names used to express relationships in TODA.

English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1. Father	*En, Eyan.*	
2. Mother	*Aff.*	
3. Son	*Mâkh.*	
4. Daughter	*Kukh.*	
5. Father's elder brother	*Perudîn*	Great father.
6. „ younger „	*Kirudîn*	Little do.
7. „ elder sister	*Mâmi.*	
8. „ younger „	*Mâmi.*	
9. Mother's elder brother	*Mâman.*	
10. „ younger „	*Mâman.*	
11. „ elder sister	*Perudaff*	Great mother.
12. „ younger „	*Kirudaff*	Little do.
13. Father's brother's son	*An*	Brother.
14. „ „ daughter	*Akkan*	Sister.
15. „ sister's son	*Machen.*	
16. „ „ daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.
17. Mother's sister's son	*An*	Brother.
18. „ „ daughter	*Akkan*	Sister.
19. „ brother's son	*Machen.*	
20. „ „ daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Âlt* and *Tajmakh*, which simply mean *man* and *woman*.

In *Anthropological Journal for January and July* 1871, page 28, *ya* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

551

Male Names.	Female Names.
1. Kêvi, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tiriari* is so called.	1. Kâthavali, (lit.) silver coin.
2. Pernâl, literally a great man.	2. Darsthinir, (lit.) a jewel scale.
3. Nârîkât, (lit.) child of jackal.	3. Tabinâh, (lit.) gold one.
4. Ponkât, (lit.) child of gold.	4. Berath, no meaning that I can find out.
5. Tabinkât, (lit.) do.	5. Depbili, (lit.) silver ring.
6. Padrithzh, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.	6. Pondahilkammi, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. Kêdâlvên, (lit.) the man of the funeral.	7. Kattahira, (lit.) Cutcherry, Sircar office.
8. Âlvên, (lit.) a man.	8. Pîttimurugu, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. Beltavên, (lit.) like silver.	9. Pîttasaas, (lit.) white ring.
10. Kirnâli, (lit.) little one.	10. Tâkêm, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -küwtṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in puttʃofxüwtṇ (a son of sirjuɪr 20) < puttʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in twɪpuɪsxüwtṇ (20; referred in §6) < twɪpuɪsforü, the kogfolj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæɪnxüwtṇ, son of toɪliθj and nertnuɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners) < kæɪnolf, the üuɪsolj dairy at the mund korkos. A son of küɑroɪn of the puɪrgoɪroɪ (34, Kwodron) is named ɑsojxüwtṇ < ɑsojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib. köɪkisjxüwtṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüwtṇ in table 25) < köɪkisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

[177]

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fum; e.g. in kuroɪfum (21, Karadrvan) < kuroɪθwt, name of a mountain (twt) near toɪroɪr; wɪrküwɪrfum (24, Idrkudrvan) < wɪrküwɪrfɑɪw, a river (pɑɪw) near Mt. kuroɪ; puttʃefum (24, Pachievan) < puttʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. puttʃofxüwtṇ in §9); kergæɪrfum (25, Kerskedrvan) < kergæɪrfɑɪw, a stream near the mund poʃtɪuɪr; ɑsojfum < ɑsojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the puɪrgoɪroɪ, is another name of poɪtuɪs (35, Patirsh; cf. ɑsojxüwtṇ in §9); mupuɪfum (16, Mopuvan) < mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoɪ or pæɪθoɪfum, kæɪnodz or kæɪnodzfum; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mum, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pum, which is the only possibility, means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

[888] [114] [192]

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[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 629.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. The three meanings given for pum belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fum derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

831 192

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nɑʀom (a son of tæɪpɑx [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. kûɑʀom of the pɯʀgoɪʀoɪ̯ (34, Kwodron), who is named after the mund kûɑɪʀθyɲj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. pɑnɯs in §6). The suffix -ɑɪʀ is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ɑʀ "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinɑɪʀ (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. sirjɑɪʀ (20, Siriar) <*siriɴɡɑm*, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piɟjɑɪʀ (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun piɟj "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kɯʀfoɟj dairy at the mund kɯɪʀûɯʀ, which has as kûɑsm piɟjɑɡ, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag). 551 193 [614]

§15. Rivers took -ɑɟf (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So toɪsjɑɟf in §5, and ôɪkjɑɟf in §6; the latter is one kûɑsm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one kûɑsm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are kûɯɪsjɑɟf (52, Kuriolv) and pɑɪɯkɪsjɑɟf (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from kûɯɪsɯʀn, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at piɪts, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from pɯnɑ:sɑɟf, the second kûɑsm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. pɑɪɯkɪsjɑɟf<*pɑɪɯkɪsjnɪʀ*, the watering place of the kɯʀpoɟj dairy at the mund kɑɪs, with the ending from toɪsjɑɟf, the name of the kɯʀpoɟj dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in poɪtû used as a personal name, viz. tyɟjpoɪtû (12, Tilipa), which is derived from poɪtûθyɟjpoɪtû, the kûɑsm of the ûɯsoɟj dairy at the mund noɑsminoɪʀ. Usually some change is made, as in tɯɪpɯsxûɯʈɲ and tɯɪfnɯs in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piɲɟjxûɯʀ in §21. 551 193 234

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. pɯnɯʀ (23, Puner)<*pɑnɑʀôû*, the second kûɑsm of Mt. 551 193 [563]

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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551 193 [553] pɑɪrθotʃ near the mund kɑrkɑs. edzen (22, Idjen) < ɪɪdzɪɑʃ, a valley near the mund pɑʃtɑɪr; this man was afterwards called küɑrxɑs, from a rocky ground near the mund tæɪlgüɯɪr, since there was another man called edzen. nɑtyʃj (25, Natuli) < kinxɑtyʃj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund pɑʃtɑɪr; kinxɑtyʃj = "small (kin)-stone (kɑs)-deep pool (tyʃj)," and nɑtyʃj = "beauty (nɑs)-deep pool (tyʃj)." I could not discover that nɑtyʃj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tærθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tærθj and kæm, a brother of tærθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmɑʃf, cf. kæmgüɯtʂn (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkirθj, for which see §12.

551 552 614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or küɑsm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjɑɪr in §14. Others are 551 796 177 moɪrɑmɯs, a son of töüθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪrɑmn, i.e. Mariamma; noɪxoroɪdzn, a son of sirjɑɪr (table 20), < noɪxɯɪr "Nagore" or noɪxɯɪrxɯrj "the temple at Nagore" with roɪdzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noɪxor or noɪxoroɪf "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ɑrdʒon "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ɲ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ɑrdʒ. The other name is idjoɪn (a son of tæɪpɑx, table 20). This is from idroɪdzn "king (roɪdzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in öɪngüɯtʂn (20, Enkutan); öɪn, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes küɑföü, who belonged to the sib of the melgɑɪsoɪʃ, had another name mæɪltɑrz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

551 197 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. koɪntsɑrz, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (ɑrz is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa ɑrasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 533 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfusodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 797 [614] [533] I have shown elsewhere [9] that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytised from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When 553 797 we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no [113]

[9] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40. 206-223.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɪsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaɪsmonguuɪʀ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuɪf] "spiritual power-flower,"[9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuɪʟ] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piʟjiɪʒfuɪf] "silver-flower" and [tyʟjiɪʒfuɪf] (the first member [tyʟj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaʀoɪn] has a son called [asojxuuɪɪn] from [asojuɪr], the buffaloes of the [tiɪ]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuuɪʀ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuuɪʀ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuuɪʀ] "fruit-horn,"[13] the name of a son of [iɪʒxuuɪʀ] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 26-8, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[ɪʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

●553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. [illegible] often told that a man was working for another and was his [illegible]rvant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
788 the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oh*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
778 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of

FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Oñ*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
513 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,
784

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62). 234 421 618 621

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

The Wursuli

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *püdrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeipir*; at Keradr, *miniepir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi. 173 234 618

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 234 463 554 618

[1] See Chapter XXIII.

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses, one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòòrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oh*" each time. 234 415 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *pexpariv* by means of the same vessel.

The Dairy of Kanòdrs

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph. 343

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those called *washperthir*. 234 463 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used. 778

234 554 778 784 773 When a *pokkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pokkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 25.—THE 'POR 'OF KANDKAS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwatars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tiu*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pokkartpol* may only wear the *tuai*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pokkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

292 793

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must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; no[illegible] be put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour [illegible] mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *hudaipir* or *hudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *[illegible]* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

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234 Keadrol taking office when there was a death among the
463 Kwaradrol and *vice versa*.

It has been stated by several writers on the Todas that the
556 *palol* does not profit in any way by his sacred office. I made
784 most careful inquiries on this point, and there seemed to be no
793 doubt that the *palol* may often make a considerable income from the sale of the ghi made from the milk of the herd under his charge; one *palol* was stated to make six rupees a week in this way, and while he has been in office is said to have increased his own herd (*i.e.*, that of his own family) by no less than twenty-five buffaloes. In one recent case, a man has resigned the post of *palol* to the Pan *ti* because he found the income was too small.

234 According to my informant, Kaners, a man used always to
463 accept the office of *palol* unwillingly. When the offer came
554 to him, he would say, "I cannot leave my buffaloes; I cannot
556 leave my wife and my children." Then the people would say,
793 "You are born for the *ti*; it is your birthright; you must not refuse"; and the man would reluctantly consent. Now the Todas are in more need of money than they used to be, and there is no difficulty in obtaining candidates for those dairies at which the pecuniary advantages are sufficiently great, so that people will now beg to be appointed as *palol* to certain dairies, and it is even whispered that bribes have been offered in order to obtain office. There is no doubt whatever that the pecuniary reward is the chief inducement to people to undertake the charge.

234 The Nòdrs *ti* has the largest herd of buffaloes, and I was
463 told that this *ti* is very much coveted, while others which
554 have few buffaloes are unable to obtain a *palol* at all. My
793 Teivali friends invariably talked about the *ti* in exactly the same kind of way that an Englishman talks about a benefice.

At the present time there are several instances in which the office of *palol* is vacant, and there seems to be a growing difficulty in filling many of these places. There is little doubt that the chief reason for this is that the herds have become very small, so that the resulting profit does not offer sufficient inducement; but there is also no doubt that the exclusion from the home and the limitation of intercourse

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with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *warsir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Ban*," and the Tarthar man replies "*¿Ir kaûdâ*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarnam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 793 576

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786 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns
793 to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going
833 to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia*!" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *pohvelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *papun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Karkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*.
554 It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social
793 importance from having held the sacred office. I could find
234 no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women only refer to this ceremony.

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pül* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 784 793

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 554 558 784 793

the forbidden things, or even if he is likely to be in such a position that he may have to do these things, he becomes *perkursol*. This he does by throwing off the *petuni* and dipping one leg either into the pool of water called *tarupunkudi* (see p. 177) or into the dairy stream (*pali nipa*) of an ordinary dairy (if he dipped his leg into the *ars nipa*, or part of a stream used for ordinary household purposes, he would at once lose his office entirely and become an ordinary person). As soon as he has dipped his foot, he becomes *perkursol* and may do the following things summed up in the general expression *tarsikwarârkûdthodi*. He may pass a village where there is a woman in the seclusion-hut (*puzhars*), or where the relics of the dead are being kept between the two funeral ceremonies; he may go to a place where the people have been in communication with a village in which either of these conditions exist; he may pass a river by a bridge, and he may go to the *wursuli* of a Tarthar village. If the full *kaltmokh* does any of these things, even unwittingly, he would at once become an ordinary person (*perol*). The *kaltmokh* degrades himself to the rank of *perkursol* even when there is merely the danger that he may infringe any of the restrictions; thus, one day when there was a woman at Karia who was in seclusion after childbirth, the *kaltmokh* at Mòdr, Katsog (55), was going to the hut of the forest guard near Paikara. He would not have to pass Karia, but there was a chance that the forest guard might have been in communication with the people of Karia, and therefore Katsog became *perkursol*. A *perkursol* is regarded as of the same rank as a *wursol*, and the people spoke of *perkursol* as a *ti* word for *wursol*—*i.e.*, a *wursol* at the *ti* was called *perkursol*, just as a *madlth* (churn) at the *ti* was called *kòghlag*. In order to regain his rank as full *kaltmokh*, the *perkursol* has to perform the same ceremony as that which takes place at the end of the ordination to this office (see Chap. VII).

While the *kaltmokh* is degraded to the rank of *perkursol* he may not touch any dairy vessels; he may not pour buttermilk for the *palol*, nor may he blow the horns—*i.e.*, he may do none of the more important and sacred duties of his office.

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THE MÒROL

I have said that no ordinary Toda is allowed to approach the *palol* except on certain days, and then may only go to a certain place in the surroundings of the *ti*. There is, however, one very remarkable exception to this rule, the members of certain clans having the privilege of going to the *ti* at any time and taking buttermilk (*mòr*). Owing to the latter privilege they are always known as *mòrol*. 184 618 554 234

The most important *mòrol* are the members of the Melgars clan, and at the Nòdrs *ti* they are the only people possessing these peculiar rights. A Melgars man may go to the *ti* on every day of the week, when he enters the small enclosure in which the dairy is situated, going, however, by a special opening at the back so that he does not actually pass the dairy and sits down in front of or may enter the sleeping hut. He is given buttermilk by the *kaltmokh* after it has been given to the *palol*, and he also receives food. At the Nòdrs *ti* the two *palol* divide the responsibility of providing food between them; if four *mòrol* come, each *palol* gives food for two men.

The rights of the Melgarsol appear to be exercised very constantly. I rarely visited the Mòdr *ti* without finding several *mòrol* present, and so far as I could observe they made the most of their privileges and enjoyed themselves well. It was very remarkable to see several Todas making themselves quite at home at the *ti*, while other Todas were standing outside wholly prohibited from entering into the life of the place. On one occasion when I visited Mòdr, the brother of one *palol* was standing without at the appointed spot waiting till the business of the morning was over, while several *mòrol* were within enjoying their privileges to the full.

The Melgarsol have certain other rights and duties in connexion with the *ti*, and especially on the occasion of the procession which takes place when the buffaloes migrate from one place to another (see Chap. VI), after which ceremony the *mòrol* sleep at the *ti mad*. At some dairies members of other clans may act as *mòrol*, but in no case do they occupy quite so privileged a position as the people of Melgars. Thus, at

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrznm*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another. 618

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter. [623]

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers, who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source. [578]

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted. 618 184 554 463

The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

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618 *moncgar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council
184 are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and
554 *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have
463 certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavòdiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

Laws of Descent

611 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male
851 line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursütpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.[1] I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

[1] Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuh*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

622 The earliest *monegar* whom the Todas remember is Teitchi or Teiti (52). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Mutevan, who is still alive. The two eldest sons had died before their father, and Persevan, the third son, was said to be weak-minded, and Mutevan was therefore chosen to succeed.

Mutevan is now a very old man, probably about eighty years of age, and his office was taken over some years ago by his eldest son, Ivievan. Though Ivievan is the *monegar* he is not the chief representative of his family on the *naim*, this position belonging to Kuriolv, the son of Pareivan and Persevan. Ivievan is helped in collecting the assessment by an assistant *monegar*, and till lately this place belonged to Parkurs of Kars.

177 It does not appear that the monegarship is a real Toda office, but that the earliest *monegar* was appointed by Mr. 622 Sullivan, the first British official of the Nilgiris. The family, 554 however, to which the *monegar* belongs is called the *manikudupel*, which may mean the *monegar* family, but I could not discover definitely whether this title is older than the institution of the monegarship. It is possible that Teitchi was one of the chief men of the *naim* when the Europeans first came to the hills and that he was therefore appointed as *monegar*.

It is quite clear that at the present time the *monegar*, Ivievan, is not the most important man among the Todas, but that the predominant position belongs to his cousin, Kuriolv, the representative of the family on the *naim*.

HEADMEN

618 Though it is very doubtful whether the institution of *monegar* is not an innovation, and whether the Todas as a whole have properly any true chief, it is fairly clear that the clan and its divisions have definite leaders.

Each clan has a headman or *etudol*; usually, it seemed to me, one who had come to the top by virtue of his character and ability. I did not learn how far his position was generally recognised nor by what means he was chosen. It was quite clear, however, that the leading man of a clan

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordina-
tion of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the
292 *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvu* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kodrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

Methods of Wearing the Hair

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

IN this chapter I propose to give a short account of each of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan. 618

THE TARTHAR CLANS

NÒDRS

The people of Nòdrs owe their special importance to their connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nòdrodchi*, or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed certain special favours on her people. Chief among these is the possession of the Nòdrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact that the Nòdrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nòdrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *tesherst*, is also usually performed at a Nòdrs village. 173 773 618 234 554

621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the 778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion 609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsiködri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of 618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a 234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the 554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

an account has been already given. They are still capable of holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which are wholly unshared by other clans.

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi.* "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad oiiti.* "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti.* "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug putz nitz ithtothi.* "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ithtothi.* "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part. He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning

554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduthti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The
618 Melgars people themselves believed that their exceptional
773 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan. They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so
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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the *tarvali* of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other than that of Melgars.

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some special relation between the people of Melgars and those of Kwodrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòdrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnòrtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

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618 The one *kudr* has four *pòlm*, of which the chief men are
621 Kiunievan (44), Artholvan (45), Nòtirzi (46) and Ilgeivan (48). Tergudrvan (47) belonged to the same *pòlm* as Artholvan. The families included in Table 49 are all extinct in the male line, and, with the exception of Tikon, I am doubtful to which *kudr* or *pòlm* they belonged.

Melgars, the chief village, is situated behind the gardens of Government House at Ootacamund. It has few features of interest, and there is little to be seen at the other villages of the clan. *Nüln* (Narigulimand) is situated in the Kundahs.

Two Toda villages, Ki Perththo and Padegar, are said to be the general property of the Tartharol, but at the time of my visit both were inhabited by the Melgarsol.

The village of *Katol*, which is now ruined, is mentioned by Harkness as one of the villages near Ootacamund.

The chief funeral place is *Ushadr*, mentioned in the story of Kwoto. There is another funeral place called *Mirzoti* common to Melgars and Kidmad.

Kidmad and Karsh

618 These are two sub-divisions of the Melgarsol which separated
621 from the main body, probably about seven or eight generations ago. At first I heard only of Kidmad, and it was
● 564 only when working over the Nidrsiol that I found there
578 were people living with this clan who did not belong to it, but were an offshoot of the Melgars people and were called Karshol.

According to one account, both Kidmadol and Karshol separated from the main body at the same time, but, according to another, the people who first separated belonged to Karsh and then split some generations later into the two groups.

The separation was due to a quarrel between father and son. The Melgars people were holding a council and one of the chief men of the clan was late in coming. When he appeared in the distance, he was recognised by nobody but his own son, who, when asked who was coming, said "*pazuli padmokh pöti âtham nöthred? Kâtm iî vèrs!*—*i.e.*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

"A wanderer and bastard comes, why do you look at him? Let the council go forward!" (*Pasuli* is a name applied to a man who belongs to no clan, and *padmokh* is the name of the child of a woman with whom no man has performed the *pursülpimi* ceremony.)

The *manmokh* (sister's son) of the father was present at the council, and when his uncle arrived, the *manmokh* told him what had been said by his son in the council, and the father said, "I am no *pasuli*, it is you who are the *pasuli*: henceforward you must not live at Melgars; you will have nothing from me except what I give you to-day." The father gave the son a one-horned buffalo (*kwadrkutir*) and a portion of the Mirzoti funeral place.

Since that day descendants of the son have been separate from Melgarsol and they have held their funerals at Mirzoti, but not on the same spot as the Melgars people.

The Kidmadol and Karshol have lost certain privileges possessed by other Todas. The loss of these privileges is expressed by the Todas as follows:—

(i.) *Meitün kitht ègadi.* "He may not sit on the *meitün*." When a man of Kidmad or Karsh goes to any Tarthar dairy he is not allowed to sit on the raised bed on the right hand side of the door.

(ii.) *Nirsi nest ègadi.* "He may not rub the fire-sticks." If fire has to be made at a male funeral, or on any other occasion, it must be done by a man of another clan.

(iii.) *Ertatpun pitth ègadi.* "He may not touch the *ertatpun*," a dairy vessel which may be touched by any other Toda man. The result of this restriction is that a man of these clans can never hold a dairy office.

Marriages are not allowed between Melgars people and those of either Kidmad or Karsh.

The village of Karsh no longer exists; it was near Akirzikòdri, but in the time of Kilpan (51) the people were so poor that they went to live with the Nidrsiol and have remained with them since. Though living at Nidrsi, they are still regarded as a separate people, and marriages may take place between the two clans. They have only three or four ordinary buffaloes. If a male dies they have to kill

621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was
773 killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars*
ama, kuödr nödr ama," "may the Tamil stone become; may
618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name from this village.

KULHEM

184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior
554 position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to
618 sit on the *meitüu* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are
773 not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr* bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*, *kaltmokh*, or *twrsol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnürtits* to Kuudr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulhölem*, is near Kanödrs.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

688 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
514 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
793 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol.
184 This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
654 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, the moment he ceases to hold office. 184 616 793 184

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive. 554

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very striking point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the Tartharol that there were certain differences in language between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was 198 616 554

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
234 sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

CHAP. IV.

793 fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

124 But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

463 Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode
554 of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be
793 selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

212 No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl
788 being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor
793 will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

000 The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive
234 the existence of any very mystic rites among them. What-
788 ever is done in these tiriêris, is known to every intelligent

284 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family
778 and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

534 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XIV.

through life, amongst his fellow-men, a large amount of respect, as having once been a God.

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The following description of the process, which *all* men undergo in the course of being sanctified to the performance of *any* holy duty, will prove interesting.

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For the space of a week—eṭṭnâl; literally speaking, eight days, and corresponding to *in acht tagen* in German—the novitiate must remain day and night alone in the woods of the tiriêri, without a particle of clothing and with only a fire to protect him from the severity of the climate. He beats with a stone, the bark off a branch of the tûde[3] tree, which he collects. Then three times each day, morning, noon, and evening, he performs the following ceremony. Squeezing some of the juice of the bark, into a leaf-cup containing water from the stream or spring, he raises the cupfull with the right hand to his forehead, in token of respect: then lowering it to his mouth and drinking off the contents, passes the empty leaf round over his head and left shoulder, then depositing it behind his right side. This formula is repeated three times, using a fresh leaf each time. Next, he takes the remainder of the bark, and rubs his naked body all over with it, washing himself immediately in the fresh water. On the eighth day he is competent to assume charge of his office.

The week's ordeal has been extremely severe, both in point of exposure and of solitude, and one well calculated to make a suitable impression on a man who is about to undertake a solemn duty. The kâvilâl has supplied him with food from the tiriêri all this time, and there is reason for believing that the pâlâl and kâvilâl see that the novitiate does not slur the proper performance of the rites.

The Todas have no distinctive word to express purification, but describe the effect by saying sari[4] uddi, 'he is right,' by the process.

[3] Tûde, tûre, thûre, thûr|u—*a thicket of small shrubs.* Tamil. [POPE.]
[4] Sari. In Drâvidian çari—*right.* [POPE.]

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

CHAP. XVII.

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Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[8] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tirièri; the holy of holies, already described.

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In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

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[8] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master or superior.* The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which 177
at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it 164
undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked- [114]
eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an [834]
absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection 628
with the question of the morality of the Toda women, 577
Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other 177
members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to [554]
his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his
fellow Tribesmen.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr. Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the ground that they were too poor to afford the expense of the operation, or that they were always suckling or pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation would not be free from danger. The dots and circles, of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger; silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkūlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkūli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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also means "Englishman, European in general." It may be that the Tamil ɑrɔsɑn is also concerned in the origin of the Toda word, but in that case we should expect final -n to remain.). It is to be expected that names of Badagas might be adapted, and perhaps such cases occur, but I have no record of any. 551 177

§20. One name that I know of has reference to an incident in the life of a man's father. udjoɪsn (34, Udiosan) was made from udj "a government appointment" and oɪsn "he who became," since when this man was born, his father held an appointment as a forest-ranger. 551 554

§21. Many of the examples given above are names of men of the toɪroɪroɪ sib. In order to give a comprehensive view of all the names of one sib, I collect those here with references to the paragraphs where they are treated above and add all those that have not yet been mentioned. A few names given in Rivers' tables of this sib are not remembered by my informants, either because they belonged to children who died before they made any mark in the tribal life, or because the taboos on the names of the dead have caused them to be forgotten. I mark with an asterisk those names that follow the norm of derivation from names of places, objects, etc., connected with the sib. 551 614

RIVERS' TABLE 20

*tæɪθj (§12)
*tuɪxɪθj (§12)
*tuɪnpɪθj (§12)
*nöɪrnuɪ (Narsners) < gnöɪrof, the second küɑrm of the mund tæɪlgüuɪr (see nertnuɪ, §11)
*muɪdbɪθj (§12)
*ɛrtsɪθj (§12)
*kukuɪr (§7)
*tæɪpɑx (Teipakh) < tüuɪrtæɪpɑx, a pen at the mund toɪroɪr
sirjuɪr (§§14,17)
*tæɪfxüuɪr (Tavkudr) < Mt. tæɪf near toɪroɪr, "he who has horns as tall as Mt. tæɪf" (cf. §8)
*kiɪθjmuɪrj (§7)
*pɑɪnxüuɪr (Pankudr) < pɑɪnpüuɪ, two pens, one at toɪroɪr, one at kɛɪkos (cf. §8)
*köɪkisjxüuɪtn (§9)
*æɪdʒ, son of kukuɪr, < æɪdʒɑlxuɪt, a ravine near pɑʃtɑɪr (cf. §7)
idjom (§18)
nɑɪom (§14)
*tuɪnpuɪxüuɪtn (§§9, 15)

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:- 588
ja*l*t's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kum:ja*l*t, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 887
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the tɨufiij moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the tɔrθaŋ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the tɔrθaŋ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the tɔrθaŋ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

2 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

887 764 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṛ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kuwṛjaḷt, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemodz (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kalimokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
554
564

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwoten-Pöidh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörori or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Pöth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhoni	

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tvni-nguni-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, On, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men, their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined paternity through the *pursütpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and consequently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it would, I suppose, elsewhere. 831 [848]

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard, but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as contradicting these findings. 833

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the subject of an addendum. 114

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe. 614 616

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples – such as supplying *wurzols* and *kalmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the *ti-pulol*), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *ti-mund* – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a 614 554

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity
621 of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences. 234 764

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among the younger and more agile of the community, but at an important funeral the older and more experienced men may undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for the adroitness with which they perform the feat. 555 616 764 541

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is not satisfactory. 234 764

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kuriolv, they are too old or infirm to serve. Kuriolv is still on the *naim*, and his influence is entirely predominant, and it appears that he has been instrumental in altering the constitution of the council very largely. The number of representatives has been increased, and the following were the members in 1902:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52) of Kuudr, Perner and Tebner (68), of Keadr, Parkeidi (21), Paners (23) and Siriar (20) of Taradr and Pidrvan (9) of Kars. Thus several members of the Kuudrol and Taradrol are serving, while there appears to be no representative of the Nòdrsol; and I was told by several Todas that Perner and Tebner are on the council because they are friends of Kuriolv, though, as members of the Keadr clan, they have no right whatever to the position. 623

On the slopes below the hill called Mirson, near Paikara, there are the remains of ruined walls marking a place where the *naim* used to meet. This place is called Idrgûdipem, and seems to have been at one time the chief meeting-place.

At the present time the *naim* meets anywhere. I have seen the council sitting in the compound of the bungalow at Paikara and on one occasion, when I was working in a bungalow at the Ooty Club, the *naim* sat in the grounds of the club. In general, they now meet at the places which happen to be most convenient for the chief members.

The members usually sit in a semicircular row. If they are considering a dispute between two parties, representatives of the parties take part in the sitting, and in these cases the members of the *naim* sit in the middle of the row while the representatives sit on either wing. 623 627 578

During my visit the council was chiefly occupied with the various complicated transactions which are always arising out of the custom of transferring wives from one man to another. This custom is the chief source of disputes among the Todas, and at times the *naim* may sit for several days before one case is settled.

I am doubtful whether the *naim* should have a definite head, but at the present time it certainly has such in the person of Kuriolv of Kuudr. He is the senior representative of the *manikudupel* of Kuudr, and is therefore the natural representative of this clan on the *naim*. He is highly intel- 623 159 555 176

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

623 159 555 176

ligent, and gave me the impression that he might have risen to a high place in any community. He has the reputation among the Todas of being very eloquent and of having great persuasive powers. When persuasion fails, there is very little doubt that he resorts to intimidation of some kind, though I could not discover what his means of intimidation are.

FIG. 60.—KURIOLV AND PILIMURG.

On one occasion the *naim* spent a whole day discussing a marriage case in the compound at Paikara. On the following day they met in a distant part of the hills to continue the discussion of the case, and I was told that this was arranged by Kuriolv because he hoped to enforce his wishes in some secluded spot more effectively than in the publicity of Paikara where the evidences of the 'government' probably lent moral support to his opponents.

However Kuriolv effects his purpose, there is no doubt that

he almost entirely dominated the Toda people at the time of my visit. We have already seen that he has succeeded in altering the constitution of the *naim*, and several examples are given in this book of his interference in the normal course of Toda affairs; interference usually in favour of his own family or friends. In at least one case (see Chap. XVI) during my visit he considered himself superior to ceremonial laws. 159 623 555 876

He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died.

I did not obtain a full account of the duties of the *naim* and of the affairs which come under its jurisdiction. There is no doubt, however, that it is largely concerned with the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families, and clans. As I have already mentioned, it seemed to me that it was almost exclusively engaged during my visit in the regulation of the disputes arising out of the *tererstht* custom. In one such case the question of funeral contributions was involved, and I have no doubt that the settlement of any dispute arising from this source would come within the province of the *naim*, and probably any doubtful point in the working of the social regulations would be submitted to it. 623 627

In addition to its functions in disputes between individuals, the *naim* has wide functions in connexion with Toda ceremonial. It decides when many ceremonies take place, and has the chief word in regulating the affairs of the *ti* dairies. Thus it appeared that the various arrangements and alterations of arrangements in connexion with the migration of the buffaloes of the Nodrs *ti* which were made during my visit were the work of the *naim*, or, at any rate, of its chief members.

CRIME

I have no knowledge about the power of the *naim* in criminal as opposed to civil matters. I never heard of inquiry by the *naim* into any criminal offence committed by one man against another or against the community. It is, however, [623] 699

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 Keadrol taking office when there was a death among the
463 Kwaradrol and *vice versa*.

It has been stated by several writers on the Todas that the
556 *palol* does not profit in any way by his sacred office. I made
784 most careful inquiries on this point, and there seemed to be no
793 doubt that the *palol* may often make a considerable income from the sale of the ghi made from the milk of the herd under his charge; one *palol* was stated to make six rupees a week in this way, and while he has been in office is said to have increased his own herd (*i.e.*, that of his own family) by no less than twenty-five buffaloes. In one recent case, a man has resigned the post of *palol* to the Pan *ti* because he found the income was too small.

234 According to my informant, Kaners, a man used always to
463 accept the office of *palol* unwillingly. When the offer came
554 to him, he would say, "I cannot leave my buffaloes; I cannot
556 leave my wife and my children." Then the people would say,
793 "You are born for the *ti*; it is your birthright; you must not refuse"; and the man would reluctantly consent. Now the Todas are in more need of money than they used to be, and there is no difficulty in obtaining candidates for those dairies at which the pecuniary advantages are sufficiently great, so that people will now beg to be appointed as *palol* to certain dairies, and it is even whispered that bribes have been offered in order to obtain office. There is no doubt whatever that the pecuniary reward is the chief inducement to people to undertake the charge.

234 The Nòdrs *ti* has the largest herd of buffaloes, and I was
463 told that this *ti* is very much coveted, while others which
554 have few buffaloes are unable to obtain a *palol* at all. My
793 Teivali friends invariably talked about the *ti* in exactly the same kind of way that an Englishman talks about a benefice.

At the present time there are several instances in which the office of *palol* is vacant, and there seems to be a growing difficulty in filling many of these places. There is little doubt that the chief reason for this is that the herds have become very small, so that the resulting profit does not offer sufficient inducement; but there is also no doubt that the exclusion from the home and the limitation of intercourse

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and bamboo, fastened with split rattan, and are either constructed in curved outline like the tilt of a waggon, or brought to an angle at the top, with a wooden ridge-pole, similar to the form of construction met with in more civilised life. The first method of roofing—which is peculiar, not being found amongst any of the surrounding tribes—is that universally employed amongst the well-to-do. The latter, which is probably cheaper, and certainly more simple to make, but endures less the violence of storms, is ordinarily adopted by poor people, and for houses of a temporary nature requiring to be erected in a hurry.

CHAP. VI.

335 342 556

The two end walls, which are invariably gabled, are made of very stout planking: and where the house consists of more than one room, the partition wall is of the exact same construction as the outer walls. The side walls, in the tilt-waggon houses, are formed by carrying the roof down to the ground, in which the ends of the curved bamboo rafters are all imbedded. At the line of junction with the earth, flat stones are used in order to throw the water off from the domicile. All the interstices and holes in the planking are carefully filled in with clay, mixed with cow-dung.

342 [335] [353] [333]

The doorway, presenting the appearance of a ship's port-hole, and about two cubits high by one and a half cubits broad, is to be found in the middle of the gable wall, when there is only one room to the house: if there are two or three rooms, the second and third doors will be found in the sides, so arranged that all the doors may be to leeward; usually the south or south-east. These doorways, which are closed at night with a flat stone or solid slab of wood, kept in place by a stick thrust vertically into the floor at either side of the opening, form the only passage for the household, and for light, smoke, and air.

[414]

The roof projects two cubits beyond the gable walls; thus forming a pleasant open verandah facing the morning sun, and sheltered from the wind. Here the primitive family sit,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nilgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nilgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

794 animals which have not yet reached the milch stage and which otherwise
233 would unprofitably use up the community's scanty pasturage. It seems
184 also that the Christians still retain some of their original feeling that
[437] wealth is to be measured by possession of cattle. They tend to acquire
[556] more and more head of cattle and because of the pressure on their own pasture area the superfluous beasts are kept with the tribe almost permanently or in alternation with unproductive animals. In these cases the man who provides pasturage gets the produce, milk and the resulting
[184] products. In all cases when cattle are pastured on tribal lands, it seems that it is the buffalo that is so treated; cows are kept at the Christian colonies, since the tribal Todas do not own cows.

648 The Todas live in economic symbiosis with the other aboriginal tribes
437 of the Nilgiris, viz. the Kotas and the Kurumbas, and with the Badagas, who settled in the Nilgiris perhaps five centuries ago. The mechanism of the economic interchanges has not yet been described in detail,[6] but an outline of the Toda relations with the Kotas will be given here. The Kotas are blacksmiths and potters, and all the Toda needs in these departments are supplied by them, as well as music for the Toda funerals. In return the Kotas receive the carcasses of all Toda buffaloes that die or that are slaughtered at funerals, as well as certain other minor perquisites, such as cane for house-building, bamboo churning-sticks, and a certain amount of clarified butter. The interchanges are made between individuals, who are in a permanent and usually hereditary relationship to each other, referred to by the Todas as [keɹ], by the Kotas as [keɹ]. The relationship includes also the right of the Kota to obtain by purchase from his Toda opposite number such buffaloes and buffalo calves as he may need for his own economic purposes. In most cases one Toda has several Kotas who supply him, the relative numbers of the tribes and the Kotas' similar relationships with the Badagas making such an
648 arrangement necessary. This economic relationship has broken down
437 formally so far as the Christian Todas are concerned. But in spite of
184 this, there is a tendency among the Christian Todas to retain the relationship with their hereditary Kota partners. They obtain their iron tools and pots from these Kotas and recompense them on a more strictly commercial basis than the original one. *E.g.* [kanfusodj] retains such relationships with the Kota who was his father's partner and has in addition formed a new relationship with another Kota. He at least still uses the term [keɹ] in referring to his relationship with these two men, though my Kota linguistic informant was insistent that the Kota

[6] Reference may be made to Rivers, chap. 27. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has made more extensive notes on the subject and it is hoped that his account will soon appear.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

601

jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *mad*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensation to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

595 587 [623]

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoï, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *pursittpimi* in the first instance.

[623] [851]

The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

595 422 [556]

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
Toda AW60

115 him to delve into the intimate details of tribal customs. He was also a very intelligent individual who fully grasped the interest of anthropological research, and was keen to make use of the results in the hope of improving the material condition of the Todas. Without his assistance, it is doubtful whether I would have acquired so penetrating an insight into the Toda way of life, something for which I am extremely grateful to him.

[589] Kanvarsathi's father was a rather notorious character among the Todas called Kiunervan (Table 14 of Rivers' genealogical tables) who had no less than eleven wives, one after the other. Kanvarsathi was the only son of the eleventh wife, and was born in 1905 at the Toda village of Paletkwar (known as Attakoraimand in the language of the Badagas) near Or, on the left-hand side of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. Two months after his birth, his mother died, and his half-sister, Sinkup, later wife of Ujar (48, Rivers' Ushadz, one of my best informants), a daughter of his father's second wife, took him away with her and very grudgingly looked after him.

Six years later, Kiunervan also died, leaving one boy, Kanvarsathi, and two elder girls. The total number of his father's offspring had not been very great, despite the eleven wives. There were, altogether, only three sons and two daughters, of which two boys died before Kanvarsathi was born, and the two girls after, leaving him the sole survivor. Strictly speaking he became the only heir to his father's estate, which [556] consisted, at the time of death, of sixty buffaloes and some gold ornaments – quite a considerable fortune according to Toda standards. But [929] because he was a minor, his father's brothers' sons – his first cousins on his father's side – took the property into their custody until he should come of age. Being, however, most unscrupulous, and believing that Kanvarsathi would never find out, these cousins gradually disposed of the estate to their own advantage, so that when the time came for them to hand it over, all that he got were six buffaloes and two pairs of ear-rings.

115 When he was ten years old, he found out the real state of affairs and 691 how he was being done out of his legitimate inheritance. He appealed against this to the Toda Government Agent, the Monegar, and to the most influential Toda of his day, the famous Kuriolv (52, properly speaking, Kiusharf in Toda, the other name being Badaga), but to no avail. These important people could not be bothered with the complaints of so small a boy, and all he got for his trouble was to be made to look after their buffaloes. This unfairness deeply wounded him, and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

they therefore adopted the practice of female infanticide, and that polyandry followed as a consequence. At the present and during recent times there has certainly been no economical motive for infanticide, and I am very doubtful whether it has ever existed. I think it far more probable that the Todas brought the practice of polyandry with them when they came to the Nilgiris; but if this view should be adopted, there is still no evidence to show whether they also brought infanticide with them, or whether this custom developed owing to the fact that polyandry diminished the need for female children.

POLYGYNY

In the last section we have seen that there is a tendency for the polyandry of the Todas to become combined with polygyny. Two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule the two men have the two wives in common. In addition, polygyny of the more ordinary kind exists among the Todas, and is probably now increasing in frequency, as one of the results of the diminished female infanticide.

One example of polygyny is the marriage of Kuriolv (56) with two wives, one of about the same age as himself, the other a young wife whom he shares with Onadj (57). In another case Odrkurs (1), has two wives, the second wife being a young girl recently married in the hope of obtaining a son (see p. 550).

There is one example of polygyny in the genealogies in which a young boy, Mokudr of Nidrsi (42), has two wives, both young girls. He has been doubly married in order that he may get rid of one of his wives by the *tererstbi* custom and so become rich. He has been married to two wives in order that he may sell one.

When a man or a group of men have more than one wife, the two wives usually live together at the same village, but sometimes they live at different villages, the husband or husbands moving about from one village to the other.

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly
621 limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kavn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
irkarthtadip when milking. When away from his work or
513 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
554 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
558 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time
784 in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtil*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

Melgars people could hold the office of *wurzal*, but had no
234 *wurzalir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
557 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wurzal*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wurzal* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartwakh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wurzal* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tawi*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkali*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wurzal* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wurzali* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nôdrs in the *tartali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *mara* or
793 sieve, the *mask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *parol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently *Nödrners* (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *mersir* at the *Nödrs ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kowarat*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Kat*," and the Tarthar man replies "*ir kadak*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kundrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kowarnam*, or sacred name of Kundr, followed by the word *idiik*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Irikanmukk* 798 576

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *sphavmal*, after the *pusp* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pil* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvu*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mödr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tweitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558 784

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 793

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the forbidden things, or even if he is likely to be in such a position that he may have to do these things, he becomes *perkursol*. This he does by throwing off the *petuni* and dipping one leg either into the pool of water called *tarutu-kudi* (see p. 177) or into the dairy stream (*pali nipa*) of an ordinary dairy (if he dipped his leg into the *ars nipa*, or part of a stream used for ordinary household purposes, he would at once lose his office entirely and become an ordinary person). As soon as he has dipped his foot, he becomes *perkursol* and may do the following things summed up in the general expression *tarskwardrkddthodi*. He may pass a village where there is a woman in the seclusion-hut (*pushars*), or where the relics of the dead are being kept between the two funeral ceremonies; he may go to a place where the people have been in communication with a village in which either of these conditions exist; he may pass a river by a bridge, and he may go to the *wursuli* of a Tarthar village. If the full *koltwokh* does any of these things, even unwittingly, he would at once become an ordinary person (*peral*). The *koltwokh* degrades himself to the rank of *perkursol* even when there is merely the danger that he may infringe any of the restrictions; thus, one day when there was a woman at Karia who was in seclusion after childbirth, the *koltwokh* at Mödr, Katsog (55), was going to the hut of the forest guard near Paikara. He would not have to pass Karia, but there was a chance that the forest guard might have been in communication with the people of Karia, and therefore Katsog became *perkursol*. A *perkursol* is regarded as of the same rank as a *wursol*, and the people spoke of *perkursol* as a *ti* word for *wursol*—*i.e.*, a *wursol* at the *ti* was called *perkursol*, just as a *madth* (churn) at the *ti* was called *highlag*. In order to regain his rank as full *koltwokh*, the *perkursol* has to perform the same ceremony as that which takes place at the end of the ordination to this office (see Chap. VII).

While the *koltwokh* is degraded to the rank of *perkursol* he may not touch any dairy vessels; he may not pour buttermilk for the *palol*, nor may he blow the horns—*i.e.*, he may do none of the more important and sacred duties of his office.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[2] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[3] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in EGO's generation based on age relative to that of EGO.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to EGO. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of EGO's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, onɑ: in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okɑ: in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ütur-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endɑ: in address. En-ütur-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" num-ütur-fed "your younger sibling," an-ütur-fed (or an-den-ütur-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ütur-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ütur-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nɑum-ütur-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or oθɑ m-ütur-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -ku ix (= ku ix) a female.[5]

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[3] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 207–23, 1938), p. 207 fn. 1. In this paper I use ł, ł for palatalized alveolar sibilants, c, ç for post-dental affricates and č, ǰ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ɯ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1935–36 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[4] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and passim.

[5] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom one would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

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601 561 114 [576]

Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as EGO. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[5] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as EGO. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɨ̯ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɨ̯ or en-goɨ̯ "my friend" (in address -ɛ̯ is added), num-goɨ̯ "your friend," an-goɨ̯ or tan-goɨ̯ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193]

When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocxoɨ̯jɑɪ, eningoɨ̯jɑɪ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[114] [126]

[601] [561]

in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister terms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as EGO the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[5] Rivers, pp. 496–98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of EGO is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

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[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 943–60, 1937), especially pp. 949–50.

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526–29.

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song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song *piljɑɪr* (Piliar, 32) and *merŋɪɪs* (Mudriners, 37) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another *sindɪɪrp* (Sintharap), wife of *kɪɪɪɪsjɑff* (Kuriolv, 32), and *kɔɪsɑr* (Kosar, 37) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: *tæɪðjxæɪn*, son of *sirjɑɪr* (Siriar, 20), and *tɔɔɔɪɪɪ*, son of *tɔɪkɔs* (Tokas) and *pɪnɪɪr* (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter *ejɪɪ* "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ɐɔɔ's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ɐɔɔ's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., *mɔn-mɔx* "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ɐɔɔ" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and *mɔn-gɪɪɪ* "daughter, etc." may be replaced by *en-ɔkŋ-fæɪdfɔj-mɔx* "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," *en-ɪɪɪɪr-fed-mɔsk-fæɪdfɔj-ɪɪɪɪ* "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

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There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference *mɔčiŋj* "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ɐɔɔ's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (*en-in-mɔčiŋj* "my father's cross-cousin," *en-af-mɔčiŋj* "my mother's cross-

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343 the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular
351 enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are
361 enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for
417 use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

312 Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are
487 usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached,
562 and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

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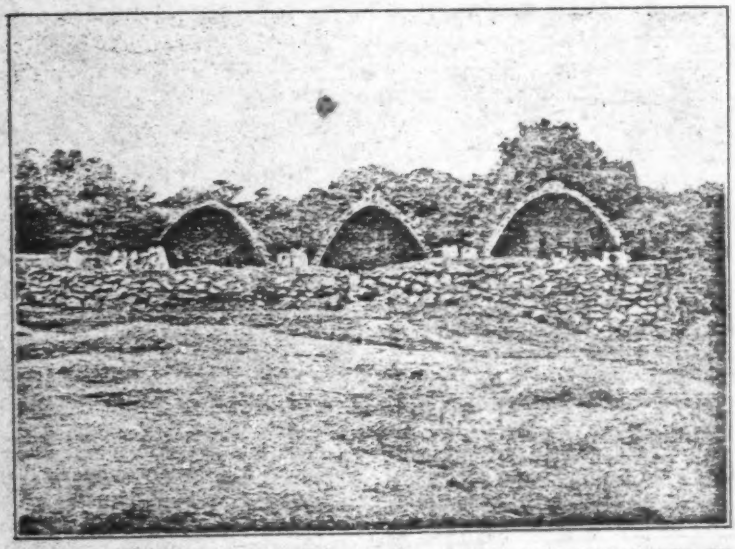

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FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

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211 out by the dairyman, and when going for this purpose they
363 must keep to the *majvatitthkalvol*. This path is sometimes
562 indicated by a stone, the *majvatitthkars*, and the spot where the women stand to receive the buttermilk is called the *majvatvaiidrn*.

At many villages there are other stones which have definite

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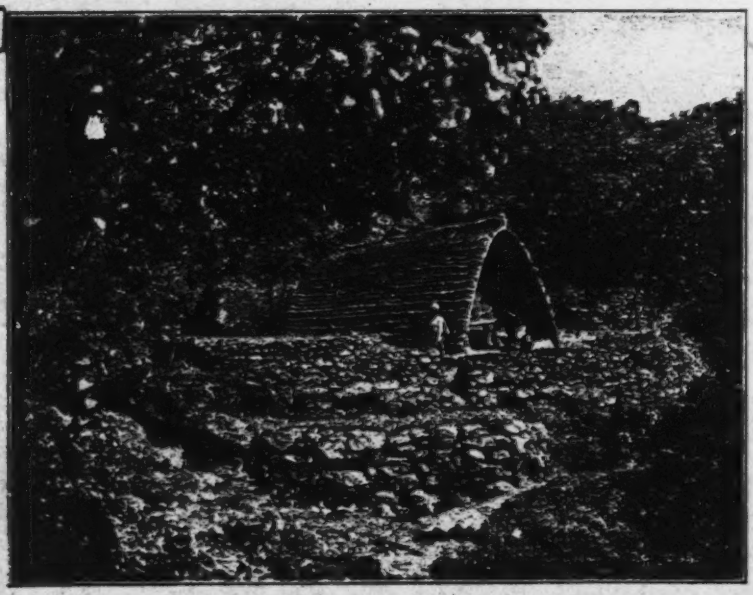

FIG. 7.—THE CHIEF HOUSE OF THE VILLAGE OF KIUDR.

names and mark the sites where certain ceremonial functions are performed.

342 The house is called *ars*, and is of the kind shown in Fig. 7. It is shaped like half a barrel, with the barrel-like roof and sides projecting for a considerable distance beyond the front partition containing the door. The size of the hut is by no means constant; in some cases it is sufficiently roomy to enable people to move about with ease and comfort, while in others it is so small that it is unbearably stuffy, and the smoke from the fire, which is always burning, makes it difficult to believe that anyone can long live in it. The entrance to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are
[292] more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

●562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters. 562 784 793

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursoi* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms. 234 343 778 788

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 343 352

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 . Toda

234 the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary
221 work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the
796 women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpun*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*ekirzam meidjam*," the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray,
[415 using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the
482] milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütusht*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

[562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

from actual contact either with dairies or dairymen of the higher grades. He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure. The definite impurity which is the condition of those who have attended funeral ceremonies or have been in relation with a woman in the period of seclusion after childbirth is something very different. Such a man is not merely unsanctified, he is unfit to hold any sacred office; even the prolonged ceremonies of ordination would not fit him to hold office in the dairy or to perform any part in the tendance of the sacred buffaloes, and he is not allowed even to approach the members of the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood.

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Women and the Dairy

Women take no part in the dairy ritual, nor in the milking and churning operations which are carried on in the hut. It is said that at one time the women took charge of the buffaloes at the time of calving, but this is not the case at the present time.

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Women go to the dairy to fetch buttermilk, using an appointed path and standing at an appointed spot to receive it.

Females enter dairies under two conditions only. They may enter the outermost rooms of those dairies which are used as funeral huts while the bodies of men are lying in them. Here they may sit only on one side of the room, and only when the dairy operations are not in progress. Women also enter the temporary funeral huts of men which are called *peli*, or dairies.

The other condition under which a female enters a dairy is at the migration ceremony of the village, in which a girl, seven or eight years of age, is given food in the dairy of the village which the buffaloes are leaving, and sweeps the front of the dairy of the village to which they are going. This ceremony is one in which a girl seems to take a definite part in dairy ceremonial, but the girl chosen for this office must be below the age of puberty.

The relations of women with the different grades of dairymen have already been considered; a point which may again

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 be mentioned is that the emblems of womanhood, the
784 pounder, sieve, and broom, may be removed from the hut
● 562 while the dairyman is present, though the women themselves remain.

During certain dairy ceremonials, women must leave the village altogether, and during the passage of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* near the village of Kiudr, the women leave the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

Although women are thus excluded from all participation in the dairy ceremonial, we shall see later (Chapter XIV) that an artificial dairy plays a part in some of the ceremonies connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

History of the Dairy

173 The Todas can give very little information which throws
234 any light on the development of this complex organisation of
778 the dairy with its elaborate ritual. According to tradition, the most sacred dairies, and especially that of the Nòdrs *ti*, date back to the time when the gods were active on earth and were themselves dairymen.

Beyond the belief that buffaloes of different kinds were assigned to the different clans by Teikirzi, I could obtain no account of beliefs about the origin or growth of the other grades of dairy. One fact as to the past which seemed clear was that *ti* dairies were at one time more numerous than at present, and several places now possessing village dairies of the ordinary kind are said to have been at one time the seats of *ti* dairies. Thus it is believed that Kiudr was formerly a *ti* place, and the old weatherworn stones shown in Figs. 31 and 32, which are still called *newrsülukars*, seem to provide evidence that tradition is here correct. The village of Teidr is said to have been at one time a *ti*, and here again two stones called *newrsülukars* are to be seen about a quarter of a mile from the village.

There is another feature of the Kiudr dairy which suggests that it may at one time have been a *ti* dairy. It contains six bells called *mani*, which clearly differ in nature from the *mani* of the other village dairies, especially in the fact that they

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
783 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

763 been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

764 After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *ün*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn 437 by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *ün* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *ün* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukurupukuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

764 The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nödrs, his body is taken into the three roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitün*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmekh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy. [234] It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women [562] are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitün*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *menkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be.
778 When going from Ootacamund to Paikará by the bridle path
788 the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *mzim* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages,"
621 where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually
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784
788

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *ishnidhaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them. 562 621 778 789 788

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *haiwakti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *halaimad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die. 621 627 761 778

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kindr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Debt and Servitude

426 It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt, and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their 593 father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is 466 regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kâlvatkerthâki* or *kâlvatkerthiti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

[582] It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

The Position of Women

562 There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

562 community towards the sex. The laws regulating the relations of the dairymen with women also can hardly have contributed to raise the esteem in which they are held. The special ceremonies in which women are concerned involve various disabilities due to the ideas of impurity connected with these ceremonies. The seclusion-hut of a woman has attached to it the same ideas of impurity which attach to a corpse or its relics.

562 Not only are women excluded from any share in the
562 work of the dairies connected with the sacred buffaloes, but they are also prohibited from any part in the milking of the ordinary buffaloes or in the churning of their milk, which is performed solely by males in a part of the hut with which women have nothing to do. It seems that at one time women had the one function of tending the buffaloes at the time of calving, but even this is no longer allowed them.

In other household matters, the duties of women are very limited in scope. Their chief work is the pounding and sifting of grain, the cleaning of the hut, and the decoration of clothing. I am doubtful whether they are allowed to cook, at any rate to cook food in which milk forms one of the ingredients. With such occupations as divining and sorcery they have nothing to do, but one woman has the reputation of possessing the powers of healing which belong to the *ativeu*.

562 I could not learn of any matters of social importance in which women are consulted. When collecting genealogies in Torres Straits, I found that women were often repositories of this important branch of knowledge, but I received no indication that this was the case with the Toda women, though I cannot say definitely that they may not have possessed some knowledge of this and cognate subjects.

Though thus unimportant in ceremonial and of little influence in the regulation of social affairs, women have nevertheless much freedom. In general social intercourse the two sexes always seemed to be on the best of terms, and I never saw or heard anything to indicate that women are treated harshly or contemptuously.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar. 412 415 437 177

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *kolviti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone. 324 174 412 176

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wawal* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom. 356 562

In the case of the *wawal*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Ādabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Ādabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
583 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of Ādabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

CHAP. VII. 583 intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

157 562 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held sacrosanct*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 146 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdl.	Kirnâl.
Belâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 551 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—porra[9] hesro—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure 463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda, 551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[9] Porra = *outside*.

CHAP. XVII.

234 793 618

unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 621

It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778]

The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 793 788

The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tirièri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up.* [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 621 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 423 234 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

851 595 428

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

CHAP. XXVI.

586 183 the time a child had been born of his marriage. Had this been a hard-working people, such a difficulty could have been surmounted by his acting as Jacob did for Rachel, whose proposition, accepted by Laban, was 'I will serve thee for seven years' for her.—Genesis xxix., 18. But no circumstance has yet induced the dolichocephalic Toda to labour.

In such a case as has been described, the marriage is simply cancelled, both parties being competent to marry again. But mark the decision as regards the child; whether son or daughter it remains the property of the father. The mother nurses and cares for it during infancy: but when it can take care of itself; when in fact it requires food from the family stock, it goes to its father's home. Here we recognise the influence of the property law. Some one must feed and clothe the child: but women have no property; hence the father must take charge of it. Such would be the judgment of the kûtacaram.

586 606 684 As regards the national feeling on such an affair[1] it would be looked on as a mishap, an unfortunate occurrence, and the defaulter would lose in public estimation. He might be fined a buffalo or two: but there the matter would end, in sedate quiet. The child born of the union would not suffer in any way; it is the son of so and so: there is the father, whose heir he is, and that, his mother.

562 If the Toda mode of inheriting property should give the impression that women are not of much account in the family, such a view would be quite incorrect. Woman's influence in the mand, through her husbands and children, is real. By the great tolerance and moderation of the men, aided by a very sufficient mental power and mastery of her subject, she maintains a good position in the house. It is not so much that the two sexes are equally balanced, for even if of like mental power, the muscular ability to enforce a requirement must always remain with the man, as that the women have settled into a position which gives ample scope

[1 i.e., failure of the bridegroom to pay the dowry, resulting in termination of the marriage—Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

for the practice of feminine duties, and of acquiring useful experience in the management of affairs. If the husbands should die, the widow would be fully competent to act as trustee of any cattle they may have left, and as guardian of her children, whether she married again, or maintained her single state. 562 429

In the event of a woman not bearing any children to her husband, he may marry again: but in such case he must support the first wife: and, as a matter of course, he has to pay another dower for the second. 586

In possession, therefore, of these evidences of wedded life, and bearing in recollection the staid nature of this singular people, I feel convinced that separation between pairs is not lightly tolerated. Easy-tempered, thoroughly communistic, and not very nice in their discrimination of the duties of husbands and wives to one another, many of the causes which lead to separations amongst civilised people, must be absent from them, and motives for divorce would not be frequent.

What an insight does the simple practice of the dower, not give into the direct nature of their minds! Both parties *promise*, and the promise is their bond! It is not that it is a conscientious people, but so guileless and free from talent for plot, and all so much alike, that seemingly they possess almost intuitive knowledge of one another's intentions. We notice the same peculiarity amongst the inferior animals, and for want of a better word, term it instinct. I have often thought that much of this instantaneous understanding we observe in animals, as well as the rapidity with which, amongst nearly pure races of man, information is disseminated, and the unity of impulse with which they work in combining for a common end, is due greatly to close similarity in cranial contour.[1] Are sly animals ever found associated in herds or troops? 583 000

[1] This peculiarity was a remarkable feature in the Indian Mutiny of the year 1857; the rebellion of a semi-barbarous race, of striking uniformity of cranial development.

CHAP. XXVI.

183 577 I confess to a feeling of great astonishment that barbarians should conduct their household arrangements with the staidness and good sense of members of the Teutonic family of nations. Yet, though free from taint of fickleness, Toda social morality can scarcely be defended. We find him bound down to keep the peace, and behave himself as a Toda should, and not throw his wife and children on the parish. But for the rest we find him still a gross savage.

In the outward behaviour of the sexes, I have been amused to notice how much the custom and etiquette observed in civilised life is derived from *their* model. I have never seen any among our list of the proprieties in the slightest degree overstepped by them in ordinary daily intercourse, except 562 perhaps in their habit of calling a spade a spade. Modest-looking women are by no means rare. They remain habitually at home, keeping together as demure as cats. They have their own places of private resort, on which members of the opposite sex would not presume to intrude. They manage their cumbersome garments to perfection. But it must not be supposed that they are moral, or have scruples. It is the human animal in its wild state.

589 183 582 No unmarried class exists, to disturb society with its loves and broils. More's the pity! for that same society much needs to be startled into energy out of its hum-drum life! The warm breath of poetry and romance never passes through these people. It must long ago have been quenched with the introduction of infanticide and polyandry. Defects lie entirely the other way; it is a 'very much married' people. Every man and every woman, every lad and every girl is somebody's husband or wife; tied at the earliest possible age, and bound by grinding social law, in the bonds of unpoetic matrimony, extending almost over the entire term of adult life. Sacred characters, such as the pâlâl and pâlkarpâl, are merely husbands off duty. With the exception of a cripple girl, and of those women who, past the child-bearing age,

The pouch of the *pútkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*, some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kutēr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pell*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Amáddu sruná,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karma Dharma*) *tilinā.**

Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *Kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *Kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Todo funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Tirukt Mund the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzāram* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the circle.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, *People of India*, p. 290. At a Brahmin funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhūt, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhūts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

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648 464 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it 461 [241] beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda 562 512 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described [157] [171] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans 177 609 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even [735] the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, 114 177 164 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

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These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

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Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351 two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343 is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342] dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [793] than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354] place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417 mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233 enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422] possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487 Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562] women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234] the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562] go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

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Avalanchē to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanchē-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

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551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæribj, daughter of öiknuɜ (8, Arkners), < "baby;" pentʃ, daughter of kɔrxūuṭɔ (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæisn; a woman's name tæɜs is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kujniɜr, 3, Kainir).

[177] §30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tifj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandiifj, daughter of kūuilpex (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 614 778 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and kūɜm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. öingūuṭɔ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 193 614 §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[11] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

[177]

[11] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the kūɜm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

[562] [533] [778]

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term [KEL] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas.

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing.

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[1] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc-

[1] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77, 343-390.

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The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[14] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kaxfusodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kumin], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[15] A Toda woman, once she

[14] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[15] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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797 has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ulta), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuum:n] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanus] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfusodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiśkem] (14, Küshken), He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnus] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [pa:uni:ʒhuj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfusodj]. Her brother [no:nmusj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfusodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnus] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [no:nmusj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfusodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjo:n] (20, son of [te:pax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfusodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [no:nmusj] should pay to [kanfusodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
585 and five rupees; these are the [kökuulj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [aapum] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are 776
told are the tōuθuŋ and it is about these that Rivers acquired 114
much information. They are "the mountains (tuŋ) which are 794
gods (tōu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tōkiŋ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noŋ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. [777]
They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a [791]
man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods [688]
by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these tōuθuŋ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 794

The tōunoŋ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda 776
consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the 234
dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one [361]
or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the tōunoŋ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names [782]
of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may [783]
suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, [562]
who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as ay as opposed to the dairy section 776
of the mund which is noŋ "sacred place." Within the noŋ it 234
cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the 778
divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noŋ itself 794
is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred [192]
part of the mund as tōu "god" or noŋ "sacred place" or tōunoŋ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poły). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoły, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuucy of the sib called mö:r was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti :-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti :-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuucy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 75 (middle).
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

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child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainoiker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vanthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mam* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vanthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamtpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mam*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalkartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mam* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their

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ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvu* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertilkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *puvir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts". A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmel-pudikhi* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mud*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatithkatvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvarvalirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*mud*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the arm-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mud* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*pooth*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipu*),

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *ershampikpini* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mud* called *irshvir* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilth women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mods* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilth priests. Thus, the *tarvalikarmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mud* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikarmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *warvol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilth women, not even his wife if he is married. The *pulol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mud*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mud*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *shoder* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *mudol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhilol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

married Nainirwd, ceased being head of his immediate family (although 595
he was chief of the Melgarsh model) and Pudu, who already was the
legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhur and Monbokwutn, became so in his
place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, 562
and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, 578
there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such 152
matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there
seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a 182
number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of
teerishi allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, 587
provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and 897
that of *mukkhoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe
regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other exam- 993
ples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed 897
by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of
the *mund* to which they serve and the Toda-Mudaga exchange of wives
of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants 178
were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the 578
Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing 152
modern trend of resistance to *teerishi*, the authority of the *mund* in such
matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. 587
Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any 623
more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any 648
falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, how- 595
ever, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other
polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the broth-
ers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic
well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the
language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they
are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I
have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household 595
is again a matter of tacit understanding between the plural partners. 893
Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without excep-
tion ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the
past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Nilgiris, I
never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which
I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwd, had no

[Melgarsh Village]

571 621 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following members of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mud* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Perzhörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amonjwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Mozced, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Nirshmall.

Pufvkiavoz: Mutmall only.

422 [23] The Melgarsh *mud* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *purshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Pursbwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakbwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 428 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the [562] [583] latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

To 545 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?". His answer was very

4: Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[193] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, then can

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
563 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced
651 by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Toda

582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

843 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
851 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

582 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
583 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

794 184 563 177 [867] community are still in many repects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge o the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the conmunity and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will intime become so Tamilised that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 184 564 583 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[10] there should be an absolute break n the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalised relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

564 648 186 [574] [184] [194]

[113] [10] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 118, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

841 Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags [178] are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all discarded ones [171] are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community.

841 794 563 177 The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has bein made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
679

CHAPTER XXIX

TEIVALIOL AND TARTHAROL

THE existence of these two divisions of the Toda people raises one of the most interesting problems of their social organisation. The fact that the Todas are an Indian people at once suggests that we have to do here with some form of the institution of caste. Each division is endogamous, as is the caste, and each is divided into a number of exogamous septs resembling the gotras of a caste. Again, there is some amount of specialisation of function, the Teivaliol being the division from which the most sacred of the dairymen are chosen. 564 616

The names of the two divisions probably correspond with this differentiation of function. The Teivaliol evidently derive their name from the sacred office, *deva*, of Sanskrit origin, being in common use in South India for 'sacred,' while *devalayam* means a temple.[1] The origin of Tartharol[2] is more doubtful, but I believe that the word carries the idea of ordinary, *târ* being used sometimes in this sense.

There is little restriction on social intercourse between the two divisions. So far as I am aware, they can eat together, and a member of one division can receive food from any member of another. 616

Though intermarriage is forbidden, the irregular unions in which the man is the *mokkthodraiol* of the woman (see Chap. 588 616

[1] There is also a place called Devali in the Wainad which may possibly be connected in some way with the Teivaliol.

[2] Grigg (*Manual*, p. 187) derives the word from *tasan*, a servant. *S* or *th* is sometimes inserted into the word Tartharol, but it is purely euphonic, and I do not think that this derivation is at all probable.

CHAP. VIII.

The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots. They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula—a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit—pôm—and herbs of sorts.

Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is still a luxury.

Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Tota

sacred nature of such office, advanced in popular estimation until they are viewed in the aspect of priests. The high priest, from being a servant of certain Gods, has become confused with Godhead itself. A family styling itself 'sons of the Gods,' has developed—though without arrogation to caste pretensions—into a Levitical clan, inheritors of the highest priestly office; its males being prepared and chastened thereto in sacred groves, by the use of a plant set apart for the purpose, and by abstinence from sensual pleasures; the females of the entire tribe, being not only excluded from participation in such duties, but debarred approach to all holy precincts.

These points appear to me to embrace the whole of what may be held to be Toda—performed—religion unadulterated.

They acknowledge the existence of Gods, *perhaps* even of a Supreme God—Ûsuru[1] Swâmi—but their ideas on the subject are quite undeveloped. I think I trace in them a partiality to the regard of *light*—apart from fire—as *par excellence*, the manifestation of divinity. Their beliefs, whatever they may be, are so little attended with formal signs of adoration, that we cannot, with any degree of confidence, assert this or that to be their creed. Still I believe I have grounds for the opinion that these people have a strong bias in favour of *light*;[2] the natural bent of their mind being such, that if any other race would work out for them the idea, connecting Ûsuru Swâmi with some such attribute of divinity as light, they could soon be brought to exalt Bél into 'a king above all gods:' the more readily if deference to the cow was inculcated with such a teaching.

I submit the suggestion as one having a possible value in determining the ethnic affinities of the Toda race: and a

[1] See note 3 of Chapter XII.

[2] Note the Toda words in Chapter XXIX., showing how frequently the word 'bel' occurs, even in my small vocabulary; see *dawn*, *light*, *silver*, *bird*, *white*. Also, the names of men, and of Gods, given in previous Chapters.

The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Makanâd in 1871 was officially* reported to be 104, in 46 villages.

Todas are div[illegible] into two classes, which account intermarry, viz. :—

1. Pôlchâl.
2. Tarsarâdâl.

The first class consists of the Pulki class, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining class, the Pekkan, Kutten, Kenna, and Toll.

The Pulkis eat apart; and a Pulki woman may not go to a village of the Tarsarâdâl, although the women of the latter may visit Pulkis.

The Pulkis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other class say, "Are they not our servants?"

Pulki women are called Kotti, those of the other class Pauni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

"Ethnology.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
"possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
"with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
"self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
"at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
"Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
"darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
"the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
"the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
"strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
"features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
"*forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 3¼ inches from the root of the nose
"to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
"moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
"colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally equilibe—
"in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others aquiline—
"measuring from root to tip 2¼ inches, and height from base of alae to ridge 1¼ inches,
"breadth of alae from side to side 1¼ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
"full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

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* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1866.

Dr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 20th August 1866, says:—

"This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1856 gave a total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since Captain Harkness counted 500 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Breton' Table, No. 20.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Breton' Tables.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

648 423 6. The Collector shall have power to issue annual permits for the cultivation of grass land only in Toda pattas by Todas themselves, free of charge, or otherwise as Government may, from time to time, direct; but no Toda shall be at liberty to permit any person, except a Toda, to cultivate, or assist in the cultivation of such lands.

In 1905, the Todas petitioned Government against the prohibition by the local Forest authorities of the burning of grass on the downs, issued on the ground of danger to the shôlas (wooded ravines or groves). This yearly burning of the grass was claimed by the Todas to improve it, and they maintained that their cattle were deteriorating for want of good fodder. Government ruled that the grass on the plateau has been burnt by the inhabitants at pleasure for many years without any appreciable damage to forest growth, and the practice should not be disturbed.

564 Concerning the social organisation of the Todas, Mr. Breeks states that they are "divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz., Dêvalyâl and Tarserzhâl. The first class consists of Peiki class, corresponding in some respects to Brâhmans; the second of the four remaining classes the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi. A Peiki woman may not go to the village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis." The class names given by Mr. Breeks were readily recognised by the Todas whom I interviewed, but they gave Têrthâl (comprising superior Peikis) and Târthâl as the names of the divisions. They told me that, when 564 574 a Têrthâl woman visits her friends at a Târthâl mand, she is not allowed to enter the mand, but must stop at a distance from it. Todas as a rule cook their rice in [562] butter-milk, but, when a Têrthâl woman pays a visit to

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Tarthâl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthâl woman visits at a Têrthâl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in buttermilk. The restrictions which are imposed on Têrthâl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Têrthâl woman, on a visit at a Tarthâl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkûli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthâls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Têrthâl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyâl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikâra bungalow.

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

794 184 563 177 [869] community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilised that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 184 564 783 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[*] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalised relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

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[574]

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[113] * See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 113, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when these members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[10] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kaxfmeodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuzan], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[11] A Toda woman, once she

[10] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[11] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

will order the setting up in the mands of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and ceremonial making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274–290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the tī r-dairies; the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at tī r-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the mands as well as at the tī r-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their conception of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite recently from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later divisions to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the references to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known:

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilch,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tarthavsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mund* dwellers, and in which they
798 take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
[554] from the Teivilch moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox, it was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *mudsh* (from *mud*, "village", and *olth*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhlol* (from *polkhloll*, "dairy-temple" and *olth*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhlol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *mudsh* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothers of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhlol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tarthavsh. Their names are as follows, classified
554 according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
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mudsh	*polkhlol*
1. Kenb	1. Pink or Nir
2. Nesh	2. Kwatan-Pilch
3. Tarw	3. Ooth
4. Milwat or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kinow	5. Pilch
6. Nikh	
7. Kenaw	
8. Uthl	
9. Kwodhwal	

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

modds

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirapen
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Tarsh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modds	*pulkhds*
1. Kour	1. Nonkothkpal
2. Ongarsh or Kashar	2. Pelfwitkali
3. Pistal	3. Pulkoiwn
4. Kiltar	4. Mignoktwarwol
5. Kulkhen	5. Arokkidjimudyarilkowy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kinnen	
7. Kwadenar (who are Kour outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modd* has a headman who is usually the oldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Kursh clan of the Tarshursh, known as the *Tarsh-ugani-pawaylar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ow, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Kursh *modd* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Pawtan, his son, and Kursh and Kanad, his grandson and great-grandson.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Long looked for dinner appears to be ready; for the heated woman now emerges into the open air, and the men and boys enter the hut, leaving the females to prolong the talk. When each member of the community has in turn, eaten, and the offerings to bhumi tai have been swept out of doors, the whole family in the village join grouped about in primitive disgleness, and quiet unconspicuous attitude; some under the veranda eaves, others on the thar, or under its quiet shelter: and there rehearse the day's events. The naked pálkarpál also, having completed his separate cooking, squats apart upon the wall, whence he can hear the news and add his distant note to the conversation.

And thus the shades of evening close in upon them. The air grows chill, and the careful mother of the smallest, rises to take the infant she has kept under her dress, into the well baked house. She stops a moment: looks round to the sky where the blushing moon, ascending vertically through the trees in hot pursuit of the new vanished sun, illumines her womanly face. 'Swámi, Swámi!' she mutters, with hands to forehead, supporting the while, her young one in the bend of her arm, 'Mokh ultama, ellam ultama:' and stoops in at the little doorway. Two or three sleepy-headed children soon stagger in after her. Note the pretty daughter in her teens, plump and white toothed, with hair tightly curled, and eyes that brilliantly catch the sparkle of the moon. She has been taught to say her prayers: but unmarried and without a care, the sense of responsibility is not strong upon her; she has no child to shiver for. She gives a rather hurried salute, bringing her head down to her hands, rather than take the young arms out of their envelope in the chill: a quick 'Ěyan, appa!' and in she ducks, shutting the door after her. A prolonged rustle may be heard as the brood settle themselves in the dark, to rest on the warm hearth; with a mantle on the floor and another covering all their nakedness. The healthy baby, with eyes wide open, trying in vain to penetrate the gloom, disturbs the mother on the raised bed, who is now

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 356 412 462 512 While the men are doing their work, the women will have been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently woman's work.

They pound the grain with the *mark* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 296 356 462 531 Though these are the three operations which are regarded as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 574 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between 576 a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

visits a village in which he has any female relatives younger than himself, these will go out to meet him as he approaches the house, and each bows down before the man, who raises his

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FIG. 13.—WOMEN POUNDING AND SIFTING. THE BROOM IS ON THE GROUND TO THE RIGHT.

foot, while the woman places her hand below the foot and helps to raise it to her forehead, and the same salutation is repeated with the other foot. This mode of greeting is

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574 576 called *kalmelpudithti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

234 512 788 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddiken*.

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary
793 person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are
[292] more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At some time before entering into office as full palal

the candidate touches a *tasth* or bar of the entrance into the *tu*. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the *kaltmokh*, and as in this case it seemed to be the special indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the *tasth* is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished. 234 x 574 793 796

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pen*, nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called *kubuntuni* is brought by the *tikelfuav*, and is put on in the usual way. (During the previous month the *pedrshtuni* will have been used both as a cloak and as a loincloth, and will have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and sit in the *piil* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol first, saying "*Bań*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol, saying "*Pekein*," and each reply in the customary manner. [292] [576]

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *muli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity. 234 x 793

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Ödr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *muliniròditi* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvni* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh*

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173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
782 told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony[1] was of great
796 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem
574 to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
796 offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Teutütusthchi* is
certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that
783 *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though now it may be performed several times in the year. Even now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

782 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
kwadrthpimi—*i.e.*, we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably
234 means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death, but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk.

[1] [The Teutütusthchi' Ceremony; See pp. 290-291. — Analyst]

852 buttermilk from the dairyman, and there the mother uncovers
854 the child's face.

I was not told that the covering of the face is designed to protect the child from the influence of the evil eye, but this is the probable motive. The object of the ceremony is probably to minimise the danger incurred when the covering is removed by putting the child, if a boy, into relation with the three sacred objects, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes, and the sun. If a girl, the child is taken to the spot nearest to the dairy where women are allowed to go.

NAMING THE CHILD

553 The child is named after its face has been uncovered. The ceremony is called *per vasthpimi*, "name we give," and it may
852 take place immediately after the ceremony of uncovering the face, or a few days later. In the former case, the child, if a boy, is taken by his father from the place where the buffaloes are standing to the front of the house, and there the father shaves the middle part of the head of the child. Then the boy's maternal uncle (*mun*) gives the name, and promises a calf, saying, *pòl ud todein*, "calf one I have given," followed by the name of the child,[1] and raises each foot to the head of the boy and touches his forehead, the salutation on this occasion being called *kalkartiti*. Three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the boy and three into his back-hair, and then the grains are thrown away.

There was some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named. It seemed clear that the name is given by a woman, and I was told definitely by some that it is given by the father's sister (*mumi*) of the child. The wife of the *mun* would also be the *mumi* of the child, and it is possible that this relative may give the name. No calf is given to a girl, this being only done when boys are named.

After the naming, the parents of the child may give a feast
[574] if they are rich, but this seems to be now exceptional. After
953 receiving its name, the child is given food for the first time, having been suckled up to this day, but my notes do not

[1] For the nature of the name see Chapter XXVI.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

852 round the wrist of the child when it was shaved, is taken off and replaced by a piece of creeper called *peival*.[1] After the ceremony the *peival* is removed.

There was some doubt as to what was done with the lock of hair. Mr. Natesa Sastri states[2] that the hair is carefully preserved, but my informants did not confirm this, and it seemed as if they did not even adopt the precaution of hiding the hair, which is generally practised (see p. 268).

The Ear-piercing Ceremony

852 The ceremony of piercing the ears is called *kevi kûtiti*, and may be done at any time from infancy up to even twenty years of age. The ceremony is often delayed until it can be performed for several members of a family at the same time in order to avoid the considerable expense connected with it. The ceremony must be done on a Sunday or Wednesday, and there must be no *kedr* in the clan, *i.e.*, it must not be performed if the funeral ceremonies of a member of the clan are still unfinished.

574 431

On the day appointed for the ceremony many guests assemble at the village, and the boys whose ears are to be pierced are dressed in their best clothing. The piercing is performed by two men, one for each ear. One is the mother's brother (*mun*) of the boy, while the other is a man of the division to which the boy does not belong—a Teivali man if the boy is one of the Tartharol and *vice versa*.

The piercing is done with a piece of a small ring, so fine that it is like a needle. The ring used in this way may be of silver or gold, the latter only being used by the richer members of the community.

Each boy then salutes (*kalmelpudithti*) all those present older than himself, both male and female. Each man as he raises his foot to the head of the boy says :—

Tânenmâ,	*târmâmâ*,	*pathk mâ*,	*peda mâ*,
May it be well,	may it be well,	may he prosper,	may he prosper,

îr anûr îl mâ, *âr mokh pai mâ*.
buffaloes 100 may he rule, six sons may he have.

[1] Probably here *pei* = demon (see p. 180).

[2] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Each man also gives four annas to the boy and each chief Toda may give one rupee.

852 574 431

The salutation of their elders seems to be conditional on this gift of money. One of the most recent cases in which the ceremony has been performed was when the ears of six of the sons of Tikievan of Kuudr and his brothers (56) were pierced. On this occasion Tikievan refused to take any money from those present, and the boys only saluted those men who had celebrated the occasion by giving buffaloes to their father.

As the *kalmelpudithti* salutation was omitted, the words given above as usually said by each person were on this occasion said collectively by all present while the six boys bowed down their heads to the ground. The ears of these boys were pierced by Teikudr (63), the first cousin of Sulnir, the mother of the boys, but regarded according to the Toda system as elder brother of the mother.

The representative of the Tartharol who pierced the other ear was Pidrvan (9), probably chosen because he was one of the oldest and most influential of the Todas who lived at Pakhalkudr, not far from Peivòrs, the home of the boys.

After the ceremony all those present receive two balls of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, even a young child receiving his two balls of food. Each person then makes a hole in his food, into which ghi is poured, and all eat, washing their hands afterwards in water brought from the *ars nipa*.

Only the ears of boys are pierced, and a boy may not enter upon the more sacred offices of the dairy till this ceremony has been performed. Among the Teivaliol, he cannot become *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*, but he may be *palikartmokh*. Among the Tartharol, a boy cannot become *palikartmokh* at any kind of dairy till the ear-piercing ceremony has taken place.

In the case of the ceremony for the sons of Tikievan I inquired into the actual expenses of the day. These were as follows:—

grain	17	rupees
jaggery	10	,,
rice	7	,,
10½ *ándi* of ghi . .	21	,,
tobacco and salt . .	2	,,

amounting to 57 rupees.

586 the old husband, the father of the woman, and the two elders
587 met and decided on the number of buffaloes to be given as *ter* or compensation. This meeting was called *tererstbi*. The *ter* had to be paid within a month, and all the buffaloes given had to be females. The man who was giving up the woman went to the village of the new husband and received his buffaloes, of which he was allowed to choose a certain number. If he had been awarded more than four buffaloes, he might choose three, if four or less, he might only choose two. Among the Tartharol, a man would usually choose *wursulir*, and among the Teivaliol, *pasthir*.

At the present time the number of buffaloes given as *ter* varies very greatly; the most frequent number is three, but often more are given, and in one case, about ten years ago, a man had to give twenty-five. The number seems to depend largely on the size of the herd possessed by the man taking a new wife. The more buffaloes he has, the more he has to pay.

[574] When the buffaloes are given, the new husband has to give a feast, after which the old husband drives away his buffaloes. In a recent case Teigudr of Nòdrs (4) had taken Uw r from Nertolvan and Palpa of Pan (16) for nine buffaloes. These two men went to the village of Tedshteiri, where Teigudr was living, and were feasted, the food being cooked on nine ovens, corresponding to the number of the buffaloes. This correspondence between the number of the ovens and of the buffaloes given as *ter*, suggests that there may have been some definite ceremonial in connexion with this feast of which I failed to obtain an account.

183 The custom of *tererstbi* has some reason on its side.
586 Wherever infant marriage exists in a small community, it must often happen that a widower finds all the women of his
587 community married, and without some machinery by which he is allowed to take the wife of another, he must remain unmarried or be content with marriage to a mere child. Even at the present time, we have seen that an adult man who has lost his wife may marry a girl only a few years of age.[1]

[1] For an instance in the past see p. 538.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvastki* ceremony of the *kugwalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpatadutkti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The
618 Melgars people themselves believed that their exceptional
773 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan. They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so
234

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
514 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokkhodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
793 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas
184 belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol. This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
654 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokk* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

CHAP. VII. 553 intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

558 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred 562 places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given 946 about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames— 551 porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure 463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda, 551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from those ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

as may be most convenient to them. In either case, the marriage both in name and in fact, is identical. CHAP. XXV.

It is the custom for the husband to give a feast to his nearest relatives on such a joyous occasion.

It will be seen that up to this stage, the woman is married with her own consent to one man—he who pays the dowry, or gives security to society for his own good behaviour. But now, if the husband has brothers or very near relatives, all living together, they may each, if both she and he consent, participate in the right to be considered her husband also, on making up a share of the dowry that has been paid. In fact it was formerly their almost universal custom—in the days when women were more scarce than they are now—for *a family of near relations to live together in one mand, having wife, children and cattle all in common.*

Now if we consider that one or more brothers may each become the husbands of separate wives by virtue of having each paid a dower, and that younger brothers as they grow to age of maturity, and other brothers as they become widowed, may each, either take separate wives or purchase shares in those already in the family, we can at once understand that any degree of complication in perfectly lawful wedded life, may be met with, from the sample of the single man living with a single wife, to that of the group of relatives married to a group of wives. We begin to see also why tribes following polyandrous habits, endeavour to prevent further complications by making widows 'remain in the family.'

All the children of these very promiscuous unions are held to be brothers and sisters. And as, as is manifest, a generation or two of such marriages must produce inextricable confusion in relationships, so we find that the Todas, who like nothing so much as reducing things to simple formulæ, rather ignore the whole subject, terming them anatama.[4] They will

[4] See Note 19 of Chapter VII.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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648 423 6. The Collector shall have power to issue annual permits for the cultivation of grass land only in Toda paitas by Todas themselves, free of charge, or otherwise as Government may, from time to time, direct; but no Toda shall be at liberty to permit any person, except a Toda, to cultivate, or assist in the cultivation of such lands.

In 1905, the Todas petitioned Government against the prohibition by the local Forest authorities of the burning of grass on the downs, issued on the ground of danger to the shôlas (wooded ravines or groves). This yearly burning of the grass was claimed by the Todas to improve it, and they maintained that their cattle were deteriorating for want of good fodder. Government ruled that the grass on the plateau has been burnt by the inhabitants at pleasure for many years without any appreciable damage to forest growth, and the practice should not be disturbed.

564 Concerning the social organisation of the Todas, Mr. Breeks states that they are "divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz., Dêvalyâl and Tarserzhâl. The first class consists of Peiki class, corresponding in some respects to Brâhmans; the second of the four remaining classes the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi. A Peiki woman may not go to the village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis." The class names given by Mr. Breeks were readily recognised by the Todas whom I interviewed, but they gave Têrthâl (comprising superior Peikis) and Târthâl as the names of the divisions. They told me that, when 564 574 a Têrthâl woman visits her friends at a Târthâl mand, she is not allowed to enter the mand, but must stop at a distance from it. Todas as a rule cook their rice in [252] butter-milk, but, when a Têrthâl woman pays a visit to

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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Tarthâl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthâl woman visits at a Têrthâl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in buttermilk. The restrictions which are imposed on Têrthâl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Têrthâl woman, on a visit at a Tarthâl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkôli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthâls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Têrthâl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyâl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikâra bungalow.

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

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847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are ●[574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

794 184 563 177 [867] The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 184 564 783 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, 564 648 186 though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with [574] the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and [184] [794] does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

[113] [15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfusodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuuin], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melqarsh Village]

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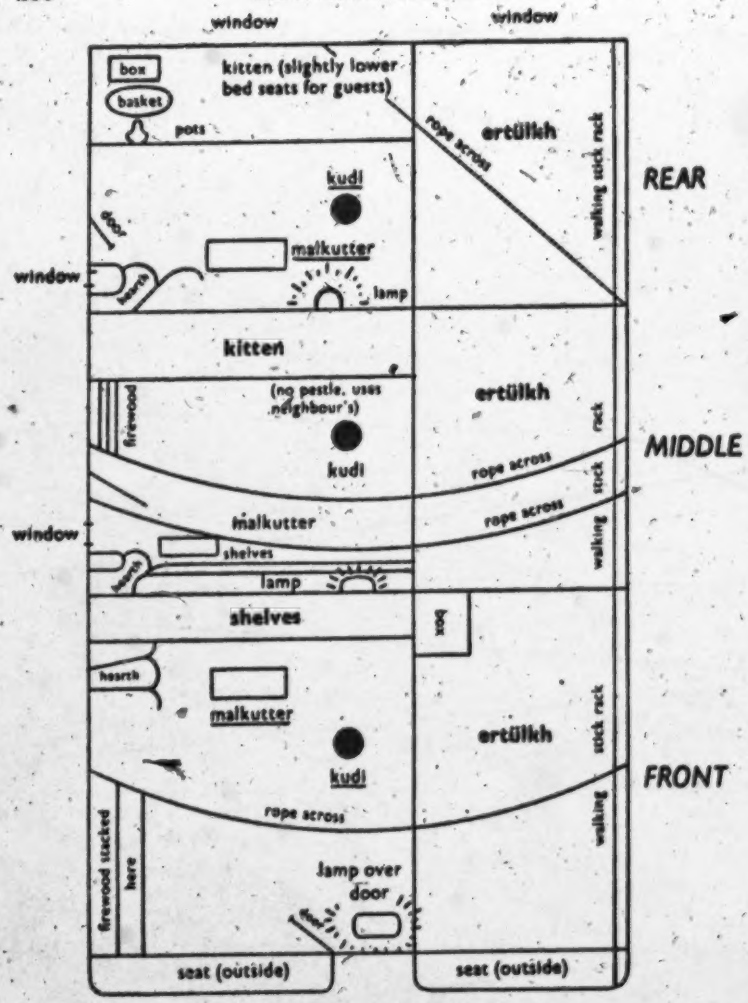

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Fig. 20. House No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*.

Inhabitants in the front part: Padz, Silidz, Narjilkh, and Pengelam; the two children sleep at the feet of their grandparents, who have their heads nearest the door; guests are accomodated on the *ertülkh*, while the inhabitants sleep on the floor.

Inhabitants in the middle part: Puvkiaroz and Mutmali; they sleep together on the *ertülkh*; guests are accomodated on the *kitten*.

Inhabitants of the rear part: Mutnarsh, Erzigwuf, Kupidz and Sodam; the new-born twins were also put up here with their mother; the father sleeps with the little girl on the *kitten*, the two women sleep on the *ertülkh*, one at each end.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 356 412 462 512 While the men are doing their work, the women will have been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently woman's work.

They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 296 356 462 531 Though these are the three operations which are regarded as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 574 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

visits a village in which he has any female relatives younger than himself, these will go out to meet him as he approaches the house, and each bows down before the man, who raises his

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FIG. 11.—WOMEN POUNDING AND SIFTING. THE BROOM IS ON THE GROUND TO THE RIGHT.

foot, while the woman places her hand below the foot and helps to raise it to her forehead, and the same salutation is repeated with the other foot. This mode of greeting is

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

574 576 called *kalmelpuditihti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

234 512 788 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddihu*.

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FIG. 12.—THE 'KALMELPUDITHTI' SALUTATION TAKING PLACE AT THE VILLAGE OF NÒDRS. ON THE LEFT IS THE HOUSE; ON THE RIGHT IS THE LESS IMPORTANT DAIRY OF THE VILLAGE (THE 'TARVALI'), AND IN FRONT OF IT IS THE STONE CALLED 'MENKARS.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nodrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *warsir* at the Nodrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Ban*," and the Tarthar man replies "*Ir kandá*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarsam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 793 576

793 *kûtmeil teu idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches, the *palol* says "*Pekein,*" but all the Teivaliol reply with
576 the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil, i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was
576 said that he might not approach the *palol.* I had an interest-
783 ing example, however, of the way in which a regulation of
788 this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil,* owing
793 to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol.* He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol.*

437 There are several regulations concerning the food of the
439 *palol.* Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was
784 formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but
793 nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir.* He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pokvelkars,* outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *mani.* He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh.* If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh,* the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At some time before entering into office as full palol

the candidate touches a *tasth* or bar of the entrance into the *tu*. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the *kaltmokh*, and as in this case it seemed to be the special indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the *tasth* is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished.

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pon*, nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called *kubuntuni* is brought by the *tikelfmav*, and is put on in the usual way. (During the previous month the *pòdrshtuni* will have been used both as a cloak and as a loincloth, and will have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and sit in the *piil* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol first, saying "*Ban*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol, saying "*Pekein*," and each reply in the customary manner.

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *muli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity.

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Òdr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *muliniròditi* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvn* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake
796 of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairy-
man, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*,
621 which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the *irnörtpol* must again leave the village, but the only one of

[576]

FIG. 44.—THE 'NERSATITI' SALUTATION.

their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartvaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 buffalo, wearing the *manï*, this circle is composed of men only.
764 The lament[1] usually consists in calling first the name of the buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name,
765 but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry:

> "*Pundrsia, en potch aia ivanersia, en potch aia*
> O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia* except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination '*ia*.'

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, "*en mokh ûpa*"; for an elder brother, "*en potch anna*"; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry "*iza kughia*," and for a husband a woman cries "*iza mokhia*" (*iza* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

764 Within the group of mourners there is much going hither
765 and thither. After two people have mourned together for a while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom
576 to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

[1] More elaborate laments are given on pp. 385-8.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachütthti*[1] (*kach*, cloth, *ütthti* or *ütiti*, he
618

FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

[1] This ceremony is also called *kachpütchpimi*.

[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this restriction only applies to near relatives.

551 A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*, 576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

before women, and men even may bow down before women (see p. 502). 601

Since, owing to the *mokhthodvaiol* connexion, a Tarthar woman may have a Teivali *mun* and *vice versa*, the *kalmel-puditkti* salutation takes place between people of the two divisions, and I have often seen a woman of one division placing her head beneath the foot of a man of the other division. 602 576

When a person meets one of his kin, he uses a form of greeting which depends on the nature of the relationship. Most of these greetings consist of some form of the word *iti* or *itvi*, which was said to mean "blessing" or "bless," together with the kinship term.

A man would greet an elder brother or anyone whom he would call *anna* by the word "*tioñ*," cut very short so as to sound like a single syllable. This is a corruption of *iti anna*. A person greets a younger brother or one whom he would call *enda* by uttering his name followed by the word *ers*, as in "*Sakari ers*," "*Pakhwar ers*." A father is greeted as *itiai*, a mother as *itiava*. An elder sister as *itiakka*; a younger sister as *itvena*, and this latter form is used for any female relative younger than the speaker. It is the duty of younger female relatives to perform the *kalmelpudithti* salutation, and as soon as a man says *itvena*, the woman at once bows down and places her head beneath the raised foot of the man, helping him to raise it at the same time.

A mother's brother or father-in-law (*mun*) is greeted by *itimoñ* and a *mumi* is greeted by *itimimia*, but so slurred as to be hardly recognisable. The grandfather and grandmother are greeted in the words *itin pia* and *itin piava*.

Whenever a new Toda came to join people who were with me, there would be a chorus of greetings, and the newcomer would look round carefully to see who was present, giving to each his proper salutation and obviously taking the greatest care that no one was overlooked. Since the relationship of brother is the most frequent, the greetings heard most often on these occasions were "*tioñ*" and ". . . . *ers*."

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat. 264 576

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men. 252 462

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide. 273 177 276

Fire-making

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon, 372

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTERISTICS.

Talking Voices—Modes of Salutation—Home Life—Frank and obliging Natures—Colour of the Skin—Tattoo Marks—Ornaments—Boys distinguished from Girls—Apparel—Toilette.

CHAP. IV.

THE Toda talking voice is peculiar; particularly so that of the women. Whilst on the part of the men it is strikingly grave and sedate, spoken almost *sotto voce*: the women's voice, on the contrary, is rather high, appearing to come altogether from the region at the back of the ear—the 'mastoid process.' In both sexes, but particularly with the female, the sound of the voice is somewhat musical and refined, though fatiguing to listen to from its monotonous tone. Indeed, it is somewhat astonishing that some harsh syllables of their language should come so softly from such mouths. The refinement arises doubtless, from the gentleness of their dispositions—void of asperity; its friendliness, accompanied by desire to please. Not from any innate sense of tune, for they have no more ear for music than so many crows.

Their amiability shows itself also in their observance of courteous customs. The salaam of the East, performed amongst the Todas by raising the thumb-edge of the right hand vertically to the nose and forehead, is a respectful form of address; used in addressing superiors, and on approach to sacred places, and other like occasions. When asked by what name they styled that form of salute, they replied: 'Itvâ eshken, swâmi eshken,' or, 'I say, come! I say, Lord!'

That mode of salutation which is most employed amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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equals, is the short exclamation of 'Tya!' or 'Tcha!' corresponding in its tone and mode of use to our own expression of 'Good morning!' when friends meet or pass one another. The meaning of the word is not known to me. Perhaps it has no actual meaning, though similarity of sound suggests the Hindustani word 'Achcha,' good, well—as having the same derivation.

The salute called 'Âdabuddiken,'[1] or 'I seize the foot,' is very singular. Performed when people meet who have been apart for some time, it seems to combine an expression of fealty with that of courteous respect, and perhaps of affection. Suppose a case; a group of men and women, conversing in their village, is surprised by an inroad of Toda visitors. The exclamation, 'Here is Beliâni, Beliâni's wife, and her little-sister Penpuv!' The cheerful smile lights up the assembly. Every operation is suspended. Every house discharges its occupants. All rise pleasantly, and with much gentle urbanity, to meet the new arrivals.

What now ensues depends on certain points of etiquette; matters of prudence, quite understood amongst them. In this early stage of society, the dues to sex and to age and relationship, are clearly defined. Early and constant practice has long made every woman acquainted with the position in which she stands with regard to her relatives, and to her husband's parents, elder and younger brothers; and there is little else to remember. Hence, amongst the two groups of both sexes which now meet, a glance of the eye suffices to enable each member to apprehend the position to be taken.

A man never bows down before a woman; not even a son before his mother.

A man does not bow down before another man; but women do so before women.

[1] Âdabuddiken. Aḍi = *foot*, Piḍi or Pattu = *seize, take hold of.* To *seize the foot* is a common Drâvidian expression for *homage, reverence.* [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 8

576

A GREETING—ÂDA BUDDIKEN.

opp. p. 42

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Âdabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Âdabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
573 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of Âdabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

CHAP. VII.

551

Quêldirth.	Jinvani.
Tushquilth.	Nastufi.
Muneth.	Ânchaguti.
Penpuv.	Chizarêm.
Dirthavilli.	Pentirêm.

553 A woman retains her maiden name on marriage; being known, for instance, as Nastufi, the wife of Beliâni.

551 576 601 It is etiquette in speaking of another man's wife to term her either kottê or pannê;[7] the first, if her husband is of the Pyki clan, the second if of the Pekkan, Tôdi, Kenna, or Kuttan clans.

A man calling to his wife, or a wife to her husband, would not say 'come here Nastufi or Beliâni,' but 'kukh itva, come here woman,' or 'âl itva, come here man.'

But the more proper term by which a man speaks of his wife is yen kâtvoti.[8]

According to these rules, people talking of the woman Nastufi, would describe her as Beliani pannê, or kottê. *He* would mention her as kâtvoti. He would *call out* to her as kukh.

List of Relationships.

601 Man, person, husband . . Âl.
Man—young . . . . . Varsh.[9]

[7] Kottê. Pannê. Such terms are difficult. They are frequently of a depreciatory character.

Kôṭṭa = *a fort* or *large dwelling*. Kôṭṭi = *a person of a fort, a superior inhabitant*. Paṇi = *jewel*. Paṇi = *work*. [POPE.]

[8] Yen Kâtvoti. Yen or en = *my*, constantly prefixed in Drâvidian to words indicative of relationship.

Kaṭṭu = *bind, join*. V is an insertion of tense, used in forming verbal nouns with a future or indefinite temporal signification.

Ati is a feminine termination.

The word means, '*she who is bound to me*.' [POPE.]

[9] This is, I think, Sansk. : purusha. But there is vîras, *a hero*.

In old high Tamil we have virral, and the termination al becomes in Toda sh as a general rule. [POPE.]

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.) 1 A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Büguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mäv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, Tenure of land.
to settle at Cotacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirdi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pittkali*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analysis]

765 separating to select a new partner, each couple saluted by bowing the head, and raising thereto the feet of the other, covered by the putkūli. [I have seen women rapidly recover from the outward manifestations of grief, and clamour for money.] From time to time the company of mourners was reinforced by late arrivals from distant mands, and, as each detachment, now of men and now of women, came in view across the open downs, one could not fail to be reminded of the gathering of the clans on some Highland moor. The resemblance was heightened by the distant sound as of pipers, [648] [533] produced by the Kota band (with two police constables in attendance), composed of four Kotas, who made a weird noise with drums and flutes as they drew near the scene of action. The band, on arrival, took up a position close to the mourning women. As each detachment arrived, the women, recognising their relatives, came forward and saluted them in the manner customary among Todas by falling at their feet, and placing first the right and then the left foot on their [576] head. Shortly after the arrival of the band, signals were exchanged, by waving of putkūlis, between the assembled throng and a small detachment of men some distance off. A general move was made, and an *impromptu* procession formed, with men in front, band in the middle, and women bringing up the rear. A halt was made opposite a narrow gap leading into the shola; men and women sat apart as before; and the band walked round, discoursing unsweet music. A party of girls went off to bring fire from the spot just vacated for use in the coming ceremonial, but recourse was finally had to a box of matches lent by one of our party. At this stage we noticed a woman go up to the eldest son of the deceased, who was seated apart from the

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

764 the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and
[782] jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother
[765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of
[293] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife. On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-
[576] elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkûli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candolleana*) in the putkûli of the corpse;

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfunsodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuuin], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

601 561 114 [576]

Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as ɐoo. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as ɐoo. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɨ̯ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɨ̯- or en-goɨ̯ "my friend" (in address -ɛ̯ is added), num-goɨ̯ "your friend," an-goɨ̯ or tan-goɨ̯ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193]

When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocxoɨ̯ɐ, eningoɨ̯ɐ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[114] [126]

[601] [561]

in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister terms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as ɐoo the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496-98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of ɐoo is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 743-60, 1937), especially pp. 745-49.

[114]

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526-29.

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoɨ̯ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words. 535 614 616 764 765

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a wóman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other. [533] 614

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work nɔ̃ŝkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɨr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɔrlɨg had married pɨ̃ɨ̯kor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mɔ̃ɨr patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is 539 614 775 196 114

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kɔ̃ɨ̯(k)-kɔrpoɨ̯ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pɨ̃ɨ̯-ɔ̃ɨ̯t or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320. [576]

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

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Terms of address

Ordinary		Formal: Used by men	Formal: Used by women
a pɛfɑ: b pɛfɑfɑ:	or pia: pifafa:	a and b same as for c and d	
c pia:		timbje:ʔ	(e)tjfaʔ
d pifafa:		timbifafaʔ	(e)tjfafaʔ
e eja:		tjɛ:ʔ, tj:ʔ	(e)tjeja ʔ
f afa:		tjafaʔ	(e)tjafaʔ
g muma:		tjɨ:ʔ	(e)tjmumaʔ
h mimja:		tjmimjaʔ	(e)tjmimjaʔ
i oŋa:		tjɔ:ʔ	(e)tjoŋaʔ
j oka:		tjokaʔ	(e)tjokaʔ
k enda:			
l ena:			
x oɨja:			
y toŋmoxja:, kuɨxja:			

[194] (The formal terms contain extra-phonemic phonetic material, the glottal stop, nasalized vowels, and initial consonant groups.)

601 In formal address a man, to a man whom he calls enda: or ena:, uses the latter's name plus -ɛ:; e.g., kũŋomɛ:.

576 A man who is addressed formally by another man with the salutation timbje:ʔ, tjɛ:ʔ, or tjɨ:ʔ, answers tɛ:m.

Older man or woman to younger woman when putting feet to the latter's forehead in salutation, i.e. in formal address: (e)tjfamaʔ.

Woman to younger male related to her within a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage or by "lover-mistress" relation, says, if he is of:

tõõfj moiety	(e)tjfakaʔ
tourõa moiety	
melga:ɨ patrilineal sib	(e)tjfakaʔ
ka:ɨ patrilineal sib	(e)tjxenaʔ
noɨŋ, moɨr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjũwrõɛʔ
toɨroɨr, kõroɨr, nirj, uŋkitj, kerur, pungoɨr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjxũwŋɛʔ

601 Corresponding to these salutations, in a lament for her husband a woman uses the vocatives: wafaka:, wafaka:, waxena:, waõũwrõa:, waxũwŋa:; cf. with these terms the Badaga classification of the Todas given by Rivers, pp. 341–42. A man in a lament for his wife uses the vocative wafena:; cf. the salutation (e)tjfana ʔ used by older man or woman to younger woman.

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Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation. [576]

There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated. [114]

A further note should be added on the words mox and kuɪx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuɪx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuɪxjaɪ in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ-, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuɪx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯsaxuɪxjaɪ, containing kuɪx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯsamoxjaɪ, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmoxubaɪ, enmarjubaɪ, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, marj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuɪx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯsamoxjaɪ "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained. 192 601

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

796 304 562 ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when 291 they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of 858 three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

562 It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

462 562 Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. [252] They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also [234] milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also [114] mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by [576] putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmel-*[487] *puditht*i salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she [234] must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the [841] womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

562 784 Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

Instead of adultery being regarded as

577 immoral, I rather suspected,[1] though I could not satisfy myself on the point, that, according to the Toda idea, immorality attaches rather to the man who grudges his wife to another.

837

775 One group of those who experience difficulty in getting to the next world after death are the *kashtvainol*, or grudging people, and I believe this term includes those who would in a more civilised community be plaintiffs in the divorce court.

835 In nearly every known community, whether savage, barbarous or civilised, there is found to exist a deeply rooted antipathy to sexual intercourse between brother and sister. In savage communities where kinship is of the classificatory kind, this antipathy extends not only to the children of one mother, but to all those who are regarded as brothers and sisters because they are members of the same clan or other social unit. In some communities, such as those of Torres Straits, this antipathy may extend to relatives as remote as those we call second and third cousins, so long as descent through the male line from a common ancestor and membership of the same clan lead people to regard one another as brother and sister.

It is very doubtful whether this widespread, almost universal abhorrence is shared by the Todas. I was told that members of the same clan might have intercourse with one another, and in the preliminary ceremony for the office of *palol*, a special part was taken by a woman who possessed the qualification that she had never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it was said it was far from easy to find such a woman. When I collected this information, it seemed clear that this meant that a woman who, before marriage had belonged to a given clan, had never had intercourse with a man of that clan. But since a woman joins the clan of her husband, and since, marriage taking place at an early age, the woman belongs to her husband's clan from this early age, it has since occurred to me that an alternative explanation of the restriction is possible, though it does not seem to me to be likely. It is possible that what is meant is that the woman

[1] The definite appearance of jealousy in the history of Kwoten must, however, be noted in this connexion.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is determined entirely by the *pursütpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife. 611 851

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *tererstbi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two *rôles* he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote. 611 604

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *manmokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy 192 593 577

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the
234 existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of
842 descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

CHAP. XXVI.

183 I confess to a feeling of great astonishment that barbarians should conduct their household arrangements with the staidness and good sense of members of the Teutonic family of
577 nations. Yet, though free from taint of fickleness, Toda social morality can scarcely be defended. We find him bound down to keep the peace, and behave himself as a Toda should, and not throw his wife and children on the parish. But for the rest we find him still a gross savage.

In the outward behaviour of the sexes, I have been amused to notice how much the custom and etiquette observed in civilised life is derived from *their* model. I have never seen any among our list of the proprieties in the slightest degree overstepped by them in ordinary daily intercourse, except
562 perhaps in their habit of calling a spade a spade. Modest-looking women are by no means rare. They remain habitually at home, keeping together as demure as cats. They have their own places of private resort, on which members of the opposite sex would not presume to intrude. They manage their cumbersome garments to perfection. But it must not be supposed that they are moral, or have scruples. It is the human animal in its wild state.

589 No unmarried class exists, to disturb society with its loves
183 and broils. More's the pity! for that same society much
582 needs to be startled into energy out of its hum-drum life! The warm breath of poetry and romance never passes through these people. It must long ago have been quenched with the introduction of infanticide and polyandry. Defects lie entirely the other way; it is a 'very much married' people. Every man and every woman, every lad and every girl is somebody's husband or wife; tied at the earliest possible age, and bound by grinding social law, in the bonds of unpoetic matrimony, extending almost over the entire term of adult life. Sacred characters, such as the pâlâl and pâlkarpâl, are merely husbands off duty. With the exception of a cripple girl, and of those women who, past the child-bearing age,

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which 177
at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it 164
undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked- [114]
eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an [834]
absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection 628
with the question of the morality of the Toda women, 577
Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other 177
members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to [554]
his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his
fellow Tribesmen.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 Pitipem, where she rubbed a place with buffalo-dung and sat down.

773 While sitting there one day an eagle (*kashk*) sat on
776 her head, and she became pregnant, and went back to the village and gave birth to a son. When Kwoten heard of this he wished to kill the child and set out to do so. The old woman's daughter, who had married a Kars man, sent her husband to warn her parents that Kwoten was coming to kill them. The Kars man met Kwoten and ran away from him towards Kanòdrs, followed by Kwoten's dog. When he came to a hill above the village he called out that Kwoten was coming. When the old man heard him, he cursed Kwoten and those with him; the latter became stones and Kwoten himself (according to the story as told by the Kanòdrs people) was stung by honey bees and died. The people of Kanòdrs are descended from the son born to the old woman. If this old woman was not a Toda, as her name and that of her village suggest, this would seem to point to a tradition that the people of Kanòdrs are descended from an ancestor of a different race from the other Todas (see p. 640).

● [578] Owing to the behaviour of Kwoten to the Kanòdrs people there has ever since been *karaivichi* (trouble) between the people of Pan and Kanòdrs. They do not intermarry and no Kanòdrs man may go to one of the chief villages (*etudmad*) of the Pan people nor may a Pan man go to an *etudmad* of Kanòdrs.

According to the above account Kwoten died after being cursed by the old man, but this is only a feature of the story as told by the Kanòdrs people, and in the account given by others Kwoten had many other adventures and finished his life in this world in a very different manner. He married a second wife, who, like the first, objected to her husband and preferred a man of Keradr, whose name was Keradrkutan. Kwoten lived with this wife at Kazhuradr, near Isharadr. At
[292] that time women wore the garment called *ãu*, which is dark grey like the *tuni* of the *palol*, and is now only used as a funeral garment.

754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *nedrvol* as in
the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
539 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer.
791 When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of
the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpudithti* to the sorcerer,
and the spell is removed with the following words:—

ten udâsnûdr, an nôdr udâsnûdr; taned pen mâ; term ai pen mâ[1]; *moth*
son

wadrik an kûdûpel elmk; in mel en mans elm tûlzvinem
children to his family all to; this after my mind all cleared from guilt

in uli agi âmâ; nôv put, nudri put pen mâ.
(as I) this well be may; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
754 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most
578 intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide.
In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mani kudupel*; "It is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffer misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death.

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain.

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs (6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account.

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

595 It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas
598 was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present, and it is perhaps in favour of this possibility that in the instance of polyandry given by Harkness[1] the husbands were obviously not own brothers. It must be remembered, however, that this case came to the notice of Captain Harkness because the polyandry had led to disputes, and, as we shall see shortly, it is in those cases of polyandry in which the husbands are not own brothers that disputes arise.

The arrangement of family life in the case of a polyandrous marriage differs according as the husbands are, or are not, own brothers.

In the former case it seemed that there is never any difficulty, and that disputes never arise. The brothers live together, and my informants seemed to regard it as a ridiculous idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies of the kind that might be expected in such a household.
595 When the wife becomes pregnant, the eldest brother performs
842 the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow, but the brothers are all equally regarded as the fathers of the child. If
851 one of the brothers leaves the rest and sets up an establishment of his own, it appeared, however, that he might lose his right to be regarded as the father of the children.

If a man is asked the name of his father, he usually gives the name of one man only, even when he is the offspring of a polyandrous marriage. I endeavoured to ascertain why the name of one father only should so often be given, and it seemed to me that there is no one reason for the preference. Often one of the fathers is more prominent and influential than the others, and it is natural in such cases that the son should speak of himself as the son of the more important member of the community. Again, if only one of the fathers of a man is alive, the man will always speak of the living person as his father; thus Siriar (20) always spoke of Ircheidi as his father, and even after Ircheidi is dead, it seems probable that he will so have fallen into the custom of speaking of the latter as his father that he will continue to do so, and it will only be when his attention is especially directed

[1] See his account at the end of this chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another. 618

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter. [623]

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers, who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source. [578]

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted. 618 184 554 463

The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kuriolv, they are too old or infirm to serve. Kuriolv is still on the *naim*, and his influence is entirely predominant, and it appears that he has been instrumental in altering the constitution of the council very largely. The number of representatives has been increased, and the following were the members in 1902:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52) of Kuudr, Perner and Tebner (68), of Keadr, Parkeidi (21), Paners (23) and Siriar (20) of Taradr and Pidrvan (9) of Kars. Thus several members of the Kuudrol and Taradrol are serving, while there appears to be no representative of the Nòdrsol; and I was told by several Todas that Perner and Tebner are on the council because they are friends of Kuriolv, though, as members of the Keadr clan, they have no right whatever to the position. 623

On the slopes below the hill called Mirson, near Paikara, there are the remains of ruined walls marking a place where the *naim* used to meet. This place is called Idrgûdipem, and seems to have been at one time the chief meeting-place.

At the present time the *naim* meets anywhere. I have seen the council sitting in the compound of the bungalow at Paikara and on one occasion, when I was working in a bungalow at the Ooty Club, the *naim* sat in the grounds of the club. In general, they now meet at the places which happen to be most convenient for the chief members.

The members usually sit in a semicircular row. If they are considering a dispute between two parties, representatives of the parties take part in the sitting, and in these cases the members of the *naim* sit in the middle of the row while the representatives sit on either wing. 623 627 578

During my visit the council was chiefly occupied with the various complicated transactions which are always arising out of the custom of transferring wives from one man to another. This custom is the chief source of disputes among the Todas, and at times the *naim* may sit for several days before one case is settled.

I am doubtful whether the *naim* should have a definite head, but at the present time it certainly has such in the person of Kuriolv of Kuudr. He is the senior representative of the *manikudupel* of Kuudr, and is therefore the natural representative of this clan on the *naim*. He is highly intel- 623 159 555 176

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view.
673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

578 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling
673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence
623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other
671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *tererstbi*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some-
586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been
674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be carried off by force from the home of the former, but,
177 however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan.
618 There probably never arises any real question of ownership, but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 578 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

618 The one *kudr* has four *pòlm*, of which the chief men are
Kiunievan (44), Artholvan (45), Nòtirzi (46) and Ilgeivan (48).
621 Tergudrvan (47) belonged to the same *pòlm* as Artholvan.
The families included in Table 49 are all extinct in the male line, and, with the exception of Tikon, I am doubtful to which *kudr* or *pòlm* they belonged.

Melgars, the chief village, is situated behind the gardens of Government House at Ootacamund. It has few features of interest, and there is little to be seen at the other villages of the clan. *Nüln* (Narigulimand) is situated in the Kundahs.

Two Toda villages, Ki Perththo and Padegar, are said to be the general property of the Tartharol, but at the time of my visit both were inhabited by the Melgarsol.

The village of *Katol*, which is now ruined, is mentioned by Harkness as one of the villages near Ootacamund.

The chief funeral place is *Ushadr*, mentioned in the story of Kwoto. There is another funeral place called *Mirzoti* common to Melgars and Kidmad.

KIDMAD AND KARSH

618 These are two sub-divisions of the Melgarsol which separated
621 from the main body, probably about seven or eight genera-
554 tions ago. At first I heard only of Kidmad, and it was
578 only when working over the Nidrsiol that I found there were people living with this clan who did not belong to it, but were an offshoot of the Melgars people and were called Karshol.

According to one account, both Kidmadol and Karshol separated from the main body at the same time, but, according to another, the people who first separated belonged to Karsh and then split some generations later into the two groups.

The separation was due to a quarrel between father and son. The Melgars people were holding a council and one of the chief men of the clan was late in coming. When he appeared in the distance, he was recognised by nobody but his own son, who, when asked who was coming, said "*pazuli padmokh pöti âtham nôtthred? Kûtm it vòrs!*—*i.e.*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

"A wanderer and bastard comes, why do you look at him? Let the council go forward!" (*Pazuli* is a name applied to a man who belongs to no clan, and *padmokh* is the name of the child of a woman with whom no man has performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony.) 618 621 554 508

The *manmokh* (sister's son) of the father was present at the council, and when his uncle arrived, the *manmokh* told him what had been said by his son in the council, and the father said, "I am no *pazuli*, it is you who are the *pazuli*: henceforward you must not live at Melgars; you will have nothing from me except what I give you to-day." The father gave the son a one-horned buffalo (*kwadrkutir*) and a portion of the Mirzoti funeral place.

Since that day descendants of the son have been separate from Melgarsol and they have held their funerals at Mirzoti, but not on the same spot as the Melgars people.

The Kidmadol and Karshol have lost certain privileges possessed by other Todas. The loss of these privileges is expressed by the Todas as follows:—

(i.) *Meitün kitht ògadi.* "He may not sit on the *meitün*." When a man of Kidmad or Karsh goes to any Tarthar dairy he is not allowed to sit on the raised bed on the right hand side of the door.

(ii.) *Ntrsi nest ògadi.* "He may not rub the fire-sticks." If fire has to be made at a male funeral, or on any other occasion, it must be done by a man of another clan.

(iii.) *Ertatpun pitth ògadi.* "He may not touch the *ertatpun*," a dairy vessel which may be touched by any other Toda man. The result of this restriction is that a man of these clans can never hold a dairy office.

Marriages are not allowed between Melgars people and those of either Kidmad or Karsh.

The village of Karsh no longer exists; it was near Akirzikòdri, but in the time of Kilpan (51) the people were so poor that they went to live with the Nidrsiol and have remained with them since. Though living at Nidrsi, they are still regarded as a separate people, and marriages may take place between the two clans. They have only three or four ordinary buffaloes. If a male dies they have to kill 621 618

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

formed, and the *pòlm* of Karem was made the new division, so that in future the Keadrol will have one *kudr* consisting of one *pòlm*, and another of two *pòlm*. It was said that the original partition of the clan into Keadrol and Kwaradrol was due to Kwoten, who established the two divisions in order that there should be someone to take the place of a *palol* who left on account of a funeral in his clan. 618 621

Keadr. This, the chief village of the clan, is situated near Keradr. I was unable to visit it, and have no record of any features of interest it may possess.

Kwaradr, the village from which one division took its name, is near Avalanche, and is now falling into ruins owing to the dying out of the family which occupied it.

Pekhòdr is called by the Badagas Osamand, or "new village," and has only been in existence about ten years.

Kapthòri is now in ruins, but is mentioned in the story of Kwoten.

PEDRKARS

This clan is an offshoot of the Kuudrol, from which it has now for a long time been separated. The division arose out of a quarrel at a council which was once being held at Kuudr.[1] There were three parties in the *naim*, each wishing that a different ceremony should be performed. One party wished to give salt to the buffaloes, a second wanted to sacrifice a calf (*erkumptthpimi*), and a third were in favour of moving to another village (*irskidthtothi*). The three parties could not agree, and it was finally decided that those who wished to do *irskidthtothi* should separate from the rest. They did so and went to live near Kwòdrdoni, and have since been a separate clan, now known as the Pedrkarsol. The people who wished to do *erkumptthpimi* were the ancestors of Tövoniners, and it is in consequence of this quarrel that this family occupies its anomalous position and has no place at Kuudr. 578 618 621

At the same time the people of Pedrkars lost the privilege of being *palol* or *wursol*, but they may become eligible by performing the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr.

[1] This was evidently a council consisting of the members of the clan only.

578 For some time after the separation intermarriage was not
618 allowed between Kuudr and Pedrkars, but recently such
marriages have taken place, and several are recorded in the
621 genealogies.

There are very few members of the clan, only seven males and five females. At present there is only one *kudr* and this has only one *pòlm*. Formerly there were two *kudr*, but one became extinct some time ago.

About three generations ago there was a quarrel between the people of Pedrkars and those of Piedr. A man of Pedrkars named Kavanadi had married a woman of Piedr and one day quarrelled with his wife's father. At Piedr there were at the entrance of the buffalo-pen two large wooden posts (*tüli*). After the quarrel Kavanadi went to Piedr and carried off both the posts with the wooden bars (*tasth*) by which the opening of the pen is closed. When Kavanadi had carried the posts and bars as far as a place called Kalin, near the Kota village of Tizgudr, a stone on the top of one of the *tüli* fell down. It may still be seen and is known as *Kalinkars*. Kavanadi went on, but he soon began to spit blood, and when he had gone some way further, he was obliged to drop the *tüli* at a place which is now called *Tülipudinpem*. He managed to reach his home at Pedrkars and then died. A council was held and it was decided that marriage should not be allowed in future between the Piedrol and Pedrkarsol, and no such marriages are recorded in the genealogies.

The stone called Kalinkars which fell by the way is now said to be able to move about and may be seen one day at one spot and on another day at another. The Kotas of Tizgudr have several times taken the stone to their village, but it has always gone back again. In spite of his unfortunate end, Kavanadi is regarded, more or less, as a hero by the Todas and is mentioned in the funeral eulogy of Pidrvan (p. 387).

621 All the villages of the Pedrkarsol are in the part of the
773 hills near Kwòdrdoni. Pedrkars itself is said to have been at
one time a *ti mad*. Some Tamil people once came to the
619 hills and found some of the buffaloes of the *ti* standing by a

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV. blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

531 462 The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

157 181 583 It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of [578] grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 204

THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241

They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 457 439 427

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

196 521 192 602 Thus aḍô–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also kɯʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nɑrtj–, "make walk," is permitted when ɯr, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb pɑʃj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪtj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again ɑʃvɑʃ is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way pɯn, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [841] [304] Similarly poɪθj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kɪpoṇt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 521 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ɯ̈ɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poʃjoɪʃ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

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[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is [77] devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and [535] sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other [620] guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and [761] otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bêti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's [578] dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

[535] The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now [536] and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kéd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kédmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! ér kar ultamá*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kéd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kéd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *maniyakāran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchāyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

[of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analyst]

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The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfuusodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuum:n], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:l), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!"). 581 588 616 178 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kum:ja/f made an innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kum:ja/f or the children of this union. The example was followed in kum:ja/f's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kum:ja/f's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

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have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:a- 588
jaḷl's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kum:jaḷl, who was a man of great force and influence, was able
to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon
as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the
buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man
who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor
also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when
they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to
be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess
in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 887
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while
the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the tɔufiij moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the tɔrθaŋ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the tɔrθaŋ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the tɔrθaŋ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

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887 764 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumṇjaḷḷ, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kenods (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 698 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 179 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

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539 614 [775] [114]

pormexθur,[8] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kajniɪr asked what it was he was told: il·kon·uji puɪrotj·noɪj yst "It is just here that the puɪrotj·noɪj [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poljoɪ̯·ɪuɪrjfojoɪ̯ ʊuɪd·morth·fæɪdfoj·ɪuɪrjfojoɪ̯ɲ puɪrotj·noɪj ystɪ; poljoɪ̯ ɲoɪɲjti; oɪtoɪ̯ ɪurstɪ' udng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The puɪrotj·noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poljoɪ̯ feel shame; the oɪtoɪ̯ laugh.' " The word poljoɪ̯ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɪ̯ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poljoɪ̯ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɪ̯, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poljoɪ̯ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poljoɪ̯ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪlkj (cf. the verb noɪɲjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the koɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

[764] [578]

puɪkʊuɪrʊoɪr	poljoɪ̯·ɲoɪlkj	oɪjxʊuʊm
puɪrʊoɪr	oɪtoɪ̯·ɲoɪɲ	oɪjxʊuʊm
	noɪdjoɪ̯k·noɪlkj	oɪjxʊuʊm
	sɪmjoɪ̯k·aig	oɪjxʊuʊm

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poljoɪ̯, the oɪtoɪ̯, the people of the country (noɪdjoɪ̯), the people of the district (sɪmjoɪ̯; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poljoɪ̯ and the oɪtoɪ̯ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poljoɪ̯ and oɪtoɪ̯ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[8] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Pedrendklamir, pp. 358-359); his account is in general incomplete.

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the tortjiy (''lover-mistress'') institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[24] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that *sirjan* (Jiriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister *eg̱og* (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[25] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[24] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's tortjiy-ed. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Mokiter (Mokner), wife of tuktirj of the nosy patrilineal sib (Tuktirli, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The oldest of these, ittiñam (Tovt), looked like his mother's tortjiy-ed, nobem of the pirjej patrilineal sib (Mokner, 6d), also called kurj (he raised the children after tuktirj died). In a quarrel ittiñam might be abused (It is very insulting about) as: nobem-ann "son of nobem" or kurj-ann "son of kurj," or as nobem or kurj.

[25] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannada language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Punjim Dandanāyaka, of the Hoysala king Vīṣṇuvardhana (Bittiga Hoysala Dēvara). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeeveram, and Mahābar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

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in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Not is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [682] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured [648] method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 682 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away [754] with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of [115] the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [123] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his [757] case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

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the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die. 578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed. 595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above). [115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursütpimi* was, however, performed for 595 614 595 587 595

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
[843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
[164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
[578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
[682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations
[595] could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

[Melgarsh Village]

not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

seems to show that colour-blind men, or rather males of colour-blind families, had colour-blind descendants more often than perhaps might have been expected if the Todas are in practice quite as promiscuous as their social regulations allow them to be. The record of the affinity of the colour-blind suggests that in spite of the theoretical promiscuity, the husbands are, in practice, very often the fathers of their children. 143 831

A few histories of individuals may be given as examples of the various marriage customs which have been described in this chapter. One of the most married of Toda women is Puvizveli of Kusharf (65). She was married in infancy to Singudr (55), of the same clan as Sinkòrs, the mother of Puvizveli, and the two were probably the *matchuni* of one another, though only in a distant way. Puvizveli was taken from Singudr by Madsu and Koboners (58), who gave for her three buffaloes. From them she was transferred to Kangudr of Piedr (62), it being arranged that he should pay eleven buffaloes. Soon after joining Kangudr, Puvizveli became ill, and since there is a prohibition of marriages between the clans of Piedr and Kusharf, it was agreed that the pair should separate, and the woman was taken by Tütners and Etamudri (58). The eleven buffaloes had never been paid by Kangudr, so Tütners and his brother gave their buffaloes directly to Madsu and Koboners, but only four instead of eleven. All these transactions took place while Puvizveli was still young, but by her new husbands she had a son who died soon after birth. During her second pregnancy, she was taken by Perpakh and Tebkudr (68), who gave six buffaloes. The transference took place before the *pursütpimi* ceremony had been performed. Perpakh gave the bow and arrow, and the daughter since born is regarded as the child of Perpakh and Tebkudr. Puvizveli has also a Tarthar *mokhthodvaiol.* 159 851 58

Edjog of Kuudr (56) was married in infancy to Nargudr (62), the son of her mother's brothers, and therefore her *matchuni* in the nearest sense. From him Kiudners (70) and his two brothers took her for five buffaloes. Kiudners died

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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before the buffaloes had been paid, and Edjog was taken by Mavòdriners (65), who arranged to pay the five buffaloes to Nargudr. He did not do so, but after having a son by Edjog, he sent her back to the father, paying a *kwadr* of one buffalo. So far, Nargudr had not received his five buffaloes, but he now obtained them from Kaners and Kudrievan (63), who took the woman although she was the granddaughter of their sister Narskuti. The marriage met with disapproval among the Todas on this account, though there does not appear to be any definite regulation against such a marriage; and at the time of my visit Edjog, a young woman of about twenty-seven, was still the wife of the two old men, aged about seventy and sixty-seven respectively.

Kuriolv of Kuudr (52) first married Punaveli (65), by whom he had two children. He then took to live with him Pilimurg (7), a Tarthar woman, giving to Pepners (44), the husband of the woman, fifteen buffaloes. Though Pilimurg is only legally his *sedvaitazmokh*, Kuriolv treats her as a wife. She lives at one of the Kuudr villages, while Punaveli lives at another. Pilimurg has had one son, Meilitars, since she has been living with Kuriolv, and Kuriolv always speaks of the boy as his son, though legally he is the son of Pepners, and his name will be found in the genealogies among the children of this man.

Recently Kuriolv has also married Sintharap (68), sharing her with Onadj (57), of the same clan as Kuriolv, but belonging to a different family. Sintharap has had three children, for the first of whom Kuriolv performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and since no one has performed this ceremony for the succeeding children, they are also regarded as the children of Kuriolv. One of these children was Sinerani, whose funeral ceremonies have been described.

Kuriolv's son, Kulpakh (52), married Toridz (65), sharing her with Kiladrvan (60), of the same clan as Kulpakh, but of a different family. At the first pregnancy Kulpakh gave the bow and arrow, and was regarded as the father of that child and of two succeeding children who were born while Kulpakh was alive. After the birth of the third child Kulpakh died,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and Toridz has since continued to live with Kiladrvan and has had two more children. Kuriolv, the father of the dead man, succeeded in preventing Kiladrvan from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony before the birth of either of these children, and consequently they are regarded as the children of the dead Kulpakh and belong to Kuriolv's division (*pòlm*) of the clan and not to that of Kiladrvan. Here, by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony, a dead man is the legal father of two children who are known to be really the sons of his fellow-husband.

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In the preceding cases the people belong to the Teivaliol. Among the Tartharol there are similar histories.

Pupidz of Kwòdrdoni (35) was married in infancy to two brothers, Kalgeners and Kinagudr, belonging to the same clan as the mother of Pupidz, so that she would probably have called them *matchuni*, though they were not nearly related. From these boys Pupidz was taken by Patser (26), who gave for her three buffaloes. From Patser she was taken by Siriar (20) for five buffaloes. Some time later Pepob (44) wished to marry Pupidz, but both she and Siriar were unwilling to be separated. Pepob, however, persuaded the council to arrange that he should have the woman for three buffaloes, and soon after five or six men carried off the woman by force, entering Siriar's hut at night. Two of the men held Siriar while the others carried off his wife, who became pregnant by Pepob, but Siriar, who had been trying to get back his wife, succeeded when she was about at the sixth month. The hand-burning ceremony had already been performed, but Siriar gave the bow and arrow, and is therefore the legal father of the boy born afterwards, although Pepob is known to have been the real father. Siriar had to give Pepob eleven buffaloes, though he had only received three, and had given five to the previous husband.

Nanbarvan of Kars (7) first married Pothenir (47), by whom he had one son. Nanbarvan went to England with a party of Todas, and Pothenir then married Kutadri, Nanbarvan's first cousin. On his return from England, Nanbarvan married Sindod (38), by whom he had a second son. Then he fell ill, and in consequence sent Sindod away,

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in
58 the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer
with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover
the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it
627 appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
851 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said
to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform
58 his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners,
the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pödri*,
nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig
ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After
a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve
buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing pur-
poses. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned
only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange
that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused
Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that
Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred
to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become
the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many
buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and
pödri were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45).
She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners
from infancy, and after having three children, who died young,
she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3),
while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was
taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan
remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other
husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
married life, I add one taken from the book published by
595 Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by
851 myself.

There is often very great disproportion of age in Toda marriages. I have already given two cases in which the woman is the older, in each of which the disproportion of age is due to the custom of marrying a *matchuni*. More commonly the man is much the older, and there are at the present time many cases in which elderly men are married to young girls. This is partly due to the practice of infant marriage. Unless a widower can take advantage of the *tererstbi* custom, which is always expensive, he may have to marry a child and wait till she has reached a marriageable age. Thus, Kòdrner, my guide, lost his wife some years ago, and then married a girl whose present[1] age is only thirteen, Kòdrner being forty-two. The girl is still living with her parents, and will probably not go to her husband for another three or four years. 582 [587]

THE CUSTOM OF 'TERERSTHI

The marriage tie among the Todas at the present time has become very loose. Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old. The amount of the compensation or *ter* is settled by a council, and from this the transaction has received its name of *tererstbi*, or "compensation he tells (decides)."[2] [581] 586 587

There is much reason to believe that this custom has altered its character in recent times. I was told that formerly the custom only applied to cases in which a man had lost his wife by death. If he wished to marry a woman who was already the wife of another or others, he went to the father of the woman and asked for his consent. The father would consult with two other elders, and if they were in favour of the proposed transaction the three elders would go to the woman, and if they obtained her consent they then went to her husband for his. If husband or wife were unwilling to be parted nothing was done, but if both consented, the new and [178]

[1] In 1902.

[2] *Ter* is also used in the sense of 'fine,' but is only used when the fine takes the form of a buffalo or buffaloes. A money fine is called *sarar*.

CHAP. XXIV.

575 The Toda woman is restricted by the force of circumstances, to consort with from four to five husbands. Her marriage is also quite respectable; and in point of antiquity, it probably 581 'whips creation.' She weds for life, 'for better, for worse;' and the married couple give actual security for good behaviour.

000 That this practice is neither a modern creation nor peculiar to the Todas alone, history and works of modern travel afford ample evidence. It will amply suffice for our purpose to quote a few instances.

The Bible, in making frequent mention of customs of the barbarians—in the midst of whom we find the Jews, on their first rising to notice, embedded—strictly analogous to those which obtain amongst the Todas, in respect to matrimony; leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that polyandry was, in those early days, an old and well-established institution in the world. And that such is really the truth, will become more and more evident, as from time to time, in the course of these pages, I have recourse to Scripture in drawing attention to ancient usage. Indeed the strong feeling I entertain, that in the Todas, we have actually a living specimen of some of these races, renders the reference to the historical evidence of the Bible, the more fascinating, as it is important.

Polyandry was a recognised institution[1] amongst the famous Aryas—the race to which we English, in common with most civilised nations, have lately found ourselves to be allied by ties of language, and perhaps of consanguinity.

It is still practised by portions of that race, now settled in the Western Himalayas.

It has been noted as a custom of the ancient Medes and Getes.

Cæsar's description of the mode of matrimonial alliance,

[1] Talboys-Wheeler, 'History of India.'

remain unchanged in habits, almost through all time: but in the presence of a superior civilisation, action may be observed to commence; habits improve, though perhaps only up to a certain low stage, almost insensibly, and much as a flower expands, chemically influenced in the light of the sun.

The combined institutions of the dower and inheritance, afford as strong guarantees for the stable nature of the marriage tie as any race of inferior moral culture could well give. Indeed, no social customs redound more to their credit for practical sagacity than these. The young man makes his offer of marriage, which being accepted, the bargain, so far as he is concerned, is closed, and his dowry is *held to be due.* The girl, after sufficient deliberation, accepts this man: when the father is liable for her portion, to the man who has now become her husband.

Women, as we have seen, not being able to inherit property, the husband and father of the family is alone responsible for the food supply.

If then at any time the wife should be discarded, the whole of her family would be interested in the question of 'who is to feed her,' and thus naturally as it were, become guardians of the law. Or if, on the other hand, the wife should leave her husband's protection, he would claim from her father, restitution of the dowry he had paid. Had it been their custom that women could inherit property, men might wash their hands of the duty of supporting wife and family, and women would have encouragement to separate from their husbands, taking their children with them. Of course, such simple traps for restraining the sexes, could never hold, except in conditions of much honesty and good faith. A child left to starve, or a woman to beg or earn a separate livelihood, are sights absolutely unknown in such a united community.

Instances have occurred, but are acknowledged to be rare; of the bridegroom not having found the means of fulfilling his part of the compact; not having paid the dowry, even by

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be
584 mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is wide-
178 spread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

The Regulation of Marriage

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
588 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions
591 of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokkthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village. 582 616 588 591

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. 582 618

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The 835

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

835 fact, however, that this restriction should exist in connexion with a ceremony suggests that even to the Todas there is something reprehensible in intercourse between man and woman of the same clan (see also p. 530).

582 There are certain special prohibitions against marriage between members of certain clans. Among the Tartharol
618 the Panol are not allowed to marry the Kanòdrsol, a prohibition said to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, and it is said that since that day no marriage has ever taken place between the clans of the two men. In the genealogical record there is no case in which these two clans have intermarried.

I was also told that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni might not intermarry, but there are three examples of such marriages in the genealogies. I could not obtain any reason for the restriction, and the information is probably incorrect. The restrictions on marriage between the people of Melgars and those of Kidmad and Karsh have already been considered.

Among the Teivaliol there are also prohibitions against intermarriage between certain clans. The people of Piedr may not marry those of Kusharf. Judging from the genealogical record, the prohibition is not strictly followed, for three such marriages have taken place in recent times. In one of these cases, however, in which a Piedr man married a Kusharf woman, the woman soon became seriously ill, and the marriage was annulled. I could obtain no reason for the prohibition of marriage between these two clans. Marriage was also prohibited between the Piedrol and the Pedrkarsol, this being due to a comparatively recent quarrel between members of the two clans, of which an account is given in Chapter XXVIII.

I have analysed the genealogical records with the view of ascertaining whether certain clans intermarry with any special frequency. Among the Tartharol, I find that the people of Nòdrs marry most frequently those of Kars and Taradr. The Karsol, the largest of the Tarthar clans, distribute their marriages widely over the whole Tarthar division. The Panol chiefly marry with Kars and Melgars.

582 618 The Taradrol have married most often with Nòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Keradr, a very small clan, shows no special predilection. The people of Kanòdrs have intermarried most often with Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Kars and Melgars. The people of Kwòdrdoni marry most often people of Kanòdrs, Kars and Nidrsi. The Pämol have married chiefly with Kanòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Most of the Nidrsi marriages have been with Kars. The Melgarsol have married in fairly equal proportions people of Nòdrs, Kars, Taradr and Päm.

These facts are interesting in that they show that there is a tendency for the three clans of Nòdrs, Kars and Taradr to intermarry. These are not only the most important Tarthar clans, but they occupy the same district of the hills, in the centre and towards the north and north-west. Similarly, the clans of Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni and Päm, situated towards the north-east and east, show a distinct tendency to intermarry. Further, the Melgarsol, who form a special group standing somewhat apart from the rest, distribute their marriages fairly equally, but have often married with Päm, a clan seated near them geographically.

The analysis of the genealogies shows that the geographical distribution of the Tartharol on the hills has had a definite influence on the intermarriage of the different clans.

Among the Teivaliol, intermarriage has been greatly influenced by the enormous size of the Kuudrol as compared with the other clans of the division. In order to marry outside their own clan, the people of Kuudr have married nearly all the available members of the other clans of the Teivaliol, leaving very few to intermarry with one another. Thus the genealogies record 161 marriages between Kuudrol and members of the other five Teivali clans, leaving only sixteen marriages between the members of those five clans. Owing to the enormous development of one clan, the Teivali division has almost come to be in the position of a community with a dual marrying organisation in which every member of one group must marry a member of the other group, but there is no reason whatever to think that this is due to any other reason than the excessive development of one clan in numbers.

582 618 On studying the marriages in detail it is found that the Kuudrol have married members of the Piedr clan most frequently, but this is chiefly because the Piedrol stand second to the Kuudrol in point of numbers, although it is also furthered by the restriction in marriage between Piedr and Kusharf. The marriages of the Kuudrol with other clans seem to be determined more by the numbers available than by any predilection for special clans.

Both Pedrkars and Kulhem are said to be offshoots of the Kuudrol, but apparently the separation is so remote that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. It is possible that the necessity of providing spouses for the Kuudrol has tended to break down a restriction which probably once existed.

582 621 The Todas have never married people outside their own community, and a strong prejudice against such marriages still exists. This may be illustrated by two recent cases.

A woman, married in the usual way, was divorced by her husband because she became ill. She returned to her own home, where she was visited by a Tamil blacksmith. The latter was very anxious to marry the woman and on one occasion took her away to the plains, but she was followed by her relatives and brought back to her home. Later she married two Toda brothers and was taken by them to their village, but she was followed by the blacksmith, who brought her back to the village of her parents. The Todas seem to have no strong objection to her relations with the stranger so long as she remains among themselves.

In the other case a woman about twelve years ago was visited by a rich Mohammedan who gave money to her husbands, and it was said also that he bribed the chief Toda people, *i.e.*, the members of the council. The Mohammedan wished very much to marry the woman and for a sum of money the Todas consented. After the woman had lived for a few days in the bazaar with her new husband, her relatives came and took her away, and I was told that the Mohammedan took the loss so much to heart that he died of grief, but my informants were doubtful whether his grief was due to the loss of his wife or whether it was because

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had given. Here again the people appear to have had no objection to the relations of the woman with the Mohammedan so long as she remained in the community. 582 621

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general term, *püliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *püliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *püliol* of a man:— 582 601 618

(i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.

(ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.

(iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, *i.e.*, his *mumi* and his *mankugh*.

(iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, *i.e.*, of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *püliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *püliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *püliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *püliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

582 601 618

kinship which a Toda has chiefly in his mind when he considers whether he may or may not marry a given woman. He has not two kinds of prohibited affinity, one depending on clan relations, and another on relations of blood-kinship, but he has only one kind of prohibited affinity, to which he gives the general term *piiliol*, including certain kin through the father and certain kin through the mother, and there is no evidence that he considers the bond of kinship in one case as different from the other as regards restriction on marriage.

The fact that the Toda includes all those kin whom he may not marry under one general term, and that the kin in question include members both of his own and other clans, goes to show that the Todas recognise the blood-kinship as the restrictive agency rather than the bond produced by membership of the same clan.

The analysis of the genealogical record has shown that these restrictions on marriage are enforced. I have already stated that the genealogies show no single case in which marriage has occurred between members of the same clan, *i.e.*, between *piiliol* who come under the first head in the list given above.

I have also failed to find a single case in which marriage has taken place between the children of two own sisters, or of marriage between the children of two women who would call each other "sister" whose names occur in the same genealogical table. Thus I have found no case in which a marriage has taken place between the children of two women so closely related to one another as Punzueleimi and Nasturs, of Table 3, these women being first cousins according to our system of kinship.

It would be a prolonged task to ascertain whether marriage ever takes place among the Tartharol between the children of two clan-sisters in the widest sense, and I do not know whether such marriage may not sometimes occur.

Among the Teivaliol marriages between clan-sisters even in the widest sense must be very rare owing to the fact that nearly all marriages take place between people of Kuudr on the one hand and members of the five other Teivali clans on the other. Since in most cases two women of any one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of these five clans marry men of Kuudr, marriage between their children would be restricted under the first prohibition, and similarly the children of two Kuudr women could only intermarry in those cases in which members of the other five clans have married one another. Among the Teivaliol, I do not believe that marriages take place between the children of sisters in the widest sense, and I have little doubt that they are very exceptional among the Tartharol. 582 601 618

There is no case in the genealogies in which the third restriction has been broken, in which a man has married his father's sister or his sister's daughter, his *mumi* or his *mankugh*.

There is at least one case in the genealogies in which there has been an infringement of the fourth restriction given on page 509. The marriage of Nargudr (62) with Tolveli (58) is an example of the marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister. I believe that this restriction is part of a wider regulation. Using Toda terms of kinship the law would run: a person must not marry the child of his *matchuni*. The marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister, such as that of Nargudr with Tolveli, would be an infringement of this law. I have only found one other case in the genealogies in which this law would have been broken, *i.e.*, in the marriage of Teitnir (52) and Tersveli (63). Tersveli's father, Teikudr, is the son of Kavani, the sister of Pareivan, Teitnir's father. Teikudr is therefore the *matchuni* of Teitnir, who has married his daughter.

I was told that though a man might not marry the daughter of his sister, he might marry the children of this woman. I do not know of any such marriage and it is improbable that it would often come about, since it would involve the marriage of a woman with the brother of her grandfather. There is, however, at the present time an example of the marriage of a woman with her father's mother's brother, whom she would therefore call *pia*, or grandfather. This is the marriage of Kaners and his brother Kudrievan (63) with Edjog (56), the daughter of Tüliners, the son of the sister of the two men. I was told, however, that this marriage met with a good deal of disapproval among the Todas, but I could not learn that there was any definite prohibition against it.

THE MARRIAGE OF MATCHUNI

582 While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man. The orthodox marriage is marriage between *matchuni*, the children of brother and sister. Thus it is obviously not nearness of blood-kinship in itself which acts as a restriction on marriage, but nearness of blood-kinship of a certain kind.

I have analysed the genealogies[1] to ascertain the frequency with which marriages between *matchuni* occur. The genealogical tables record about 550 marriages, of which 373 are Tarthar and 177 Teivali. Only a small proportion of these are marriages between children of own brother and sister. Among the Tartharol there are 40 and among the Teivaliol 25 such marriages, making together 65 or 11·8 per cent.

Since, however, the *matchuni* of a man include a much wider circle of relatives than the children of his mother's own brother and father's own sister, the number of marriages between *matchuni* is very much larger than this.

Nearly all the Teivali marriages are marriages between *matchuni* in this wider sense, while among the Tartharol there are also many other marriages of this kind.

One of the reasons why the orthodox marriage custom is not still more commonly followed is the existence of the practice called *tererstthi*, to be considered later in this chapter. According to this practice wives are transferred from one man to another, and in this transference no attention appears to be paid to the kinship tie. The woman, or rather girl, originally married to a man may have been his *matchuni*, but the woman who finally becomes his wife by the working of the *tererstthi* custom may not be and probably in most cases is not his *matchuni*. In many cases in the genealogies, the original infant marriage may have been forgotten, and the marriage recorded may be the result of the *tererstthi* custom. If I had a complete record of all infant marriages, I have no doubt that the proportion of marriages between *matchuni* would have been larger.

[1] [see pp. 749-788]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In some families marriages between *matchuni* in the near sense occur much more frequently than in others. Thus out of the forty *matchuni* marriages among the Tartharol, the husband or wife belonged to the Taradrol in fifteen cases, and in one large Taradr family, that of Parkeidi (21), six out of eight children married their *matchuni* in the near sense. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the Taradrol have been comparatively little affected by outside influences. They are a clan which might be expected to keep up the orthodox Toda custom. 177 582

Another example of a family in which the orthodox marriage custom has been frequently followed is that of Table 52, where there may be found eight cases of the marriage of *matchuni* in the near sense, and several others where the *matchuni* relationship is more distant. 582

In some cases marriages have taken place between the children of *matchuni*. Thus the marriage of Uvolthli (15) with Sinmundeivi (20) among the Tartharol, and of Pangudr (66) with Nelbur (54) and Kanokh (56) with Sanmidz (63) among the Teivaliol, are all cases in which marriages have taken place between the children of two men who called one another *matchuni*. There may be other cases, but these examples are perhaps sufficient to show that these marriages may be held to take the place of the orthodox *matchuni* union.

While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful. The more distant tie of kinship from our point of view is unlawful, while the nearer is commanded.

Marriage with a *matchuni* may often involve considerable disproportion of age. In one case at the present time a boy of about two years of age is married to a woman of about twenty. The woman, Nulnir (10), was still unmarried when she reached this age, so she was married to her *matchuni*,

582 Kagerikutan (25), the son of her mother's brother. In this case the orthodox marriage was resorted to when the woman had failed to obtain a husband in any other way, although it involved marriage with a baby.

In another case, the marriage of Keitkarg (38) and Pötoveli (49), in which the woman is considerably older than her husband, the husband and wife are *matchuni*.

588 There is one ceremonial marriage in which the husband always stands in the relation of *matchuni* to the wife. This 766 is in the performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony at the funeral of a girl unmarried at the time of her death. The boy who is chosen to give the bow and arrow and to act as the husband is always, so far as I could discover, the *matchuni* of the dead girl.

Similarly, if an unmarried boy dies, the girl who is chosen to act as his widow should be his *matchuni*. In one case of which I have a record, the son of Tütners (58) died and Sotidz (66) was chosen to act as widow. None of the brothers of Puvizveli (65), the mother of the dead boy, had at that time a son, so the duty was undertaken by the daughter of Pangudr, of the same clan as Puvizveli, but belonging to a different family. In this case the *matchuni* was the daughter of a clan-brother because there was no nearer *matchuni* available.

Keinba, who acted as husband at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 394), was the *matchuni* of the dead girl in two ways, as the son of her mother's brother and as the son of her father's half-sister.

582 A *matchuni* may be either the child of a mother's brother or of a father's sister, and I have examined the genealogies to see if a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister the more frequently, and find that there is no great difference, though the former marriage is somewhat the more frequent. There are among the Tartharol twenty cases in which a man has married the daughter of his mother's brother, two of marriage with the daughter of a stepmother's brother, and one with the daughter of a stepmother's half-brother, making twenty-three cases in all. On the other hand, a man married the daughter of his father's sister in fourteen cases, twice he married the daughter of his father's

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

half-sister, and once the stepdaughter of his father's sister, making seventeen cases in all. 582

Among the Teivaliol marriages with the daughter of a father's sister are the more frequent, there being fifteen of these as compared with ten cases of marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother. There is evidently no special preference for either kind of marriage.

POLYANDRY

The Todas have a completely organised and definite system of polyandry. When a woman marries a man, it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers at the same time. When a boy is married to a girl, not only are his brothers usually regarded as also the husbands of the girl, but any brother born later will similarly be regarded as sharing his older brothers' rights. 595

In the vast majority of polyandrous marriages at the present time, the husbands are own brothers. A glance through the genealogies[1] will show the great frequency of polyandry,[1] and that in nearly every case the husbands are own brothers. In a few cases in which the husbands are not own brothers, they are clan-brothers, *i.e.*, they belong to the same clan and are of the same generation. Instances of such marriages are those of Toridz (65) with Kulpakh (52) and Kiladrvan (60), and of Sintharap (68) with Kuriolv (52) and Onadj (57).

There is only one instance recorded in the genealogies in which a woman had at the same time husbands belonging to different clans, viz., the marriage of Kwelvtars (60) with Nidshtevan of Piedr (64) and Tütners of Kusharf (67), and in this case the men were half-brothers by the same mother, the fathers being of different clans. While I was on the hills, there was a project on foot that three unmarried youths belonging to three different clans should have a wife in common, but the project was frustrated and the marriage did not take place.

[1] In cases of polyandry the names of the husbands are enclosed in square brackets.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Exchange of Brother and Sister

582 583 Although I was not told that it was the custom for a brother and sister of one clan to marry a sister and brother of another, examination of the genealogies makes it clear that this frequently happens. A good example which may be cited is the marriage of Kuriolv (52) with Punaveli (65), while Sinkòrs, the sister of Kuriolv, married the three brothers of Punaveli. Two other similar instances may be found in Table 52, and they are of general occurrence throughout the genealogies.

In some communities this custom of exchange is definitely connected with the bride-price, which may be so large as almost to compel a man to give his sister in exchange for the wife he takes from another clan. In the case of the Todas the bride-price is so inconsiderable that it is unlikely that it would form a motive for exchange, and I think it improbable that in such marriages as those cited above, the idea of exchange is even definitely formulated, but that the combination of marriages comes about for such obvious reasons as may occur in any community. The marriage of *matchuni*, if widely practised, would obviously lead to an appearance of exchange, and it may be that among the Todas this is the chief cause of its occurrence.

Similarly, instances will be found in the genealogies of two brothers (or two groups of brothers) marrying sisters. An example may be given from Table 53, where Orzevan marries one woman and his two brothers marry her sister. Another instance may be found in Table 58.

587 595 In several cases in which a man or group of men have had two wives the wives have been related. Thus, Kutthurs (12) and his brothers first married Tedjveli (16). After her death, Kutthurs, the only surviving brother, married Sabnir (34), the daughter of Arsner, Tedjveli's sister. Again, Paners (23) and his brothers first married Pergveli, and when she died they married her brother's daughter. Pungusivan (53) married his *matchuni*, Sinodz (68), and when she was taken from him by the *terersthi* custom, he married Sintharap, her sister.

There is often very great disproportion of age in Toda marriages. I have already given two cases in which the woman is the older, in each of which the disproportion of age is due to the custom of marrying a *matchuni*. More commonly the man is much the older, and there are at the present time many cases in which elderly men are married to young girls. This is partly due to the practice of infant marriage. Unless a widower can take advantage of the *tererstbi* custom, which is always expensive, he may have to marry a child and wait till she has reached a marriageable age. Thus, Kòdrner, my guide, lost his wife some years ago, and then married a girl whose present[1] age is only thirteen, Kòdrner being forty-two. The girl is still living with her parents, and will probably not go to her husband for another three or four years. 582 [587]

THE CUSTOM OF 'TERERSTHI

The marriage tie among the Todas at the present time has become very loose. Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old. The amount of the compensation or *ter* is settled by a council, and from this the transaction has received its name of *tererstbi*, or "compensation he tells (decides)."[2] [581] 586 587

There is much reason to believe that this custom has altered its character in recent times. I was told that formerly the custom only applied to cases in which a man had lost his wife by death. If he wished to marry a woman who was already the wife of another or others, he went to the father of the woman and asked for his consent. The father would consult with two other elders, and if they were in favour of the proposed transaction the three elders would go to the woman, and if they obtained her consent they then went to her husband for his. If husband or wife were unwilling to be parted nothing was done, but if both consented, the new and [178]

[1] In 1902.

[2] *Ter* is also used in the sense of 'fine,' but is only used when the fine takes the form of a buffalo or buffaloes. A money fine is called *sawr*.

Debt and Servitude

426 It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt, and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

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When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kûlvatkerthchi* or *kûlvatkerthiti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

[582] It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

The Position of Women

562 There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

 In paragraph (a) of the last Chapter, I showed that the

CHAP. XI.

162 Toda males of all ages bear to the females, the proportion of 100 : 75; and the correctness of this statement is somewhat confirmed by the ratio in adults and in children, given in paragraphs (β) and (γ) bearing a similar discrepancy. This excess

947 of males is a very striking fact, and its truth may be accepted without doubt or mental reserve. I think we cannot quite account for the universal paucity of females without acknowledging, either that infanticide is, or has recently been practised to a very sensible extent: or that more boys are *born* than girls.

000 To what cause may we attribute this wide departure in nature, from those of her well-established laws; by the operations of which, equality between the sexes, is, within certain limits of divergence, known to be preserved, in all countries of whose population we have accurate knowledge? If we are disposed to describe the cause, in some general expression, as 'race peculiarity,' we still cannot be satisfied with less than the discovery of the physiologic reason for such eccentricity. We note the food and clothing, the mode of life, the climate; and fail to see sufficient reason for ascribing what we seek to any such origin. In fact, as regards the Todas, we can with certainty pronounce, that in only two respects can their surroundings be considered to differ widely in an important manner, from that of vast masses of mankind to whom great variation between the sexes has never been traced; viz., in their marriage system, and in the practice of infanticide.

162 We have learnt that relationship is, with the Todas, intimate far beyond that witnessed in any country approach-

582 ing civilisation. Intimate to such a degree, that the whole tribe, where not parents and children, brothers and sisters, are all first-cousins, descended from lines of first-cousins prolonged for centuries. Let me show emphatically and distinctly that such is in truth the case. The tribe consists of about 713 persons, divided between 5 clans; of which

two are almost extinct. The remaining three clans, being nearly of equal number, must contain about 200 members of all ages each. But one of them—the Peiki clan—marries solely within itself. Hence, this small body of 200 people have intermarried from time immemorial. And the intercourse must have become very promiscuous. I do not attribute disparity between the sexes to this close intercourse; but it is interesting to review the primitive practice, as a custom connected with the paucity of numbers arising from infanticide, and with the polyandrous habit which is found in junction with it.

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In future chapters we shall see that the practice of infanticide as observed by the Todas, was the habitual destruction of all daughters in every family, except one or sometimes two. And we know that the average size of Toda families is 6 children born to each woman.

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Now let us for the purpose of illustration take three families as representing an average of the entire tribe; say that one mother gives birth to 6 daughters and no sons: a second mother has 6 sons only, whilst the third mother has 3 sons and 3 daughters. The first mother—following the tribal custom—destroys 4 daughters and preserves 2. The second retains her 6 sons. The third kills 2 daughters and keeps 1, as also her 3 sons. We have then, from the three families, 9 sons and 3 daughters with which to continue the breed. But whilst the males belong to families in which the tendency to produce sons is great, the females are of those of a converse inclination. Thus the bias strengthens with each generation, until, as we find, families grow to have habitually more sons than daughters. This habitude *outlasting the depraved practice which caused it*, indurates more or less, into a fixed characteristic of the people: and *a male-producing variety of man is formed.*

In presenting Table No. 4, containing what I have termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' to the indulgence of my readers,

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2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXVI.

183 577 I confess to a feeling of great astonishment that barbarians should conduct their household arrangements with the staidness and good sense of members of the Teutonic family of nations. Yet, though free from taint of fickleness, Toda social morality can scarcely be defended. We find him bound down to keep the peace, and behave himself as a Toda should, and not throw his wife and children on the parish. But for the rest we find him still a gross savage.

In the outward behaviour of the sexes, I have been amused to notice how much the custom and etiquette observed in civilised life is derived from *their* model. I have never seen any among our list of the proprieties in the slightest degree overstepped by them in ordinary daily intercourse, except 562 perhaps in their habit of calling a spade a spade. Modest-looking women are by no means rare. They remain habitually at home, keeping together as demure as cats. They have their own places of private resort, on which members of the opposite sex would not presume to intrude. They manage their cumbersome garments to perfection. But it must not be supposed that they are moral, or have scruples. It is the human animal in its wild state.

589 183 582 No unmarried class exists, to disturb society with its loves and broils. More's the pity! for that same society much needs to be startled into energy out of its hum-drum life! The warm breath of poetry and romance never passes through these people. It must long ago have been quenched with the introduction of infanticide and polyandry. Defects lie entirely the other way; it is a 'very much married' people. Every man and every woman, every lad and every girl is somebody's husband or wife; tied at the earliest possible age, and bound by grinding social law, in the bonds of unpoetic matrimony, extending almost over the entire term of adult life. Sacred characters, such as the pâlâl and pâlkarpâl, are merely husbands off duty. With the exception of a cripple girl, and of those women who, past the child-bearing age,

were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9. CHAP. XXVI. 589 183 582

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation. 582 595 181

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety. 181

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe. 144

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TABLE No. IX.

Child Marriages. Compiled from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' Table No. IV.

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No. on the List	Calculated Ages when			Present Ages of		
	Wives Married	Oldest Husbands married	Wives commenced child-bearing	Wives	Oldest Husbands	
1	14	15	15			
2	13	16	14			
20	17	14	—	19	16	Not with child
24	13	21	17			
38	12	15	13			
39	10	19	—	14	23	Not with child
41	12	12	—	14	14	Ditto
44	11	31	12			
47	10	11	—	11	12	Not with child
48	9	12	—	12	15	Ditto
51	14	14	16			
55	10	16	19			

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Auto Toda Auto

172 range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes, as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a
837 time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

582 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early
583 age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 #060 Toda #060

582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

843 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
851 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

582 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
563 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

114 121 IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

616 618 A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toirŝas and tŏŏviłj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tiimod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoiłj, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toirŝas are reckoned to have ten mod, the tŏŏviłj five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called puṛuṭṭ, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

618 942

582 609 618 Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are połjoiłj. Membership in a group of people known as połjoiłj is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the połjoiłj to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

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[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319-23.

●582 601 618 daughters of his maternal grandmother's sisters' daughters, and so on; in the preceding generation his mother, his mother's sisters, his maternal grandmother's mother's daughters' daughters, and so on. To the generation younger than him belong his sisters' daughters, his mother's sisters' daughters' daughters, and so on. A man will also designate as his poljoɪl his mother's sons, his maternal grandmother's sons, his sisters' sons, and so on for any son of a woman who is related to him as poljoɪl, but not the descendants of these males. This network of relations in the female line cuts across mod divisions, and divides the toɪrðas at present into five exogamous sets of poljoɪl, the töüviłj into six. Rivers[4] has given a concrete example of how mod-relationships are handed down from one generation to the next; the relationships of poljoɪl are preserved in the same way even when links in the relationship are no longer remembered.

582 835 A man, then, while marrying within his own half of the whole tribe, must marry outside of his own mod and outside of his poljoɪl. As it is put by the Todas themselves, he must not marry a woman who is üudmortkvæidvoj, "one who is born to one and the same mod" or poljoɪl to him. The other peculiarities of Toda marriage and sexual relationships, viz. polyandry, the institution whereby a man may take another's wife upon the payment of compensation, that by which a man may take a concubine from the other half of the tribe, and the general license permitting a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman who takes his fancy without any permanent tie being formed, seem to have blinded observers to these fundamental rules, which govern not only marriages, but also all sexual relationships. No man may marry or have intercourse with any woman who is related to him through a wholly male line or through a wholly female line. This is the system which is generally followed by the castes and communities of Hindu south India (with some exceptions which follow the rules prevalent in north India or some peculiar system of their own). The corollary following from it, that a man may marry his cross-cousin, obtains of course among the Todas as it does among the other south Indian communities following these rules. Among the Todas it is optional, though preferable, and is applied in the symmetrical fashion.[5] It seems to be the rule among many of the south Indian communities that the mother's brother's daughter is preferred, though without excluding the possibility of marriage to the father's sister's daughter; there is no trace of this preference for asymmetry among the Todas.

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[4] Page 490.

[5] Rivers, p. 514, and my informants generally.

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Rivers' account of the general rule[6] is incomplete and in part incorrect. How this came about is of course not certain, but a guess may be hazarded on the cause. There is even now, when information is apparently more easily obtained on most subjects than it was thirty years ago, some reticence and embarrassment about the subject of poɭjoɪɭ. It seems to be connected in part at least with the taboos that surround the relationship, perhaps more with the general air of indecency and ridicule with which the Todas approach the subject. This will be made clear when an account is given of the names of the divisions and the stories behind them. At the moment it is necessary to criticize Rivers' account. He interprets the term poɭjoɪɭ (his püliol) as including both sets of prohibited affinities. This, being quite contrary to Toda usage, explains the impression he records that "it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his püliol included all the people of his own clan" (i.e. mod). It was a new and wholly erroneous idea. The list of püliol which he gives is in part a mixture of two sets of relationships, in part incorrect, and as a whole incomplete. A man may not marry the daughters of his father's brothers (Rivers' heading i) or the sisters of his father (heading iii), since they are üudmortkvæɪdvoj. The daughters of his mother's sisters (heading ii) and the daughters of his sisters (heading iii) are forbidden, since they are poɭjoɪɭ. His fourth head, the daughters of the sisters of his father's father, gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriages to such persons found in the genealogies.[7] The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poɭjoɪɭ to him, but üudmortkvæɪdvoj; they cannot have married his üudmortkvæɪdvoj, and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given[8] that a person must not marry the child of his motʃiṇj (matchuni, i.e. cross-cousin) is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him. If she has married outside his mod, there are no objections. Again, if a man's male motʃiṇj has married a woman who is poɭjoɪɭ to the man's mother, the motʃiṇj's daughter will be forbidden to the man; otherwise, not. The case in the last paragraph on p. 511 of Rivers' work, that of a man marrying a daughter of his sister's daughter, is impossible, since she would be his poɭjoɪɭ. The final case in this paragraph, the marriage of two brothers to the daughter of their sister's son, violated no rule; the disapproval that attended the marriage was undoubtedly due to the disproportion in age, not as such, but as depriving

[6] Rivers, pp. 309-11.
[7] Rivers, p. 511.
[8] Rivers, p. 511 *med.* and again p. 513.

some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poɭjoɪɭ are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

A note on the semantics of the word poɭjoɪɭ may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the poɭj." The most usual meaning of poɭj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called aɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ŭɯd-voɭjoɪɭoɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ŭɯd) poɭj (i.e. poɭjoɪɭ)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poɭjoɪɭ institution. The semantic development of poɭj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poɭjoɪɭ and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poɭjoɪɭ. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate pɑlɨi, "building, temple."

As was said above, there are at present five sets of poɭjoɪɭ among the toɪrðas. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinɯl of the kerɯroɪɭ (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The kŭɑtæɪnboɭjoɪɭ or oɪrvɯtʂɣɑɪkvoɭjoɪɭ is said to be descended from kŭɑtæɪn (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poɭjoɪɭ make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oɪr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɯtʂ). A crow (kɑɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moɣðɯtkoɪtʂvojvoɭjoɪɭ, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

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Enquiry into the details of the moγðoɪʈjt institution (called by Rivers mokhthoditi)[11] supplements Rivers' account in some important details. For all legal purposes, i.e. membership of mod and the consequent relations to the tribe as a whole, Rivers is correct. Children of these unions are legally children of the man who has given the bow to the mother. In investigating restrictions on the freedom to form these unions it was found that there are two classes of union. In one the man who takes the woman gives only a cloak (puɪtγuɫj). Children of this type of union and the man's legal children may form moγðoɪʈjt unions without any restrictions, except that such a union may not be formed while the parents are still living together in a union of this kind. When the union in the earlier generation ceases, a union in the next generation may be formed.

In the other class of union the man gives to the woman jewelry and makes to her male relatives the koɪlmilvɯḍθt salutation ("act of falling on leg," i.e. kneeling and putting to one's head the other's feet in turn; of the one who raises his feet it is said, koɪlγoɪʈj–, "leg-show"). Children of the union are then in the same relation to the man's legal children as if they were ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj, and the same rules hold for unions between them and between their descendants as for unions between ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and their descendants. For example, a half-brother and a half-sister may not form the union; their children may form the union, for they are pseudo-motʃiṇj. Children of half-brothers may not form the union, but their children may. Rivers[12] mentions the union of kŭɯɪsiɑɫf of the töüviɫj with piɫj-murγ of the toɪrðas. He insisted on giving ter for her[13] as if she could be his legal wife, and lived with her for many years (which is unusual in these unions), having by her four children, who were regarded by everyone as his own except that they belong legally to the toɪrðas. This seems to have been the first case in which ter was given in one of these unions, and there have been some later imitations of the precedent. This type of union is merely an extension of the type in which the koɪlmilvɯḍθt salutation is performed, and the regulations governing unions of the descendants are the same.

The taboos described above operate also between all those who are in a pseudo-relation of ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj because of a moγðoɪʈjt union. In the first type of union they cease to operate when the union is dissolved, in the second they are permanent in their operation, just as is the prohibition against further unions.

[11] Described in Rivers, pp. 526–29.
[12] Page 534 *med.*
[13] See Rivers, pp. 523–25.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɪsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaːsmonguɯːʀ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuːf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuːʟ] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piʟjiːʒfuːf] "silver-flower" and [tyʟjiːʒfuːf] (the first member [tyʟj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaʀoːn] has a son called [asojxuɯrn] from [asojuɯr], the buffaloes of the [tiː]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuɯːʀ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɯːʀ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuɯːʀ] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iːŋxuɯːʀ] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 28–6, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iːʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
582 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iṣxuuɪR]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuuɪR]. His sister [sindafuɪL] (Sindavul) married [tuaːsmonguuɪR] (59, Tormungudr)[14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuːf]. [iṣxuuɪR] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough,
[601] Mary was married to [nasoːn] (son of [teːpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [nasoːn] and [sindafuɪL] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasoːn] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the
[584] tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this marriage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iṣxuuɪR], a clear carry-over from tribal custom,
797 and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
184 ried to [pumxuuɪR]. When she came of age however, [pumxuuɪR],
686 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
627 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [tōumuṣkuLN]. [iṣxuuɪR] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuuɪR] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tōumuṣkuLN] and [sotjabuːf] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peːðoːn]
[692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iṣxuuɪR]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaːsmonguuɪR] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iṣxuuɪR]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.

♂ [iṣxuuɪR] ♀ [sindafuɪL] = ♂ [tuaːsmonguuɪR]

♂ [pumxuuɪR] ♀ Mary = ♂ [nasoːn] ♂ [tōumuṣkuLN] = ♀ [sotjabuːf]

[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:ʔ), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!"). 581 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kumʷɟaʔf made an 588 innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather 616 by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj 178 institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kumʷɟaʔf or the children of this union. The example was followed in kumʷɟaʔf's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kumʷɟaʔf's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

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have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ŋ- 588
jaɮf's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kum:ŋjaɮf, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 887
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the tɔuɮij moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the to:rθaʂ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the to:rθaʂ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the to:rθaʂ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

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177 the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief
[177] in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage
[178] customs attempted by kuu:ʒaʔf and recorded by Rivers, which
[582] would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and
[425] that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of
[425] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made
[657] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

There remains the important question of the effect of outside
61 177 influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): " The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. " He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems
[114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women
[831] by the polyandrous system combined with the moxθo:tjfoj institution by which a woman has at least one " lover " belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

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616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
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564

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwoten-Pöldh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörori or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Püth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhoni	

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modols

10. Melgarsh 614
11. Pam or Pirspurs 616
12. Kidmad 554
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh 564

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition. 173 887 582

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-nganipotvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson. 642 614 622 793 114 173 776

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428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

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of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

To 2196
302 have any except buffalo butter, which they
524 rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To
595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To
595 Three brothers married, polyandrously,
582 a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She
422 was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To
595 The two others tried to marry a woman
583 called Mab. The second brother, Kiel,
592 asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

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Ti 595 or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

582 586 wTi 584

To 595 wTi [595] Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology.*
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matri-lineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

[171] It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
114 word, *puliol.* Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
602 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ,
614 ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

> [Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 602 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitions we must also find exogamous lineages.

[171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda can be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligations between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 331) (BD named by FZ p. 331)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
	S chief fourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	Cutting of lock of hair at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	
Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothers
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 582 601 602 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on. 171 582 601 602

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use. 171 177 [602] [585] [764]

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community. 171 [192]

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN 000

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.

584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panm ûtpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

881 616 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tâzâr ûtiti*, or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

881 836 626 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division and to any clan, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,[1] different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

[1] The probable rule is that the day must not be a *maduol* or *paliuol*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 686 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

The Regulation of Marriage

582 616 588 591 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Exchange of Brother and Sister

582 583 Although I was not told that it was the custom for a brother and sister of one clan to marry a sister and brother of another, examination of the genealogies makes it clear that this frequently happens. A good example which may be cited is the marriage of Kuriolv (52) with Punaveli (65), while Sinkòrs, the sister of Kuriolv, married the three brothers of Punaveli. Two other similar instances may be found in Table 52, and they are of general occurrence throughout the genealogies.

In some communities this custom of exchange is definitely connected with the bride-price, which may be so large as almost to compel a man to give his sister in exchange for the wife he takes from another clan. In the case of the Todas the bride-price is so inconsiderable that it is unlikely that it would form a motive for exchange, and I think it improbable that in such marriages as those cited above, the idea of exchange is even definitely formulated, but that the combination of marriages comes about for such obvious reasons as may occur in any community. The marriage of *matchuni*, if widely practised, would obviously lead to an appearance of exchange, and it may be that among the Todas this is the chief cause of its occurrence.

Similarly, instances will be found in the genealogies of two brothers (or two groups of brothers) marrying sisters. An example may be given from Table 53, where Orzevan marries one woman and his two brothers marry her sister. Another instance may be found in Table 58.

587 595 In several cases in which a man or group of men have had two wives the wives have been related. Thus, Kutthurs (12) and his brothers first married Tedjveli (16). After her death, Kutthurs, the only surviving brother, married Sabnir (34), the daughter of Arsner, Tedjveli's sister. Again, Paners (23) and his brothers first married Pergveli, and when she died they married her brother's daughter. Pungusivan (53) married his *matchuni*, Sinodz (68), and when she was taken from him by the *tereersthi* custom, he married Sintharap, her sister.

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view.
673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

578 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling
673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence
623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other
671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *tererstthi*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some-
586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been
674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be carried off by force from the home of the former, but,
177 however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXV.

POLYANDRY—MARRIAGE.

Betrothal—Peculiar nature of Dowry—Ask Papa—'Wilt thou have this man?'—The Wedding Ring—Plurality of Husbands—Confusion of Progeny—Toda expressions for Marriage—The Bow and Arrow in Weddings.

CHAP. XXV.

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583

THE betrothal of the sexes in marriage is arranged in this fashion. The father or other male guardian of the lad—or the young man himself if of age and in a position to negociate his own affairs—seeks an interview with the male protector of the girl whom he desires to wed. If his project be encouraged, nothing remains in the form of preliminaries but to discuss the amount of endowment—kēikuli[1]—to be given. This is never paid in cash. Money is a very scarce article in the jungles; money may be, will be spent: and land not being transferable property, as we saw in the last Chapter, whilst kine affords the means of immediate support for a family, and is inheritable, the conference must of necessity be almost entirely restricted to determining the number of cattle—buffalos—of which the kēikuli shall consist; which, although it varies to a certain extent, lies commonly between one and four in number.

We imagine the young man to say, 'I will give you two buffalos as kēikuli for your daughter.' Here we note that owing to female infanticide, girls are in great demand; hence

[1] Kēikuli or kekhuli. Kai = *hand.* Koli = *what is received.* Dravidian root, kol = *receive.*

Another possible derivation is kukh = *woman.* Vilai = *price.* Kaikuli = *wages.* [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the dowry is received, not given, by the damsel's parents. 'Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.' Genesis xxxiv., 12. The girl's father may reply, 'We are all relations. I don't want your property. You have proved your sincerity. I will give you in exchange one, two, three, or four buffaloes.' This return present, may be more or it may be less than that offered by the wooer. Such, as I am assured by my friend, Mr. Metz, is actual Toda method of managing these affairs. 583

I am not prepared to supply a reason for this custom. It may be a survival of some more ancient practice, or it may be a method suggested by self respect. The girl has been asked in marriage. She is not to be had for nothing. The young man is in earnest, and it is going to be a wedding and no mistake.

We notice that the transaction is not the payment so much as the exchange of dowers. Seemingly it is a worthless arrangement, binding on neither party. But worked in a simple way by simple minds, it appears to be held as a test of honesty of intention. And—as we shall shortly have opportunity of observing—becomes a security for good behaviour, by affording the means for punishing breaches of matrimonial compact. 183 583

When the bargain has been struck, the damsel's father intimates his formal consent to the marriage by placing his foot on his son-in-law's head, after the mode described in Chapter IV., saying, 'I give'—tashken. Affairs may now be held to have reached that stage on the road to matrimonial happiness, somewhat corresponding to the point in the negociation of French marriages, when the only remaining step to be taken, consists in consulting the young lady's sentiments on the proposed union. 583 584

The dowry is now due from the bridegroom, and he may not recede from his part of his compact; that is to say, if the

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girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. An entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.[2] Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—kûtacaram.

The husband now gives his wife a necklace,[3] of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

[2] Literally Âl = '*husband*' or '*man*.' Kâtvoti = '*wife*' or '*she who is bound to me*.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

[3] Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

for the practice of feminine duties, and of acquiring useful experience in the management of affairs. If the husbands should die, the widow would be fully competent to act as trustee of any cattle they may have left, and as guardian of her children, whether she married again, or maintained her single state. 562 429

In the event of a woman not bearing any children to her husband, he may marry again: but in such case he must support the first wife: and, as a matter of course, he has to pay another dower for the second. 586

In possession, therefore, of these evidences of wedded life, and bearing in recollection the staid nature of this singular people, I feel convinced that separation between pairs is not lightly tolerated. Easy-tempered, thoroughly communistic, and not very nice in their discrimination of the duties of husbands and wives to one another, many of the causes which lead to separations amongst civilised people, must be absent from them, and motives for divorce would not be frequent.

What an insight does the simple practice of the dower, not give into the direct nature of their minds! Both parties *promise*, and the promise is their bond! It is not that it is a conscientious people, but so guileless and free from talent for plot, and all so much alike, that seemingly they possess almost intuitive knowledge of one another's intentions. We notice the same peculiarity amongst the inferior animals, and for want of a better word, term it instinct. I have often thought that much of this instantaneous understanding we observe in animals, as well as the rapidity with which, amongst nearly pure races of man, information is disseminated, and the unity of impulse with which they work in combining for a common end, is due greatly to close similarity in cranial contour.[1] Are sly animals ever found associated in herds or troops? 583 000

[1] This peculiarity was a remarkable feature in the Indian Mutiny of the year 1857; the rebellion of a semi-barbarous race, of striking uniformity of cranial development.

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pâlthchi*
551 and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's
584 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead. An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claim-
● 583 ing his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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601 * Names used to express relationships in Toda.

English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1. Father	*En, Eyan.*	
2. Mother	*Aff.*	
3. Son	*Mâkh.*	
4. Daughter	*Kukh.*	
5. Father's elder brother	*Perudîn*	Great father.
6. „ younger „	*Kirudîn*	Little do.
7. „ elder sister	*Mâmi.*	
8. „ younger „		
9. Mother's elder brother	*Mâman.*	
10. „ younger „		
11. „ elder sister	*Perudaff*	Great mother.
12. „ younger „	*Kirudaff*	Little do.
13. Father's brother's son	*An*	Brother.
14. „ „ daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
15. „ sister's son	*Machen.*	
16. „ „ daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.
17. Mother's sister's son	*An*	Brother.
18. „ „ daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
19. „ brother's son	*Machen.*	
20. „ „ daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Âlt* and *Tajmakh*, which simply mean men and women.

In *Anthropological Journal* for *January and July* 1871, page 28, *yu* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

551

Male Names.	Female Names.
1. Kêvi, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tiviori* is so called.	1. Kâthaveli, (lit.) silver coin.
2. Perudl, literally a great man.	2. Darathinir, (lit.) a jewel scale.
3. Nârûkôt, (lit.) child of jackal.	3. Tahinâh, (lit.) gold one.
4. Ponkôt, (lit.) child of gold.	4. Berath, no meaning that I can find out.
5. Tahinkôt, (lit.) do.	5. Depbili, (lit.) silver ring.
6. Padrithzh, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.	6. Pondehilkammi, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. Kôdâlvên, (lit.) the man of the funeral.	7. Kattahira, (lit.) Cutcherry, Sirear office.
8. Âlvên, (lit.) a man.	8. Pilthinurugu, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. Beltavên, (lit.) like silver.	9. Pilturuga, (lit.) white ring.
10. Kirudîl, (lit.) little one.	10. Tikôn, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

172 range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes, as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a 837 time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

582 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early 583 age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

843 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
851 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

582 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
563 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kišker] gave one buffalo to [keːnoʒ] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keːnoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoːn] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdiːfj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kišker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kišker]'s father's sister [tuarfuːemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjoːnaːf] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kišker] by the latter and [kišker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuaroːn], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it.

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for

[Melgarsh Village]

511 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following mem-
621 bers of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsoc, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby
[23] calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his
428 property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the
[562] latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from
[583] their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

To 2196
302 have any except buffalo butter, which they
524 rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To
595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which

To polyandry turns.

595 Three brothers married, polyandrously,
582 a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when
422 she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of

To the common property.

595 The two others tried to marry a woman
● 583 called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started
592 haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

23: Peter E-3 (1938-7) AJ4 W. Tibetans

TODA AW60

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To
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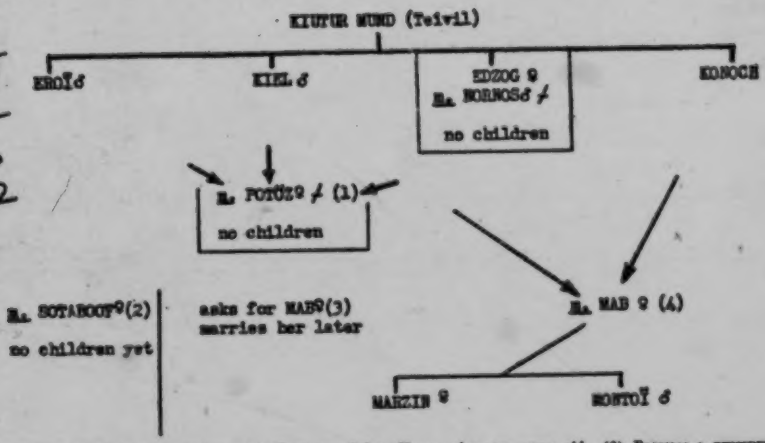

FIGURE 2. A Toda genealogy. (1) First married to Kasan when two years old. (2) Becomes a government peon; takes one-third of the buffalo plus two sons. (3) Quarrels with her father over bride price; leaves with one-third of the buffalo but comes back and marries Mab after his brother, Konoch, has already married her. (4) Konoch originally is left with one-third of the buffalo (four). Mab becomes pregnant before Kiel joins in the marriage. † Deceased. Arrows denote polyandrous marriages.

-- p. 220c (Figure 2) --

4: Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
502

CHAPTER XXII

MARRIAGE

584 THE custom of infant marriage is well established among the Todas, and a child is often married when only two or three years of age. When a man wishes to arrange a marriage for his son, he chooses a suitable girl, who should be, and very often is, the *matchuni* of the boy, the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. The father visits the parents of the girl, and if the marriage is satisfactorily arranged he returns home after staying for the night at the village. A few days later the father takes the boy to the home of his intended wife. They take with them the loin-cloth called *tadrp* as a wedding gift and the boy performs the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father and mother of the girl, and also to her brothers, both older and younger than himself, and then gives the *tadrp* to the girl. Father and son stay for one night at the girl's village and return home on the following morning. Sometimes the girl returns with them to the village of her future husband, but, much more commonly, she remains at her own home till she is fifteen or sixteen years of age.

If a man has not been married in childhood he may undertake the arrangement of his marriage himself, and visit the parents of the girl unaccompanied by his father; and in this case the girl may at once join her husband if she is old enough.

From the time of the child-marriage the boy has to give a *tadrp* twice a year until the girl is ten years old, when its place is taken by a *putkuli*. The *tadrp* which is given at first is very small, worth perhaps only four annas, but as the girl

584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panm ütpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

881 616 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tözdr ütiti*, or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

881 836 626 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division and to any clan, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,[1] different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

[1] The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madual* or *paliual*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrpern* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrpern*.

The Regulation of Marriage

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
588 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions
591 of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokkhodraiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
58 no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
627 on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it
851 appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
58 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners, the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pidri*, nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing purposes. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and *pidri* were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45). She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners from infancy, and after having three children, who died young, she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3), while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
595 married life, I add one taken from the book published by
851 Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by myself.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The History of Pinpurz Kutan

"I was not seven years old, when my father, taking a child's garment, in value about a quarter of a rupee, and selecting one of the best of our herd, desired me to accompany him to the morrt[1] of Kinōri. This Kinōri had, a month or two before, a daughter born to him. Soon after we had arrived at the morrt, it being understood that Kinōri gladly consented to the propositions which had been made by my father, I was directed to bow myself down, and in the presence of the whole family to ask his foot. This I did; and touching it with my forehead, the buffalo and the garment were presented him, and I was considered to be affianced to his daughter. We remained there for some days, during which period it was agreed upon, what number of kine I was to receive in dower, on my intended spouse coming of age, and we again set out to return to our own morrt. I had no brothers, or they also would have been affianced to my intended, as this was part of the agreement, in case of my father having any more sons born to him. In this case Kinōri's daughter would have been wife to us in succession as we arrived at manhood, and we should have formed one united family—the supreme authority, however, still resting with me. The next year, my father presented to my intended bride a garment, double in value to the first which he had presented, and in each succeeding year, one proportionately increasing in value. We also sacrificed a buffalo, and presented a kutch[2] on every occasion of a death among any of the relations of my intended's family, and one also at their obsequies. In case of any accident of the kind in our family, we expected the same to be observed towards us, except the presenting of the kutch, from which my bride's father was exempted on account of the dower he had to give with her, which would greatly exceed in amount any expense which I could be

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[1] This is evidently the same word as *mareh*, which occurs in Chapter XIV as a word for village.

[2] This is the *kuch*. Hockeson states that it was generally a piece of dyed or painted cotton as at present.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

159 to my father. My father died, and when I had attained
584 man's estate, I was not pleased with my betrothed; and presenting her father with three kine, the contract was by
595 mutual consent dissolved. Had the reverse been the case,
851 and the bride or her father had declined to allow of consummation, I could have claimed of the latter a fine equal to fifty kine, and till this fine was paid the former could not marry any other. Freed from my contract with my first bride, I sought to affiance myself in a manner more to my own inclinations, and wishing to be connected with the family of my present wife, Pilluvāni, who was then only six years of age, I spoke to her father, and, obtaining his consent, presented her with a garment in value, according to her age, of about a rupee and a half, and a milch buffalo. I continued to present her with a garment every succeeding year; and on the occurrence of a death among any of the relations of her family, and at the obsequies, I always sacrificed a buffalo, and presented the kutch. Pilluvāni was afterwards betrothed to two others, Khakhood and Tūmbūt. When she had arrived at a certain age, and had for eight days been living with one of her female friends in a dwelling separate from those of the family,[1] intimation was sent to me, and I went to her father's morrt, that is, Kerjwan's, her second father, the first one being dead. I was feasted and bedded; and after a few days, Kerjwan, laying on his hands, gave us his blessing, and I returned with my wife to my own morrt, receiving with her in dower four buffalo kine; her father also presented to her on this occasion a pair of ear-rings, a pair of armlets, a necklace, a brazen salver, and five rupees.

159 "Now, according to our customs, Pilluvāni was to pass the
first month with me, the second with Khakhood, and the third
595 with Tūmbūt; and the two latter, waiting in succession on
851 the father-in-law, were to ask his blessing and claim their privilege in right. I was to give her raiment the first year, Khakhood the second, and Tūmbūt the third. I had the option of claiming the first three children, Khakhood the second three, and Tūmbūt the third three; when the option again revolved to me. It was my place to go to her father

[1] This is a custom of which I failed to obtain any account.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXV.

POLYANDRY—MARRIAGE.

Betrothal—Peculiar nature of Dowry—Ask Papa—'Wilt thou have this man?'—The Wedding Ring—Plurality of Husbands—Confusion of Progeny—Toda expressions for Marriage—The Bow and Arrow in Weddings.

CHAP. XXV.

584

THE betrothal of the sexes in marriage is arranged in this fashion. The father or other male guardian of the lad—or the young man himself if of age and in a position to negociate his own affairs—seeks an interview with the male protector of the girl whom he desires to wed. If his project be encouraged, nothing remains in the form of preliminaries but to discuss the amount of endowment—kēikuli[1]—to be given. This is never paid in cash. Money is a very scarce article in the jungles; money may be, will be spent: and land not being transferable property, as we saw in the last Chapter, whilst kine affords the means of immediate support for a family, and is inheritable, the conference must of necessity be almost entirely restricted to determining the number of cattle—buffalos—of which the kēikuli shall consist; which, although it varies to a certain extent, lies commonly between one and four in number.

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We imagine the young man to say, 'I will give you two buffalos as kēikuli for your daughter.' Here we note that owing to female infanticide, girls are in great demand; hence

[1] Kēikuli or kekhuli. Kai = *hand.* Koli = *what is received.* Dravidian root, kol = *receive.*

Another possible derivation is kukh = *woman.* Vilai = *price.* Kaikuli = *wages.* [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the dowry is received, not given, by the damsel's parents. 'Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.' Genesis xxxiv., 12. The girl's father may reply, 'We are all relations. I don't want your property. You have proved your sincerity. I will give you in exchange one, two, three, or four buffalos.' This return present, may be more or it may be less than that offered by the wooer. Such, as I am assured by my friend, Mr. Metz, is actual Toda method of managing these affairs. CHAP. XXV. 583

I am not prepared to supply a reason for this custom. It may be a survival of some more ancient practice, or it may be a method suggested by self respect. The girl has been asked in marriage. She is not to be had for nothing. The young man is in earnest, and it is going to be a wedding and no mistake.

We notice that the transaction is not the payment so much as the exchange of dowers. Seemingly it is a worthless arrangement, binding on neither party. But worked in a simple way by simple minds, it appears to be held as a test of honesty of intention. And—as we shall shortly have opportunity of observing—becomes a security for good behaviour, by affording the means for punishing breaches of matrimonial compact. 183 583

When the bargain has been struck, the damsel's father intimates his formal consent to the marriage by placing his foot on his son-in-law's head, after the mode described in Chapter IV., saying, 'I give'—tashken. Affairs may now be held to have reached that stage on the road to matrimonial happiness, somewhat corresponding to the point in the negociation of French marriages, when the only remaining step to be taken, consists in consulting the young lady's sentiments on the proposed union. 583 584

The dowry is now due from the bridegroom, and he may not recede from his part of his compact; that is to say, if the

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583 584 girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

583 584 684 In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. An entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.[2] Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—kûtacaram.

585 301 431 The husband now gives his wife a necklace,[3] of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

585 The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

[2] Literally Âl = '*husband*' or '*man*.' Kâtvoti = '*wife*' or '*she who is bound to me*.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

[3] Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pâlthchi*
551 and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's
584 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead. An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claim-
583 ing his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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601 * Names used to express relationships in Toda.

English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1. Father	*En, Eyun.*	
2. Mother	*Aff.*	
3. Son	*Mâkh.*	
4. Daughter	*Kukh.*	
5. Father's elder brother	*Perudîn*	Great father.
6. " younger "	*Kirudîn*	Little do.
7. " elder sister	*Mâmi.*	
8. " younger "		
9. Mother's elder brother	*Mâmun.*	
10. " younger "		
11. " elder sister	*Perudaff*	Great mother.
12. " younger "	*Kirudaff*	Little do.
13. Father's brother's son	*An*	Brother.
14. " " daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
15. " sister's son	*Machen.*	
16. " " daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.
17. Mother's sister's son	*An*	Brother.
18. " " daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
19. " brother's son	*Machen.*	
20. " " daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Âlt* and *Tajmakh*, which simply mean *man* and *woman*.

In *Anthropological Journal* for *January and July* 1871, page 28, *yu* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

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Male Names.

1. Kêvi, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tiriari* is so called.
2. Pernâl, literally a great man.
3. Nârikût, (lit.) child of jackal.
4. Ponkût, (lit.) child of gold.
5. Tshinkût, (lit.) do.
6. Padrithzh, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.
7. Kêdâlvên, (lit.) the man of the funeral.
8. Âlvên, (lit.) a man.
9. Beltavên, (lit.) like silver.
10. Kirnâli. (lit.) little one.

Female Names.

1. Kâthaveli, (lit.) silver coin.
2. Darsthinir, (lit.) a jewel scale.
3. Tshinâh, (lit.) gold one.
4. Berath, no meaning that I can find out.
5. Depbili, (lit.) silver ring.
6. Pondshilkamai, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. Kattshira, (lit.) Cutcherry, Sircar office.
8. Piltimurugu, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. Piltuzas, (lit.) white ring.
10. Tâkôm, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
587 tempts to penalise the person responsible for the failure. [iṣxuuɪR]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuuɪR]. His sister [sindafuɪL] (Sindavul) married [tuaɪsmonguuɪR] (59, Tormungudr) [14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuɪf]. [iṣxuuɪR] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough, Mary was married to [nasoɪn] (son of [teɪpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the [601] tribal system [nasoɪn] and [sindafuɪL] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasoɪn] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this mar-
[584] riage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iṣxuuɪR], a clear carry-over from tribal custom,
797 and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
184 ried to [pumxuuɪR]. When she came of age however, [pumxuuɪR],
686 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
627 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [tōumuṣkuLN]. [iṣxuuɪR] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuuɪR] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tōumuṣkuLN] and [sotjabuɪf] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peɪθoɪL] [692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iṣxuuɪR]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaɪsmonguuɪR] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iṣxuuɪR]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.

♂ [iṣxuuɪR] ♀ [sindafuɪL] = ♂ [tuaɪsmonguuɪR]

♂ [pumxuuɪR] ♀ Mary = ♂ [nasoɪn] ♂ [tōumuṣkuLN] = ♀ [sotjabuɪf]

[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous [621] [592] households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I 595 visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroï, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] Then the following occurred: Eroï found employment as a govern- [587] ment peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotabuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

220b

Ti 595 or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 582 586 wTi 584 Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

To 595 wTi [595] Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XIV

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CEREMONIES

THE ceremonies connected with childbirth begin before the birth of the child. These ceremonies are only performed for the first child or when the woman obtains a new husband, so that they may, from one point of view, be regarded as marriage ceremonies. Nevertheless, I prefer to consider them here, and to leave the ceremonies more strictly connected with marriage till a later chapter. These latter ceremonies are far less elaborate than those to be described in this chapter, and may be more fitly considered in connexion with the social regulation of marriage. 843 585

At or about the fifth month of pregnancy, a ceremony is performed which is called *ûr patitth kaitütitthpimi*, "village left, hand we burnt," or more shortly, *ûrvatpimi*, "village we leave," or *kaitütitthpimi*. The ceremony is named from its two essential features; the woman leaves the village and lives secluded in a hut and her wrists are burnt. 843 621

When it is known that the ceremony is to take place, a special hut, called *pushars* (Fig. 45), is built in a prescribed place at some little distance from the village, or if this building already exists, it is put into good order. The word *pushars* means "mud-house" or "earth-house," which would seem to point to a time when a temporary hut of mud was used, but at the present time it is built of wood, though it is of much simpler and rougher construction than the ordinary house. [343]

The distance of the *pushars* from the huts in which the people live depends on the degree of sacredness of the village. According to Breeks, the distance is greatest in those villages

843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [624] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first
843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood
851 of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage
● 595 ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy 171
ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have 843
acquired social significance and have come to resemble 851
marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which
are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place 585
during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the 844
urvatpimi ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi maz vûrmâ; swâmi pûdikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekû*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekûkûdri*. If there is delay [177]
in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days after delivery.

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

CHAP. XXV.

583 584 girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

583 584 684 In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. The entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.[2] Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—kûtacaram.

585 301 431 The husband now gives his wife a necklace,[3] of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

585 The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

[2] Literally Âl = '*husband*' or '*man*.' Kâtvoti = '*wife*' or '*she who is bound to me*.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

[3] Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

as may be most convenient to them. In either case, the marriage both in name and in fact, is identical. CHAP. XXV.

It is the custom for the husband to give a feast to his nearest relatives on such a joyous occasion. 585 574

It will be seen that up to this stage, the woman is married with her own consent to one man—he who pays the dowry, or gives security to society for his own good behaviour. But now, if the husband has brothers or very near relatives, all living together, they may each, if both she and he consent, participate in the right to be considered her husband also, on making up a share of the dowry that has been paid. In fact it was formerly their almost universal custom—in the days when women were more scarce than they are now—for *a family of near relations to live together in one mand, having wife, children and cattle all in common.* 595 178 596

Now if we consider that one or more brothers may each become the husbands of separate wives by virtue of having each paid a dower, and that younger brothers as they grow to age of maturity, and other brothers as they become widowed, may each, either take separate wives or purchase shares in those already in the family, we can at once understand that any degree of complication in perfectly lawful wedded life, may be met with, from the sample of the single man living with a single wife, to that of the group of relatives married to a group of wives. We begin to see also why tribes following polyandrous habits, endeavour to prevent further complications by making widows 'remain in the family.' 595

All the children of these very promiscuous unions are held to be brothers and sisters. And as, as is manifest, a generation or two of such marriages must produce inextricable confusion in relationships, so we find that the Todas, who like nothing so much as reducing things to simple formulæ, rather ignore the whole subject, terming them anatama.[4] They will 595 602

[4] See Note 19 of Chapter VII.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

595 851 842 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram). [765]

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nīlgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 178 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulhārn bungalow.
† Op. cit.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɪsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaɪsmonguuɪn] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuɪf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuɪL] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piɪjiɪʒfuɪf] "silver-flower" and [tyɪjiɪʒfuɪf] (the first member [tyɪj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuanoɪn] has a son called [asojxuurn] from [asojuɪr], the buffaloes of the [tiɪ]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuɪn] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɪn] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuɪn] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iɪʒxuɪn] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 26–8, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iɪʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

797 has been baptised, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ults), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuum:n] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanus] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfusodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiśke:n] (14, Küshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnus] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [pa:ui:3fiij] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfusodj]. Her brother [no:nmunj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfusodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnus] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [no:nmunj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfusodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjo:n] (20, son of [te:pax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfusodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [no:nmunj] should pay to [kanfusodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
585 and five rupees; these are the [kökumlj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [axpum] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kilker] gave one buffalo to [keinoʒ] (21, Keinods), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keinoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoin] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdidj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kilker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kilker]'s father's sister [tuarfumemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [pidjonaif] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kilker] by the latter and [kilker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuanoin], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it. 794 184 585 [583]

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for 794 184 794 184 171 794 184 [233]

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.

There is often very great disproportion of age in Toda marriages. I have already given two cases in which the woman is the older, in each of which the disproportion of age is due to the custom of marrying a *matchuni*. More commonly the man is much the older, and there are at the present time many cases in which elderly men are married to young girls. This is partly due to the practice of infant marriage. Unless a widower can take advantage of the *tererstbi* custom, which is always expensive, he may have to marry a child and wait till she has reached a marriageable age. Thus, Kòdrner, my guide, lost his wife some years ago, and then married a girl whose present[1] age is only thirteen, Kòdrner being forty-two. The girl is still living with her parents, and will probably not go to her husband for another three or four years. 582 [587]

THE CUSTOM OF 'TERERSTHI

The marriage tie among the Todas at the present time has become very loose. Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old. The amount of the compensation or *ter* is settled by a council, and from this the transaction has received its name of *tererstbi*, or "compensation he tells (decides)."[2] [581] 586 587

There is much reason to believe that this custom has altered its character in recent times. I was told that formerly the custom only applied to cases in which a man had lost his wife by death. If he wished to marry a woman who was already the wife of another or others, he went to the father of the woman and asked for his consent. The father would consult with two other elders, and if they were in favour of the proposed transaction the three elders would go to the woman, and if they obtained her consent they then went to her husband for his. If husband or wife were unwilling to be parted nothing was done, but if both consented, the new and [178]

[1] In 1902.

[2] *Ter* is also used in the sense of 'fine,' but is only used when the fine takes the form of a buffalo or buffaloes. A money fine is called *sawr*.

586 the old husband, the father of the woman, and the two elders
587 met and decided on the number of buffaloes to be given as *ter* or compensation. This meeting was called *tererstbi*. The *ter* had to be paid within a month, and all the buffaloes given had to be females. The man who was giving up the woman went to the village of the new husband and received his buffaloes, of which he was allowed to choose a certain number. If he had been awarded more than four buffaloes, he might choose three, if four or less, he might only choose two. Among the Tartharol, a man would usually choose *wursulir*, and among the Teivaliol, *pasthir*.

At the present time the number of buffaloes given as *ter* varies very greatly; the most frequent number is three, but often more are given, and in one case, about ten years ago, a man had to give twenty-five. The number seems to depend largely on the size of the herd possessed by the man taking a new wife. The more buffaloes he has, the more he has to pay.

[574] When the buffaloes are given, the new husband has to give a feast, after which the old husband drives away his buffaloes. In a recent case Teigudr of Nodrs (4) had taken Uwer from Nertolvan and Palpa of Pan (16) for nine buffaloes. These two men went to the village of Tedshteiri, where Teigudr was living, and were feasted, the food being cooked on nine ovens, corresponding to the number of the buffaloes. This correspondence between the number of the ovens and of the buffaloes given as *ter*, suggests that there may have been some definite ceremonial in connexion with this feast of which I failed to obtain an account.

183 The custom of *tererstbi* has some reason on its side.
586 Wherever infant marriage exists in a small community, it
587 must often happen that a widower finds all the women of his community married, and without some machinery by which he is allowed to take the wife of another, he must remain unmarried or be content with marriage to a mere child. Even at the present time, we have seen that an adult man who has lost his wife may marry a girl only a few years of age.[1]

[1] For an instance in the past see p. 538.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At the present time the custom of *tererstbi* has a far wider range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age. It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *tererstbi* should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.[1]

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *tererstbi* custom should be remedied.

DIVORCE

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the transference of wives just considered.

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

[1] For an instance see p. 535.

Intercourse between
[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually
684 complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitazmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitazmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view.
673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

578 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling
673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence
623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other
671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *tererstlhi*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some-
586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been
674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be
177 carried off by force from the home of the former, but, however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes. 234 609

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons. 422 428 595

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljcidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men. [586]

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to 428

remain unchanged in habits, almost through all time: but in the presence of a superior civilisation, action may be observed to commence; habits improve, though perhaps only up to a certain low stage, almost insensibly, and much as a flower expands, chemically influenced in the light of the sun.

The combined institutions of the dower and inheritance, afford as strong guarantees for the stable nature of the marriage tie as any race of inferior moral culture could well give. Indeed, no social customs redound more to their credit for practical sagacity than these. The young man makes his offer of marriage, which being accepted, the bargain, so far as he is concerned, is closed, and his dowry is *held to be due*. The girl, after sufficient deliberation, accepts this man: when the father is liable for her portion, to the man who has now become her husband.

Women, as we have seen, not being able to inherit property, the husband and father of the family is alone responsible for the food supply.

If then at any time the wife should be discarded, the whole of her family would be interested in the question of 'who is to feed her,' and thus naturally as it were, become guardians of the law. Or if, on the other hand, the wife should leave her husband's protection, he would claim from her father, restitution of the dowry he had paid. Had it been their custom that women could inherit property, men might wash their hands of the duty of supporting wife and family, and women would have encouragement to separate from their husbands, taking their children with them. Of course, such simple traps for restraining the sexes, could never hold, except in conditions of much honesty and good faith. A child left to starve, or a woman to beg or earn a separate livelihood, are sights absolutely unknown in such a united community.

Instances have occurred, but are acknowledged to be rare; of the bridegroom not having found the means of fulfilling his part of the compact; not having paid the dowry, even by

CHAP. XXVI.

586 183 the time a child had been born of his marriage. Had this been a hard-working people, such a difficulty could have been surmounted by his acting as Jacob did for Rachel, whose proposition, accepted by Laban, was 'I will serve thee for seven years' for her.—Genesis xxix., 18. But no circumstance has yet induced the dolichocephalic Toda to labour.

In such a case as has been described, the marriage is simply cancelled, both parties being competent to marry again. But mark the decision as regards the child; whether son or daughter it remains the property of the father. The mother nurses and cares for it during infancy: but when it can take care of itself; when in fact it requires food from the family stock, it goes to its father's home. Here we recognise the influence of the property law. Some one must feed and clothe the child: but women have no property; hence the father must take charge of it. Such would be the judgment of the kûtacaram.

586 As regards the national feeling on such an affair[1] it would 626 be looked on as a mishap, an unfortunate occurrence, and the 684 defaulter would lose in public estimation. He might be fined a buffalo or two: but there the matter would end, in sedate quiet. The child born of the union would not suffer in any way; it is the son of so and so: there is the father, whose heir he is, and that, his mother.

562 If the Toda mode of inheriting property should give the impression that women are not of much account in the family, such a view would be quite incorrect. Woman's influence in the mand, through her husbands and children, is real. By the great tolerance and moderation of the men, aided by a very sufficient mental power and mastery of her subject, she maintains a good position in the house. It is not so much that the two sexes are equally balanced, for even if of like mental power, the muscular ability to enforce a requirement must always remain with the man, as that the women have settled into a position which gives ample scope

[1] [i.e., failure of the bridegroom to pay the dowry, resulting in termination of the marriage.—Analyst]

for the practice of feminine duties, and of acquiring useful experience in the management of affairs. If the husbands should die, the widow would be fully competent to act as trustee of any cattle they may have left, and as guardian of her children, whether she married again, or maintained her single state. CHAP. XXVI. 562 429

In the event of a woman not bearing any children to her husband, he may marry again: but in such case he must support the first wife: and, as a matter of course, he has to pay another dower for the second. 586

In possession, therefore, of these evidences of wedded life, and bearing in recollection the staid nature of this singular people, I feel convinced that separation between pairs is not lightly tolerated. Easy-tempered, thoroughly communistic, and not very nice in their discrimination of the duties of husbands and wives to one another, many of the causes which lead to separations amongst civilised people, must be absent from them, and motives for divorce would not be frequent.

What an insight does the simple practice of the dower, not give into the direct nature of their minds! Both parties *promise*, and the promise is their bond! It is not that it is a conscientious people, but so guileless and free from talent for plot, and all so much alike, that seemingly they possess almost intuitive knowledge of one another's intentions. We notice the same peculiarity amongst the inferior animals, and for want of a better word, term it instinct. I have often thought that much of this instantaneous understanding we observe in animals, as well as the rapidity with which, amongst nearly pure races of man, information is disseminated, and the unity of impulse with which they work in combining for a common end, is due greatly to close similarity in cranial contour.[1] Are sly animals ever found associated in herds or troops? 583 000

[1] This peculiarity was a remarkable feature in the Indian Mutiny of the year 1857; the rebellion of a semi-barbarous race, of striking uniformity of cranial development.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held. 595 851

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to procreate children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas. [842] [684] [616] [848]

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her. 851 848 836

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation 586 [587]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

220b

Ti 595 or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

582 586 wTi 584

To 595 wTi [595] Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

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222a

To 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any more jealous than the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 ●596 848 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in

between the two versions. I think it probable that it has 178
become less frequent for several brothers to have only one 182
wife in common, but I am very doubtful whether this indicates
any real decrease in the prevalence of polyandry. 595

It seems to me that the correct way of describing the present condition of Toda society is to say that polyandry is as prevalent as ever, but that, owing to the greater number of women, it is becoming associated with polygyny. When there are two brothers it does not seem that each takes a wife for himself but rather that they take two wives in common.

It is probable that this will lead in time to a state of society in which each brother will come to regard one wife as his own; and in a few cases it seemed to me that there was already a tendency in this direction. If this forecast should be fulfilled, the custom of monogamy among the Todas will have been developed out of polyandry through a stage of combined polyandry and polygyny.

One case happened during my visit which seemed to indicate 595
that though several brothers might be regarded as husbands 765
of a woman, the part of husband for ceremonial purposes
might be taken only by one or two of them. In this case I was told that four brothers had one wife, but when the wife died only two of the brothers acted as widowers and performed the ceremonies associated with that condition. When I asked for an explanation of this, I was then told that the other two brothers were not husbands, but I strongly suspected that this was a mere device to enable two of the brothers to avoid the disabilities attendant on the condition of widowerhood. I have very little doubt that while the woman was alive, all the four brothers were her husbands, but after her death it became convenient to assume that only two had been husbands, leaving the others free from the restrictions of widowerhood.

Many writers have believed that the widely spread custom 587
of the Levirate is a relic of polyandry. If it were true that 595
the custom of polyandry is dying out among the Todas, this people might have provided material for the study of the relations of polyandry and the Levirate. It will be obvious,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

587 however, from the account already given, that polyandry is still
595 strongly established among the Todas. Still, there are a few cases in the genealogies which seem to show that when two brothers had different wives, and one brother died, the widow might be taken by the surviving brother. Thus, in Table 34, two brothers, Matovan and Kemners, had one wife, Sargveli, while Atcharap had his own wife, Puners. When Matovan died, Sargveli was regarded as the wife of both Atcharap and Kemners.[1] Again, after the deaths of Mulpolivan and Peigvan (3), the widow of Nersveli was married by Perol, the clan-brother (first cousin) of the husband.

In other cases, the widow of one brother has not become the wife of her husband's brothers, but has married elsewhere; and though the evidence is necessarily very unsatisfactory, it seems on the whole probable that the Todas show no special relation between polyandry and the Levirate custom.

If the widow marries a man who is not one of the brothers of her dead husband, the new husband has to pay a certain number of buffaloes. He does not, however, give these buffaloes to the brothers of the dead man, but to his children; thus, when Karnisi of Päm (37) died, his widow, Nersaveli, married Mutthuvan (34) of Kanòdrs, who paid fourteen buffaloes to Pungievan, the son of Karnisi. This payment of buffaloes is known as *terkudrichti*, "compensation he gives," and it is the custom for the number of buffaloes in this case to be twice the number given by the dead man for his wife; in this case Karnisi had taken Nersaveli from another man for seven buffaloes.

In relation to the Levirate, the important point here is that the buffaloes are paid to the sons of the dead husbands, not to his brothers.

174 I do not think that the Todas provide any definite evidence
847 towards the solution of the vexed question of the relation
595 between polyandry and infanticide. It is possible that at their first arrival in the Nilgiri Hills, the Todas had few sources of food, and had a severe struggle for existence; that

[1] It will be noticed that I am using the term 'Levirate' in a wider sense than that in which it is sometimes employed, for Sargveli was not a childless widow.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Exchange of Brother and Sister

582 583 Although I was not told that it was the custom for a brother and sister of one clan to marry a sister and brother of another, examination of the genealogies makes it clear that this frequently happens. A good example which may be cited is the marriage of Kuriolv (52) with Punaveli (65), while Sinkòrs, the sister of Kuriolv, married the three brothers of Punaveli. Two other similar instances may be found in Table 52, and they are of general occurrence throughout the genealogies.

In some communities this custom of exchange is definitely connected with the bride-price, which may be so large as almost to compel a man to give his sister in exchange for the wife he takes from another clan. In the case of the Todas the bride-price is so inconsiderable that it is unlikely that it would form a motive for exchange, and I think it improbable that in such marriages as those cited above, the idea of exchange is even definitely formulated, but that the combination of marriages comes about for such obvious reasons as may occur in any community. The marriage of *matchuni*, if widely practised, would obviously lead to an appearance of exchange, and it may be that among the Todas this is the chief cause of its occurrence.

Similarly, instances will be found in the genealogies of two brothers (or two groups of brothers) marrying sisters. An example may be given from Table 53, where Orzevan marries one woman and his two brothers marry her sister. Another instance may be found in Table 58.

587 595 In several cases in which a man or group of men have had two wives the wives have been related. Thus, Kutthurs (12) and his brothers first married Tedjveli (16). After her death, Kutthurs, the only surviving brother, married Sabnir (34), the daughter of Arsner, Tedjveli's sister. Again, Paners (23) and his brothers first married Pergveli, and when she died they married her brother's daughter. Pungusivan (53) married his *matchuni*, Sinodz (68), and when she was taken from him by the *tererstthi* custom, he married Sintharap, her sister.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There is often very great disproportion of age in Toda marriages. I have already given two cases in which the woman is the older, in each of which the disproportion of age is due to the custom of marrying a *matchuni*. More commonly the man is much the older, and there are at the present time many cases in which elderly men are married to young girls. This is partly due to the practice of infant marriage. Unless a widower can take advantage of the *tererstbi* custom, which is always expensive, he may have to marry a child and wait till she has reached a marriageable age. Thus, Kòdrner, my guide, lost his wife some years ago, and then married a girl whose present[1] age is only thirteen, Kòdrner being forty-two. The girl is still living with her parents, and will probably not go to her husband for another three or four years. 582 [587]

THE CUSTOM OF 'TERERSTHI

The marriage tie among the Todas at the present time has become very loose. Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old. The amount of the compensation or *ter* is settled by a council, and from this the transaction has received its name of *tererstbi*, or "compensation he tells (decides)."[2] [581] 586 587

There is much reason to believe that this custom has altered its character in recent times. I was told that formerly the custom only applied to cases in which a man had lost his wife by death. If he wished to marry a woman who was already the wife of another or others, he went to the father of the woman and asked for his consent. The father would consult with two other elders, and if they were in favour of the proposed transaction the three elders would go to the woman, and if they obtained her consent they then went to her husband for his. If husband or wife were unwilling to be parted nothing was done, but if both consented, the new and [178]

[1] In 1902.

[2] *Ter* is also used in the sense of 'fine,' but is only used when the fine takes the form of a buffalo or buffaloes. A money fine is called *sazve*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

586 the old husband, the father of the woman, and the two elders
587 met and decided on the number of buffaloes to be given as *ter* or compensation. This meeting was called *tererstbi*. The *ter* had to be paid within a month, and all the buffaloes given had to be females. The man who was giving up the woman went to the village of the new husband and received his buffaloes, of which he was allowed to choose a certain number. If he had been awarded more than four buffaloes, he might choose three, if four or less, he might only choose two. Among the Tartharol, a man would usually choose *wursulir*, and among the Teivaliol, *pasthir*.

At the present time the number of buffaloes given as *ter* varies very greatly; the most frequent number is three, but often more are given, and in one case, about ten years ago, a man had to give twenty-five. The number seems to depend largely on the size of the herd possessed by the man taking a new wife. The more buffaloes he has, the more he has to pay.

[574] When the buffaloes are given, the new husband has to give a feast, after which the old husband drives away his buffaloes. In a recent case Teigudr of Nòdrs (4) had taken Uwer from Nertolvan and Palpa of Pan (16) for nine buffaloes. These two men went to the village of Tedshteiri, where Teigudr was living, and were feasted, the food being cooked on nine ovens, corresponding to the number of the buffaloes. This correspondence between the number of the ovens and of the buffaloes given as *ter*, suggests that there may have been some definite ceremonial in connexion with this feast of which I failed to obtain an account.

183 The custom of *tererstbi* has some reason on its side.
586 Wherever infant marriage exists in a small community, it must often happen that a widower finds all the women of his
587 community married, and without some machinery by which he is allowed to take the wife of another, he must remain unmarried or be content with marriage to a mere child. Even at the present time, we have seen that an adult man who has lost his wife may marry a girl only a few years of age.[1]

[1] For an instance in the past see p. 538.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At the present time the custom of *tererstbi* has a far wider range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age. It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *tererstbi* should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.[1]

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *tererstbi* custom should be remedied.

DIVORCE

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the transference of wives just considered.

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

[1] For an instance see p. 535.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Intercourse between
[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually
complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the
684 man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitasmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

children as his—though each woman is mother only to her own—and each male child is an heir to the property of all of the fathers. CHAP. XXIV.

X. In order to avoid the complications that would arise, in the matter of food and the guardianship of property, from the re-marriage of widows, if they entered other families, taking their children with them; either a brother or other near relation of her deceased husband, takes her to wife. She 'remains in the family.' Such is Toda expression.

The following was early Semitic custom (*see* Deuteronomy xxv. 5): 'If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger; her husband's brother'—or 'next kinsman,' says a marginal note—'shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother[a] unto her.' This practice, is either pure polyandry, or it pertains to that extreme communistic state of society, to which, as I shall shortly demonstrate, polyandry belongs.

I met on one occasion, the instance of a man who had just separated from a very good-looking young wife of about fourteen years of age, in order that he might marry his elder brother's widow. It was looked on as a matter of course that the widow should 'remain in the family:' and the retention of two wives, in a community where the women are considerably in the minority, is out of the question. The girl had immediately espoused another; for until children have been born, the Todas do not mind the marriage of a widow out of the family.

These and other instances of the grave, practical, and undeviating nature of this curious people, made a great impression on me at the time.

Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more

[a] To raise up seed unto the brother.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held. 595 851

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to procreate children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas. [842] [684] [616] [848]

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her. 851 848 836

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation 586 [587]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die. 578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed. 595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above). [115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursiltpimi* was, however, performed for 595 614 595 587 595

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

TABLE 21. GENEALOGY OF THE ARSHMAD OF KUUR (TEIVILKH) MODOL.

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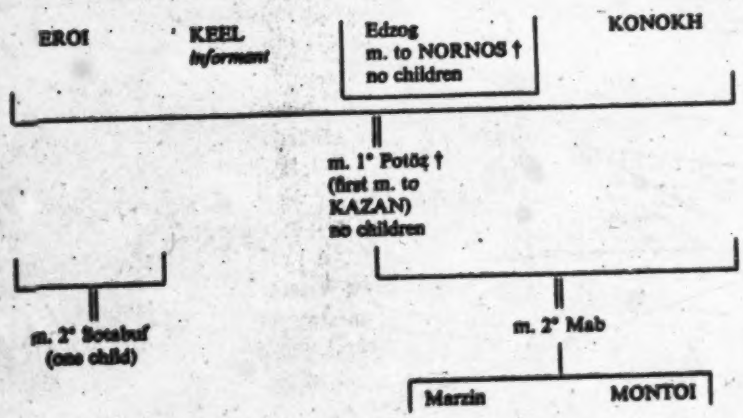

Note: This is how Keel described it to me, but according to Rivers it would seem that Eroi had been married twice before, Keel and Konokh once each respectively, and the girl, Edzog, at least four times previously, twice polyandrously to successively three and two husbands (see Rivers, *The Todas*, genealogical table No. 56). [587]

Males in capital letters
Females in small type
† = dead
m. = married

13: Peter E-5 (1939,1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous [621] households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one [592] in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I 595 visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroï, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] Then the following occurred: Eroï found employment as a govern- [587] ment peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotabuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *mad*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensation to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

[623]

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoï, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *pursütpimi* in the first instance.

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The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elabo-
621 rated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Ürshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Ürshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn
[846] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror.
[587] When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her
159 present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and
621 wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then
[842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup
[777] and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf
159 had a lover, Kaiorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus-
621 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur-
[837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
Toda AW60

115 him to delve into the intimate details of tribal customs. He was also a very intelligent individual who fully grasped the interest of anthropological research, and was keen to make use of the results in the hope of improving the material condition of the Todas. Without his assistance, it is doubtful whether I would have acquired so penetrating an insight into the Toda way of life, something for which I am extremely grateful to him.

[589] Kanvarsathi's father was a rather notorious character among the Todas called Kiunervan (Table 14 of Rivers' genealogical tables) who had no less than eleven wives, one after the other. Kanvarsathi was the only son of the eleventh wife, and was born in 1905 at the Toda village of Paletkwar (known as Attakoraimand in the language of the Badagas) near Or, on the left-hand side of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. Two months after his birth, his mother died, and his half-sister, Sinkup, later wife of Ujar (48, Rivers' Ushadz, one of my best informants), a daughter of his father's second wife, took him away with her and very grudgingly looked after him.

Six years later, Kiunervan also died, leaving one boy, Kanvarsathi, and two elder girls. The total number of his father's offspring had not been very great, despite the eleven wives. There were, altogether, only three sons and two daughters, of which two boys died before Kanvarsathi was born, and the two girls after, leaving him the sole survivor. Strictly speaking he became the only heir to his father's estate, which [559] consisted, at the time of death, of sixty buffaloes and some gold ornaments – quite a considerable fortune according to Toda standards. But [929] because he was a minor, his father's brothers' sons – his first cousins on his father's side – took the property into their custody until he should come of age. Being, however, most unscrupulous, and believing that Kanvarsathi would never find out, these cousins gradually disposed of the estate to their own advantage, so that when the time came for them to hand it over, all that he got were six buffaloes and two pairs of ear-rings.

115 When he was ten years old, he found out the real state of affairs and 691 how he was being done out of his legitimate inheritance. He appealed against this to the Toda Government Agent, the Monegar, and to the most influential Toda of his day, the famous Kuriolv (52, properly speaking, Kiusharf in Toda, the other name being Badaga), but to no avail. These important people could not be bothered with the complaints of so small a boy, and all he got for his trouble was to be made to look after their buffaloes. This unfairness deeply wounded him, and

k Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

After a funeral, the members of the Tarthar clans, except the Melgarsol, shave their heads, but this is not done either by the Melgarsol or Teivaliol. I did not inquire fully into this matter, and do not know what regulations there are in connexion with the practice, or whether it is regarded as purificatory. 765 783

The Funerals of Children

The body of a still-born child is buried at the same time as, and together with, the afterbirth, without any ceremonial. In one case which occurred during my visit, this was done by the woman who assisted at the delivery. The body was buried in the early morning on the day on which the mother underwent the ceremonies attending removal to the seclusion-hut. 766

If a child less than two years of age dies, both funerals are held on one day. The *etvainolkedr* takes place in the morning, the *marvainolkedr* in the afternoon; a buffalo is killed at each, and the *azaramkedr* is held on the following morning as usual. If the child is very young, less than a month old, a male buffalo only may be killed, but if the father chooses, two buffaloes may be killed as at the funeral of an adult.

Thus, the child of Piliag and Sintagars (52) died while the mother was in the seclusion-hut, and two ordinary buffaloes were killed. On this occasion, the two funerals were held on the same day as that on which the child died, owing to the death having taken place on one of the appointed days for a funeral of the clan. When the youngest child of Podners (47) died, only one male buffalo was killed for both ceremonies.

When a male child dies who has not cut his teeth nor been through the ear-piercing ceremony, the funeral is not held at the usual funeral place for males, but at another. Thus the Karsol do not take the body of such a child to Taradrkirsi but to a place called Punpali.

When I attended the funeral of a girl named Sinerani (52), the daughter of Kuriolv of Kuudr, both ceremonies were performed on the same day, and a number of incidents occurred which were very interesting as illustrations of many of the practices which have been described throughout this chapter. The child was about two years 766 588

766 old and had not yet been betrothed, but as soon as she
588 was dead it was arranged that she should marry her *matchuni*, Keinba (68), a little boy about four years of age, the son of her mother's brother, and this boy occupied a prominent position among those taking part in the funeral rites. Owing to the marriage of the dead child to this boy, the dead child would come to be one of his clan, the Keadrol, and there seemed to be no doubt that, according to strict custom, the funeral should have been held at the funeral place of this clan. Kuriolv, however, arranged that the funeral should take place at Kurkalmut, the funeral place for women of the Kuudrol, but as the girl did not properly belong to this clan the funeral hut was not erected within the circle of stones at this place, but outside it.

The beginning of the funeral ceremonies was delayed for some time because the little boy, Keinba (Fig. 57), had to be taken by his father, Perpakh, in search of the wood and grass out of which to make the bow and arrow to be used in the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and they had to go far to find the proper plants for the manufacture of the mimic weapon.

766 After this delay the ceremonial[1] took its natural course till
787 the buffalo which had been caught by the Taradr men was being taken to the place appointed for its slaughter by the
791 side of the funeral hut. The people had great difficulty in making the buffalo move, and at last it lay down on a boggy piece of ground, and the efforts of all failed to make it go further. The diviners, Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, were then called upon to ascertain the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo, and then followed the performance which I have already described (see p. 252).

The reasons given by Midjkudr were not very clear, and there seemed to be a good deal of doubt as to what he had really said, but the following appeared to be the chief reasons given :—

The buffalo, Kursi, which had delayed the proceedings, was the property of Kuriolv and was descended from a buffalo which had belonged to Teitchi, Kuriolv's grandfather. Since this buffalo was thus family property, it should go to the sons, and ought not to be killed for a daughter, and especially for

1 [i.e. funeral rites for a two-year old girl. -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

766 caught at the funeral of a male. I only heard of this reason
787 a few days later, and I do not know whether it was one of
791 the reasons given by Midjkudr or whether it was a later surmise. A third reason was that Perner and Tebner, his brother, had been on bad terms; and to put this right Tebner, the younger, performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner.

766 The next special feature of the ceremony took place after
588 the buffalo had been killed and before the *kachütthti* ceremony. Keinba knelt down before Kuriolv and Piliag and the two men touched the head of the boy with their feet, thus accepting him as the husband of Sinerani. Then followed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. The mantle covering the dead child was opened, her right hand unclenched, and Keinba placed the little bow and arrow in the hand, and the fingers of the dead child were closed over the bow so that they held it as they would have done in life. Then the bow was taken out of the hand, placed on the breast of the child, and the mantle was again folded over her. Teitnir, the half-brother of Kuriolv, who had now become the *paiol* of Keinba, came up and covered the head of the boy with his *putkuli* as a sign that he was a widower, and then Teitnir and Keinba put their foreheads together and cried. After crying together for a while, Teitnir touched Keinba's head with his foot. Then Sintharap, the mother of Sinerani, gave grain and jaggery and limes to Keinba, who put them in the pocket of the mantle of the dead child. Sintharap and Keinba then cried together, and Sintharap touched Keinba's head with her foot.

After the cloth-giving ceremony, the body was taken to the burning place, and Keinba mixed honey and grain in a metal bowl; when Keinba began to stir the grain and honey he put his right arm out from above his cloak as usual, but was speedily corrected and made to put out his hand from below the cloak in the manner proper for a widower.

The wrists of the girl were burnt as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, the burning being done by Silkidz (53), the wife of a younger brother of Perpakh, Keinba's father, and, before her

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Silkidz also lighted the pyre. 766 588

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kūriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainolkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *azaramkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidzeimi (21), the ceremony of *pursūtpimi* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matchuni*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidzeimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*pursadikina?*"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Pursad!*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidzeimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

Funeral Contributions

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainolkedr*, it was the rule that every *maumakh*, or sister's son, should 764 431 602

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

The Regulation of Marriage

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
588 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions
591 of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokkthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village.

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage.

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The

582 Kagerikutan (25), the son of her mother's brother. In this case the orthodox marriage was resorted to when the woman had failed to obtain a husband in any other way, although it involved marriage with a baby.

In another case, the marriage of Keitkarg (38) and Pōtoveli (49), in which the woman is considerably older than her husband, the husband and wife are *matchuni*.

588 766 There is one ceremonial marriage in which the husband always stands in the relation of *matchuni* to the wife. This is in the performance of the *pursiitpimi* ceremony at the funeral of a girl unmarried at the time of her death. The boy who is chosen to give the bow and arrow and to act as the husband is always, so far as I could discover, the *matchuni* of the dead girl.

Similarly, if an unmarried boy dies, the girl who is chosen to act as his widow should be his *matchuni*. In one case of which I have a record, the son of Tütners (58) died and Sotidz (66) was chosen to act as widow. None of the brothers of Puvizveli (65), the mother of the dead boy, had at that time a son, so the duty was undertaken by the daughter of Pangudr, of the same clan as Puvizveli, but belonging to a different family. In this case the *matchuni* was the daughter of a clan-brother because there was no nearer *matchuni* available.

Keinba, who acted as husband at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 394), was the *matchuni* of the dead girl in two ways, as the son of her mother's brother and as the son of her father's half-sister.

582 A *matchuni* may be either the child of a mother's brother or of a father's sister, and I have examined the genealogies to see if a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister the more frequently, and find that there is no great difference, though the former marriage is somewhat the more frequent. There are among the Tartharol twenty cases in which a man has married the daughter of his mother's brother, two of marriage with the daughter of a stepmother's brother, and one with the daughter of a stepmother's half-brother, making twenty-three cases in all. On the other hand, a man married the daughter of his father's sister in fourteen cases, twice he married the daughter of his father's

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Intercourse between
[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually
627 complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the
684 man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitasmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitasmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpini* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpini* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitasmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively 616 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give 837 the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[723] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage. 837 A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.

[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

and expensive for the *mokhthodvaiol* than for the husband. Further, in some cases the *sedvaitasmokh* of a Teivali man may live with him exactly in the same way as a wife. Except for the prohibition against Teivali women living at Tarthar villages, and the important difference in the mode of descent of the children there seems to be little essential difference in some cases between the *mokhthoditi* union and marriage. In describing the institution, one of my informants laid great stress on the disability of a man of one division to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a woman of the other division and treated this as the essential point of difference. He seemed to regard this ceremonial disability as primary and the other differences as the secondary results, but I do not know how far this is the general Toda view.

Sexual Morality

From the foregoing account it appears that a woman may have one or more recognised lovers as well as several husbands. From the account given of the dairy ritual, it appears that she may also have sexual relations with dairymen of various grades—that, for instance, the *wursol*, on the nights when he sleeps in the hut, may be the lover of any Tarthar girl. Further, there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse. I was assured by several Todas not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong. It seemed clear that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. My interpreter, Samuel, had translated the Commandments shortly before my visit, and only discovered while working with me that the expression he had used in translating the seventh Commandment really bore a very different meaning.

When a word for a concept is absent in any language it by no means follows that the concept has not been developed, but in this case I have little doubt that there is no definite idea in the mind of the Toda corresponding to that denoted by our word 'adultery.' Instead of adultery being regarded as

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXIX

TEIVALIOL AND TARTHAROL

THE existence of these two divisions of the Toda people raises one of the most interesting problems of their social organisation. The fact that the Todas are an Indian people at once suggests that we have to do here with some form of the institution of caste. Each division is endogamous, as is the caste, and each is divided into a number of exogamous septs resembling the gotras of a caste. Again, there is some amount of specialisation of function, the Teivaliol being the division from which the most sacred of the dairymen are chosen. 564 616

The names of the two divisions probably correspond with this differentiation of function. The Teivaliol evidently derive their name from the sacred office, *deva*, of Sanskrit origin, being in common use in South India for 'sacred,' while *devalayam* means a temple.[1] The origin of Tartharol[2] is more doubtful, but I believe that the word carries the idea of ordinary, *târ* being used sometimes in this sense.

There is little restriction on social intercourse between the two divisions. So far as I am aware, they can eat together, and a member of one division can receive food from any member of another. 616

Though intermarriage is forbidden, the irregular unions in which the man is the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman (see Chap. 588 616

[1] There is also a place called Devali in the Wainad which may possibly be connected in some way with the Teivaliol.

[2] Grigg (*Manual*, p. 187) derives the word from *tasan*, a servant. *S* or *sh* is sometimes inserted into the word Tartharol, but it is purely euphonic, and I do not think that this derivation is at all probable.

588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
514 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
793 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol.
184 This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
554 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

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Enquiry into the details of the moγðoɪtjt institution (called by Rivers mokhthoditi)[11] supplements Rivers' account in some important details. For all legal purposes, i.e. membership of mod and the consequent relations to the tribe as a whole, Rivers is correct. Children of these unions are legally children of the man who has given the bow to the mother. In investigating restrictions on the freedom to form these unions it was found that there are two classes of union. In one the man who takes the woman gives only a cloak (puɪtγuɟj). Children of this type of union and the man's legal children may form moγðoɪtjt unions without any restrictions, except that such a union may not be formed while the parents are still living together in a union of this kind. When the union in the earlier generation ceases, a union in the next generation may be formed.

In the other class of union the man gives to the woman jewelry and makes to her male relatives the koɪlmilvɯḍθt salutation ("act of falling on leg," i.e. kneeling and putting to one's head the other's feet in turn; of the one who raises his feet it is said, koɪlγoɪtj–, "leg-show"). Children of the union are then in the same relation to the man's legal children as if they were üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj, and the same rules hold for unions between them and between their descendants as for unions between üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and their descendants. For example, a half-brother and a half-sister may not form the union; their children may form the union, for they are pseudo-motʃiṇj. Children of half-brothers may not form the union, but their children may. Rivers[12] mentions the union of küɯɪsiɑɟf of the töüviɟj with piɟj-muɾγ of the toɪrðɑɾ. He insisted on giving ter for her[13] as if she could be his legal wife, and lived with her for many years (which is unusual in these unions), having by her four children, who were regarded by everyone as his own except that they belong legally to the toɪrðɑɾ. This seems to have been the first case in which ter was given in one of these unions, and there have been some later imitations of the precedent. This type of union is merely an extension of the type in which the koɪlmilvɯḍθt salutation is performed, and the regulations governing unions of the descendants are the same.

The taboos described above operate also between all those who are in a pseudo-relation of üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj because of a moγðoɪtjt union. In the first type of union they cease to operate when the union is dissolved, in the second they are permanent in their operation, just as is the prohibition against further unions.

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[11] Described in Rivers, pp. 526–29.
[12] Page 534 *mod.*
[13] See Rivers, pp. 523–25.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

764 in quiet conversation, leaving the females to continue mourning round the corpse, interrupted from time to time by the arrival of detachments from distant mands, whose first duty was to salute the dead body. Meanwhile a near female relative of the dead child was busily engaged inside the hut, collecting together in a basket small measures of rice, jaggery, sago, honey-comb, and the girl's simple toys, which were subsequently to be burned with the corpse. The mourning ceasing after a time, the corpse was placed inside the hut, and followed by the near relatives, who there continued to weep over it. 764 782 A detachment of men and boys, who had set out in search of the buffaloes which were to be sacrificed, now returned driving before them three cows, which escaped from their pursuers to rejoin the main herd. A long pause ensued, and, after a very prolonged drive, three more cows were guided into a marshy swamp, where one of them was caught by the horns, and dragged reluctantly, but with little show of fight, to the strains of Kota drum and flute, in front of the hut, where it was promptly despatched by a blow on the poll. The corpse was now brought from within the hut, and placed, face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of the buffalo, whose neck was decorated with a silver [301] chain, such as is worn by Todas round the loins, as no bell was available, and the horns were smeared with butter. Then followed frantic manifestations of grief, amid which the unhappy mother fainted. Mourning 764 over, the corpse was made to go through a form of 588 ceremony, resembling that which is performed during pregnancy with the first child. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a certain grass [824] (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*) and a twig of a shrub

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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(*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkūli, and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb, and butter in the pocket of the putkūli, which was then stitched with needle and thread in a circular pattern. The boy's father then took off his son's putkūli, and replaced it so as to cover him from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. [On the occasion of the funeral of an unmarried lad, a girl is in like manner selected, covered with her putkūli from head to foot, and a metal vessel filled with jaggery, rice, etc., to be subsequently burnt on the funeral pyre, placed for a short time within the folds of the putkūli. Thus covered, the girl remains till next morning, watched through the dreary hours of the night by relatives. The same ceremony is performed over the corpse of a married woman who has not borne children, the husband acting as such for the last time, in the vain hope that the woman may produce issue in heaven.] The corpse was borne away to the burning-ground within the shola, and, after removal of some of the hair by the mother of the newly wedded boy, burned, with face upwards, amid the music of the Kota band, the groans of the assembled crowd squatting on the ground, and the genuine grief of the nearest relatives. The burning concluded, a portion of the skull was removed from the ashes, and handed over to the recently made mother-in-law of the dead girl, and wrapped up with the hair in the bark of the tūd tree (*Meliosma pungens*). A second buffalo, which, properly speaking, should have been slain before

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10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:l), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!"). 582 588 616 198 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kum:ɣja!f made an innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kum:ɣja!f or the children of this union. The example was followed in kum:ɣja!f's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kum:ɣja!f's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ɸ- 588
jaɸ's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kum:ɸjaɸ, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 881
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the toufiɟ moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the to:rθaɸ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the to:rθaɸ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the to:rθaɸ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

616 Either the couple live together in the same *mad*, quite openly, or the
837 man visits the woman periodically at the house of her husband or husbands. In the case of a Tardharsh being *mokhthodvaiol* to a Teivilkh woman, because of the prohibition for those of her kind to
[621] visit the *mads* of the superior moiety, it always has to be her lover who visits her at her home. There is no objection on the part of the husbands as, in accordance with the formalities necessary to establish a *mokhthoditi* relation, they will have been consulted in advance and will have given their consent to the arrangement.

837 The usual way for a man to go about getting himself a *sedvaitazmokh* is, after having found the lady of his choice, to approach her husband or husbands, if she has any, or her father or fathers if she has none, and to obtain their consent to what he plans. He will agree to give the men a present (such as a piece of cloth or a *putkuli*) in exchange,
[431] whereupon, if the other party is in accordance, he becomes the woman's *mokhthodvaiol* without any further formality. (Rivers has it that a third party may be called in to seal the pact, (see *The Todas*, p. 527) but none of my informants said this was done nowadays.)

Some time later, he will make collective obeisance to the lady's *pailol*, that is, her male relations (fathers and brothers). This is as in
[588] a Toda marriage, there being no difference at all here between regular and irregular unions. On this occasion the man will promise to give the woman some pieces of jewellery, and her son, should she have one, a buffalo calf. It is after these promises have been made, that the *mokhthodvaiol* will perform the *kalmelpudithti* salution to the *pailol* and, significantly enough, after this has taken place, he will call his *sedvaitazmokh's* father *mun* as he would his wife's father or his maternal uncle.

While working at Melgarsh *mad*, I had the opportunity to see how such a *mokhthoditi* arrangement functioned. Amoniwuf, the common wife of the two brothers, Singharsh and Singhud, had a regular lover, a Teivilkh from Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol*, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded (his picture is shown on pages 56 and
[113] 57 of Lidio Cipriani's *I Toda, Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vol. LXVII, 1937). Things seemed to go very smoothly, and all three men as well as the woman appeared happy and on the best of terms. The Teivilkh used to come regularly to Melgarsh, at least twice a week in the afternoon, staying until the next morning when he would go home again early. I was told that he had given Amoniwuf a very
[431] nice gold necklace, which I was, however, never shown. The husbands

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, [614]
and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
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775

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

764 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-
588 world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground,
614 with a further display of grief and lamentation.
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ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance,
123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me
855 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex-
159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con-
857 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Närshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

CHAP. X.

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Before proceeding further, I will review this Census Table,[1] especially selecting those facts which may be useful to us hereafter.

α. We find that Toda males of *all ages*, bear the proportion to females of all ages, of 112 : 84, or of 100 : 75. In a census of the North-west Provinces of India, taken during the year 1866, the proportions between the sexes were found to be as 100 : 86·6. And in the Punjab as 100 : 81·8.[2] In Oudh, the census of 1868-69 taken in ten districts suspected of infanticide, gave 100 : 75·6 of all ages.[3]

β. The male *adults* are to the female adults, as 76 : 55, or as 100 : 72·4.

γ. The male *children* under fourteen years of age, bear to the female children of the same period—ages estimated from their personal appearance—the ratio of 36 : 29, or of 100 : 80·6.

Although, as we find, there is a somewhat larger proportion of females to males among children than amongst adults, I am disposed to attribute the discrepancy either to the score of the limited number of instances which the census contains: or to my having recorded as children, some who should have been accounted adult women.

589 162

δ. There is 1 unmarried girl—a cripple from birth—out of 55 adult females, or 1·8 in 100.

ε. There are 22 young men who are said to be unmarried. If we deduct from these 22 adults, the 10 recorded as dairymen; who, during the term of office, are compelled, through religious usage, to live *en garçon*: we have yet 12 men of marriageable age who are stated in the Table to be leading a single life. From actual knowledge of the people, I form the opinion that these 12 are Benedicts, *de facto*.

[2] Selections from the Records of the Government of India. Foreign Department. Dated 1867.

[3] Statistics deduced from a census of Oudh in 1868-69, relating to female infanticide among Rajput families.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99. Category III. -- Analyse]

 Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more than any other, and may be termed his ruling passion, is that of *necessity for* children.

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The first instance which came to light of the serious—everything with the Toda is taken *au sérieux*—nature of this topic, was when the women of a certain village had collected round us, in obedience to summons; one was noticed sitting conspicuously apart, giving the impression that she was in some way tabued. 'What is the matter with her? Is she sick?' 'No.' 'Mourning?' 'No, not that.' 'She is a barudi'[9] they said quietly, and in the pitying tone in which one would apply the word 'crazy.' A handsome woman of forty, with the eyes and nose of a hawk. She had committed no fault; had added several boys and girls to the population. She was not ill, nor deformed, or sulky. She was merely a barudi, a widow. Now, it is a reproach to be a widow, unless quite old: or to be childless; the word barudi, in the Toda language, bearing the triple meaning of old woman, widow, and barren woman. This person, we have seen, was neither old nor sterile, yet as a widow who should be, but was not, producing children, she was put to shame.

[196]

To be a baruda, or widower, is equally a term of reproach for men.

Another illustration. We met with two brothers—men past sixty years of age, whose joint wife had died. In order to avoid the disgrace of being styled baruda, as well, doubtless, as to obtain the services of some one who could cook their meals, they had forthwith married again. But being elderly gentlemen, joint fathers of nine children, including twins, and not caring for further additions to their family, they had selected to be their joint wife, a woman of fifty, who, having been *discarded as sterile*, was then living a single and neglected life.

I have ascertained positively, that so great is the disgrace

[9] The derivation of this word has already been given in Chapter VII. Note 15.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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attached to the epithets baruda and barudi, as applied to young married people, the husband would connive at any steps his wife might take to obtain children. The way in which my informant described what would be done in these circumstances, leaves no doubt in my mind of the truth of what I have written.

The Bible affords many instances of the display amongst primitive tribes of this craving for progeny, and of the reproach attaching to sterility. In Genesis xvi., 2—5, we find Sarai prefers that her husband Abram should have children by her maid, rather than there should be none in the house. We meet with a similar occurrence, narrated too with a clearness that leaves no doubt as to the intention, in Genesis xxx., 1—4, in the case of Rachel, the wife of Jacob. Again in 1 Samuel i. The book of Genesis, xxxviii., 26, gives another instance, and another motive.

Of this desire for progeny I have seen many examples amongst the Todas, so strongly marked, but to all appearances apart from the sense of personal ambition, and separate from any demands of religion[10] or requirements for support in old age, as to give the impression that it was the primitive faculty of Philoprogenitiveness, acting so insensibly, naturally, as to have the character more of a plain instinct, than of an intelligent human feeling.

There is something very affecting in the spectacle which these people present; so like animals in their primitive notions; closing in round upon one another, huddling together, and breeding with such a zeal as if they feared to lose their hold on the world. Yet, even, murdering many, that many might survive the dreaded danger.

[10] This peculiarity has already been noticed in Chapter XX.

CHAP. XXVI.

183 577 I confess to a feeling of great astonishment that barbarians should conduct their household arrangements with the staidness and good sense of members of the Teutonic family of nations. Yet, though free from taint of fickleness, Toda social morality can scarcely be defended. We find him bound down to keep the peace, and behave himself as a Toda should, and not throw his wife and children on the parish. But for the rest we find him still a gross savage.

In the outward behaviour of the sexes, I have been amused to notice how much the custom and etiquette observed in civilised life is derived from *their* model. I have never seen any among our list of the proprieties in the slightest degree overstepped by them in ordinary daily intercourse, except 582 perhaps in their habit of calling a spade a spade. Modest-looking women are by no means rare. They remain habitually at home, keeping together as demure as cats. They have their own places of private resort, on which members of the opposite sex would not presume to intrude. They manage their cumbersome garments to perfection. But it must not be supposed that they are moral, or have scruples. It is the human animal in its wild state.

589 183 582 No unmarried class exists, to disturb society with its loves and broils. More's the pity! for that same society much needs to be startled into energy out of its hum-drum life! The warm breath of poetry and romance never passes through these people. It must long ago have been quenched with the introduction of infanticide and polyandry. Defects lie entirely the other way; it is a 'very much married' people. Every man and every woman, every lad and every girl is somebody's husband or wife; tied at the earliest possible age, and bound by grinding social law, in the bonds of unpoetic matrimony, extending almost over the entire term of adult life. Sacred characters, such as the pâlâl and pâlkarpâl, are merely husbands off duty. With the exception of a cripple girl, and of those women who, past the child-bearing age,

were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9. CHAP. XXVI. 589 183 582

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation. 582 595 181

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety. 181

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe. 144

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

The Regulation of Marriage

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
588 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions
591 of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village. 582 616 588 591

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. 582 618

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The 835

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitazmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitazmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[591] 618 766 While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

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TABLE No. III. *Census.*

Mands		Houses					Inhabitants													
							Male					Female								
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Grand Total	Particulars regarding Inhabitants	Remarks M = Mands I = Inhabitants
Diljâvenu	Karikall	3	3	2	1	6	—	3	3[1]	4	10	1[2]	2	—	6[3]	9	19	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairyman. 3. Two of 12 years of age.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakhodi	Kakhodi	2	2	1	1	4	—	3[1]	—	2	5	—	2[2]	—	—	2	7	1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married: hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north. I. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Berethro	Karrathro	2	1	1	—	2	—	4[1]	—	3	7	—	4[2]	—	1	5	12	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.
Konna-hoar	Konna-korrâi	3	2	1	—	3	—	4	3[1]	3	10	—	4[2]	1[3]	1[4]	6	16	1. Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.
Elgodu	Elgodu	4	3	1	1	5	1[1]	4[2]	4[3]	3	12	1[4]	4[5]	—	6[6]	11	23	1. About 85 years. Admitted to this Maand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 16 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 75 years of age. 5. One is	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant

																		childbed. 6. One of 14 years, one of 12 years. One infant with a disease of the skin.—The four married men, and four single adults, are six brothers and two nephews.	with disease of the skin. A woman in childbed.
Bhagdu	Bhagdu	4	2	1	—	3	2[1]	4	1[2]	6	14	2[1]	4	—	4[1]	10	24	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 12, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	M. Much exposed, but well drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Karkh	Kambi	5	3	2	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	2	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Mâmudi	Mardisi	3	3	1	1	5	1[1]	6[2]	1[2]	3	12	2[1]	6	—	4	10	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakkir	Kakkeri	3	2	1	—	3	—	6[2]	1[2]	5	12	—	6[2]	—	3	9	21	2. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 13. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Poor. A girl squints. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Kirzho	Kundero	2	1	1	—	2	—	2	1[1]	2	5	1[1]	2	—	1[1]	4	9	1. A dairyman, 13 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south and east. I. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.
Mekarsk	Manchakill	4	3	1	—	4	1[1]	4	1[2]	1	6	—	3[2]	—	1[1]	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Dairyman aged 13. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and vigorous. Comfortable.
		35	25	13	4	42	5	49	22	36	112	7	47	1	29	84	196		

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 A perusal of the column in Table No. 3[1] which affords

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162 particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious
342 insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be
511 viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of
592 which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

161 I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted
162 in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the
127 Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

162 8. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various
621 sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
428 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
592 "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket*, *nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous [621] households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one [592] in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I 595 visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name; Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroï, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] Then the following occurred: Eroï found employment as a govern- [587] ment peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotabuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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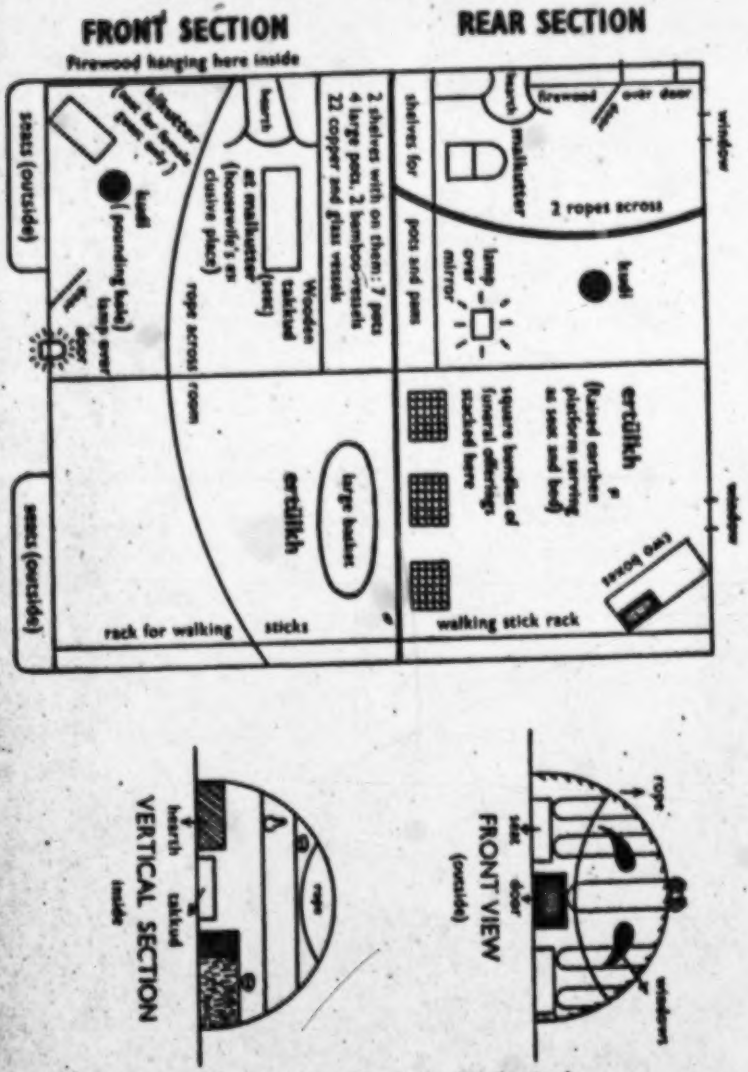

Fig. 19. House No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*.
Inhabitants of front part: Karnoz, Nalsirwuf, Sodup and Odzel; the last named sleeps on the floor, the other three on the *ertülkh*.
Inhabitants of the rear part: Singharsh, Amoniwuf, Singud and Munbokwutn; the last named sleeps on the *ertülkh* with either of the brothers, while the other alternatively sleeps on the floor with the common wife.

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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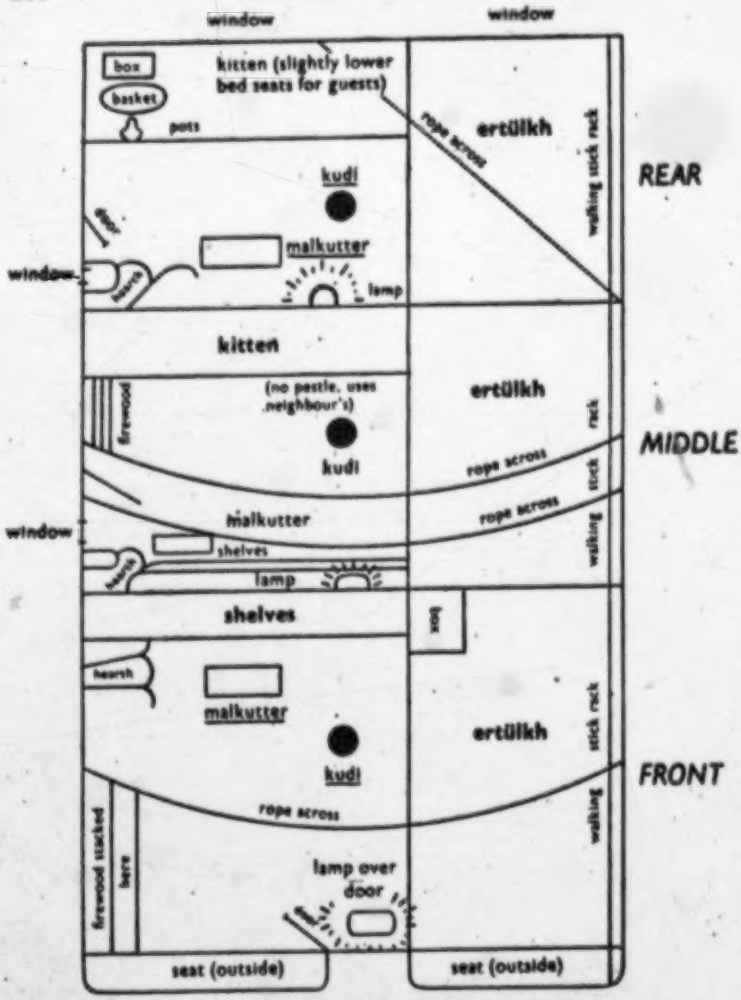

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Fig. 20. House No. 2, the *Nortarsh*.

Inhabitants in the front part: Padz, Silidz, Narjilkh, and Pengelam; the two children sleep at the feet of their grandparents, who have their heads nearest the door; guests are accomodated on the *ertülkh*, while the inhabitants sleep on the floor.

Inhabitants in the middle part: Puvkiaroz and Mutmali; they sleep together on the *ertülkh*; guests are accomodated on the *kitten*.

Inhabitants of the rear part: Mutnarsh, Erzigwuf, Kupidz and Sodam; the newborn twins were also put up here with their mother; the father sleeps with the little girl on the *kitten*, the two women sleep on the *ertülkh*, one at each end.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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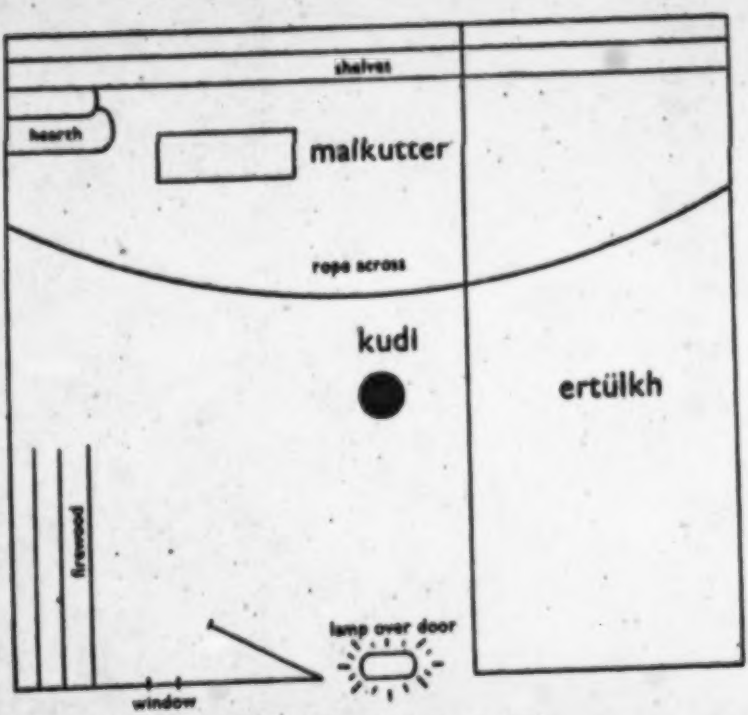

Fig. 21. House No. 3, the *Pudkarsh*.

Inhabitants: Pilkhlivowutn, Närshmali, Motsod, Izam and Kirsharswutn; the two first of these sleep on the *ertülkh*, the older couple on the floor, the younger boy sleeps on the *ertülkh* too, with his head towards the back of the arsh. Motsod is very often out, either as priest-dairyman, when he sleeps in the tarvali, or to see friends in other mads. Kirsharswutn often helps his father in the tarvali, when he also sleeps in the dairy-temple. [592] [513]

2196

To 302 524 have any except buffalo butter, which they rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 525 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To 595 582 422 Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potōz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To 595 583 592 The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

To 220a.
595 second brother had also left, when he ran
422 away in a huff, with one-third plus two of
592 the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To The Todas do not practice polygyny as
595 the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who
WTi have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return
595 with some other wife and share her with
[592] their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

TODA AWGO

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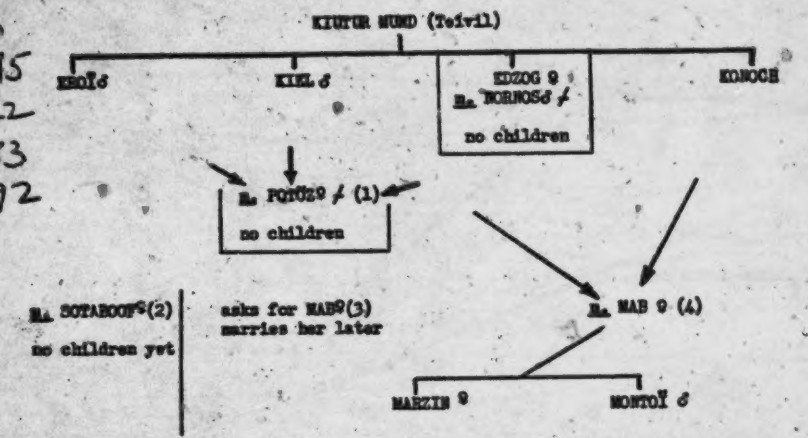

FIGURE 2. A Toda genealogy. (1) First married to Kazan when two years old. (2) Becomes a government peon; takes one-third of the buffalo plus two away. (3) Quarrels with her father over bride price; leaves with one-third of the buffalo but comes back and marries Mab after his brother, Konoch, has already married her. (4) Konoch originally is left with one-third of the buffalo (four). Mab becomes pregnant before Kiel joins in the marriage. † Deceased. Arrows denote polyandrous marriages.

-- p. 220c (Figure 2) --

is determined entirely by the *pursütpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife. 611 851

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *tererstbi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two *rôles* he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote. 611 604

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *mannokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy 192 593 577

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the
234 existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and even to have developed a system of male descent among 234
their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 611

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of 842
the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part 181
played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect.

Adoption

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is 597
not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies.

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people 736
of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child 611
retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pòlm* of the father.

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom 842
which makes it necessary that a man should have children. 618
The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan.

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

Debt and Servitude

426 It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt, and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their 593 father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is 466 regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kûlvatkerthchi* or *kûlvatkerthiti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

[582] It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

The Position of Women

562 There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Âdabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Âdabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's
573 feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people
576 hinders the ceremony of Âdabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite
562 unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the
531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

blue cotton, in the fashion which some of the photographs in this book will show.

The turbulent cattle are tended solely by men and boys. And the men manage out-door affairs generally.

It is a quiet, undemonstrative, but intensely domestic people; domestic in the wider sense of viewing the entire family, to the last cousin, much as one household, in which everyone is everywhere entirely at home; each one assisting, with the steadiness of a caterpillar, in the easy, progressive task of emptying his neighbour's larder: no one exerting himself by one fraction to raise the family. The great feature in Toda organisation, is the all-absorbing power of his domestic attachments, which, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up all other qualities.

If the Todas lose, in a material point of view, from deficient size in Acquisitiveness, and the propensities generally, yet they certainly are large gainers thereby in the quiet, even tenor of their domestic life, undisturbed by the wrongs of grasping, vindictive, overbearing natures. They no doubt have quarrels, in the course of which they—particularly the women—are known to use very high language indeed and expressive gestures, but they are mere pebbles in a brook as compared with the rocks that break the flow of other waters.

The men maintain their authority in the home circle very sensibly, and without attempt at tyranny; but I saw too a woman who, as was very evident, ruled her husband. She must have acquired this authority by means of some slight superiority in quality of brain, for she had no apparent vantage over him. I was so much interested in this repetition amongst an unambitious, retiring, and primitive people, of a well-known phase of married life in energetic folk nearer home, that I had hoped to induce the pair to present themselves to be photographed; and the temptation I offered would have succeeded but for their age, which made a long walk over the hills too great an effort.

CHAP. XX.

In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad. 124

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life. 763 292

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way. 763

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man. 593 764 842

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into 764

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

843 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[583] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes [322] a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhvākham.*
„ Muttinâd „ *Pirzhírzhk.*
„ Kodanâd „ *Kurrkduvirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgárāff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmūl* and *Shāstra.* One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow*† *we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

796 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, 551 in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordzai Kédu*), which takes place 765 soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvenâli Kédu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

[301]

* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Menu, iii. 33.

[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 9:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Awbo Toda Awbo

172 range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes, as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a
837 time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

●593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

582 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early
583 age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

To 829 595 121 182 would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

T 829 595 121 182 K [121]

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

Ti 595 114 [182] [593]

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 Ti 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

half-sister, and once the stepdaughter of his father's sister, making seventeen cases in all. 582

Among the Teivaliol marriages with the daughter of a father's sister are the more frequent, there being fifteen of these as compared with ten cases of marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother. There is evidently no special preference for either kind of marriage.

POLYANDRY

The Todas have a completely organised and definite system of polyandry. When a woman marries a man, it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers at the same time. When a boy is married to a girl, not only are his brothers usually regarded as also the husbands of the girl, but any brother born later will similarly be regarded as sharing his older brothers' rights. 595

In the vast majority of polyandrous marriages at the present time, the husbands are own brothers. A glance through the genealogies[1] will show the great frequency of polyandry,[1] and that in nearly every case the husbands are own brothers. In a few cases in which the husbands are not own brothers, they are clan-brothers, *i.e.*, they belong to the same clan and are of the same generation. Instances of such marriages are those of Toridz (65) with Kulpakh (52) and Kiladrvan (60), and of Sintharap (68) with Kuriolv (52) and Onadj (57).

There is only one instance recorded in the genealogies in which a woman had at the same time husbands belonging to different clans, viz., the marriage of Kwelvtars (60) with Nidshtevan of Piedr (64) and Tütners of Kusharf (67), and in this case the men were half-brothers by the same mother, the fathers being of different clans. While I was on the hills, there was a project on foot that three unmarried youths belonging to three different clans should have a wife in common, but the project was frustrated and the marriage did not take place.

[1] In cases of polyandry the names of the husbands are enclosed in square brackets.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

595 578 It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present, and it is perhaps in favour of this possibility that in the instance of polyandry given by Harkness[1] the husbands were obviously not own brothers. It must be remembered, however, that this case came to the notice of Captain Harkness because the polyandry had led to disputes, and, as we shall see shortly, it is in those cases of polyandry in which the husbands are not own brothers that disputes arise.

The arrangement of family life in the case of a polyandrous marriage differs according as the husbands are, or are not, own brothers.

In the former case it seemed that there is never any difficulty, and that disputes never arise. The brothers live together, and my informants seemed to regard it as a ridiculous idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies of the kind that might be expected in such a household. 595 When the wife becomes pregnant, the eldest brother performs the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow, but the brothers 842 are all equally regarded as the fathers of the child. If 851 one of the brothers leaves the rest and sets up an establishment of his own, it appeared, however, that he might lose his right to be regarded as the father of the children.

If a man is asked the name of his father, he usually gives the name of one man only, even when he is the offspring of a polyandrous marriage. I endeavoured to ascertain why the name of one father only should so often be given, and it seemed to me that there is no one reason for the preference. Often one of the fathers is more prominent and influential than the others, and it is natural in such cases that the son should speak of himself as the son of the more important member of the community. Again, if only one of the fathers of a man is alive, the man will always speak of the living person as his father; thus Siriar (20) always spoke of Ircheidi as his father, and even after Ircheidi is dead, it seems probable that he will so have fallen into the custom of speaking of the latter as his father that he will continue to do so, and it will only be when his attention is especially directed

[1] See his account at the end of this chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to the point that he will say that Madbeithi was also his father. 595

In most of the genealogies, the descent is traced from some one man, but there can be no doubt whatever that this man was usually only one of several brothers, and the probable reason why one name only is remembered is that this name was that of an important member of the community, or of the last surviving of the brother-husbands. 842 851 611

When the husbands are not own brothers, the arrangements become more complicated. When the husbands live together as if they were own brothers there is rarely any difficulty. If, on the other hand, the husbands live at different villages, the usual rule is that the wife shall live with each husband in turn, usually for a month at a time, but there is very considerable elasticity in the arrangement.

It is in respect of the 'fatherhood'[1] of the children in these cases of non-fraternal polyandry that we meet with the most interesting feature of Toda social regulations. When the wife of two or more husbands (not own brothers) becomes pregnant, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall perform the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow. The husband who carries out this ceremony is the father of the child for all social purposes; the child belongs to the clan of this husband if the clans of the husbands differ and to the family of this husband if the families only differ. When the wife again becomes pregnant, another husband may perform the *pursütpini* ceremony, and if so, this husband becomes the father of the child; but more commonly the *pursütpini* ceremony is not performed at all during the second pregnancy, and in this case the second child belongs to the first husband, *i.e.*, to the husband who has already given the bow and arrow. Usually it is arranged that the first two or three children shall belong to the first husband, and that at a succeeding pregnancy (third or fourth), another husband shall give the bow and arrow, and, in consequence, become the father not only of that child, but of all succeeding children till some one else gives the bow and arrow.

[1] I use the term 'fatherhood' instead of 'paternity' because the latter term seems to imply a meaning which does not belong to the Toda notion of 'father.'

595 The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursütpimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as
842 the father of a child if no other man has performed the essen-
851 tial ceremony.[1]

In the only case in the genealogies in which the husbands of a woman were of different clans, it happened there were only two children, and that one father gave the bow and arrow for the first child and the other for the second.

If the husbands separate, each husband takes with him those children who are his by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 There is no doubt whatever as to the close association of
847 the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given
182 up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.

178 It has been stated by most of those who have written about
182 the Todas that the custom of polyandry is dying out, but a glance at the genealogies will show that the institution is in
595 full working order even in the case of the infant marriages which are being contracted at the present time. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is now less frequent for all the brothers of a family to have one wife only in common. A study of the genealogies shows that often each brother has his own wife, or that several brothers have more than one wife between them. It seemed to me, however, almost certain that in these cases the brothers have the wives in common. In compiling the genealogies, one informant would give me the names of two or more brothers each with one wife, while another would give me the name of one brother with two or three wives, and would say that the other brothers had the same wives. When I pointed out the discrepancy and asked which was the true account, they usually said it made no difference and were almost contemptuous because I seemed to think that there was any disagreement

[1] For an instance, see p. 535.

between the two versions. I think it probable that it has 178
become less frequent for several brothers to have only one 182
wife in common, but I am very doubtful whether this indicates
any real decrease in the prevalence of polyandry. 595

It seems to me that the correct way of describing the present condition of Toda society is to say that polyandry is as prevalent as ever, but that, owing to the greater number of women, it is becoming associated with polygyny. When there are two brothers it does not seem that each takes a wife for himself, but rather that they take two wives in common.

It is probable that this will lead in time to a state of society in which each brother will come to regard one wife as his own; and in a few cases it seemed to me that there was already a tendency in this direction. If this forecast should be fulfilled, the custom of monogamy among the Todas will have been developed out of polyandry through a stage of combined polyandry and polygyny.

One case happened during my visit which seemed to indicate 595
that though several brothers might be regarded as husbands 765
of a woman, the part of husband for ceremonial purposes might be taken only by one or two of them. In this case I was told that four brothers had one wife, but when the wife died only two of the brothers acted as widowers and performed the ceremonies associated with that condition. When I asked for an explanation of this, I was then told that the other two brothers were not husbands, but I strongly suspected that this was a mere device to enable two of the brothers to avoid the disabilities attendant on the condition of widowerhood. I have very little doubt that while the woman was alive, all the four brothers were her husbands, but after her death it became convenient to assume that only two had been husbands, leaving the others free from the restrictions of widowerhood.

Many writers have believed that the widely spread custom 587
of the Levirate is a relic of polyandry. If it were true that 595
the custom of polyandry is dying out among the Todas, this people might have provided material for the study of the relations of polyandry and the Levirate. It will be obvious,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

587 however, from the account already given, that polyandry is still
595 strongly established among the Todas. Still, there are a few cases in the genealogies which seem to show that when two brothers had different wives, and one brother died, the widow might be taken by the surviving brother. Thus, in Table 34, two brothers, Matovan and Kemners, had one wife, Sargveli, while Atcharap had his own wife, Puners. When Matovan died, Sargveli was regarded as the wife of both Atcharap and Kemners.[1] Again, after the deaths of Mulpolivan and Peigvan (3), the widow of Nersveli was married by Perol, the clan-brother (first cousin) of the husband.

In other cases, the widow of one brother has not become the wife of her husband's brothers, but has married elsewhere; and though the evidence is necessarily very unsatisfactory, it seems on the whole probable that the Todas show no special relation between polyandry and the Levirate custom.

If the widow marries a man who is not one of the brothers of her dead husband, the new husband has to pay a certain number of buffaloes. He does not, however, give these buffaloes to the brothers of the dead man, but to his children; thus, when Karnisi of Pām (37) died, his widow, Nersaveli, married Mutthuvan (34) of Kanòdrs, who paid fourteen buffaloes to Pungievan, the son of Karnisi. This payment of buffaloes is known as *terkudrichti*, "compensation he gives," and it is the custom for the number of buffaloes in this case to be twice the number given by the dead man for his wife; in this case Karnisi had taken Nersaveli from another man for seven buffaloes.

In relation to the Levirate, the important point here is that the buffaloes are paid to the sons of the dead husbands, not to his brothers.

174 I do not think that the Todas provide any definite evidence
847 towards the solution of the vexed question of the relation
595 between polyandry and infanticide. It is possible that at their first arrival in the Nilgiri Hills, the Todas had few sources of food, and had a severe struggle for existence; that

[1] It will be noticed that I am using the term 'Levirate' in a wider sense than that in which it is sometimes employed, for Sargveli was not a childless widow.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

they therefore adopted the practice of female infanticide, and that polyandry followed as a consequence. At the present and during recent times there has certainly been no economical motive for infanticide, and I am very doubtful whether it has ever existed. I think it far more probable that the Todas brought the practice of polyandry with them when they came to the Nilgiris; but if this view should be adopted, there is still no evidence to show whether they also brought infanticide with them, or whether this custom developed owing to the fact that polyandry diminished the need for female children.

POLYGYNY

In the last section we have seen that there is a tendency for the polyandry of the Todas to become combined with polygyny. Two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule the two men have the two wives in common. In addition, polygyny of the more ordinary kind exists among the Todas, and is probably now increasing in frequency, as one of the results of the diminished female infanticide.

One example of polygyny is the marriage of Kuriolv (56) with two wives, one of about the same age as himself, the other a young wife whom he shares with Onadj (57). In another case Odrkurs (1), has two wives, the second wife being a young girl recently married in the hope of obtaining a son (see p. 550).

There is one example of polygyny in the genealogies in which a young boy, Mokudr of Nidrsi (42), has two wives, both young girls. He has been doubly married in order that he may get rid of one of his wives by the *tererstbi* custom and so become rich. He has been married to two wives in order that he may sell one.

When a man or a group of men have more than one wife, the two wives usually live together at the same village, but sometimes they live at different villages, the husband or husbands moving about from one village to the other.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Exchange of Brother and Sister

582 583 Although I was not told that it was the custom for a brother and sister of one clan to marry a sister and brother of another, examination of the genealogies makes it clear that this frequently happens. A good example which may be cited is the marriage of Kuriolv (52) with Punaveli (65), while Sinkòrs, the sister of Kuriolv, married the three brothers of Punaveli. Two other similar instances may be found in Table 52, and they are of general occurrence throughout the genealogies.

In some communities this custom of exchange is definitely connected with the bride-price, which may be so large as almost to compel a man to give his sister in exchange for the wife he takes from another clan. In the case of the Todas the bride-price is so inconsiderable that it is unlikely that it would form a motive for exchange, and I think it improbable that in such marriages as those cited above, the idea of exchange is even definitely formulated, but that the combination of marriages comes about for such obvious reasons as may occur in any community. The marriage of *matchuni*, if widely practised, would obviously lead to an appearance of exchange, and it may be that among the Todas this is the chief cause of its occurrence.

Similarly, instances will be found in the genealogies of two brothers (or two groups of brothers) marrying sisters. An example may be given from Table 53, where Orzevan marries one woman and his two brothers marry her sister. Another instance may be found in Table 58.

587 595 In several cases in which a man or group of men have had two wives the wives have been related. Thus, Kutthurs (12) and his brothers first married Tedjveli (16). After her death, Kutthurs, the only surviving brother, married Sabnir (34), the daughter of Arsner, Tedjveli's sister. Again, Paners (23) and his brothers first married Pergveli, and when she died they married her brother's daughter. Pungusivan (53) married his *matchuni*, Sinodz (68), and when she was taken from him by the *terersthi* custom, he married Sintharap, her sister.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Intercourse between
[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the
684 man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitazmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitazmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitazmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitazmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in
58 the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer
with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover
the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it
627 appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
851 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said
58 to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform
his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners,
the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pödri*,
nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig
ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After
a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve
buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing pur-
poses. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned
only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange
that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused
Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that
Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred
to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become
the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many
buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and
pödri were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45).
She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners
from infancy, and after having three children, who died young,
she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3),
while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was
taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan
remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other
husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
married life, I add one taken from the book published by
595 Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by
851 myself.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The History of Pinpurz Kutan

"I was not seven years old, when my father, taking a child's garment, in value about a quarter of a rupee, and selecting one of the best of our herd, desired me to accompany him to the morrt[1] of Kinōri. This Kinōri had, a month or two before, a daughter born to him. Soon after we had arrived at the morrt, it being understood that Kinōri gladly consented to the propositions which had been made by my father, I was directed to bow myself down, and in the presence of the whole family to ask his foot. This I did; and touching it with my forehead, the buffalo and the garment were presented him, and I was considered to be affianced to his daughter. We remained there for some days, during which period it was agreed upon, what number of kine I was to receive in dower, on my intended spouse coming of age, and we again set out to return to our own morrt. I had no brothers, or they also would have been affianced to my intended, as this was part of the agreement, in case of my father having any more sons born to him. In this case Kinōri's daughter would have been wife to us in succession as we arrived at manhood, and we should have formed one united family—the supreme authority, however, still resting with me. The next year, my father presented to my intended bride a garment, double in value to the first which he had presented, and in each succeeding year, one proportionately increasing in value. We also sacrificed a buffalo, and presented a kutch[2] on every occasion of a death among any of the relations of my intended's family, and one also at their obsequies. In case of any accident of the kind in our family, we expected the same to be observed towards us, except the presenting of the kutch, from which my bride's father was exempted on account of the dower he had to give with her, which would greatly exceed in amount any expense which I could be

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[1] This is evidently the same word as *marth*, which occurs in Chapter XIV as a word for village.

[2] This is the *hach*. Harkness states that it was generally a piece of dyed or printed cotton as at present.

159 to my father. My father died, and when I had attained
584 man's estate, I was not pleased with my betrothed; and presenting her father with three kine, the contract was by
595 mutual consent dissolved. Had the reverse been the case,
851 and the bride or her father had declined to allow of consummation, I could have claimed of the latter a fine equal to fifty kine, and till this fine was paid the former could not marry any other. Freed from my contract with my first bride, I sought to affiance myself in a manner more to my own inclinations, and wishing to be connected with the family of my present wife, Pilluvāni, who was then only six years of age, I spoke to her father, and, obtaining his consent, presented her with a garment in value, according to her age, of about a rupee and a half, and a milch buffalo. I continued to present her with a garment every succeeding year; and on the occurrence of a death among any of the relations of her family, and at the obsequies, I always sacrificed a buffalo, and presented the kutch. Pilluvāni was afterwards betrothed to two others, Khakhood and Tūmbŭt. When she had arrived at a certain age, and had for eight days been living with one of her female friends in a dwelling separate from those of the family,[1] intimation was sent to me, and I went to her father's morrt, that is, Kerjwan's, her second father, the first one being dead. I was feasted and bedded; and after a few days, Kerjwan, laying on his hands, gave us his blessing, and I returned with my wife to my own morrt, receiving with her in dower four buffalo kine; her father also presented to her on this occasion a pair of ear-rings, a pair of armlets, a necklace, a brazen salver, and five rupees.

159 "Now, according to our customs, Pilluvāni was to pass the
595 first month with me, the second with Khakhood, and the third with Tūmbŭt; and the two latter, waiting in succession on
851 the father-in-law, were to ask his blessing and claim their privilege in right. I was to give her raiment the first year, Khakhood the second, and Tūmbŭt the third. I had the option of claiming the first three children, Khakhood the second three, and Tūmbŭt the third three; when the option again revolved to me. It was my place to go to her father

[1] This is a custom of which I failed to obtain any account.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

two or three months prior to the birth of a child, and, delivering to him a small piece of wood, which we call a billu,[1] to claim the forthcoming infant, whether male or female, and acknowledge before him and his relations that I would protect and nourish it; and that, whatever might happen, I allowed this to be in satisfaction of one of my claims. On this occasion, also, I was to present him either five or ten rupees, and in return he was to allow me to select, if I presented him five rupees, three; if ten rupees, six of the best kine of his herd. If the child proved a boy he would have to present me with a heifer, and another one also on the birth of each son, but not on the birth of a daughter, as it is supposed that she will soon be betrothed, and that a fortune will accrue to her in that way.

"After the third birth the same observance and privilege would have fallen to Khakhood and Tūmbŭt successively, or if I chose to give up any of my rights the two latter would successively have had choice of adoption, &c., &c. We all three should have been equally bound to protect the whole of the children, to marry, and to give them in marriage; but the superior authority would always have rested with me.

"The case of Pilluvāni and myself, however, was at variance with this custom. We were very fond of one another and determined not to separate. I offered to pay the usual fines, but the other party would not accept of them. I had been unfortunate. A murrain had attacked my herd; the greater part of Korrorr,[2] and which belonged to my fathers, had been forsaken by the Marvs and Cūvs,[3] from the oppression of some of their rulers, and from being a leading man among my own people I was now reduced, but principally by the oppressions of my wife's relations, to comparative poverty."

[1] This is evidently due to misunderstanding of the *pursūtpimi* ceremony. The Tamil word for 'bow' is *vil*.

[2] Probably Keradr.

[3] Badagas and Kotas.

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan. There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358]

[1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 578 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly-chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes. 234 609

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons. 422 428 595

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljeidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men. [586]

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to 428

2: Marshall

Toda

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[For the author's theories of the origin and development of polyandry and infanticide, see category 116, pp. 223-232.]

CHAP. X.

ζ We find there to be 49 undoubtedly married men, and 47 married women.

If this ratio was strictly true, I should be in a position to announce that the practice of polyandry had become extinct. But if to these 49 men, we add the 12 who are married *de facto*, we get 61 husbands for the 47 wives, or the proportion of 100 : 77. Such, in my belief, is the existing state of polyandry in the tribe—formerly, the discrepancy was perhaps as much as 100 : 40.

η. The total of the Table[1] gives a return of 196 people; from whom, if we deduct the 10 dairymen who live apart, we find that 186 people, of both sexes and all ages, live in 35 rooms, the dimensions of which we know to be 8ft. by 8ft. each; or 5·3 persons, on an average, in each of such rooms. Such is the average domiciliary condition of the tribe. But in village Mênmadd, 23 are shown to be living in 3 rooms, or 8 in some rooms.

If such be the custom of the people when in a state of health, we can scarcely form a conception of their miserable plight when epidemics arise: but we can at once comprehend how fatal any form of contagious disease is too sure to become, if it obtains a footing in the homesteads of any primitive race. Let this essential condition of savage life make a deep impression on our minds, if we would realise any one of the numerous forms of suffering, hardship, or disaster, to which our forefathers must all, from time to time, have been exposed. Rapidly as intelligence spreads amongst civilised nations in these modern days, through the quick interchange of ideas; we may feel very confident, that in the retirement of mountains, swamps, and jungles, at an era when all mankind was young and inexperienced; isolated tribes each gaining their separate knowledge through means of the repeated hard knocks to which their own ignorance of the working of natural laws had rendered them liable, must have undergone the severest trials.

A perusal of the column in Table No. 3, which affords

1 [See pp 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

CHAPTER XXIV.

POLYANDRY.

Polyandry defined—Instances in various parts of the world of Polyandry—Among the Celtic Britons—Laws of Inheritance—Re-marriage of Widows—Disgrace of being Childless—Desire for Children.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE polyandrous state is that form of polygamy which, as practised by the Todas, may both correctly and concisely be described as being the *lawful marriage of one woman with several men, either brothers or near relations.* 595

We must not allow our conception of savage matrimony—no matter what its form—to be cramped by comparing it too rigidly by our experiences of the 'holy state' in civilised life. Remember that barbarians, in the very nature and degree of their social condition, live in most primitive form. Their houses are crowded to excess: their clothes are scant: their ceremonies, free of all symbol, inference, or poetry, are bald, simple and direct. Toda marriage, strange as its nature may appear to be, nevertheless merits honour equally with those other and better understood forms of matrimony, commonly contracted by primitive or even semi-barbarous races. 000

From the days of our childhood we have been educated to the spectacle of the Turk and his score of wives—perhaps, rather respecting the awful man, for his prowess in ruling such a household of women and children. We know, also, that his form of polygamy is the ancient habit of many existing nations, as it was of races which have long since passed away: and that the practice has, within the memory of the present generation, been revived in a modern Christian community.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXIV.

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The Toda woman is restricted by the force of circumstances, to consort with from four to five husbands. Her marriage is also quite respectable; and in point of antiquity, it probably 'whips creation.' She weds for life, 'for better, for worse;' and the married couple give actual security for good behaviour.

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That this practice is neither a modern creation nor peculiar to the Todas alone, history and works of modern travel afford ample evidence. It will amply suffice for our purpose to quote a few instances.

The Bible, in making frequent mention of customs of the barbarians—in the midst of whom we find the Jews, on their first rising to notice, embedded—strictly analogous to those which obtain amongst the Todas, in respect to matrimony; leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that polyandry was, in those early days, an old and well-established institution in the world. And that such is really the truth, will become more and more evident, as from time to time, in the course of these pages, I have recourse to Scripture in drawing attention to ancient usage. Indeed the strong feeling I entertain, that in the Todas, we have actually a living specimen of some of these races, renders the reference to the historical evidence of the Bible, the more fascinating, as it is important.

Polyandry was a recognised institution[1] amongst the famous Aryas—the race to which we English, in common with most civilised nations, have lately found ourselves to be allied by ties of language, and perhaps of consanguinity.

It is still practised by portions of that race, now settled in the Western Himalayas.

It has been noted as a custom of the ancient Medes and Getes.

Cæsar's description of the mode of matrimonial alliance,

[1] Talboys-Wheeler, 'History of India.'

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 621 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 423 234 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of 851 both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in 595 common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the 428

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have *no word* for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

children as his—though each woman is mother only to her own—and each male child is an heir to the property of all of the fathers. CHAP. XXIV.

X. In order to avoid the complications that would arise, in the matter of food and the guardianship of property, from the re-marriage of widows, if they entered other families, taking their children with them; either a brother or other near relation of her deceased husband, takes her to wife. She 'remains in the family.' Such is Toda expression.

The following was early Semitic custom (*see* Deuteronomy xxv. 5): 'If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger; her husband's brother'—or 'next kinsman,' says a marginal note—'shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother* unto her.' This practice, is either pure polyandry, or it pertains to that extreme communistic state of society, to which, as I shall shortly demonstrate, polyandry belongs.

I met on one occasion, the instance of a man who had just separated from a very good-looking young wife of about fourteen years of age, in order that he might marry his elder brother's widow. It was looked on as a matter of course that the widow should 'remain in the family:' and the retention of two wives, in a community where the women are considerably in the minority, is out of the question. The girl had immediately espoused another; for until children have been born, the Todas do not mind the marriage of a widow out of the family.

These and other instances of the grave, practical, and undeviating nature of this curious people, made a great impression on me at the time.

Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more

* To raise up seed unto the brother.

as may be most convenient to them. In either case, the marriage both in name and in fact, is identical. CHAP. XXV.

It is the custom for the husband to give a feast to his nearest relatives on such a joyous occasion.

It will be seen that up to this stage, the woman is married with her own consent to one man—he who pays the dowry, or gives security to society for his own good behaviour. But now, if the husband has brothers or very near relatives, all living together, they may each, if both she and he consent, participate in the right to be considered her husband also, on making up a share of the dowry that has been paid. In fact it was formerly their almost universal custom—in the days when women were more scarce than they are now—for *a family of near relations to live together in one mand, having wife, children and cattle all in common.*

Now if we consider that one or more brothers may each become the husbands of separate wives by virtue of having each paid a dower, and that younger brothers as they grow to age of maturity, and other brothers as they become widowed, may each, either take separate wives or purchase shares in those already in the family, we can at once understand that any degree of complication in perfectly lawful wedded life, may be met with, from the sample of the single man living with a single wife, to that of the group of relatives married to a group of wives. We begin to see also why tribes following polyandrous habits, endeavour to prevent further complications by making widows 'remain in the family.'

All the children of these very promiscuous unions are held to be brothers and sisters. And as, as is manifest, a generation or two of such marriages must produce inextricable confusion in relationships, so we find that the Todas, who like nothing so much as reducing things to simple formulæ, rather ignore the whole subject, terming them anatama.[4] They will

[4] See Note 19 of Chapter VII.

CHAP. XXV. describe the connection between such brothers as follows: 'Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their mothers being sisters, they are brothers.' An uncle is styled 'my little father'; most significant.

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The marriage system I have described is elastic. It is capable of being modified in its internal working without change in the actual principle. Thus, when women are scarce, several men have to be content with one wife between them. But as women become more numerous, a greater proportion of men are able to procure a wife a-piece. This condition of permanent routine is supremely satisfying to the Toda mind.

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The general expression for marriage is represented by the word kûdiken — I join.[6] Thus, 'Beliani is married to Nastufi' would be translated Beliani Nastufig kûdthchi, or they are joined to one another. But in addressing a man with the casual question of, 'Are you married?' the ordinary way of putting it, would be to say, 'Is there a son?'—Mokh vathchya? He would reply, Ha, mokh vathchi, 'Yes, there is a son:' or if married, but childless, he would detail, Ân kukh kûdthbini, mokh illade—'I joined a woman, a son is not.'

Similarly, the enquiry made of a woman would be, Beithta gavthchya?—'Is the neck-ring tied?'[6]

[115] 843

Mr. Metz has been so good as to describe for me a singular custom connected with weddings, which he learnt subsequently to my having left the Nilagiris: of which no sort of explanation can be supplied by the Todas.

When the wife has gone seven months with her first child, she retires with her husband alone, to the depths of the village wood, where at the foot of some tree she places a

[5] I am not certain that in the word 'join,' we have got the most primitive meaning of kûdiken. The Hindustani word kûdna, and its Sanskrit root kurd=*play*, might be compared.

[6] For the modes in which husbands and wives address one another, see Chapter VII.

were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9. CHAP. XXVI. 589 183 582

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation. 582 595 181

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety. 181

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe. 144

tradition, to retain, in some instances, more than one daughter in a family; thus forming a small reserve of women, with which the vacancies which would arise in other families, from a deficiency in female births, or from girls not having been raised to years of maturity, find a counterpoise. 000

The exceptional practice of polyandry, which had, in an unpremeditated manner, thus grown, merely from the infanticide which had disturbed the natural proportion of the sexes, might be expected to retain something of the promiscuous ways, which for ages had been so much in consonance with gregarious and primitive tastes. Now that the custom of infanticide has been relinquished, and the discrepancy between the sexes, which was its immediate fruit, has become less remarkable—though very far from having vanished—I observe communism still remaining *de facto*, the loved habit of the people, whilst monogamy grows to be the national form of marriage. It may be that the Todas in this process of change, are merely *reverting* to an ancient usage—that prior to infanticide—instigated by the natural predilections of unaltered dispositions. Perhaps their habits are becoming modified by the influence of surrounding monogamic races. 178 595 947

I very much doubt if the custom of polyandry, taken in the ordinary acceptation of that word, viz., the union of brothers only, to one wife, can anywhere be found as the sole national form of marriage; thus assuming the airs of a respectable, even if eccentric custom; for, bearing in mind the extreme gregariousness of their dispositions, and intimacy of their lives: considering, also, the absolute necessity for every soul to marry, it is evident that the actual nature of the tie must very greatly depend on the living ratio of the sexes; which, of course, could not be maintained at one undeviating level. When the proportions balance, the savage prefers a promiscuous style: but as they widen, and the males preponderate, the practice of monogamy is seen, coexistent with that of a polyandry in which the husbands are *so-called* brothers. 000

262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

847 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Meta's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

517 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Ilâta*, which is
526 played as follows :—

A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the bataman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Ilâta* is a variety of *tipoat*.

Another game is called *Nârthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some mands a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Kâriâlapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B.[1]

291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows :—

" The garment * in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, " cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

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* Toda : *Pûthuli.*

[1] [Category 116, pp. 117-123.-- Analyst]

172 range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

● 595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes, as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a
837 time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

582 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early
583 age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

172 parts." Among the most interesting figures are those of heavily bearded men riding on horses, and big-horned buffaloes which might have been modelled from the Toda buffaloes of to-day, and, like these, at funerals and migration ceremonies, bear a bell round the neck.

234 193 Two forms of Toda dairy have so far been noticed. But there remains a third kind, called the ti mand, concerning which Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The ti is the name of an institution, which comprises a herd of buffaloes, with a number of dairies and grazing districts, tended by a dairy-man priest called palol, with an assistant called kaltmokh. Each dairy, with its accompanying buildings and pasturage, is called a ti mad, or ti village. The buffaloes belonging to a ti are of two kinds, distinguished as persiner and punir. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the ti dairy is concerned with their milk. The punir correspond in some respects to the putiir of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the palol, and are not treated with any special ceremony. During the whole time he holds office, the palol may not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another ti village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the kaltmokh, or with people who come to visit him at the ti. If the palol has to cross a river, he may not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford, and it appears that he may only use certain fords. The palol must be celibate, and, if married, he must leave [595] his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers." I visited the ti mand near Paikāra by appointment, and, on arrival near the mand, found the two palols, well-built men aged about thirty and fifty, clad in black cloths, and two kaltmokhs, youths aged

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Tarthāl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthāl woman visits at a Tērthāl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in butter-milk. The restrictions which are imposed on Tērthāl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Tērthāl woman, on a visit at a Tarthāl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkūli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthāls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Tērthāl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyāl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

564 574 [252] 564 621 [193] 564 614

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikāra bungalow.

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Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

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595 among them. When the girl becomes the wife of a boy, it is usually understood that she becomes also the wife of his brothers. In nearly every case at the present time, and in recent generations, the husbands of a woman are own brothers. In a few cases, though not brothers, they are of the same clan. Very rarely do they belong to
595 different clans. One of the most interesting features of
851 Toda polyandry is the method by which it is arranged who shall be regarded as the father of a child. For all social and legal purposes, the father of a child is the man
[843] who performs a certain ceremony about the seventh month of pregnancy, in which an imitation bow and arrow are given to the woman. When the husbands are own brothers, the eldest brother usually gives the bow and arrow, and is the father of the child, though, so long as the brothers live together, the other brothers are also regarded as fathers. It is in the cases in which the husbands are not own brothers that the ceremony becomes of real social importance. In these cases, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall give the bow and arrow, and this man is the father, not only of the child born shortly afterwards, but also of all succeeding children, till another husband performs the essential ceremony. Fatherhood is determined so essentially by this ceremony that a man who has been dead for several years is regarded as the father of any children born by his widow, if no other man has given the bow and arrow.
595 There is no doubt that, in former times, the polyandry
[847] of the Todas was associated with female infanticide, and it is probable that the latter custom still exists to some extent, though strenuously denied. There is reason to
[162] believe that women are now more plentiful than formerly, though they are still in a distinct minority. Any increase, however, in the number of women does not

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

appear to have led to any great diminution of polyandrous marriages, but polyandry is often combined with polygyny. Two or more brothers may have two or more wives in common. In such marriages, however, it seems to be a growing custom that one brother should give the bow and arrow to one wife, and another brother to another wife." 595

The pregnancy ceremony referred to above is called pursutpimi, or bow (and arrow) we touch. According to the account given to me by several independent witnesses, the woman proceeds, accompanied by members of the tribe, on a new moon-day in the fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy, to a shola, where she sits with the man who is to become the father of her child near a kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*). The man asks the father of the woman if he may bring the bow, and, on obtaining his consent, goes in search of a shrub (*Sophora glauca*), from a twig of which he makes a mimic bow. The arrow is represented by a blade of grass called nark (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*). Meanwhile a triangular niche has been cut in the kiaz tree, in which a lighted lamp is placed. The woman seats herself in front of the lamp, and, on the return of the man, asks thrice "Whose bow is it?" or "What is it?" meaning to whom, or to which mand does the child belong? The bow and arrow are handed to the woman, who raises them to her head, touches her forehead with them, and places them near the tree. From this moment the lawful father of the child is the man from whom she has received the bow and arrow. He places on the ground at the foot of the tree some rice, various kinds of grain, chillies, jaggery (crude sugar), and salt tied in a cloth. All those present then leave, except the man and woman, who remain near the tree till about six o'clock in the evening,

595 851 843 [824]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

595 851 843 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas ăru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may [765] be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram).

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nīlgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 178 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Paikara bungalow.
† *Op. cit.*

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648 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient
434 living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great
114 importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which
616 each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his
[578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:l), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!").
581 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kum:ɕjaɮf made an
588 innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather
616 by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj
178 institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kum:ɕjaɮf or the children of this union. The example was followed in kuᵐ:ɕjaɮf's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kuᵐ:ɕjaɮf's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

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cousin;" sex may however be indicated by the addition of the respective sex-denoting words). In ego's generation sex is specified in referring to and addressing his siblings and parallel cousins older than himself, and in addressing cross-cousins, but not in referring to and addressing siblings and parallel cousins younger than himself or in referring to cross-cousins; in reference in the latter cases an optional reference is allowed. In descending generations sex is specified in reference but not in address. 601

In ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age older or younger than his own (see above), in the case of siblings and parallel cousins when referred to or addressed, and in the case of cross-cousins of the same sex as ego when addressed. In the first ascending generation ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's, in both cases by prefixing per-ūwḍ "big-who is" and kur-ūwḍ "small-who is" to the classificatory terms, either of reference or address.

The father is not distinguished in address or reference from his brothers and male parallel cousins, nor in address from his male cross-cousins; the mother is not distinguished in address or reference from her sisters and female parallel cousins, nor in address from her female cross-cousins. A step-parent is not distinguished in reference or address from a parent. [595]

In ego's generation siblings by the same father are not distinguished in reference or address from children of the father's brothers or from children of the mother's sisters. There is a permissively used special term of reference for a man's brother who is a son of the same father, oṇtofn; e.g., aθ en-oṇtofn-ɯji "he is my brother, the son of the same father as myself," oṇtofn-mox fatjoṭi "do not seize the wife of (your) brother by the same father (i.e. do not carry her off as you may do with other men's wives and then have compensation [ter] arranged by the tribal council)."[10] When special exactness is needed, descriptive phrases may be used.

In the first ascending generation there is a special term, both in reference and address, for the father's sisters and female parallel cousins, and this is also used for the mother's male siblings' and male parallel cousins' wives, and for ego's mother-in-law and her female siblings. Similarly, there is a special term for the mother's brothers and male parallel cousins, and this is used also for the father's female siblings' and female parallel cousins' husbands, and for ego's father-in-law and the latter's male siblings. In ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences, except those who are affines; a spouse's siblings are not classed as ego's cross-cousins, unless they are really so. In the first descending generation a distinction is made in reference between two groups: (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are all descriptively distinguished, e.g., on-mox "elder brother's son," en-ūwṛ-fed-mom-mox "my younger brother's son," močinj-xu ɯn-mox "female cross-

[10] Rivers, pp. 513–23. It is possible that oṇtofn is the word meant by Rivers (p. 484), *ennaiam*. [114]

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But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I
614 judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find
[197] at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[26] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[27] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
197 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
174 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the
[79] Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[28] that the model house
[787] or dairy used in the uɪr-foṭt ceremony, and called poɪl-poḷj (Rivers' pūlpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyḷj) has no possible connection.

Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
174 some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
● 595 fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be
[114] trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Fur-
[171] thermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[29]

The toɪṭjfoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
174 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women
837 that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[26] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123-47, 1938); sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611-40, 1907). [27] Pp. 693-718, especially pp. 698 ff. [28] Rivers, p. 702.

[29] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 379-81, 1938).

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428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the
[123] sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded
[766] to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

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of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

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595 851 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically; they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 851 [843] The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman – which appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives, and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia [824] Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp, [354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from *mark* grass (Andropogon schoenanthus).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother (in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying, after the *kwarshm* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, pursvat!* (To Terkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs* [W4] *iveru?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*, as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsh* name for the bow. Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something

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which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and 595
return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves 851
a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held.

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to pro- [842]
create children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, [684]
so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about [616]
by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would [848]
otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas.

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the 851
legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a 848
man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the 836
girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her.

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to 586
become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently [587]
compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation

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therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

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the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die. 578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed. 595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. Nine of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above). [115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Purzütpini* was, however, performed for 595 614 595 587 595

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595 her by Wunkwur. Kanvarsathi assured me that there were other such non-fraternal cases in outlying *munds*, but I did not come across any.

114 My impression was that the polyandry of the Todas is tending more and more to be restricted only to real brothers, in the way we use that word.
595 Rivers in his book does mention a number of instances in which non-brothers, not even classificatory, are married to the same woman (see *The Todas*, pp. 515–516), but although I searched for some, I was unable to find any in existence today. Rivers already remarked in his time: "It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present." (*The Todas*, p. 516.)

Rivers' description of the marriage of *matchuni* seems to imply that such weddings are monogamous, (see *The Todas*, pp. 512–513). I enquired about this when in the Nilgiris, and was told that it was not necessarily, although admittedly generally, so. There have been recorded cases of polygamous unions of this type, both polygynous and polyandrous, the latter being, rather naturally with the Todas, the more usual of the two. My informants could not take me to see any such case existing at the time, but assured me that they had known some. There was nothing in Toda custom to forbid it, they assured me (see also, *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers' Book, Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

648 Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf has shown, in his short
837 note about *Heriditary Friendships and Inter-Tribal Sex relations between Todas and Mudugas* (see Bibliography), that such relations of the
[114] Todas with their Muduga hereditary friends are definitely not limited to one man, but include a number of brothers. In this case, of course, we are not dealing with a regular marriage. Inversely, the Muduga headman whom he mentioned has access to the common wife of the two Toda brothers who are his friends, whenever he pays back their call in the Nilgiris, although the Mudugas themselves, like most more primitive people, do not practise polyandry. The type of established, even institutionalized, sex relation described here, seems definitely to follow the Toda pattern and not the Muduga one.

595 About sixty per cent of the Todas are polyandrous. I did not actually take count of exactly how many there were, because as the community is continually in flux with regard to marital arrangements, principally because of the *teretshi* institution, figures would not have meant very much anyhow. But Kanvarsathi worked it out that the number of polyandrous marriages must involve just about that percentage of the whole tribe's number, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of

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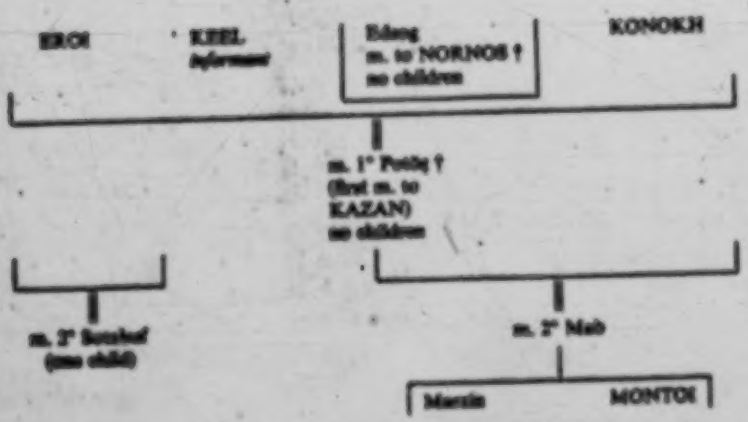
595

TABLE 21. GENEALOGY OF THE ARSHMAD OF KUUR (TEIVILKH) MODOL.



NOTE: This is how Keel described it to me, but according to Rivers it would seem that Erch had been married twice before, Keel and Konokh once each respectively, and the girl, Ednog, at least four times previously, twice polyandrously to successively three and two husbands (see Rivers, *The Todas*, genealogical table No. 36). [587]

Males in capital letters
Females in small type
† = dead
m. = married

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595 his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous
[621] households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one
[592] in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mud* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mud*, a man named Nipõ, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumud* (chief *mud*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mud*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mud* will be given.

601 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I
595 visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kisr, a Kuur *mud* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mud* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Erol, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potõz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potõz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmud, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] Then the following occurred: Erol found employment as a govern-
[587] ment peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotsbuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

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jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *mud*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensation to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

[623]

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Mootol, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *purtiipim* in the first instance.

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The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Malgarsh individually belong.

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601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
[843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
[164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
[578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
[682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was
[595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

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married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

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595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen
[513] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

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[Melgarsh Village]

(6) Nalsirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pads. She is twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knowns it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife. 159 621

(7) MUTNARSH: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [464]

(8) KUDDHUE: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mad*, in the tribe's *wursulis* for which he is very much sought after. [732] [793]

(9) MUNBOKWUTN: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Erzigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mad* where he apparently likes to stay. [595]

(10) Erzigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda women who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so [842]

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[Melgarsh Village]

complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by ask-
ing me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not ac- [123]
cede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the [273]
occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the [431]
demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is [846]
impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even be-
ing tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the dif- [847]
ficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mut- 595
narsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children
were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal ob- [865]
servation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The* 846
Todas, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. 796
Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was un-
usual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of [183]
bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

To 131 161 114

The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

To [161] • 595 618 [121]

Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, *i.e.*, a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars,

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and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

TO 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

TO 291 144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

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302 have any except buffalo butter, which they
524 rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To
595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which
To polyandry turns.

595 Three brothers married, polyandrously,
582 a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when
422 she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of
To the common property.

595 The two others tried to marry a woman
583 called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started
592 haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

To 220a

595 second brother had also left, when he ran
422 away in a huff, with one-third plus two of
592 the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To 595 WTi 595 [592] ?

The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

220b

Ti 585 or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 582 586 wTi 584 Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

To ●595 wTi [595] Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

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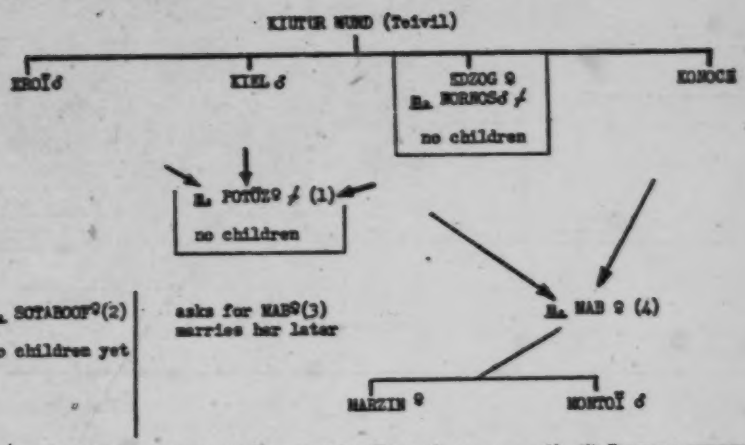

FIGURE 2. A Toda genealogy. (1) First married to Karan when two years old. (2) Becomes a government peon; takes one-third of the buffalo plus two away. (3) Quarrels with her father over bride price; leaves with one-third of the buffalo but comes back and marries Mab after his brother, Konoch, has already married her. (4) Konoch originally is left with one-third of the buffalo (four). Mab becomes pregnant before Kiel joins in the marriage. † Deceased. Arrows denote polyandrous marriages.

-- p. 220c (Figure 2) --

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and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

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Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finallly, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at leastt 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

To 836 784 154 618 123

interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154

I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595

Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 595 wTi 595

As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

To 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any more jealous than the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually he is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 596 898 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in

K 131 595 596 428 591 Tiya Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

Ti 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

Ti 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 132 To 595 132 Ti 595 182 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

TODA AW60
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KERALA AW11

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K 595 182 Ti 595 182 To 595 182

stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

To 174 595 182 162 K 174 595 182 162 Ti 174 595 182 162 To [847]

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

To 114

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

To OR AW 60
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To 114 — reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

To 595 114 T, 595 114 K 114 595

Ti 162 792 To 847 162 — As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162 — As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanatio

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

To 829 595 121 182 would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 829 595 121 182 K [121]

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

Ti 595 114 [182] [593]

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 Ti 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
TODA AW60
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relation, but it seems to me that the *tchamadoong* system is so close to such a relation that again it could easily be explained in this way.

In the final instance, as I say, polyandry "persists through isolation, in the case of the Tibetans, and as part of a defense mechanism in the case of the Todas." The Tibetans are very isolated and do not come in contact with other peoples and, for that reason, the system is well preserved, though in the border region it is breaking down. I was much struck by the fact that people there do not like mentioning polyandry. They are shy about it and think it does not sound very nice to other people, while as one gets into the interior among real polyandrous people they are very proud of it and boast of it. In the case of Tocktock, which I mentioned before, the old man was surprised that other peoples were not polyandrous. As far as the Todas are concerned, they are cooped up in the mountains. They are hemmed in by other peoples who have other customs, but they still feel that they are the people of the Nilghiris, and that they are a superior race. In order to assert this, they stick very "nationalistically" to their customs, and I think polyandry persists among them as one of the symbols of their superiority.

000 I hope that this explanation of polyandry may sound convincing in spite of its mainly psychoanalytical approach. I think that the results of this first expedition were satisfactory, and thoroughly justify the desire for a second expedition to find out more about it, for there are many gaps that still need to be filled in, in order to complete the picture.

4: Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

as may be most convenient to them. In either case, the marriage both in name and in fact, is identical. CHAP. XXV.

It is the custom for the husband to give a feast to his nearest relatives on such a joyous occasion.

It will be seen that up to this stage, the woman is married with her own consent to one man—he who pays the dowry, or gives security to society for his own good behaviour. But now, if the husband has brothers or very near relatives, all living together, they may each, if both she and he consent, participate in the right to be considered her husband also, on making up a share of the dowry that has been paid. In fact it was formerly their almost universal custom—in the days when women were more scarce than they are now—for *a family of near relations to live together in one mand, having wife, children and cattle all in common.*

Now if we consider that one or more brothers may each become the husbands of separate wives by virtue of having each paid a dower, and that younger brothers as they grow to age of maturity, and other brothers as they become widowed, may each, either take separate wives or purchase shares in those already in the family, we can at once understand that any degree of complication in perfectly lawful wedded life, may be met with, from the sample of the single man living with a single wife, to that of the group of relatives married to a group of wives. We begin to see also why tribes following polyandrous habits, endeavour to prevent further complications by making widows 'remain in the family.'

All the children of these very promiscuous unions are held to be brothers and sisters. And as, as is manifest, a generation or two of such marriages must produce inextricable confusion in relationships, so we find that the Todas, who like nothing so much as reducing things to simple formulæ, rather ignore the whole subject, terming them anatama.[4] They will

[4] See Note 19 of Chapter VII.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

aspects, and the information so gained often afforded 124
valuable corroboration of what I had been told on other occasions and by other individuals. Thus, in obtaining a prayer, various matters would arise which would confirm the accuracy of a legend obtained weeks earlier, or the investigation of a funeral custom would lead to the indirect corroboration of evidence concerning the regulation of marriage.

The most important way in which this method of indirect corroboration may be intentionally applied is by obtaining the same information first in an abstract form and then by means of a number of concrete instances. As an example of what I mean I may cite the method by which I inquired into the laws of inheritance of property. I first obtained an account of what was done in the abstract—of the laws governing the inheritance of houses, the division of the buffaloes and other property among the children, &c. Next I gave a number of hypothetical concrete instances; I took cases of men with so many children and so many buffaloes, and repeating the cases I found that my informant gave answers which were consistent not only with one another but also with the abstract regulations previously given. Finally I took real persons and inquired into what had actually happened when A or B died, and again obtained a body of information consistent in itself and agreeing with that already obtained.

By far my most valuable instrument of inquiry was that 124
provided by the genealogical method.[1] The Todas preserve 173
in their memories the names of all their ancestors and rela- 601
tives extending back for several generations. In the tables given at the end of this book, I have recorded the pedigrees of seventy-two families, including the whole of the Toda community. Whenever the name of a man was mentioned in connexion with ceremony or social custom, his name was found in the genealogical record and the relation was ascertained in which he stood towards others participating in the ceremony or custom. By this means a concrete element was brought into the work which greatly facilitated inquiry.

[1] See chapter XX and *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1900, vol. xxx., p. 74.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Customs and rites were investigated by means of concrete examples in which the people taking part were real people to me as well as to my informants. In a later chapter I shall consider more fully the *rôle* of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. I mention them here to give a preliminary indication of the extensive part they played in my investigations. In order to give my readers the opportunity of following my method in some measure for themselves, I have given after the name of any individual mentioned in the book the number of the genealogical table in which his name occurs; thus "Kòdrner (7)" means that Kòdrner is a member of the family of which the pedigree is recorded in Table 7.

124

I have already referred to the trustworthiness of the evidence given by the Todas. I must now speak of the great differences in this respect shown by different individuals. Some would give full and elaborate accounts of ceremonial which close investigation showed to be, so far as one could tell, thoroughly accurate. Others gave careless and slovenly accounts, full of omissions and inaccuracies of detail, though they rarely said anything which was distinctly untrue.

After some experience had been gained, one day's work was usually sufficient to enable me to make up my mind whether a man was a careful witness, and if he did not seem to be so, he was not again called upon for help. Different men were known to have especial acquaintance with certain branches of knowledge, and I always endeavoured to obtain such people. In the case of the religious ritual, it was not practicable to make use, to any great extent, of men actually holding any of the sacred offices, but I always had recourse to people who had held these offices and were personally familiar with the ceremonial.

Among the many aspects of social life and religion, I soon found that there were some about which there was no reticence, and these could be discussed in public with men, women, or children standing by and perhaps taking part. There were others which were of a more sacred nature, and, if they were approached in public, it was immediately obvious

114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same com-
173 pleteness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.

601 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to
551 whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the
784 names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead. 124 173 601

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure. 551 784 [616]

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect. 124 173 601

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres* 128 601

[1] [pp. 749-788]

128 *Straits Expedition*, with the modifications rendered necessary
601 by the presence of polyandry and infant marriage among the Todas. In any one table the descendants in the male line only are given, descendants in the female line being recorded in the genealogies of the husbands. Thus, if one wishes to ascertain the descendants of Pilivurch in Table 1, it is necessary to turn to Table 20 recording the genealogy of Teithi, the husband of this woman. The names of males are in capital letters, those of females in ordinary type, and the name of a wife always follows the name of her husband or husbands. Under the name of each individual is placed, in italics, the name of the clan to which the individual belongs, or, in the case of a married woman, of the clan to which she had belonged before marriage. The names of those now living are given in Clarendon type, of which Mudrigeidi and Savdur in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviation i.m. stands for "infant marriage." The abbreviations d.y. and d.n.n. stand for "died young" and "died before being named" respectively. The latter implies that the child died within a few weeks of birth.

When the names of men are enclosed in square brackets, polyandry, and when the names of women are so enclosed, polygyny, is indicated.

006 In the *Torres Straits Reports* I have shown that there are definite reasons why the people should have preserved their pedigrees so fully. The pedigrees are not preserved for amusement nor out of idle interest in the doings of ancestors or neighbours. In Torres Straits the complex and far-reaching nature of the marriage regulations form the chief motive for the preservation of the pedigrees, while the transmission of property is perhaps of almost equal importance.

182 Among the Todas we shall see that the marriage regulations
423 are far simpler than among the Papuans of Torres Straits, and in their case the chief motive is probably connected with the inheritance of buffaloes, the only form of property in which the Toda takes much interest. In the succeeding chapters we shall find several examples of social transactions in which the knowledge derived from the genealogical record has determined the issue.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Value of the Genealogical Record

In the succeeding chapters I shall show the value of the genealogies in working out the nature of the system of kinship and in providing statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The greater part of my work on the social aspect of the life of the Todas is based on material derived from the genealogies; or perhaps I should rather say that most of the information I give has been checked, if not entirely obtained, by means of the genealogies. 124 173 601

I wish, however, to draw attention here to a far wider use of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. They bring a concrete element into anthropological work which greatly facilitates inquiry. The lower one goes in the social or intellectual scale in mankind, the greater difficulty is there in dealing with abstractions. The savage mind is almost wholly occupied with the concrete. Discuss his laws of inheritance with him, and you probably soon become hopelessly entangled in misunderstanding. Take a number of concrete cases, and his memory will enable him to heap instance upon instance showing how property was inherited in given cases. Similarly, in ceremonies, ask the savage to give an account of a given ceremony, and he probably omits many essential points, not because he forgets them, but because they are so familiar to him that he thinks you, like himself, take them for granted. Ask him to tell you exactly what A and B did when they performed a given ceremony, and he forms a mental picture of A and B going through the ceremony, and tells you exactly what they did and how they did it. When another individual comes into the ceremony, he too comes in as a concrete personage, and his sayings and doings are faithfully recorded.

The Todas are so intelligent that the genealogies were not so essential an instrument of investigation as was the case in Torres Straits, but they were nevertheless of enormous value in giving concreteness to the accounts of the Toda ceremonies. The Todas certainly gave fuller and more faithful accounts of their ceremonies when they described actual events, but such descriptions would have been of little value to me if I had

124 not had my pedigrees as a guide. An account of a Toda
173 funeral, for instance, with its many *dramatis personæ* would
601 probably have baffled my powers of comprehension if I had not had my book of genealogies for reference.

I always worked with this book by my side whenever I was investigating any ceremonial in which the social side of life was concerned. I asked for a description of some ceremony recently performed of which the memories were fresh. The chief actors in the ceremony were always mentioned by name; and whenever a name occurred, I looked up the clan and family of the person in question and noticed his relationship to other persons who had taken part in the ceremony. The actors in the ceremony were thus real people to me as well as to my informants, and the account of the ceremony proceeded with the maximum of interest and the minimum of fatigue both to myself and to my informants.

The method had the further advantage that it afforded me the means of checking the accounts which I was given. An informant inclined to be careless soon found that I had the means of checking his narrative on many points; and some of the people, not knowing the source of my information, credited me with more knowledge than I really possessed, and were in consequence extremely careful not to wander from the truth, or perhaps I should rather say, not to tell me anything of which they were not absolutely certain. I have already stated my belief that the Todas are very truthful and that they err far more often from carelessness than intention, but the fact that I had a fund of knowledge of which the source was somewhat mysterious probably saved me from having much of my time wasted by careless or inaccurate information.

123 I think that my familiarity with the names and circum-
124 stances of the people helped me to acquire their confidence. Among the more simple people of Torres Straits, I used sometimes to let a man know, much to his astonishment, that I was acquainted with some of the affairs of his family. Among the more reticent Todas, it seemed to me unwise to do this, but, on meeting for the first time a man with whom I was already acquainted through the genealogies, I often referred to something I knew he had done, perhaps to the skilful

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way he had caught the buffalo at such and such a funeral, and the fact that I knew something of him and his doings often helped to put us at once on friendly terms, and at the same time put him on his mettle to give me the best of the knowledge at his command. 123 124

The Trustworthiness of the Genealogies

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Before using the genealogical record as a means of studying the details of the social organisation, it may be well to consider what guarantee we have that the genealogies form a truthful record of the past. In Torres Straits, where I gained my first experience in these matters, I was so incredulous of the accuracy of the record that I obtained almost every particle of information from two or three different and independent sources, and it was only when I had finished that I found the whole mass of material to furnish a record so consistent in itself that it could hardly have been other than veracious.

Further, on investigating kinship and the regulation of marriage, both on the basis of the genealogical record, it was found that the results of one investigation closely corroborated the results of the other, and that the combined investigations gave so consistent and coherent a result that it was incredible that the genealogies on which the investigations were based should have been other than faithful and accurate records.

The Toda community is considerably larger than either of those with which I worked in the islands of Torres Straits, and when I found that the memories of the people extended back as far or nearly as far as in those islands, it became obvious that I was confronted with a task of considerable magnitude, and the question arose whether it was necessary to obtain separate accounts of every family from independent witnesses, as I had done previously, or whether I might not rely on the account of a family given by one witness and only seek corroboration occasionally. I began by following the same procedure as in Torres Straits, but soon found that the accounts obtained independently showed a close 124 128 173 601

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124 agreement, and I therefore contented myself in my later
128 work with one account, though every now and again I went
over a piece of a pedigree with a second witness. When
173 I had finished, the consistency of all the parts of the record
601 with one another seemed to afford conclusive evidence that I
had obtained what is, on the whole, a veracious record.

Of course, in so large a mass of material there are mistakes.[1] In one family no doubt a child has been omitted, especially when it died young and had no posterity to make its name important; in another case perhaps a child has been added to a family who was really the offspring of another mother. That there are such mistakes is certain, but they are probably few in number, and I have no doubt that, with one exception to be presently considered, such mistakes as have crept in do not appreciably impair the value of the genealogies as a record of the working of social regulations.

128 There is one deficiency of the record, however, of the
173 existence of which I have little doubt—a deficiency entirely
due to my own carelessness. To me the chief interest of the
601 genealogies is that they are a record of the past—a record of the working of social regulations which at the present time may be already affected by the new influences coming into the lives of primitive people all over the world. In my absorption in the records of the past, I have often neglected the present and have omitted to ascertain carefully the children of families at present in process of growth. In several cases I have failed to obtain the names of children of people now living, and I have very little doubt that I have in several or many cases omitted the names of other children of growing families. I had one excuse for this in the fact already mentioned, that I had to obtain my information about a given family from people of some other family. A man would often know all about the members of the given family in the past, but, living perhaps at some distance from the family in question, he was often hazy as to the exact number and names of the children recently born, and it is the record of

[1] For a few cases in which an individual is entered as the child of a man who is known not to be his real father, see p. 534. In such a case I have assigned the child to the parent who is regarded as the legal father by the Todas.

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children under five years of age which I know to be deficient. 128 173

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females. 601 161 162

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 ,,	4	7
56—60 ,,	19	9
51—55 ,,	20	17
46—50 ,,	26	21
41—45 ,,	26	18
36—40 ,,	26	27
31—35 ,,	40	25
26—30 ,,	40	33
21—25 ,,	38	28
16—20 ,,	32	31
11—15 ,,	41	20
6—10 ,,	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour- 125 128

125 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the
128 community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the
173 value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of
601 the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

Buffalo Pedigrees

124 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees
173 of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my
234 next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

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CHAPTER XXI

KINSHIP

THE system of kinship was studied chiefly by means of the genealogies. The Todas are sufficiently intelligent to be able to give satisfactory definitions of their terms expressing different kinds of relationship, but the genealogies were very useful in checking these definitions and in working out several points in detail. 601

The Toda system of kinship is of the kind known as classificatory with several interesting special features. Perhaps the most important of these is the use of the same terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand, and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other hand. This is a natural consequence of the regulation which ordains that the proper marriage for a man is one with the daughter either of his mother's brother or father's sister.

Another important feature of the Toda system is the existence of two well-marked groups of terms expressing bonds of kinship; one used when speaking of relatives, and the other when speaking to relatives and in exclamations. The latter, which may be regarded as vocative cases of the former, are fewer in number and used in a much more general sense; and if the two are not distinguished, it is easy to understand that one may find only "inextricable confusion in Toda ideas as to relationship."[1] I will first give a list of kinship terms, together with the forms used in direct address, and the approximate definitions, and these will be followed by a

[1] See Marshall, p. 213.

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601 discussion of the exact meaning of each term. The vocative forms are enclosed in brackets.

Pevian, great-grandfather.
Peviav, great-grandmother.
Pian (*pia*), grandfather.
Piav (*piava*), grandmother.
In (*aia*), father.
Av (*ava*), mother.
Mokh (*ena*), son.
Kugh (*ena*), daughter.
Mokh pedvai mokh (*ena*), grandson.
Mokh pedvai kugh (*ena*), granddaughter.
An (*anna*), elder brother.
Egal (*egala*), brother of same age.
Nòdrved (*enda*), younger brother.
Akkan (*akka*), elder sister.
Nòdrvedkugh (*enda*), younger sister.
Mun (*mama*), mother's brother and wife's father.
Mumi (*mimia*), father's sister and wife's mother.
Manmokh (*ena*), sister's son.
Mankugh (*ena*), sister's daughter.
Matchuni, child of a mother's brother or father's sister.
Òl (*òl* or *òlia*), husband.
Kotvai or *tazmokh* (*tazmokh* or *tazmokhia*), wife.
Paiol, general name for male relatives of wife.
Motvilth (*ena*), son's wife.

A general name for those of the same clan is *annatam*, but I am not sure that this is not properly a borrowed word.

In giving a more detailed account of these terms of kinship, it will perhaps be convenient to begin with the relationship of *in*, or father.

In. A person speaks of his father as "*en in*," "my father," while "his father" would be "*tan in*." An *in* is addressed as *aia*. These names are applied not only to the father, but also to the father's brothers, whether they are husbands of the mother or not.

The names *in* or *aia* are also given to all the males of the clan (*madol*) who are of the same generation as the father;

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also to the husbands of the sisters of the mother, sisters here including both own sisters and clan-sisters, *i.e.*, to the husbands of all those who are of the same clan and generation as the mother. Elder brothers of the father (either own brothers or clan-brothers) are often addressed as *perudaia*, while younger brothers are called *karudàia*, and in speaking of such men the expressions "*en in perud*" and "*en in karud*" would be used. When a man speaks of one of his more remote fathers, and it may be doubtful of whom he is speaking, he may add the name of the man; thus Siriar (20) would speak of Paniolv (26), the husband of his mother's sister, as "*Pani in*."

Av. A mother is spoken of as *en av* or *tan av*, and addressed as *ava*. These names are also applied to the wife of a father other than the actual mother, to the sisters of the mother, to the wives of the father's brothers, and to the sisters of the wife's father. Every woman of the same clan and generation as the mother is an *av*. In general the wife of an *in* is an *av*. As in the case of the *in*, a distinction is made between the elder and younger sisters of the mother, the former being addressed as *perudava* and the latter *karudava*. Similarly the wife of an elder brother of the father is *perudava* and of a younger *karudava*. Such relatives may be spoken of as "*en av perud*" and "*en av karud*."

Mokh and *Kugh*. Every one whom a man calls *in* or *av* calls the man *mokh*, and every one to whom a woman gives these names calls the woman *kugh*. In direct address, both *mokh* and *kugh* are called *ena* (? *enna*).

In speaking of his brother's children, a man may make clear whether he is speaking of the child of an elder or younger brother; thus he may say "*en nòdrvedvain mokh*," "my younger brother's son." *Mokh* is often used as a general term for "child" and may be applied to persons of either sex.

Pian. This name is given to both paternal and maternal grandfathers and to their brothers, certainly in the narrow sense and probably in the wider. Every male of the speaker's clan of the same generation as the father's father would certainly be called "*en pian*." The brother of the father's mother is also called *pian*, but I am doubtful whether the term is used for all the clan-brothers of the father's mother

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601 Similarly I am uncertain how far the clan-brothers of the mother's father and mother's mother receive this name. A *pian* is addressed as *pia*.

Piav. This is the name of both paternal and maternal grandmothers, and in general the wife of a *pian* is a *piav*. A *piav* is addressed as *piava*.

All those addressed as *pian* or *piav* will address the speaker as *ena*. When speaking of his grandson, a man will say "*en mokh pedvai*" or "*en mokh pedvai mokh*," literally "my born to my son" or "my son born to my son," and there were no less elaborate terms.

The son of a daughter is called *en kugh pedvai mokh*, "my daughter who born to son," taking the words in order, or "my son born to my daughter." A daughter of a son is called *en mokh pedvai kugh*, and the daughter of a daughter, *en kugh pedvai kugh*. Since, however, *mokh* is often used as a general name for "child," I believe that this word usually takes the place of *kugh*, and that in consequence a grandchild of either sex is called *en mokh pedvai mokh*.

Pevian and *peviav*. These words for great-grandfather and great-grandmother have a similar wide connotation. The word *pef* is an ancient term for "great" which is used in some of the magical incantations (see p. 267).

An. This is the name for elder brother and for all members of the clan of a man or woman who are of the same generation as, and older than, the man or woman. An *an* is addressed as *anna*.

Nòdrved. This is the name for younger brother and for all members of the clan of the same generation as, and younger than, the speaker. *En nòdrved* or *nòdrped* means literally "my born with." A *nòdrved* is addressed as *enda*.

Egal. A corresponding relative who is of the same age is called *en egal* and is addressed as *egala*.

These terms are used both by men and women of and to men.

Akkan. This term is applied by both men and women to an elder sister, and is also given to all female members of the same clan who are of the same generation as, and older than, the speaker. An *akkan* is addressed as *akka*.

Nòdrvedkugh. A younger sister is spoken of by this name, which is also given to all the female members of the same clan and generation, but younger than the speaker. Such a relative is addressed by the same term as is applied to a younger brother, viz., *enda.* Two sisters of the same age are *egal* and *egala* to one another. 601

These terms for "brother" and "sister" are also applied to one another by the children of two sisters. Thus a man would call the son of his mother's sister *an*, and address him as *anna* if the latter were older than himself, and would be spoken of by the latter as *en nòdrved* and addressed as *enda.* If of the same age they would be *egal* or *egala* to one another. Similarly a man addresses the daughter of his mother's sister as *akka* or *enda* according to age. I am doubtful how widely the terms for brotherhood and sisterhood are applied in this case. I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in a large clan like that of Kars would call one another brother and sister.

Thus the children of two brothers are brothers and sisters, and the children of two sisters are also brothers and sisters, while, as we shall see shortly, the children of brother and sister receive another name. The children of two sisters belong to different clans except in those cases in which the sisters have married men of the same clan. Thus a man may have brothers and sisters in several different clans.

Mun. This is the name of the mother's brother, of the father's sister's husband, and of the wife's father. The last is also spoken of as *paiol* together with other relatives of the wife. In the case of the orthodox Toda marriage, in which a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister, the *mun* is at the same time both wife's father and either mother's brother or father's sister's husband, but the wife's father is still called *mun* even when a man marries a woman to whom he is unrelated.

The term *mun* is not only applied by a man to the own brothers of his mother, but also to her clan-brothers. When a man has many *mun*, he may show to which he is

601 referring by mentioning his name; thus Siriar (20) would say "*Karsüln mun*" if he referred to this relative, the husband of his father's sister, and he might speak in the same way of a clan-brother of his mother.

A distinction is often made between older and younger *mun*; thus, if a man's mother had two brothers, the elder would be called *en mun perud* and the younger *en mun karud*. A *mun* is addressed as *mama*.

Mumi. This is the name of the father's sister, of the wife of a mother's brother, and of the wife's mother, the terms brother and sister being again used in a wide sense. In general, the wife of a *mun* is a *mumi*. A *mumi* is addressed as *mimia*.

Manmokh. A person would apply the term *manmokh* to his sister's son and his wife's brother's son. It is a term reciprocal to *mun* in so far as this term is one for mother's brother and father's sister's husband. I am not quite certain whether it would be used for a son-in-law who was not also a sister's son, but I am almost certain that this would be done.

The term is also applied to the sons of clan-sisters, and when used in this more distant way a distinction is sometimes made. *En manmokh* would mean "my (own) sister's son," *Em manmokh*, literally "our sister's son," would be used for children of a more distant sister.

Mankugh is used in exactly the same way as *manmokh* for sister's daughter, &c.

Matchuni. This is the term applied to one another by the children, both male and female, of brother and sister. While the children of two brothers are brothers or sisters (*an*, *egal*, *akka* or *nòdrved*) and the children of two sisters are also brothers and sisters, the children of a brother and sister are *matchuni*. In other words, the children of an individual's mother's brother or of his father's sister are the *matchuni* of the individual.

When a man addresses his male *matchuni* he calls him *anna*, *egala* or *enda*, according to their relative ages. Similarly when a woman addresses her female *matchuni*, she calls her *akka*, *egala* or *enda*, according to age.

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When a man addresses his female *matchuni*, he calls her either *tazmokhia* or *kughia* (see below). He gives her the former name because he is allowed to marry her; she is a woman who might normally be his wife and he therefore addresses her as wife.

Similarly a woman addresses her male *matchuni* as *ȯlia*; she calls him husband because he may become her husband.

As in the case of other relationships, a man may define more exactly of whom he is speaking when he refers to a *matchuni*, and may say instead *en munkugh*, the daughter of my *mun*. Two kinship terms are thus used which resemble one another closely, but have very different meanings:—*en munkugh*, my uncle's daughter, and *en mankugh*, my sister's daughter.

Ȯl, husband. A woman speaks of her husband as *en ȯl* and addresses him as *ȯlia*.

Kotvai and *tazmokh*, wife. A man speaks of his wife as *en kotvai*, and addresses her as *tazmokhia*.

Paiol. This is a general term for the male relatives of the wife. It is applied especially to the wife's father, the wife's brothers, and the brothers of the wife's father.

It seemed that this term should only properly be applied to the near relatives of the wife. Those whom the wife would address as *aïa*, *anna*, or *enda*, because members of her clan, need not be called *paiol* by the husband.

Paiol is a reciprocal term, and it is therefore applied by a man to the daughter's husband, the sister's husband, and to the husband of the brother's daughter.

A *paiol* is addressed as *anna*, *egala*, or *enda*, according to age.

Motvilth. This term is the equivalent of daughter-in-law and is applied by a man to his son's wife. A woman is also the *motvilth* of the brothers of her husband's father. A *motvilth* is addressed as *ena*.

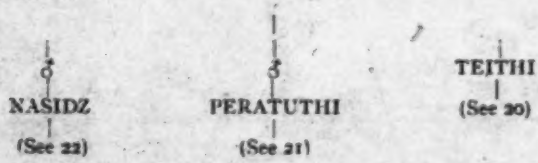
There did not seem to be any brief term for the sister of a wife, and a man would speak of her as *en kotvai akkan* if older, or as *en kotvai nȯdrved* if younger than the wife.

Sometimes the Todas add to some of the kinship names

601 the word *potch*, which is said to have the meanings "begetting" or "begotten." I met with this especially in the lamentations used at funerals. A man would say, "*en potch aia*"—"O my father which begot me"; "*en potch anna*"—"O my elder brother begotten with me." For a younger brother, however, this word would not be used; a man would not say, "*en potch nòdrved ia*," because *ved* has the same significance as *potch*, *nòdrved* meaning also "born with" or "begotten with."

Every male of a man's own clan is either his *pian*; his *in*; his *an*, *egal*, or *nòdrved*; his *mokh*, or his *mokh pedvai mokh*. In most cases a clan consists of several families, and these families may be unrelated to one another so far as the evidence from the genealogical record goes. Nevertheless, every Toda knows exactly the proper kinship terms to apply to all the members of his clan. I inquired in detail into the basis of this knowledge in the case of the Taradrol, consisting of six *pòlm* or divisions. All the members of each *pòlm* trace their descent from a man whose name is known, and the pedigrees of the six *pòlm* are given in the genealogical tables 20 to 25.

It was known that three of these *pòlm* were closely related to one another, and that the other three were also closely related. The following table expresses the relationship in the first case:—



It was not perfectly certain whether Teithi and the two men whose names were not remembered were own brothers, but it was known that they were closely related and of the same generation. They were certainly clan-brothers and possibly own brothers. The kinship names applied by members of the three *pòlm* to one another were all in accordance with this scheme; thus, there was no one living in these three *pòlm* whom Siriar (20) called *aia*; he would have given this name to Nasidz or Peratuthi if they had been

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alive. He calls Arthothi and Parkeidi *anna*; they are the sons of Peratuthi, who was of the same generation as Siriar's father. The following are called *mokh* or *ena*:—Püldenir, Keinodz, Idrshkwòdr (21), Polgar, Pundu, Keinmuv, and Pushtikudr (22), although at least one of these men is older than Siriar, and several others are approximately of the same age. Similarly, Muners (21) is the *mokh pedvai mokh*, or grandson of Siriar. 601

The other three *pòlm* of the Taradr clan are known to be related in a similar way: Kiusthvan (23), Pachievan (24), and Pungut (25) being either own brothers or men closely related and of the same generation. I was thus able to ascertain definitely how each member of the first three *pòlm* knew the appropriate name to be given to members of these families, and similarly how members of the other three *pòlm* knew the exact terms of kinship to apply to one another.

Each member of the first three *pòlm* also knew, however, the proper kinship terms to apply to members of the other three *pòlm*, although I could not obtain, and there seemed to be no record of, the way in which the two groups of families were connected. Thus Siriar addresses as *aia* Paners and his brothers (23) and Irkiolv (24). He addresses as *anna*: Teitukhen, Idjkudr and Kandu (23), Tòleidi, Nertiners, Mogai, Teimad and Orguln (24), and Kudeners and his brother (25). The children of these men are the *mokh* of Siriar, and are addressed by him as *ena*.

The explanation seems to be that the mode of relationship is handed down from generation to generation; thus Teithi, the grandfather of Siriar, called Kiusthvan (23) brother, and in consequence Ircheidi and Paners, their sons, also call one another brother, and so Siriar, the son of Ircheidi, knows that he has to call Paners father. In this way a man would know the correct term to apply to every member of his clan, though the links by which their pedigrees are connected may have been completely forgotten.

I also worked out the relationship of the different divisions of the Kuudr clan in the same way, and may perhaps give the record briefly.

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601 Teitnir (52) calls the following Kuudr men *aia*:—Mutevan (52), Punatvan (53), Keitas (55), Tüliners (56), Kiugi (57), Tütners, Etamudri, Madsu, and Koboners (58), Ishkievan (60).

He calls the following *anna*:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52), Targners (53), Keinkursi (54), and Mudriners (57). The following are his *nòdrved*, and are called by him *enda*:—Kwelthipush and his brothers, Piliar and Piliag (52), Pungusivan, Tevò, Karov and Pòl (53), Pöteners (54), Sinar and Katsog (55), Erai, Kil, Kanokh (56), Onadj and Kwòdrthotz (57), Kishkar and Tormungudr (59). All the sons of these brothers are the *mokh* of Teitnir.

In the above list Teitnir omitted Tikievan and Tushtkudr (56), who according to the genealogies are his *pia* or grandfathers, while their sons, though much younger than Teitnir, are his fathers, and are addressed by him as *aia*.

The other kinship terms are used in the same wide way. If a man's mother belonged to Kuudr all those Kuudr men would be his *mun* who were the *an*, *egal*, or *nòdrved* of his mother; and all the children of those men would be his *matchuni*.

The terms used for the relatives of a wife are also used for the corresponding relatives of a *sedvaitazmokh*. This is the name of the woman in the Toda institution according to which a woman consorts with one or more men in addition to her husband or husbands (see p. 526). The man, or *mokhthodvaiol*, calls the fathers and brothers of the woman *paiol*, and calls her father *mun* and her mother *mumi*.

Relatives are often spoken of by the Todas in a way that defines their relation to the speaker more exactly than is usual in the classificatory system. Thus, a man may call his brother's son "*en nodrvedvain mokh*"—"my younger brother's son"; or he may speak of his wife's elder sister as "*en kotvai akka*," an abbreviation of *en kotvai tan akka*—"my wife her elder sister." Similarly, a wife's younger sister may be called "*en kotvai nòdrved*."

It seemed to me that the Todas afford an interesting example of a people who are beginning to modify the classificatory system of kinship in a direction which distinctly approaches the descriptive system. The essential features

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of the system of kinship are those known as classificatory, but the Todas have various means of distinguishing between the near and distant relatives to whom the same kinship term is applied. Two examples of this have already been given; the son of an own sister may be called "my sister's son," while the son of a clan sister is called "our sister's son," and the own brother of a mother is simply called *mun*, while in the case of a clan brother of the mother, the name of the man is added. Further, a term which is definitely descriptive may be used in the examples quoted above. 601

The Todas have reached a stage of mental development in which it seems that they are no longer satisfied with the nomenclature of a purely classificatory system, and have begun to make distinctions in their terminology for near and distant relatives.

Another point of interest about the Toda system is that the two sets of kinship terms—those used in direct address and those used when speaking of a relative—do not correspond closely with one another.

The terms used in direct address are few in number compared with the kinship terms used when speaking of a relative. Brothers of all kinds, *matchuni* and some *paiol* (brothers-in-law) are all addressed as *anna*, *egala* or *enda*, according to age. Children, grandchildren, sisters' sons and sons-in-law are all addressed as *ena*. If exclusive attention were paid to the kinship terms used in address we should seem to have a kinship system which is almost wholly based on relative ages and generations, all other distinctions being ignored.

The Toda system distinguishes widely between elder and younger members of the family and clan. This feature, which is of very general occurrence in connexion with the classificatory system, has been highly developed by the Todas, and their system differs from any other with which I am acquainted in having a special term for relatives of the same age.

When two members of a clan or two men related in other ways address one another as brother, the terms employed depend altogether on their relative ages, and are not influenced by the relative seniority of the branches of the family or clan to which they belong.

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601 The Toda system appears to be closely related to that
171 of the Dravidians of Southern India. In several cases the names for certain kin are identical with or closely resemble those of other South Indian languages.

The three most characteristic features of the Toda system are (i.) the use of the same term for mother's brother and father-in-law, &c.; (ii.) the marked development of vocative forms of the kinship terms; (iii.) the marked development of distinctions according to age. These three features are also found in Tamil, and as far as my information goes in Telugu and Canarese. The Toda system appears to be a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity. The resemblance between the Toda and the Tamil names seems certainly to be closer than that between the Toda names and those of the Telugus and Canarese.

I do not wish here to consider these resemblances and differences in any detail, but in the Table on the opposite page I have given a list of those kinship terms in which the Todas resemble other inhabitants of Southern India. The Tamil terms I owe to Mr. K. Rangachari of Madras; the others I have taken from Morgan's *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race.*

Kinship Taboos

601 A man never mentions the name of his *mun.* If he wishes
551 to make clear of whom he is speaking he will give the name of the place at which his *mun* lives, as "*Tedshteiri ithvai en mun*
784 *podchi,*" "My uncle who lives at Tedshteiri." This restriction only applies to the own brothers of his mother. Other more distant *mun* may be spoken of by name, and as we have already seen, if a man wishes to make it clear of whom he is speaking, he mentions the name in addition to the kinship term.

A man is also prohibited from uttering the name of the man from whom he has received his wife—*i.e.*, to whom he has done *kalmelpudithti* (see p. 502). This man, who is called the *mokhudrtvaiol,* is usually the father of the wife and would normally be also a *mun,* but sometimes the place of the

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mokhudrtvaiol is usurped by somebody else and in such a case there might be no restriction on the name of the wife's real father. In the only case of this kind of which I have a record, the marriage of Siriar (20) and Pupidz, the place of *mokhudrtvaiol* was taken by Kuriolv, who was living with Pilimurg (7), the girl's mother, and though he was no real

	Toda.	Tamil.	Telegu.	Canarese.
Son	mokh	maghan		
Elder brother	an (anna)	aṇṇan (aṇṇa)	anna	anna
Elder sister	akkan (akka)	akkal (akka)	akka	akka
Mother's brother	mun (mâmâ)	amman or maman (mama)	mena mama	mava
Father-in-law	mun (mama)	mamaner (mama)	mama	mava
Father's sister	mumi (mimia)	attai		
Wife of mother's brother	mumi (mimia)	ammami		
Wife's mother	mumi (mimia)	mamiyar (ammami)		
Sister's son	manmokh	maruman or marumakan		
Mother's brother's son	matchuni	maittunan (?)		
Father's sister's son	matchuni	attan or maittunan		
Wife's brother	matchuni or paiol	machchinan or maittunan		

relative of the wife, Siriar might not mention his name. In spite of the fact, however, that Kuriolv had become his *mokhudrtvaiol*, Siriar went privately to Patirsh (35), the real father of his wife, and did *kalmelpudithi* and would also refrain from saying the name of this man.

A man is prohibited from saying the name of his wife's mother (*mumi*), but my notes do not make clear whether he is also prohibited from saying the names of other *mumi*—*i.e.*,

601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this restriction only applies to near relatives.

551 A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,

576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

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before women, and men even may bow down before women (see p. 502). 601

Since, owing to the *mokhthodvaiol* connexion, a Tarthar woman may have a Teivali *mun* and *vice versa*, the *kalmelpudithti* salutation takes place between people of the two divisions, and I have often seen a woman of one division placing her head beneath the foot of a man of the other division. 602 576

When a person meets one of his kin, he uses a form of greeting which depends on the nature of the relationship. Most of these greetings consist of some form of the word *iti* or *itvi*, which was said to mean "blessing" or "bless," together with the kinship term.

A man would greet an elder brother or anyone whom he would call *anna* by the word "*tioñ*," cut very short so as to sound like a single syllable. This is a corruption of *iti anna*. A person greets a younger brother or one whom he would call *enda* by uttering his name followed by the word *ers*, as in "*Sakari ers*," "*Pakkwar ers*." A father is greeted as *itiai*, a mother as *itiava*. An elder sister as *itiakka*; a younger sister as *itvena*, and this latter form is used for any female relative younger than the speaker. It is the duty of younger female relatives to perform the *kalmelpudithti* salutation, and as soon as a man says *itvena*, the woman at once bows down and places her head beneath the raised foot of the man, helping him to raise it at the same time.

A mother's brother or father-in-law (*mun*) is greeted by *itimoñ* and a *mumi* is greeted by *itimimia*, but so slurred as to be hardly recognisable. The grandfather and grandmother are greeted in the words *itin pia* and *itin piava*.

Whenever a new Toda came to join people who were with me, there would be a chorus of greetings, and the newcomer would look round carefully to see who was present, giving to each his proper salutation and obviously taking the greatest care that no one was overlooked. Since the relationship of brother is the most frequent, the greetings heard most often on these occasions were "*tioñ*" and ". . . . *ers*."

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to

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The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to

764 the salutation of the dead. When the body first reaches
602 the funeral place it is saluted by all present, and in the case of kin, the mode of salutation varies with the bond of
601 kinship. Those related to the deceased as *in*, *av*, *pian*, *piav*, *mun*, *mumi*, *an*, or *akkan*, bow down at the head of the corpse and touch the body with their foreheads, while all those whom the deceased would have called *enda* or *ena* bow down at the feet. The place saluted by those who are not kin is determined by age, but in the case of kin, the bond of kinship is more important than the age, so that the former condition determines the mode of salutation. Thus at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), Kòdrner (7) saluted at the head of the dead woman. He was the younger, but was her *mun* owing to the fact that Kiuneimi's step-mother Kureimi, was a Kars woman whom Kòdrner called sister.

The Duties of Kin

602 The funeral ceremonies provide the greatest number of
764 examples of kinship duties, the parts taken by many of the mourners being determined largely by their bonds of kinship to the deceased. The place of chief mourner is taken by the brother or son of a dead man, by the husband of a dead woman, and by the father of a dead child, though, at the funeral of a girl, the husband plays the most important *rôle*.

Various duties fall to relatives of the same clan or of the same family of the clan. The earth-throwing at the funeral of a male, the smearing of butter on the buffalo, lighting the pyre at the first funeral and the two fires at the *azaramkedr*, and ringing the bell at the final scene, are all performed by near relatives of the same clan and family as the deceased.

Cutting off a lock of hair and mixing food are acts performed by the chief mourner, who is of the same clan as the deceased, whether brother, son, husband, or father.

The *manmokh*, or sister's son (who may be also son-in-law), has certain definite duties. Formerly, when many buffaloes were killed, one was always given by the sister's son, and he still gives a thread cord, called *pennar*. Many other relatives give these cords, but that given by the *manmokh* is especially

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he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had given. Here again the people appear to have had no objection to the relations of the woman with the Mohammedan so long as she remained in the community. 582 621

Kinship and Marriage

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general term, *püliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *püliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *püliol* of a man :— 582 601 618

(i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.

(ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.

(iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, *i.e.*, his *mumi* and his *mankugh*.

(iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, *i.e.*, of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *püliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *püliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *püliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *püliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

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582 kinship which a Toda has chiefly in his mind when he
601 considers whether he may or may not marry a given woman.
618 He has not two kinds of prohibited affinity, one depending on clan relations, and another on relations of blood-kinship, but he has only one kind of prohibited affinity, to which he gives the general term *püliol*, including certain kin through the father and certain kin through the mother, and there is no evidence that he considers the bond of kinship in one case as different from the other as regards restriction on marriage.

The fact that the Toda includes all those kin whom he may not marry under one general term, and that the kin in question include members both of his own and other clans, goes to show that the Todas recognise the blood-kinship as the restrictive agency rather than the bond produced by membership of the same clan.

The analysis of the genealogical record has shown that these restrictions on marriage are enforced. I have already stated that the genealogies show no single case in which marriage has occurred between members of the same clan, *i.e.*, between *püliol* who come under the first head in the list given above.

I have also failed to find a single case in which marriage has taken place between the children of two own sisters, or of marriage between the children of two women who would call each other "sister" whose names occur in the same genealogical table. Thus I have found no case in which a marriage has taken place between the children of two women so closely related to one another as Punzueleimi and Nasturs, of Table 3, these women being first cousins according to our system of kinship.

It would be a prolonged task to ascertain whether marriage ever takes place among the Tartharol between the children of two clan-sisters in the widest sense, and I do not know whether such marriage may not sometimes occur.

Among the Teivaliol marriages between clan-sisters even in the widest sense must be very rare owing to the fact that nearly all marriages take place between people of Kuudr on the one hand and members of the five other Teivali clans on the other. Since in most cases two women of any one

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of these five clans marry men of Kuudr, marriage between their children would be restricted under the first prohibition, and similarly the children of two Kuudr women could only intermarry in those cases in which members of the other five clans have married one another. Among the Teivaliol, I do not believe that marriages take place between the children of sisters in the widest sense, and I have little doubt that they are very exceptional among the Tartharol. 582 601 618

There is no case in the genealogies in which the third restriction has been broken, in which a man has married his father's sister or his sister's daughter, his *mumi* or his *mankugh*.

There is at least one case in the genealogies in which there has been an infringement of the fourth restriction given on page 509. The marriage of Nargudr (62) with Tolveli (58) is an example of the marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister. I believe that this restriction is part of a wider regulation. Using Toda terms of kinship the law would run: a person must not marry the child of his *matchuni*. The marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister, such as that of Nargudr with Tolveli, would be an infringement of this law. I have only found one other case in the genealogies in which this law would have been broken, *i.e.*, in the marriage of Teitnir (52) and Tersveli (63). Tersveli's father, Teikudr, is the son of Kavani, the sister of Pareivan, Teitnir's father. Teikudr is therefore the *matchuni* of Teitnir, who has married his daughter.

I was told that though a man might not marry the daughter of his sister, he might marry the children of this woman. I do not know of any such marriage and it is improbable that it would often come about, since it would involve the marriage of a woman with the brother of her grandfather. There is, however, at the present time an example of the marriage of a woman with her father's mother's brother, whom she would therefore call *pia*, or grandfather. This is the marriage of Kaners and his brother Kudrievan (63) with Edjog (56), the daughter of Tüliners, the son of the sister of the two men. I was told, however, that this marriage met with a good deal of disapproval among the Todas, but I could not learn that there was any definite prohibition against it.

588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
616 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give
837 the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[773] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming
a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage.
837 A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.
[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

421 himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the
428 buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of
611 Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become
671 extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and
183 Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

[601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

157 The history is also very interesting in showing that a
184 century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

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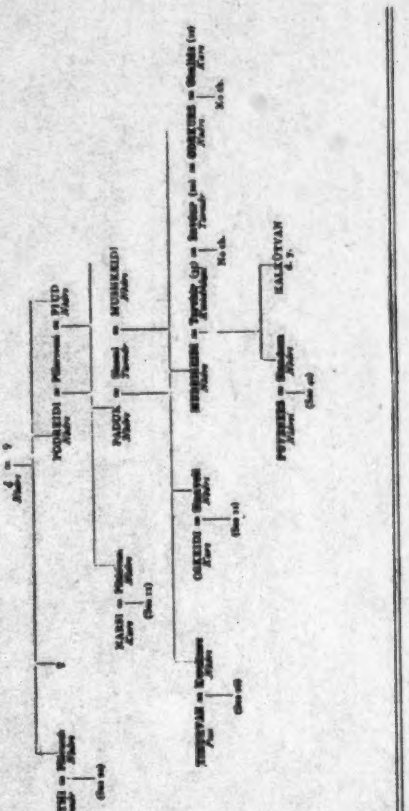

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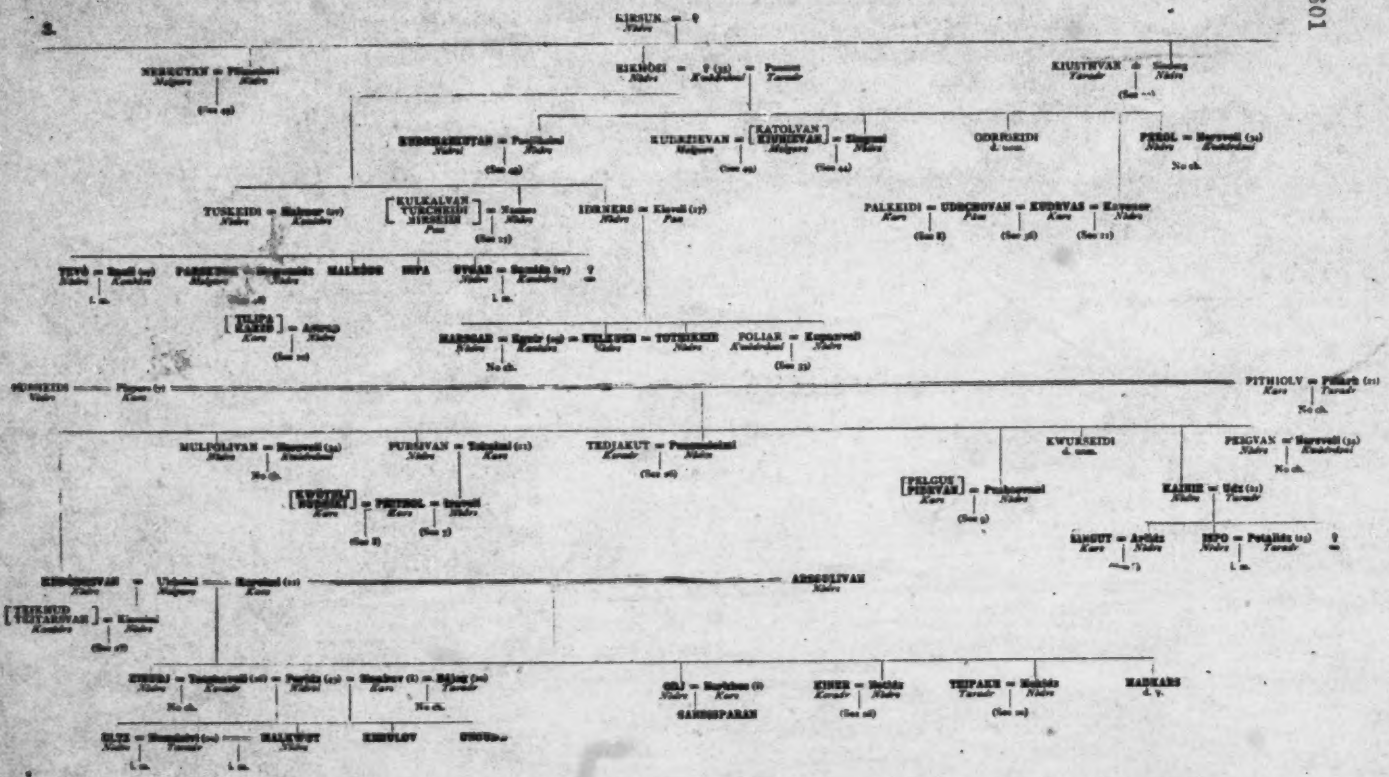
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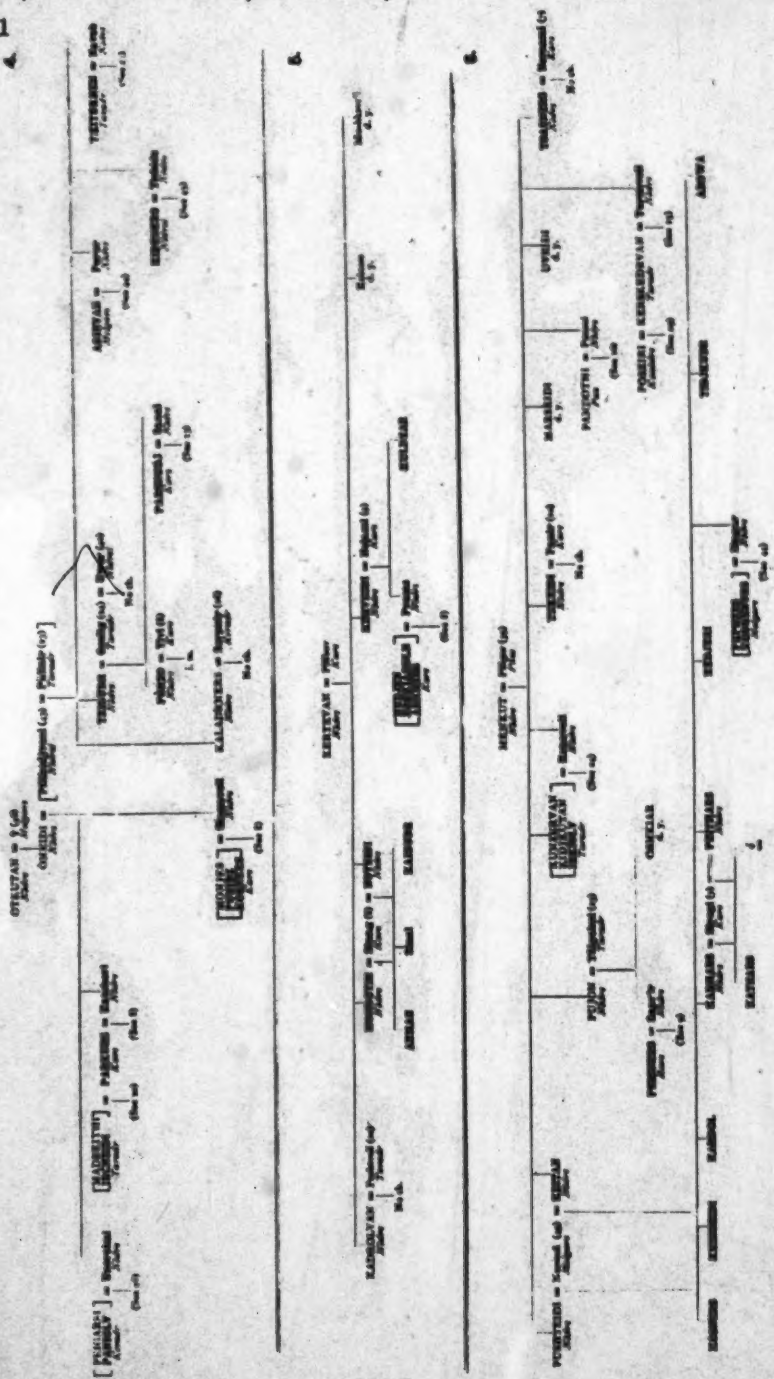

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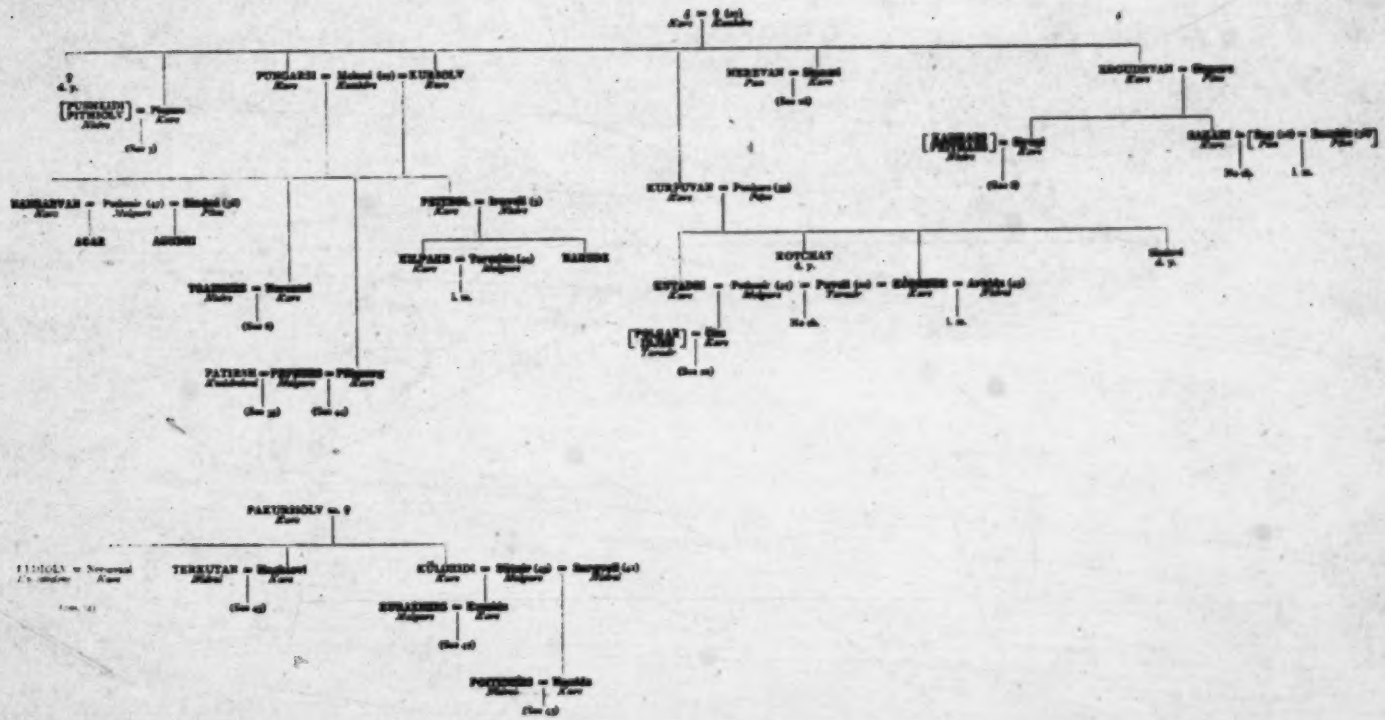

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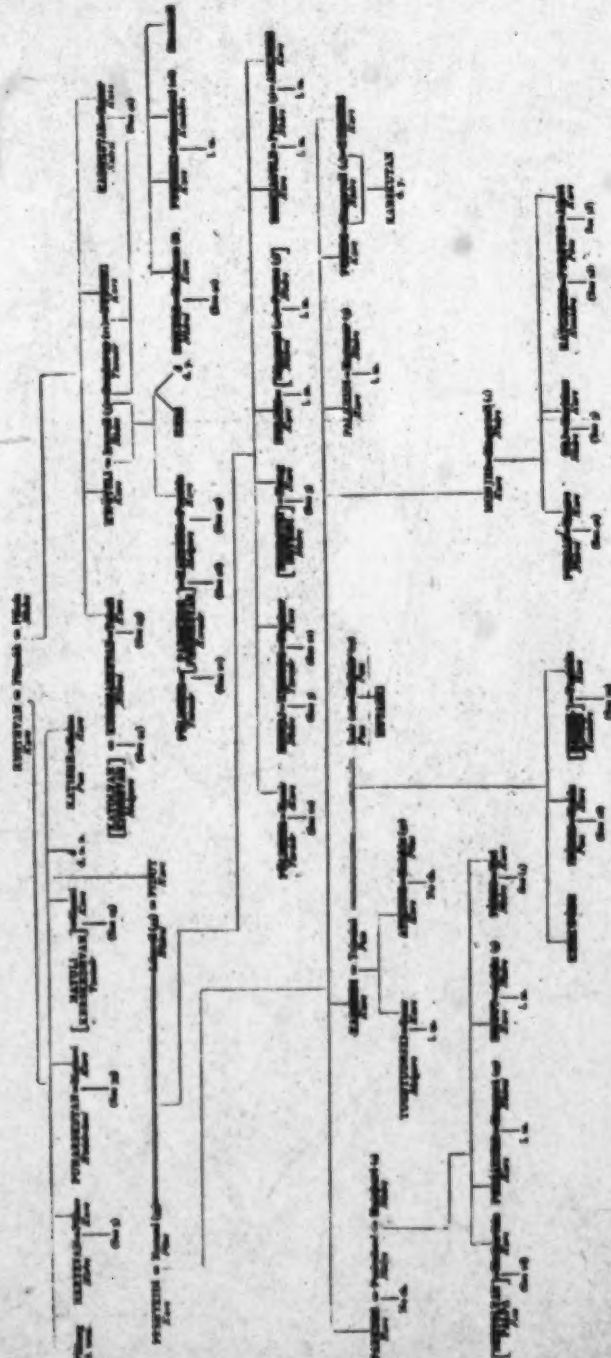

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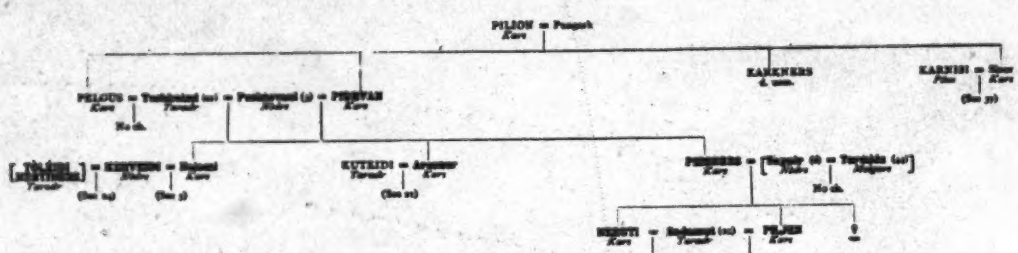
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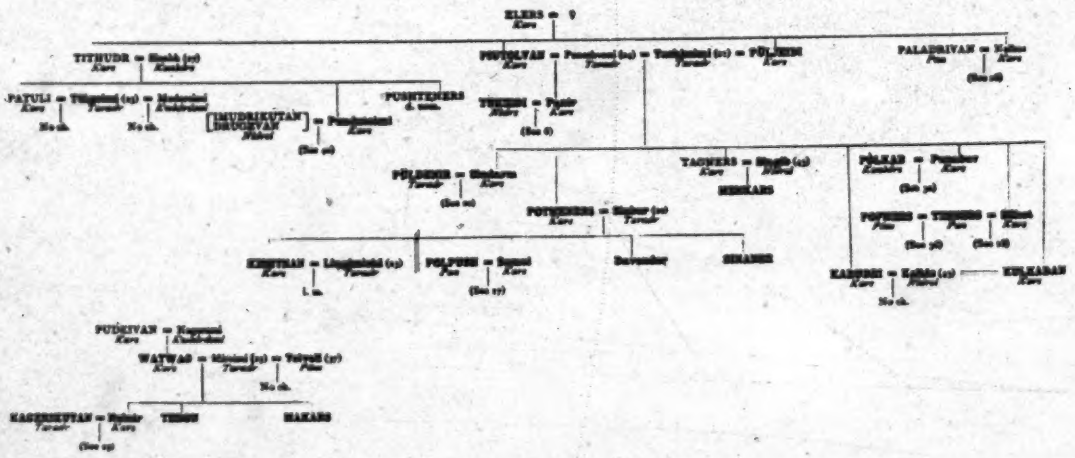
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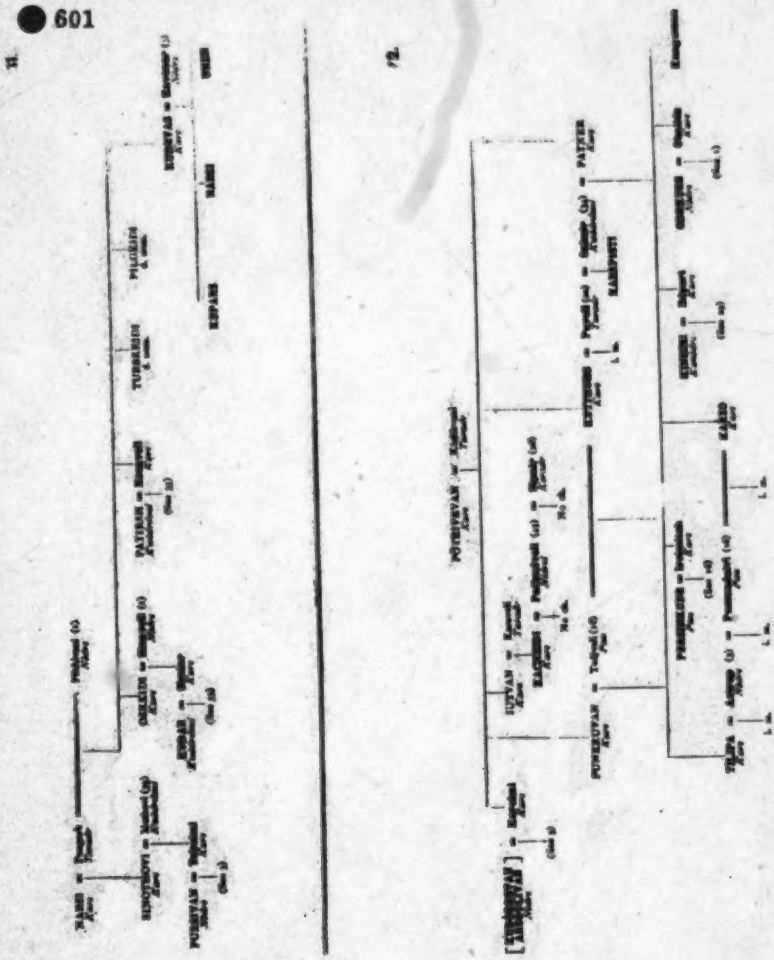
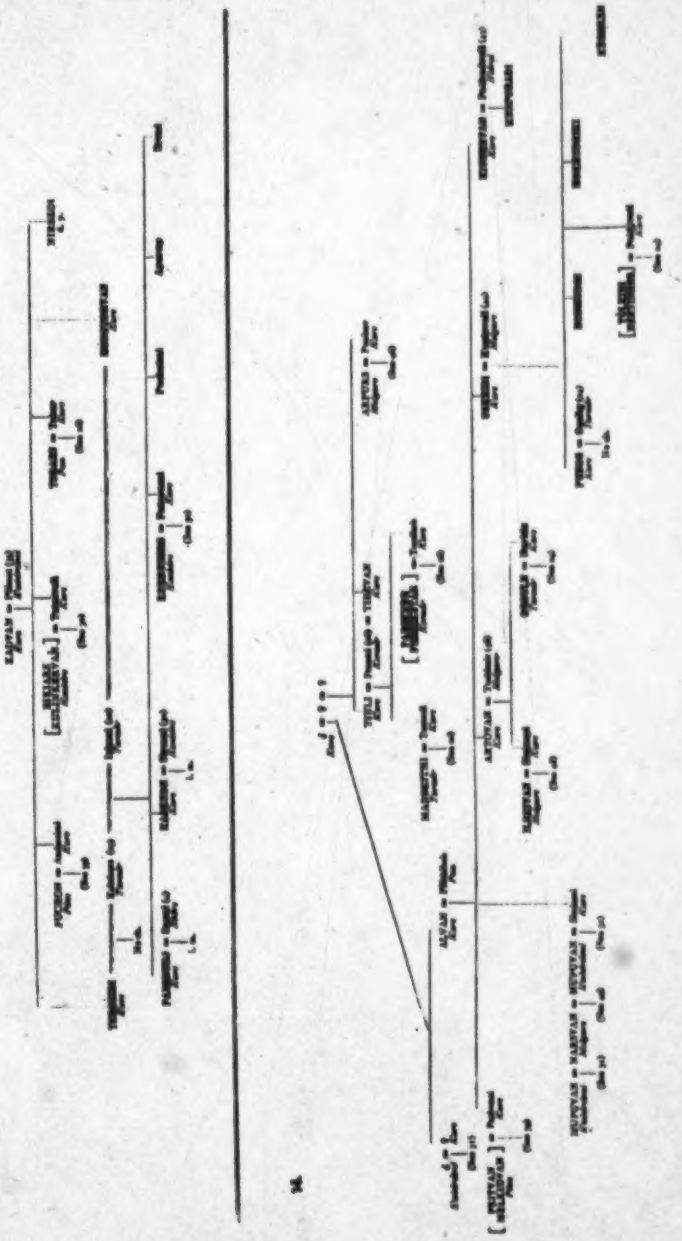
Kurv
TACHERS =
Kurv
MEKKARS
PÜLKAR =
Kurv
POTHERS =
Kurv
KEKUTAN =
Kurv
L. m.
POLPURI =
Kurv
Dalvander
SEKARES
KARNISI =
Kurv
No ch.
KEKARAN
Kurv
PUDEIVAN =
Kurv
WATWAS =
Kurv
No ch.
KASERKEPTAN =
Kurv
THEOU
MAKARS

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601

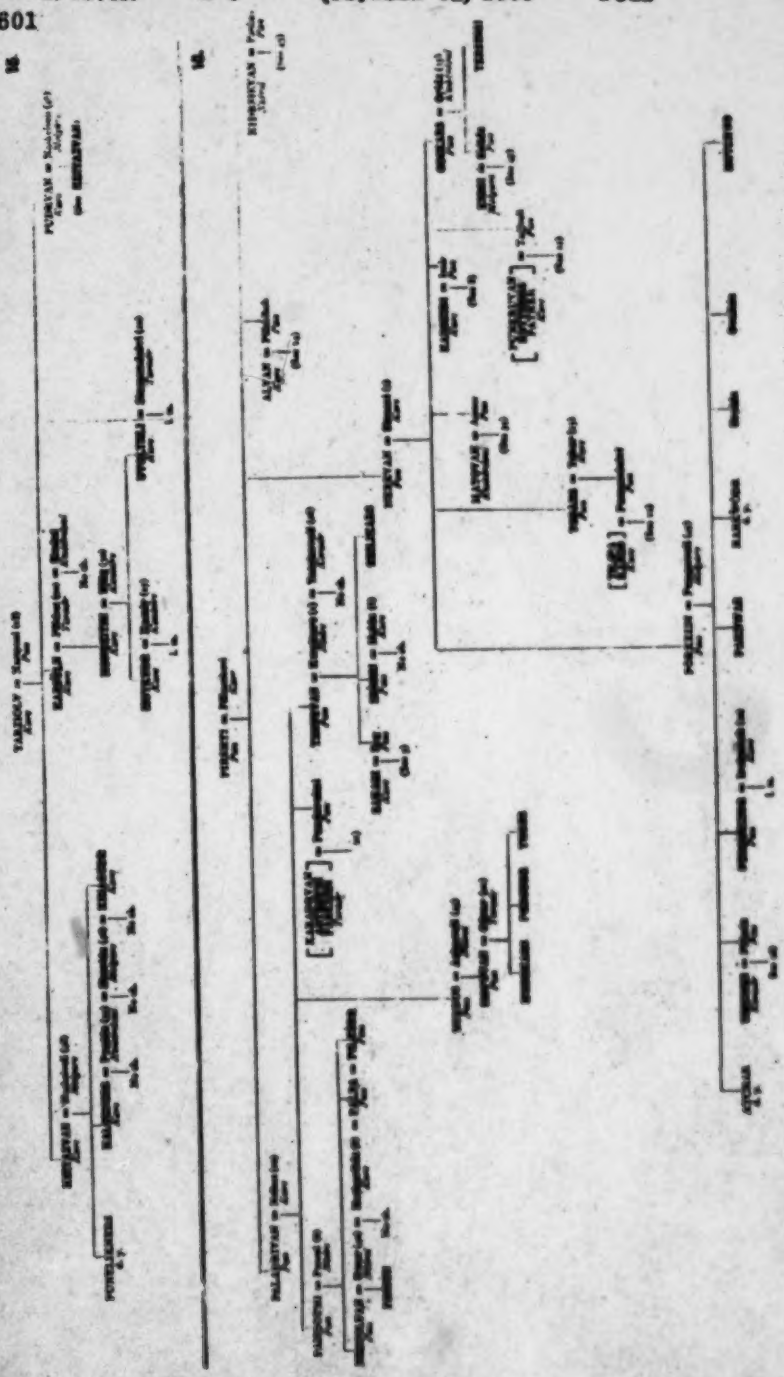


601



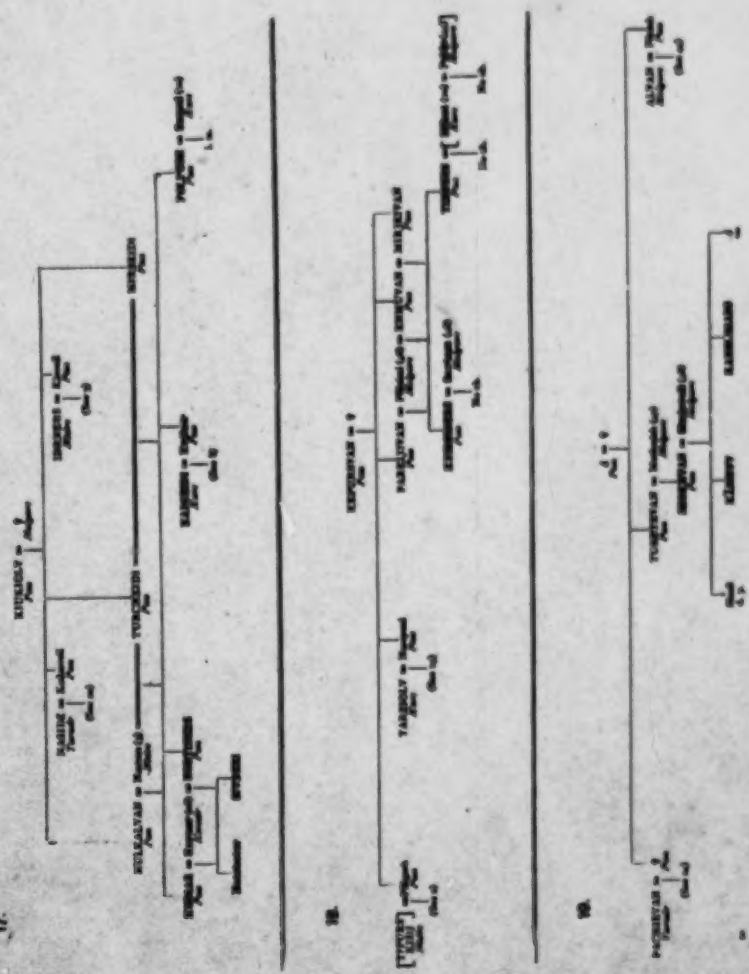
1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

601



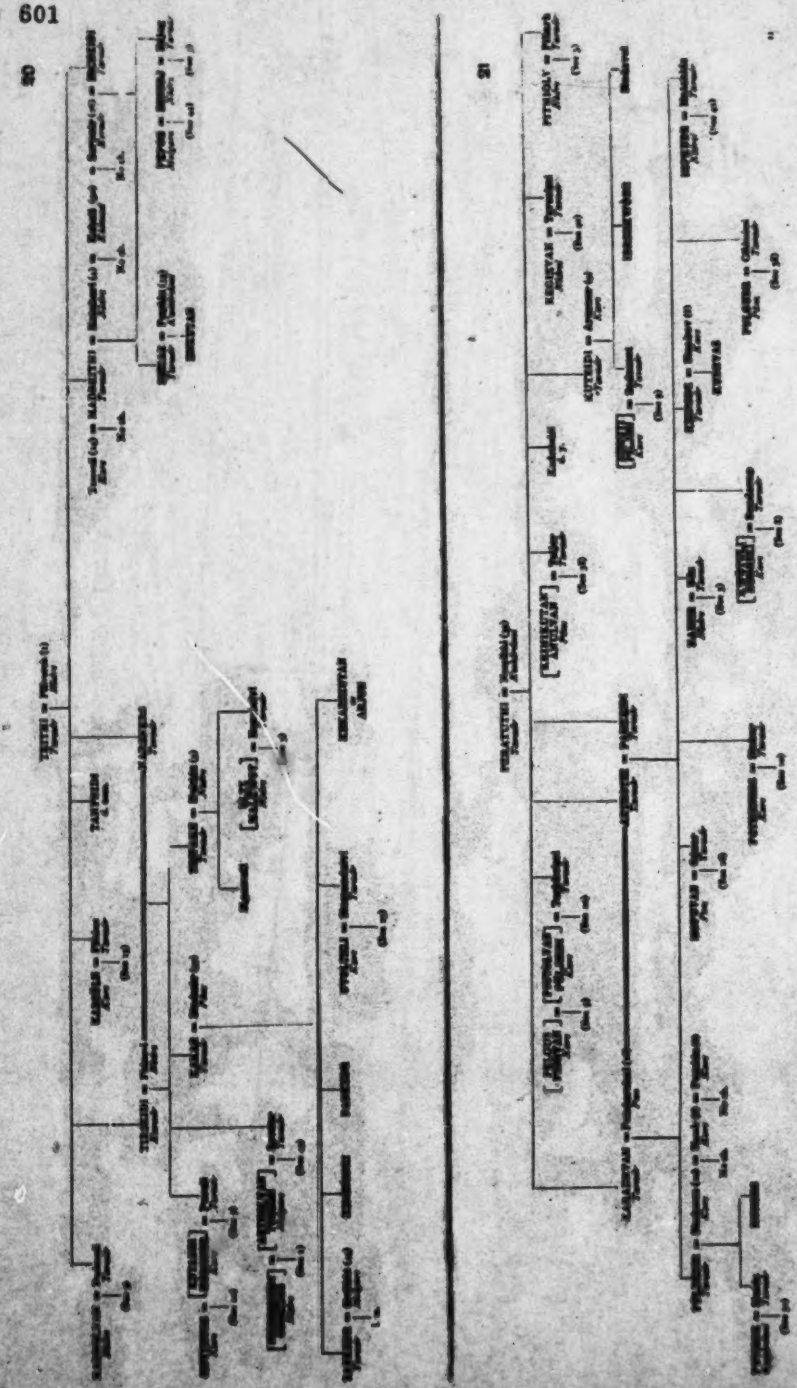
1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601



1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

601



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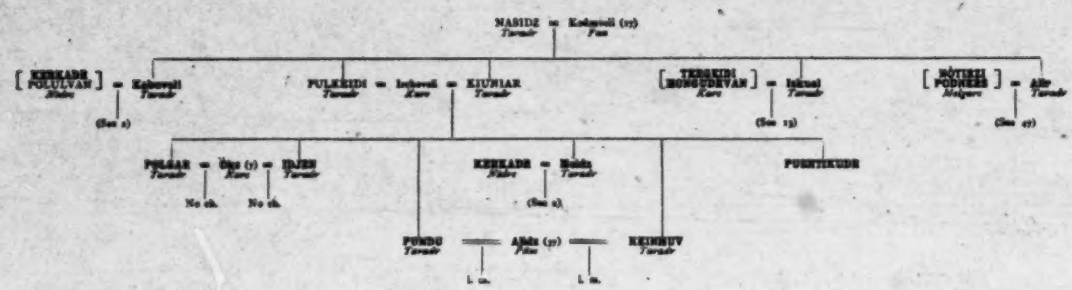
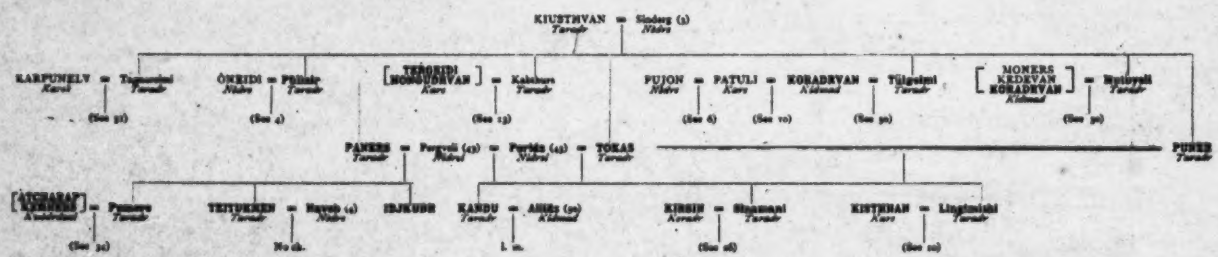
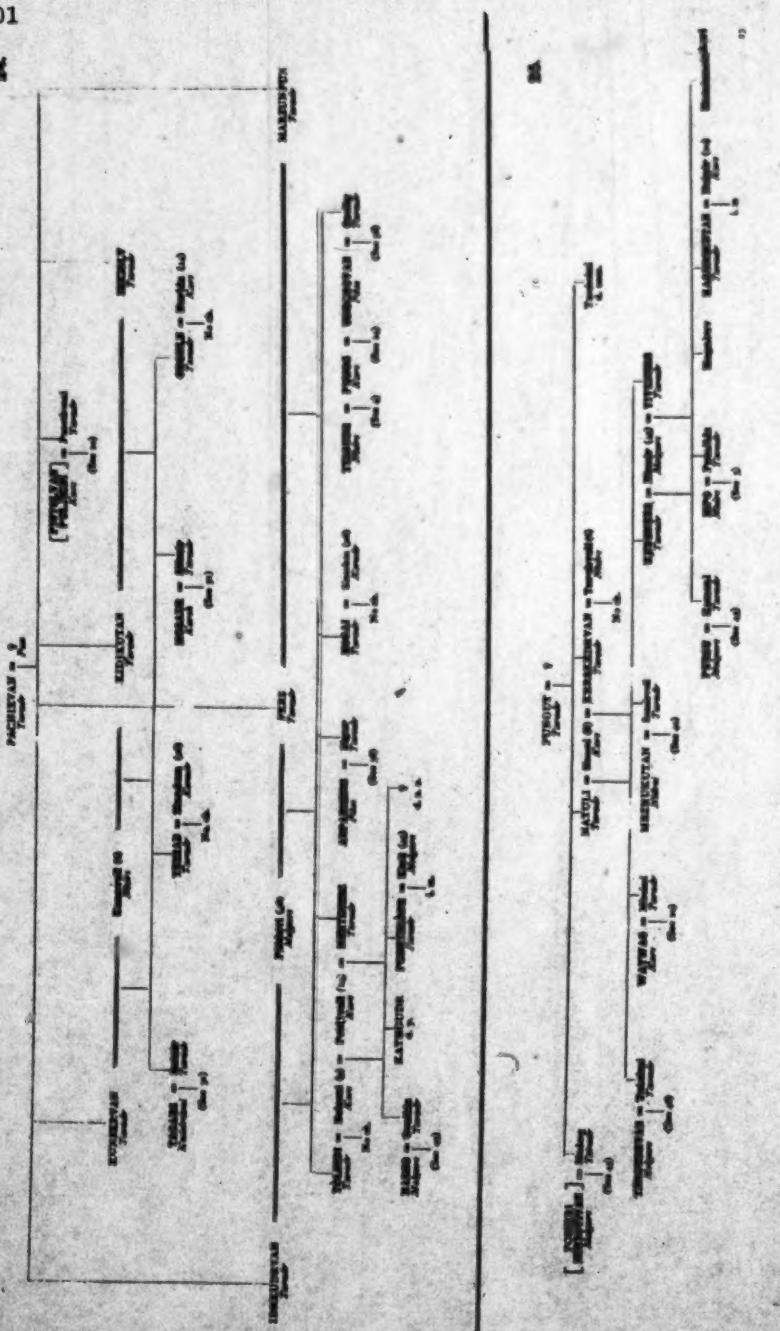

NASIDZ = Kodmuili (17)
Tarnak Fan
[KEKKADE POLULVAN] = Kabeyeli
Nidre Tarnak
(See 1)
PULKEIDI = Isiheeli
Tarnak Kare
KIUNIAR
Tarnak
TERGKIDI [MONGUDRVAN] = Iskiel
Kare Tarnak
(See 13)
MÖTIKEI PODNEES = Ahir
Midpare Tarnak
(See 17)
PULKAR = Ünz (7) = IDJEN
Tarnak Kare Tarnak
No ch. No ch.
KEKKADE = Kodzi
Nidre Tarnak
(See 2)
PUKKTIKUDR
PUNDU
Tarnak
AHÄz (27)
Fan
KEINNEV
Tarnak
l. m. l. m.

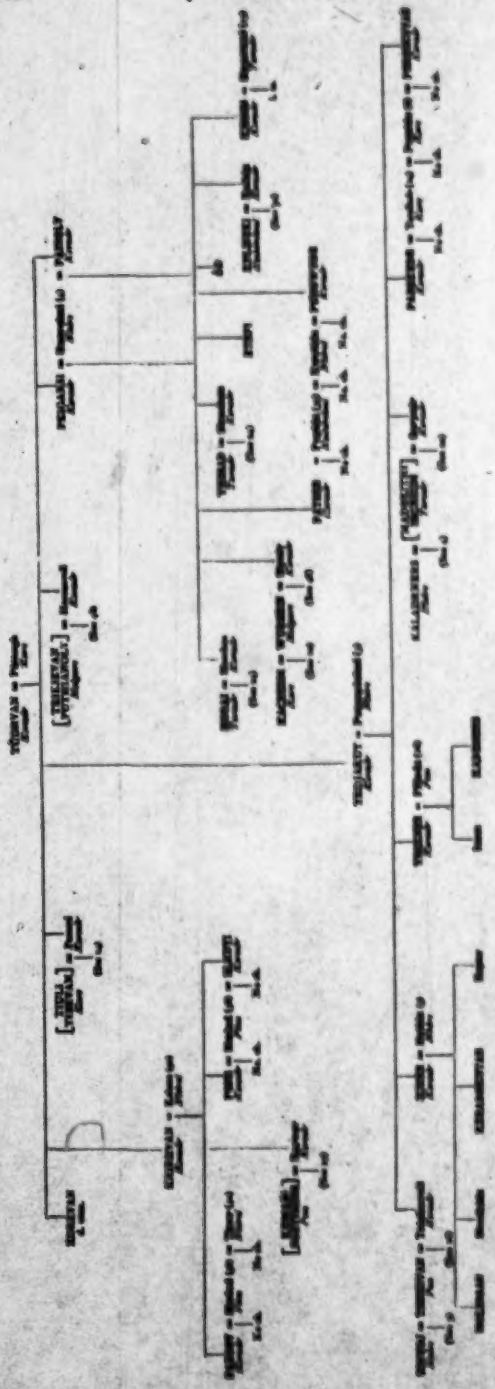
23.


KIUSTHVAN = Sindeg (1)
Tarnak Nidre
KARPUNELV = Tagmeeini
Kare Tarnak
(See 31)
ÖNEIDI = Pelidr
Nidre Tarnak
(See 4)
TERGKIDI [MONGUDRVAN] = Kabdeer
Kare Tarnak
(See 13)
PUJON = PATULI = KORADRVAN = Tilgeeini
Nidre Kare Kidmuel Tarnak
(See 6) (See 10) (See 30)
[MONERS KEDRKVAN KORADRVAN] = Nesiyeli
Kidmuel Tarnak
(See 30)
PANKES = Pereeli (13) = Perdäz (14) = TOKAS
Tarnak Nidre Nidre Tarnak
PUNKE
Tarnak
[ÄTCHARAP KÄMMAR] = Pemere
Kadidmuel Tarnak
(See 34)
TEIIUKKEN = Haveb (4)
Tarnak Nidre
No ch.
IDJKUDR
KANDU = AHäz (29)
Tarnak Kidmuel
l. m.
KIRSIN = Sinamani
Karnak Tarnak
(See 28)
KISTKHAN = Lingdmidi
Kare Tarnak
(See 20)

601



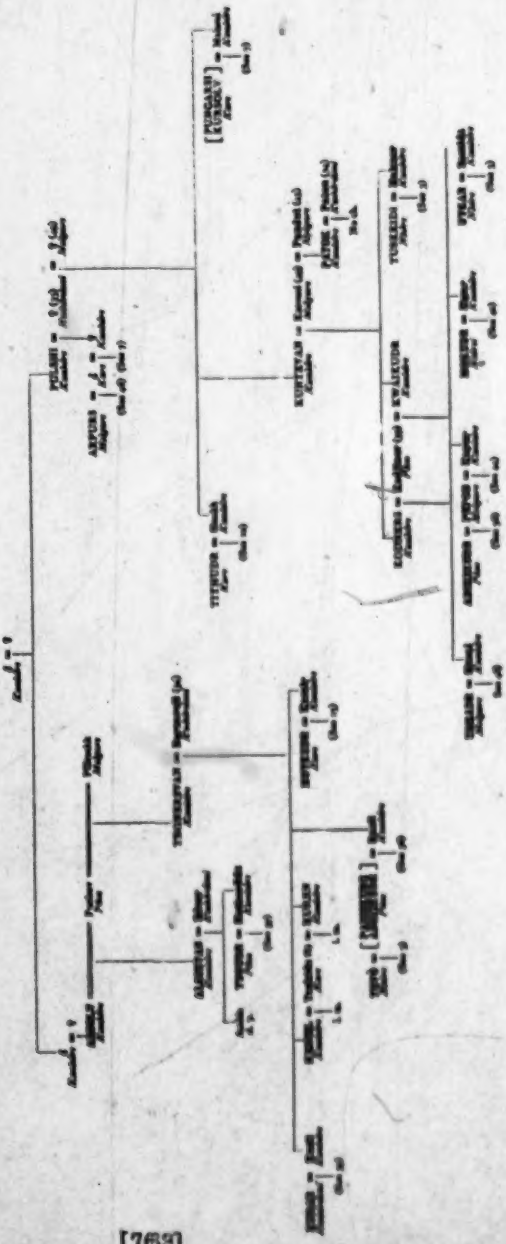
601



1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601

27.



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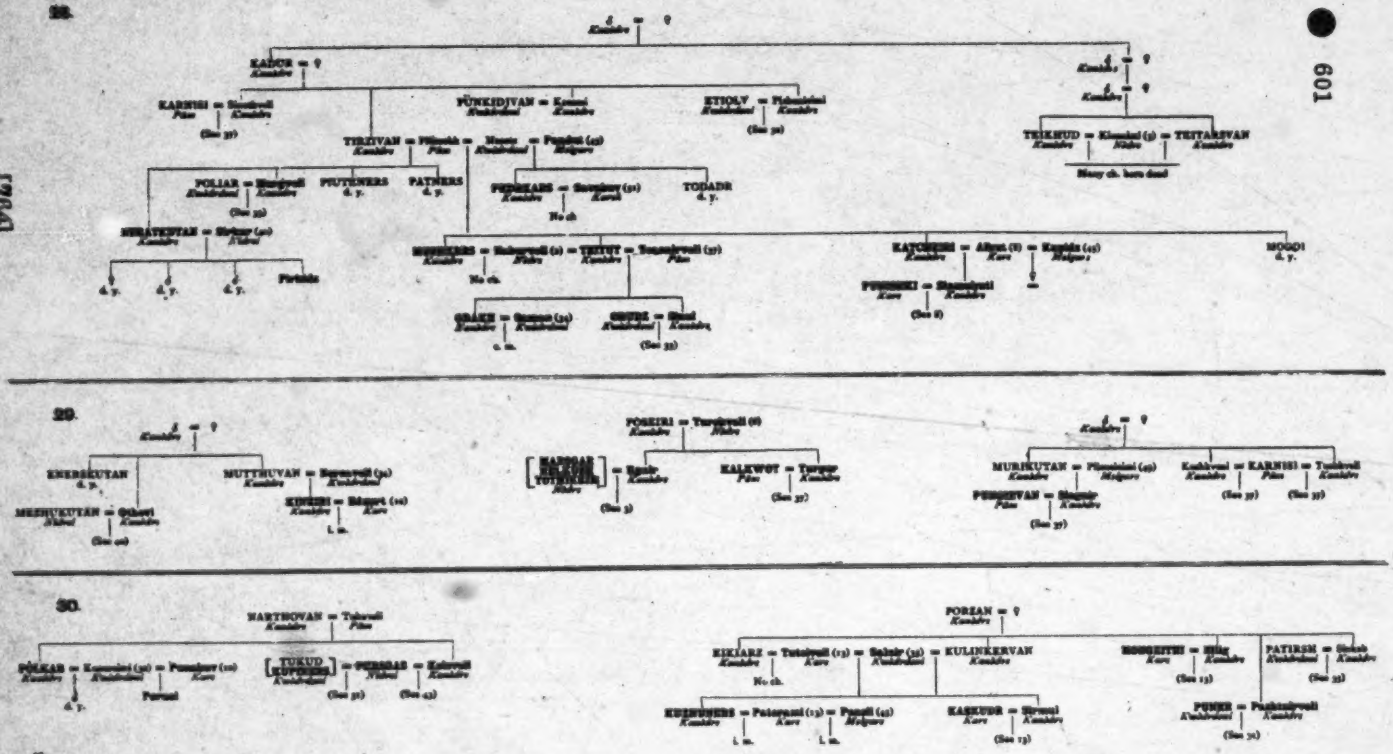
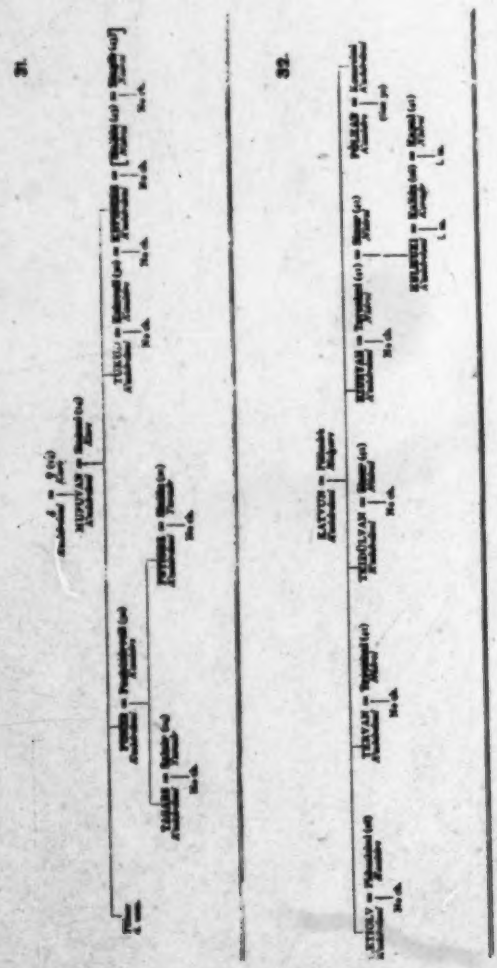


1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601



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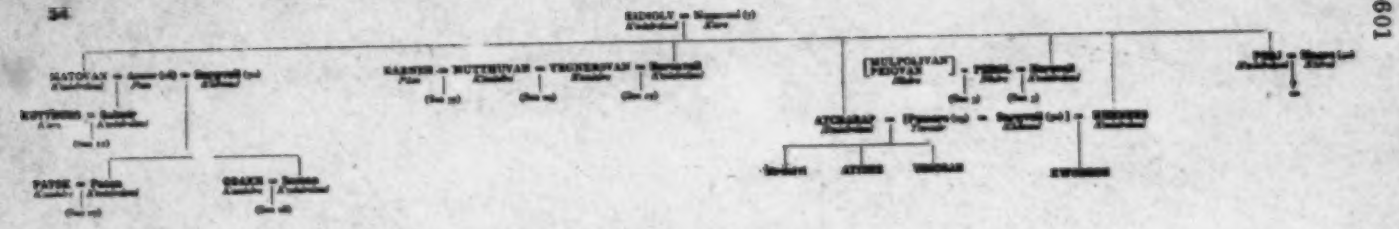

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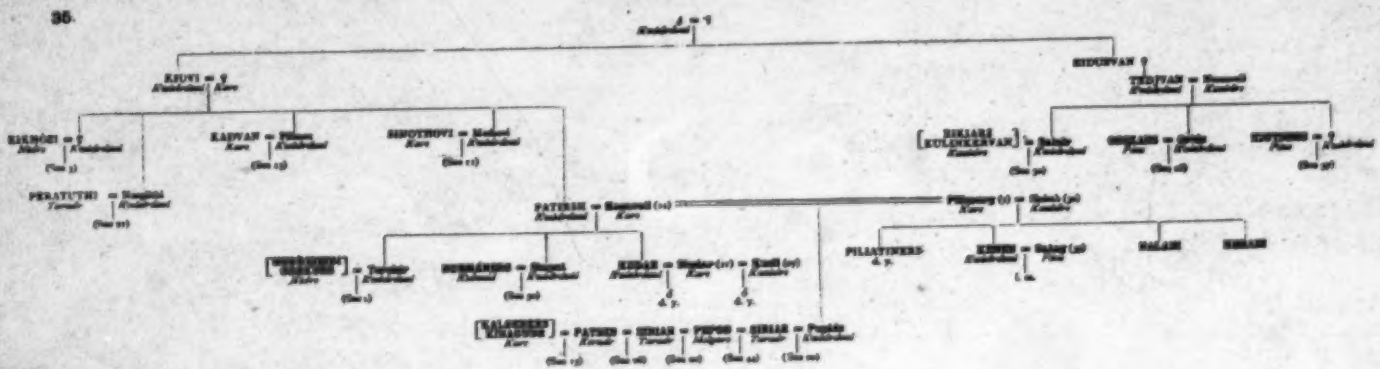
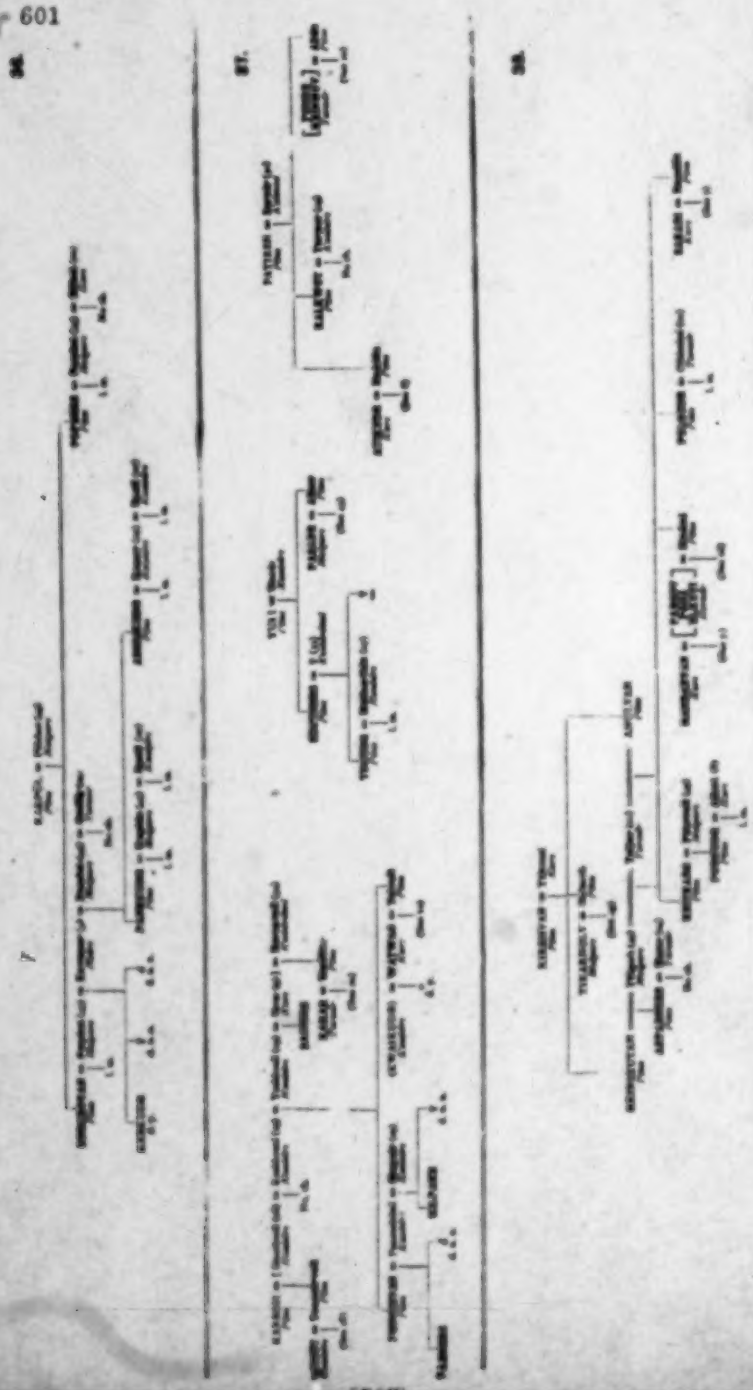


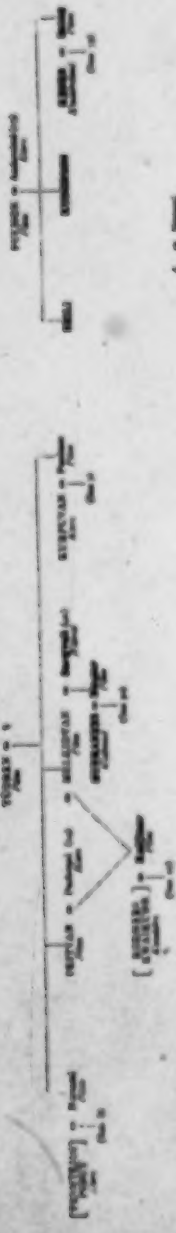
1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

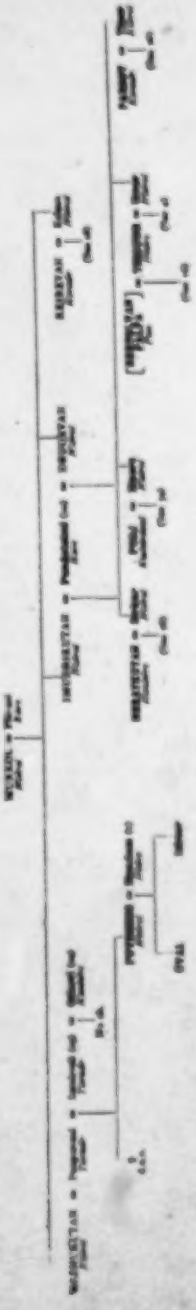
601



1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

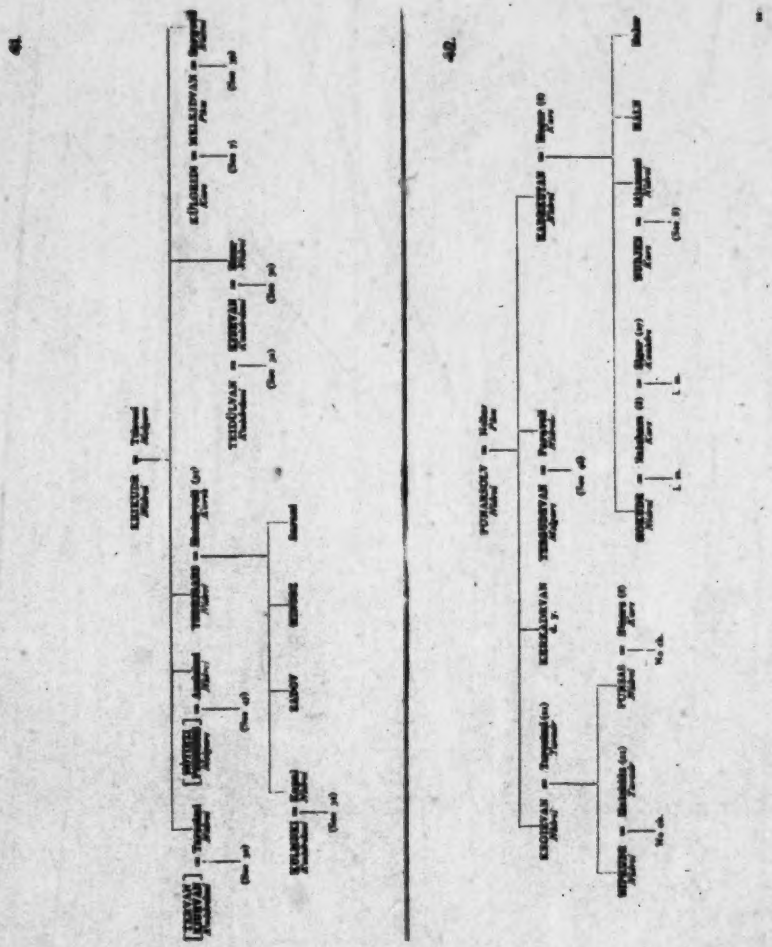
601





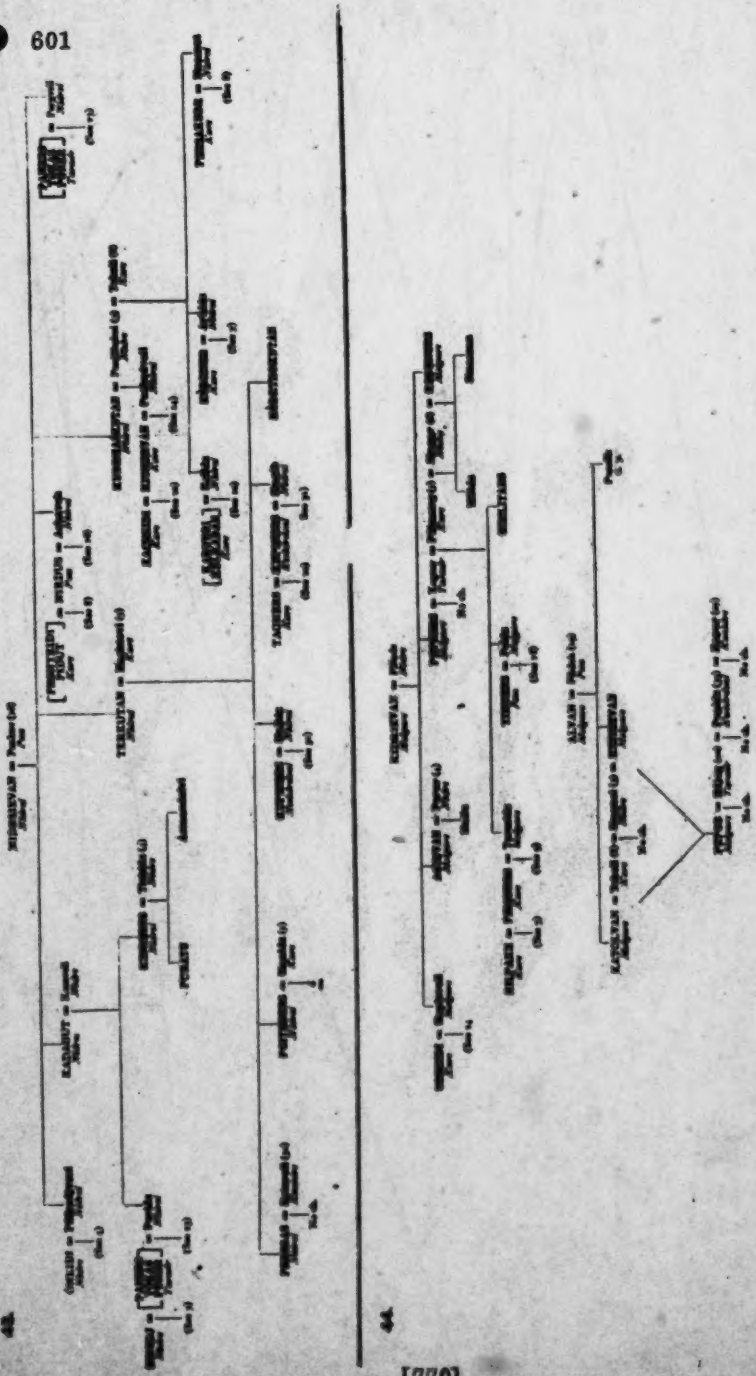
1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

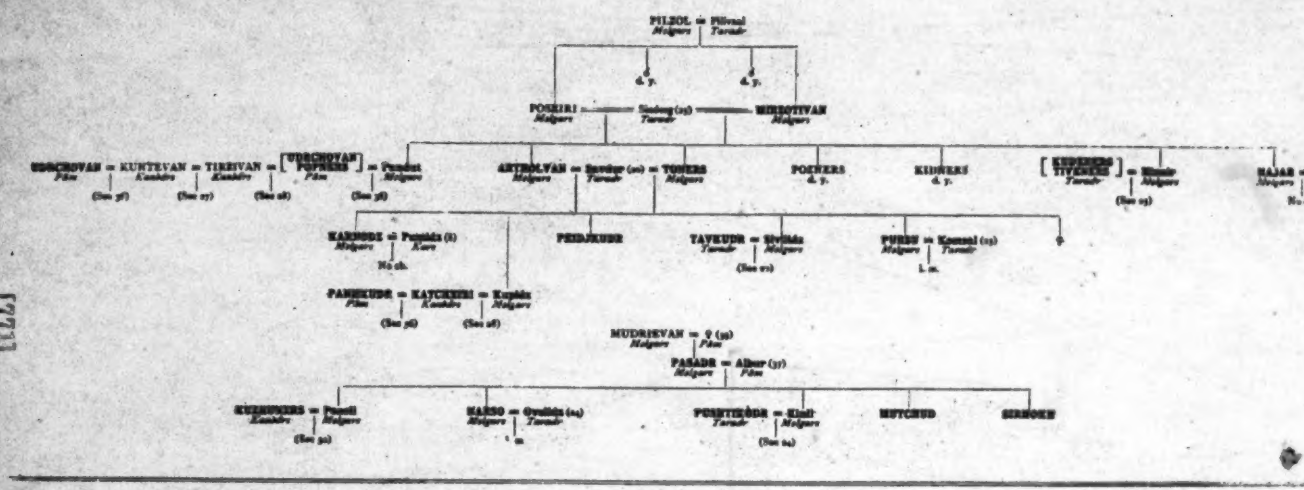
601



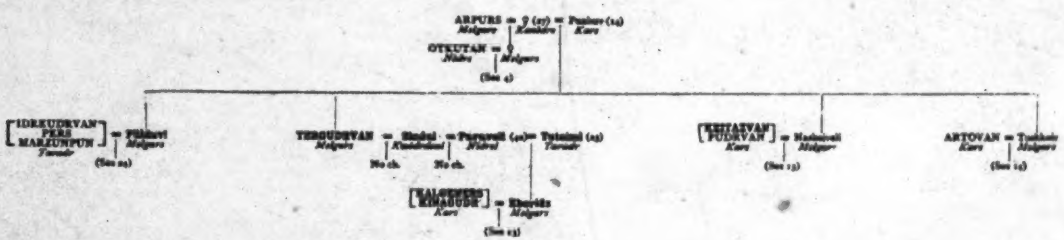
1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

601



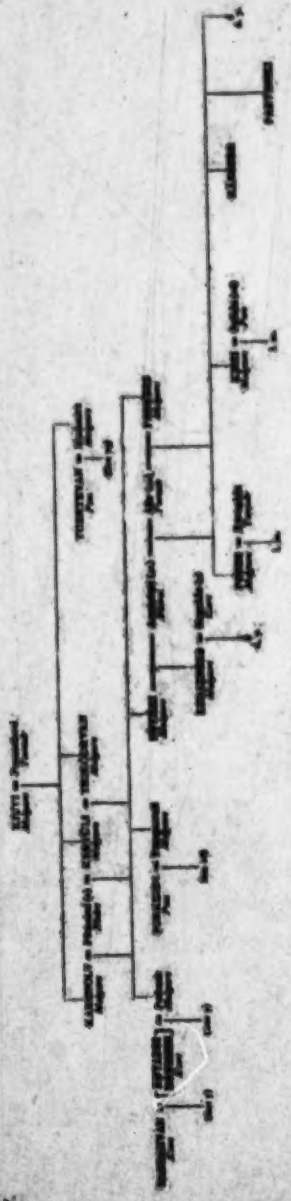

PILZOL = Pilivai
Malgure Turuk
d. y.
d. y.
POSKIRI = Sindag (1) = MURDOTIVAN
Malgure Turuk Malgure
KUNTEVAN = TIRRIVAN =
Kanabre Kanabre
Malgure
ARTIRLVAN = Barsiga (2) = TONERS
Malgure Turuk Malgure
POKNERS
d. y.
KIDNERS
d. y.
HAJAR = Kwaldis
Malgure Nilgiri
No ch.
KARNUDE = Pundis (1)
Malgure Kurs
No ch.
PEIDRKUDE
TAVKUDR = Sivilds
Turuk Malgure
PURRU = Kamsal (1)
Malgure Turuk
PANKKUDR = KATCKERI = Kuplds
Pâm Kanabre Malgure
MUDRIEVAN = ♀ (3)
Malgure Pâm
PASADR = Alber (3)
Malgure Pâm
KUKKUNERS = Pundi
Kanabre Malgure
KARSO = Ovalds (1)
Malgure Turuk
PUNTIKÂDR = Kindi
Turuk Malgure
MUTCHUD
SIRMOKN

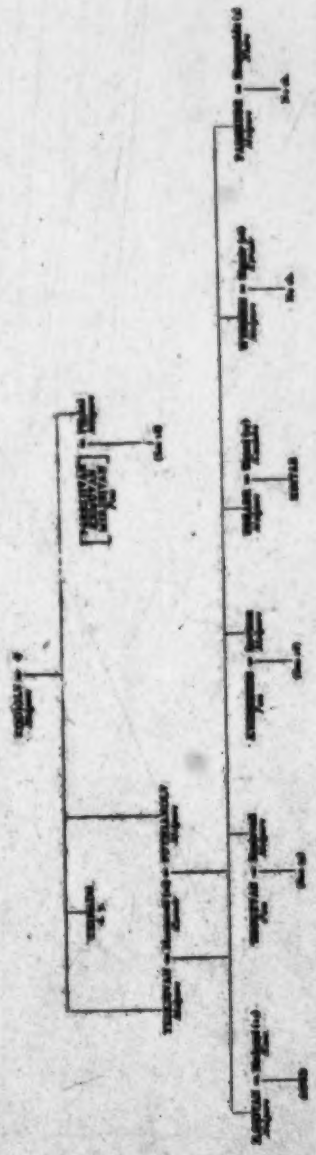
46.


ARPURS = ♀ (2) = Punisor (1)
Malgure Kanabre Kurs
OTKUTAN = ♀
Nilgiri Malgure
TERGUDRVAN = Sindai = Parsvell (2) = Tytaimi (2)
Malgure Kundabai Nilgiri Turuk
No ch. No ch.
KEDIAZVAN
Kurs
ARTOVAN = Tuskals
Kurs Malgure

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

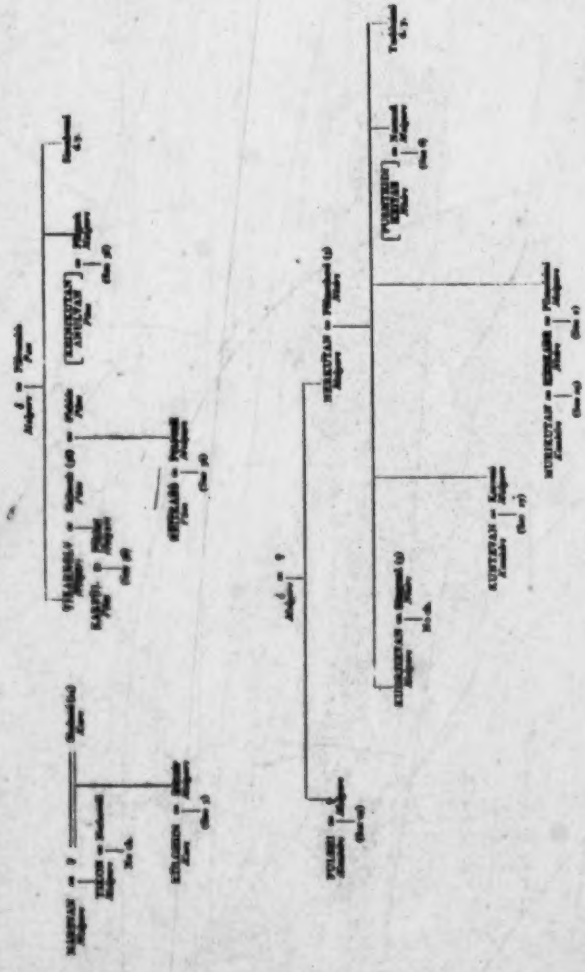
601



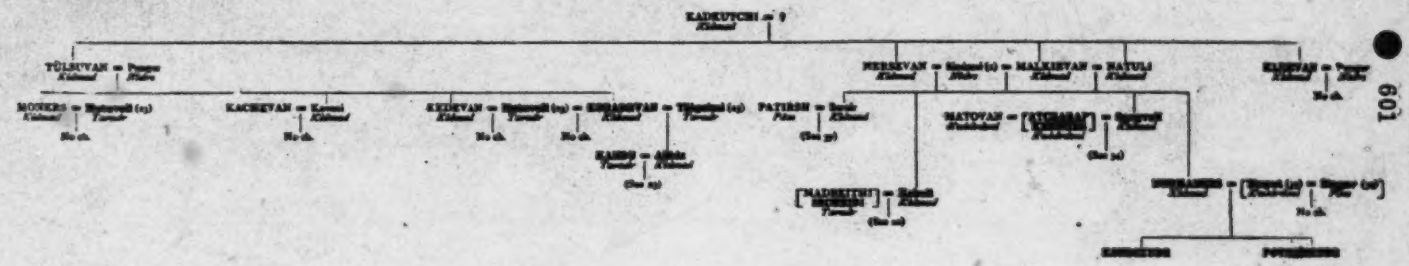


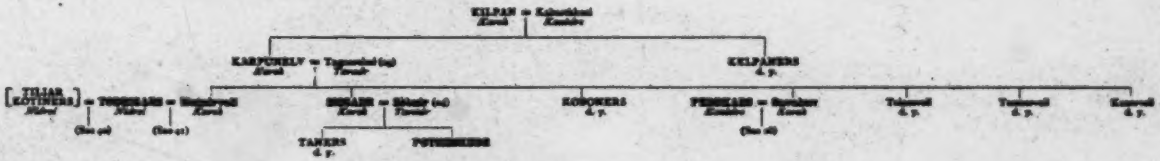
1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601

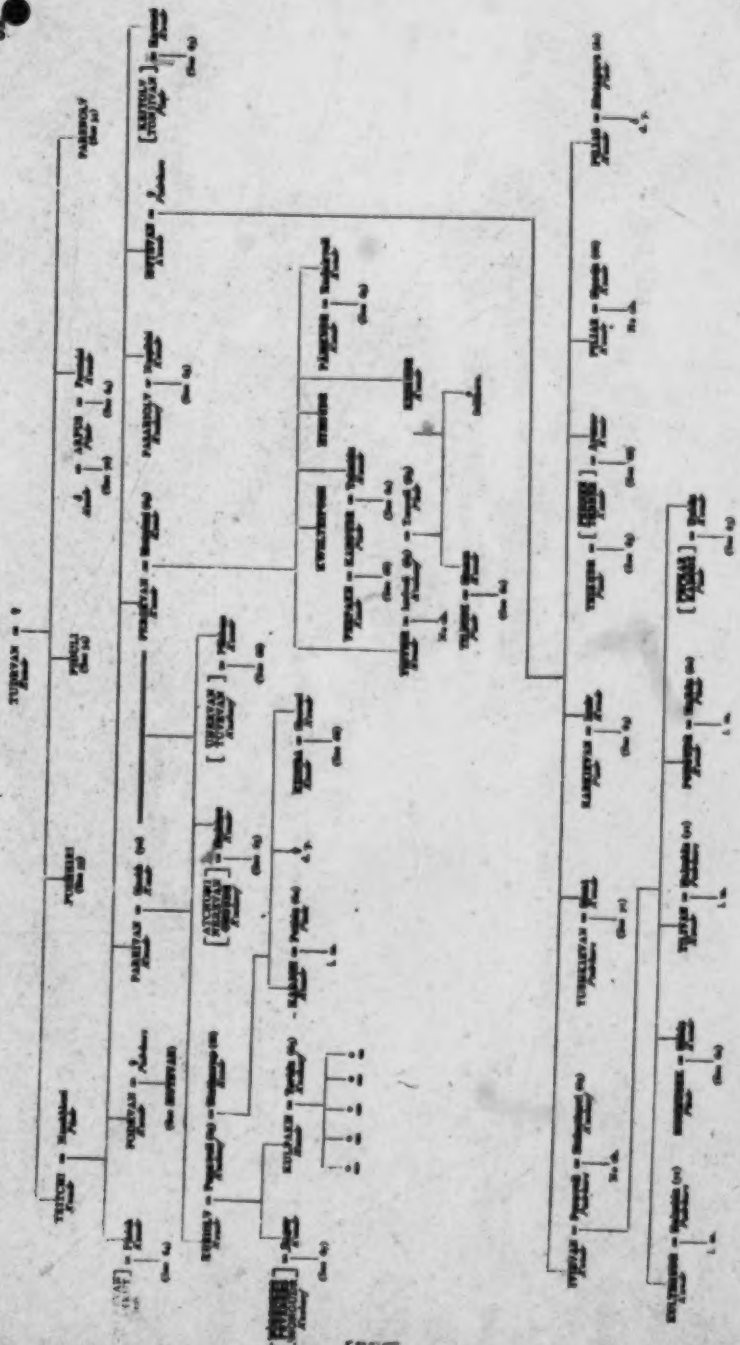


[773]



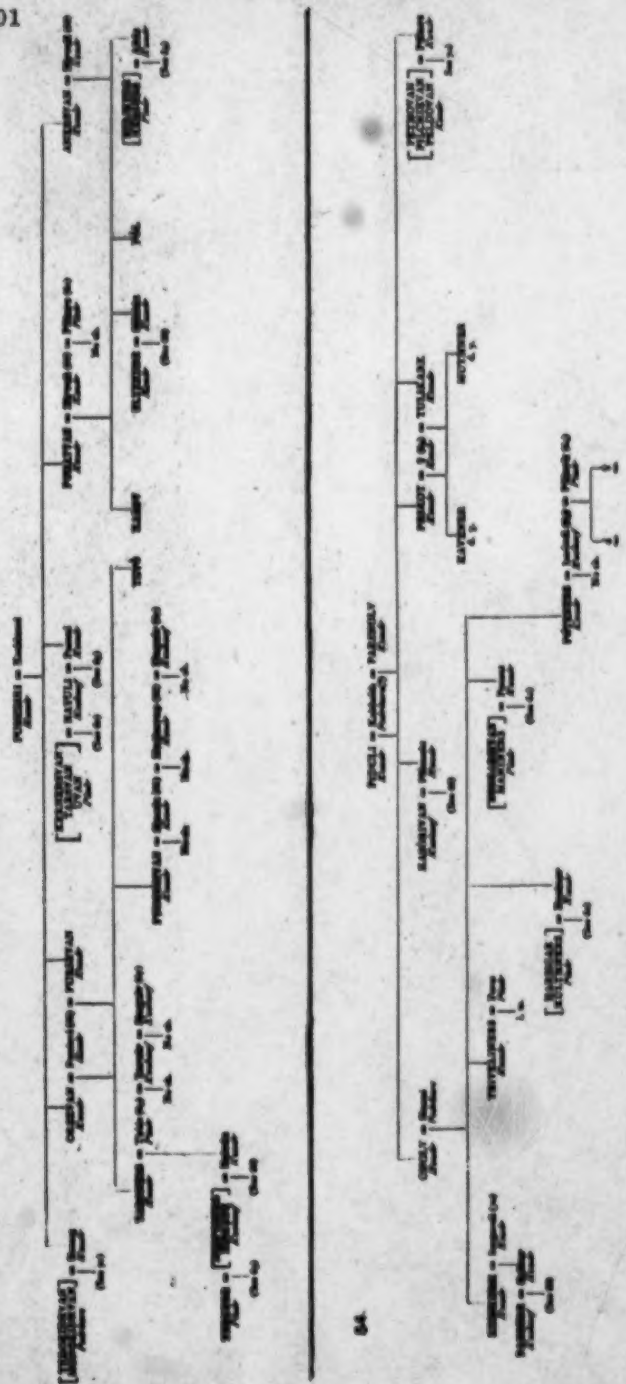


1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda
601

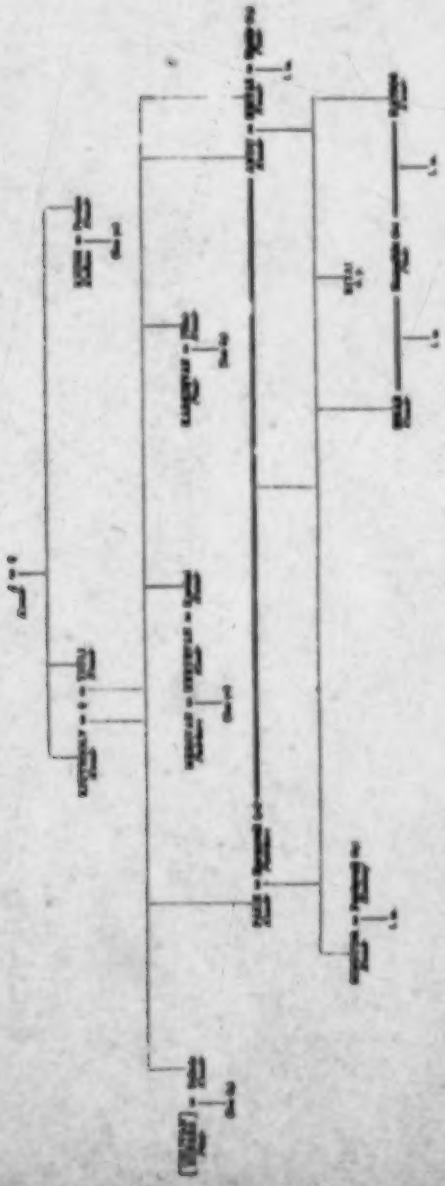


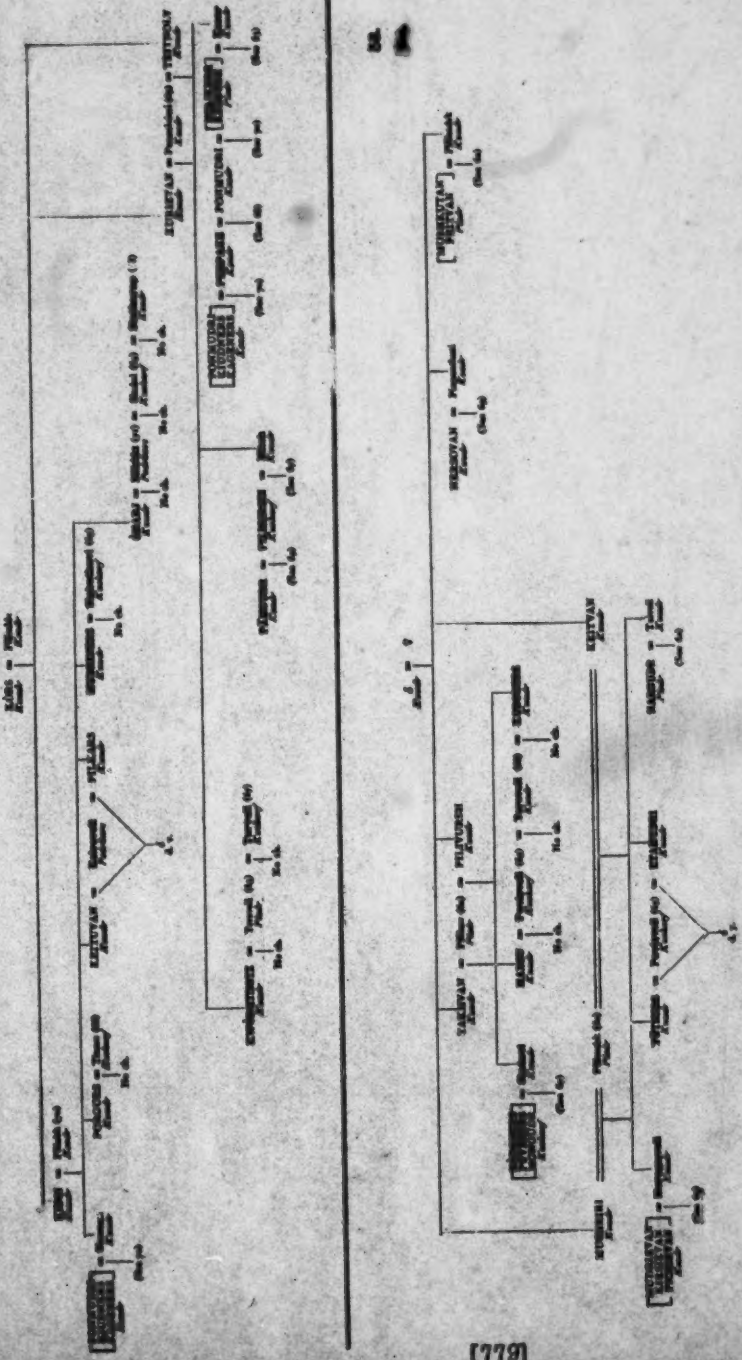
1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

601

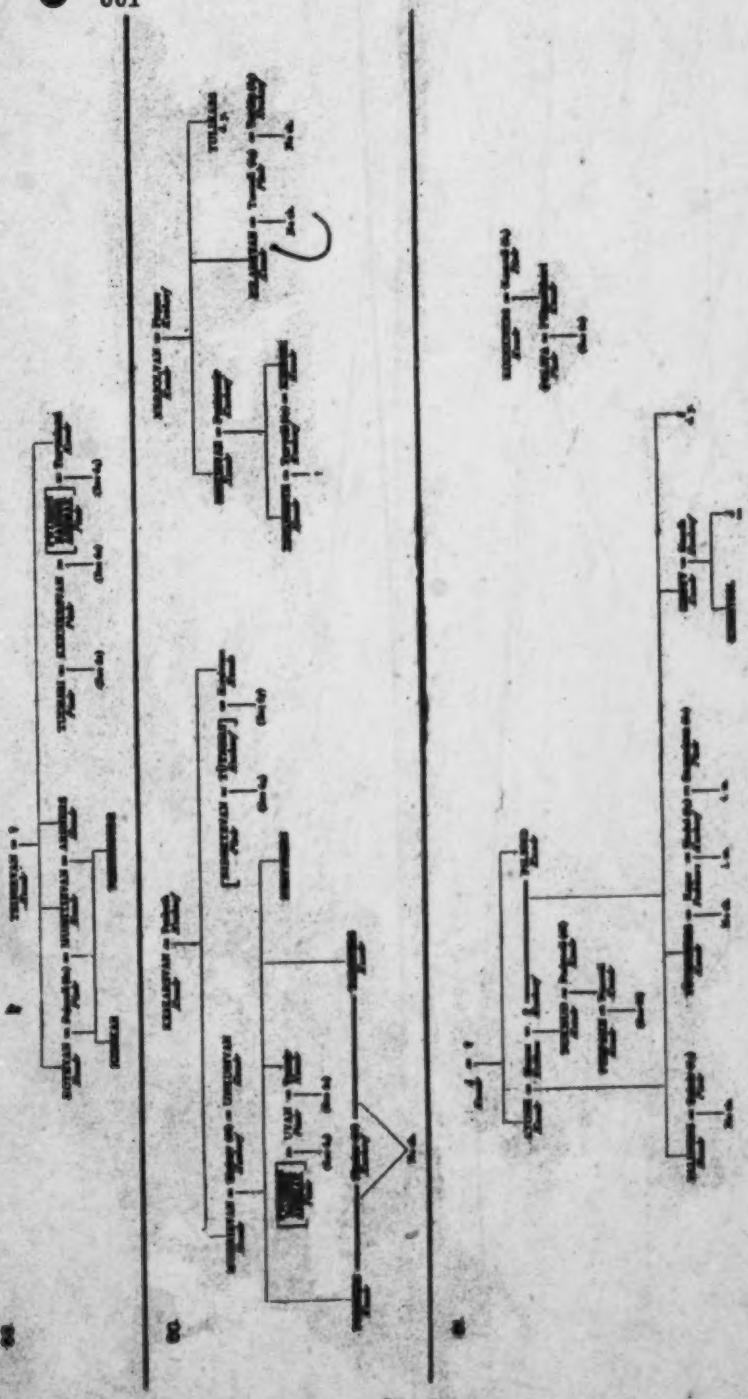


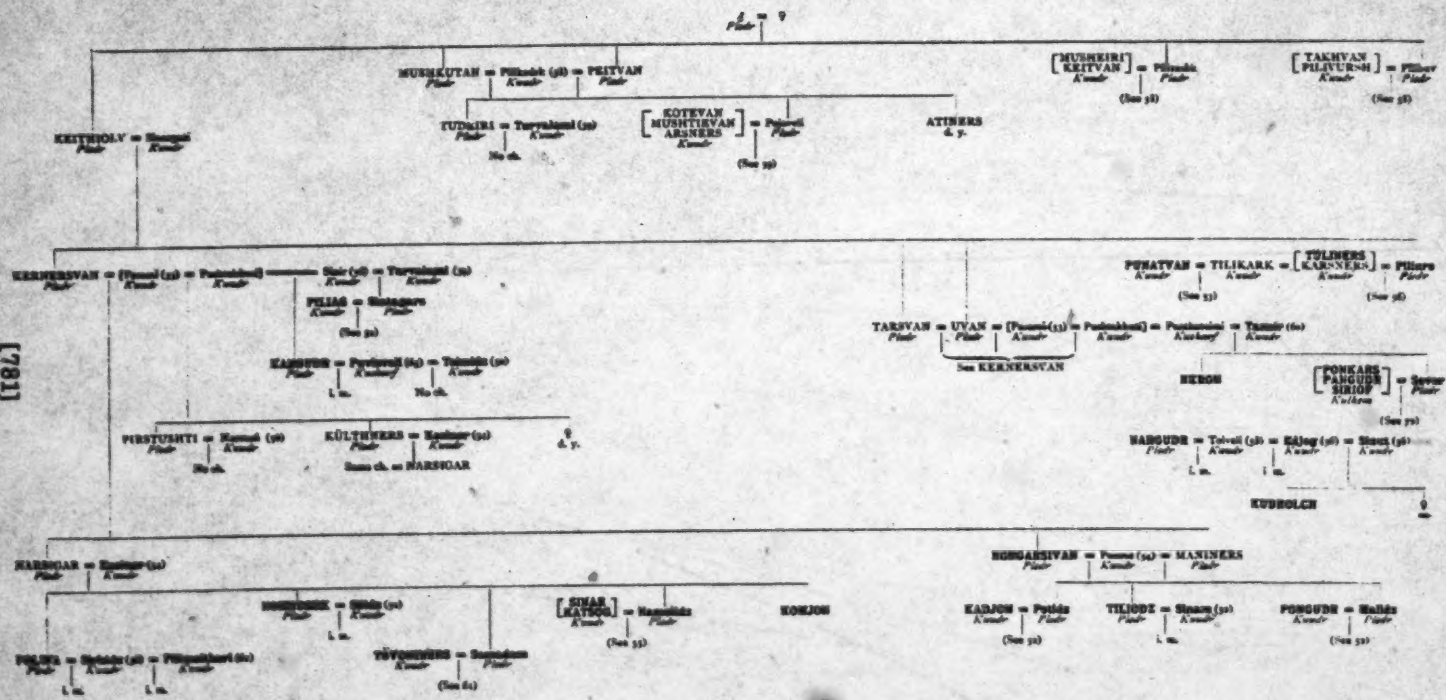
1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda
601





1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
601

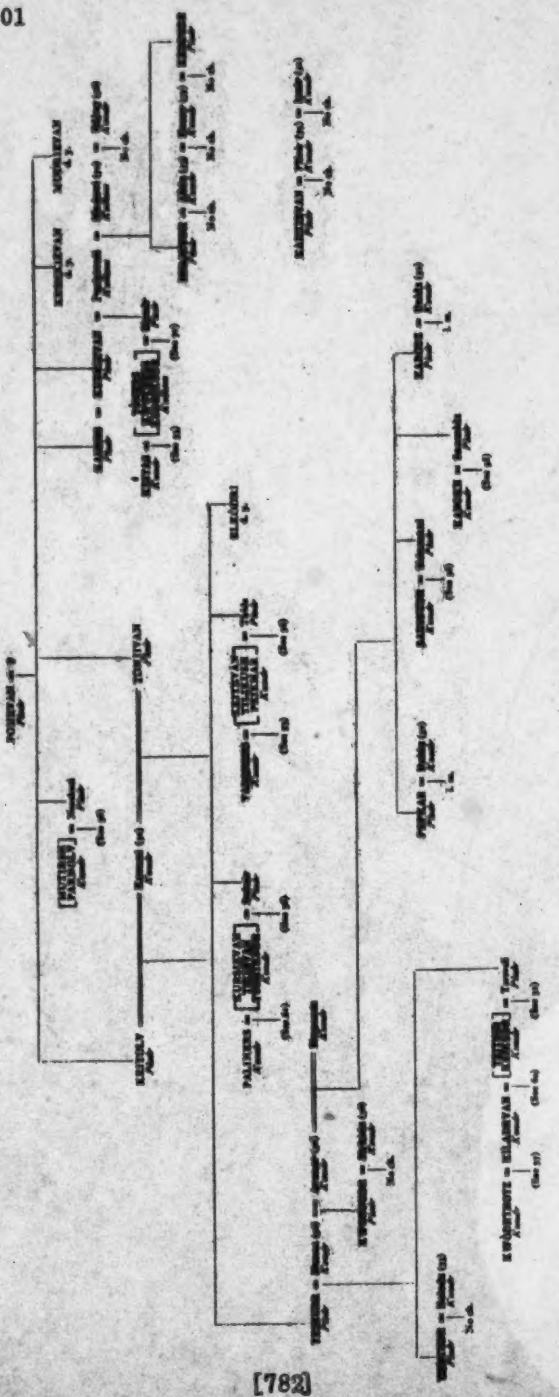



Pilate = ?
MUSHKUTAN = Pilkadik (d) = PEITVAN
Pilate
Kwadr
Pilate
KEITHOLV = Shengal
Pilate
Kwadr
TUDKIRI = Torrakgal (m)
Pilate
Kwadr
No ch.
KOTEVAN MUSHTIRVAN ARSNERS
Kwadr
= Pelgal
Pilate
(See 39)
ATINERS
d. y.
[MUSHKIRI KRITVAN]
Kwadr
= Pilkadik
Pilate
(See 38)
[TAKHVAN PILIVURSH]
Kwadr
= Pilkor
Pilate
(See 38)
KERNERSVAN = (Tgmal (m) = Pudmikhal)
Pilate
Kwadr
Kwadr
Sur (d) = Torrakgal (m)
Kwadr
Kwadr
PELIAG = Shengaro
Kwadr
Pilate
(See 32)
KARNUR = Pudmikal (k) = Tolmikk (m)
Pilate
Kwadr
Kwadr
L. m.
No ch.
PERSTUSHTI = Kamak (m)
Pilate
Kwadr
No ch.
KÜLTHNERS = Kashgar (m)
Pilate
Kwadr
Sons ch. as HARSIGAR
d. y.
TARSVAN = UVAN = (Tgmal (m) = Pudmikhal)
Pilate
Pilate
Kwadr
Kwadr
See KERNERSVAN
Pudmikhal = Pudmikal = Tamir (m)
Kwadr
Kwadr
Kwadr
PUNATVAN = TILIKARK = [TULINERS KARSNERS]
Kwadr
Kwadr
Kwadr
= Pilkor
Pilate
(See 33)
(See 36)
NEKON
[PONKARS PANGUDR SIRIOP]
Kwadr
= Sorar
Pilate
(See 37)
NARGUDR = Tolvali (d) = Kilag (d) = Sinat (d)
Pilate
Kwadr
Kwadr
Kwadr
L. m.
L. m.
KUDROLCH
d.
HARSIGAR = Kashgar (m)
Pilate
Kwadr
NORGARSIVAN = Pusmal (m) = MANINERS
Pilate
Kwadr
Pilate
KARJON = Pulldz
Kwadr
Pilate
(See 32)
TILIODZ = Sinam (m)
Pilate
Kwadr
L. m.
PONGUDR = Mulldz
Kwadr
Pilate
(See 32)
KONJON
[SINAR KATTOR]
Kwadr
= Kamaldz
Pilate
(See 35)
NORGURSIK = Gilda (m)
Pilate
Kwadr
L. m.
PONKIR = Mulldz (d) = Pilkadikal (k)
Pilate
Kwadr
Kwadr
L. m.
L. m.
TÜVGNERS = Sangdam
Kwadr
Pilate
(See 61)

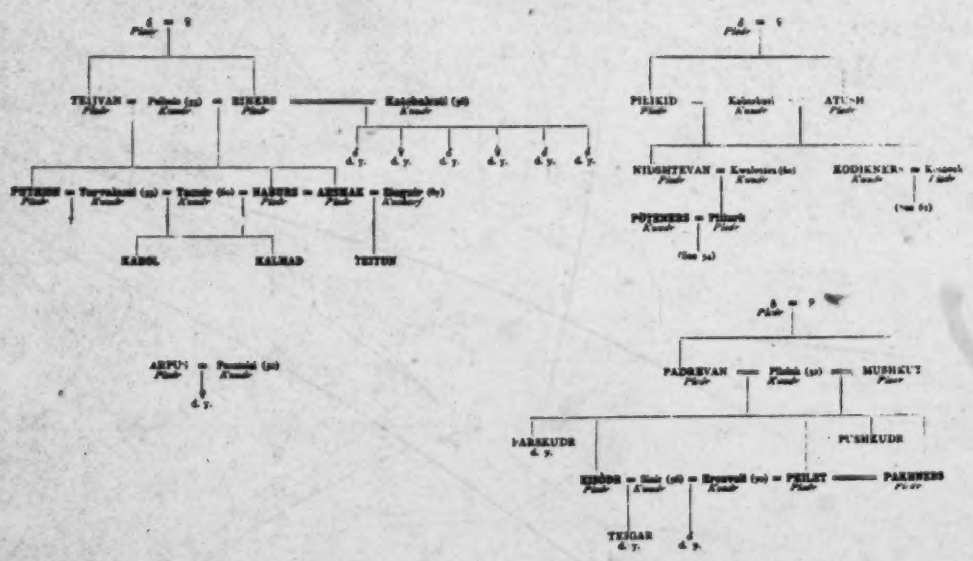
[781]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

601

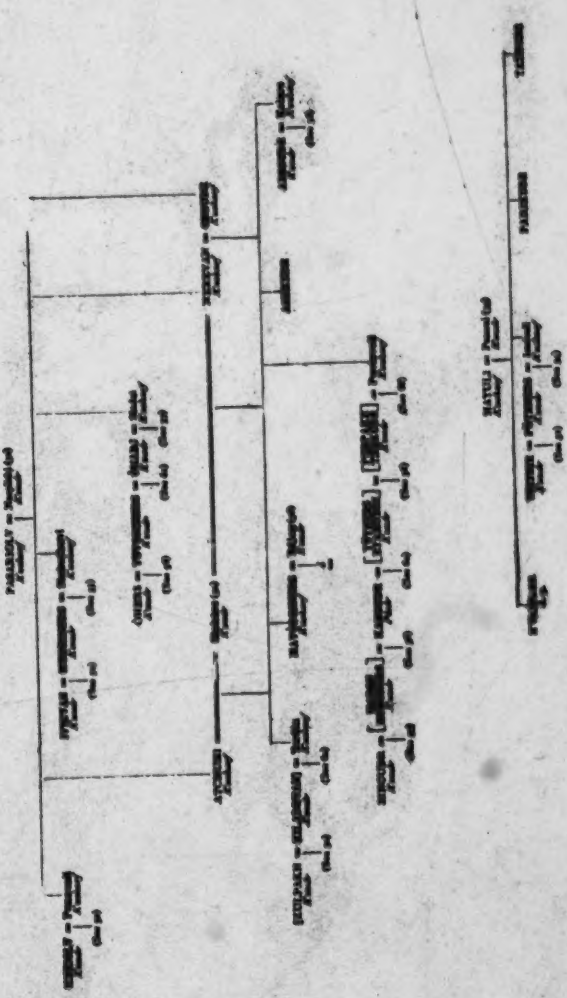


[782]


TEIIVAN
KAMAL
KALMAD
TEITUN
PILIKID
ATUSH
NILGNTEVAN
KODIKNER
POTENERS
PADREVAN
MUSHKUT
PARSKUDR
PUSHKUDR
PEILET
PARENERS
TEIGAR

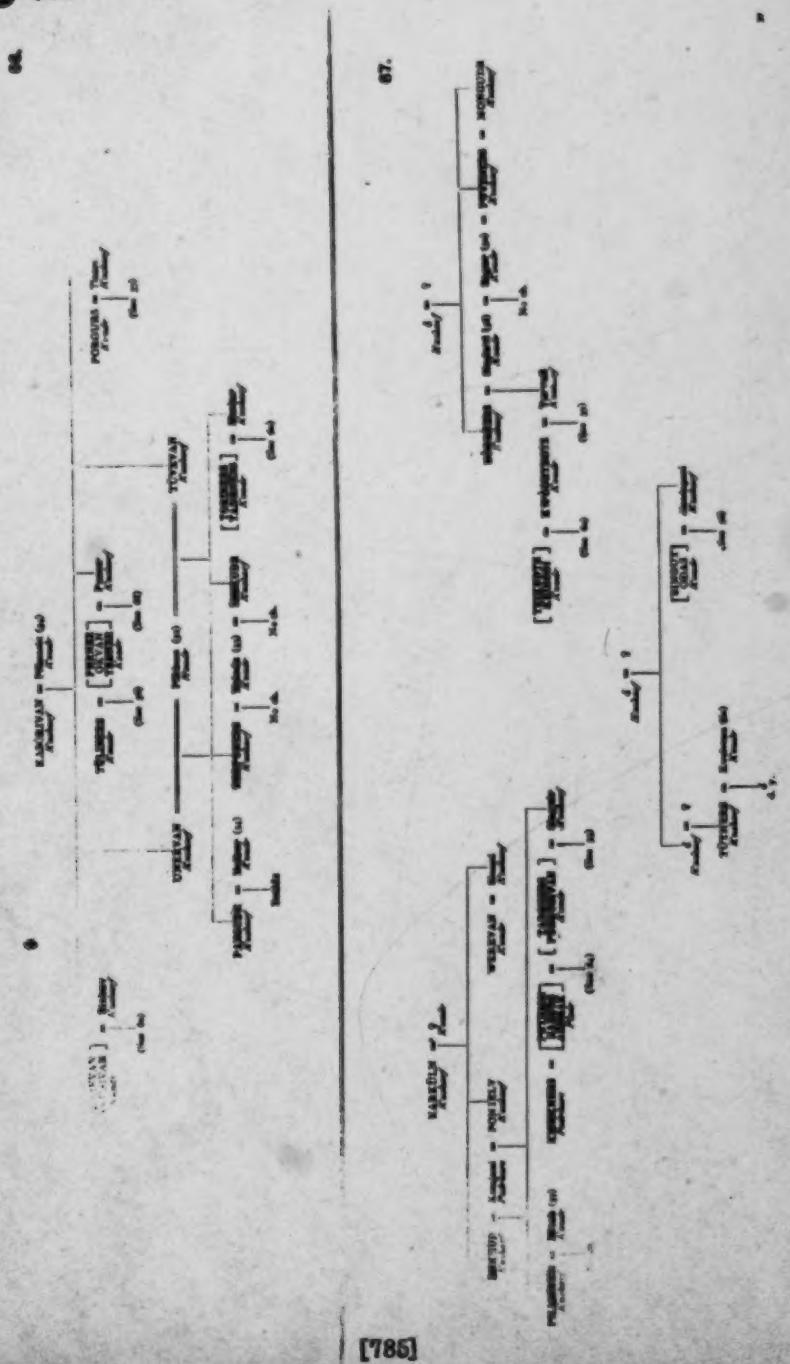
1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

601



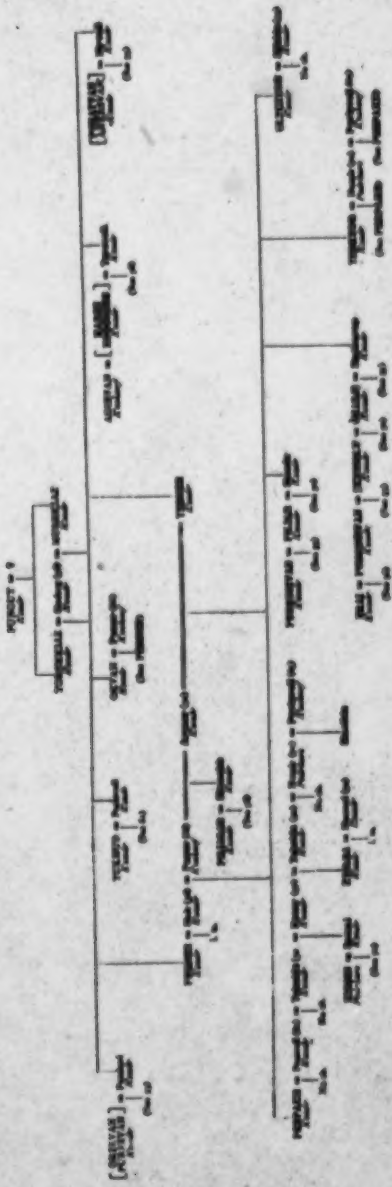
1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601



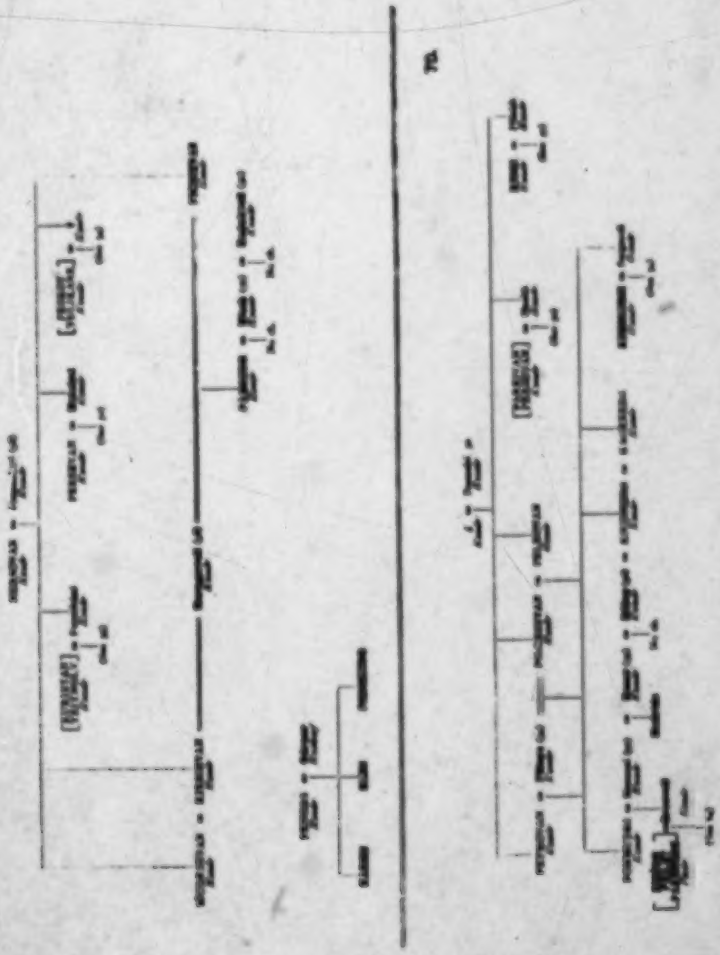
1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

601



1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02) 1906 Toda

601



CHAP. VII.

551

Quêldirth.	Jinvani.
Tushquilth.	Nastufi.
Muneth.	Ânchaguti.
Penpuv.	Chizarêm.
Dirthavilli.	Pentirêm.

553 A woman retains her maiden name on marriage; being known, for instance, as Nastufi, the wife of Beliâni.

551 576 601 It is etiquette in speaking of another man's wife to term her either kottê or pannê;[7] the first, if her husband is of the Pyki clan, the second if of the Pekkan, Tôdi, Kenna, or Kuttan clans.

A man calling to his wife, or a wife to her husband, would not say 'come here Nastufi or Beliâni,' but 'kukh itva, come here woman,' or 'âl itva, come here man.'

But the more proper term by which a man speaks of his wife is yen kâtvoti.[8]

According to these rules, people talking of the woman Nastufi, would describe her as Beliani pannê, or kottê. *He* would mention her as kâtvoti. He would *call out* to her as kukh.

List of Relationships.

601

Man, person, husband . .	Âl.
Man—young	Varsh.[9]

[7] Kottê. Pannê. Such terms are difficult. They are frequently of a depreciatory character.

Kôṭṭa = *a fort* or *large dwelling*. Kôṭṭi = *a person of a fort, a superior inhabitant*. Paṇi = *jewel*. Paṇi = *work*. [POPE.]

[8] Yen Kâtvoti. Yen or en = *my*, constantly prefixed in Drâvidian to words indicative of relationship.

Kaṭṭu = *bind, join*. V is an insertion of tense, used in forming verbal nouns with a future or indefinite temporal signification.

Ati is a feminine termination.

The word means, '*she who is bound to me*.' [POPE.]

[9] This is, I think, Sansk.: purusha. But there is vîras, *a hero*.

In old high Tamil we have virral, and the termination al becomes in Toda ah as a general rule. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

601

Boy, son	Mokh.
Woman, girl, daughter, wife	Kukh.[10]
Father	App'n, êyan, ên, or ênin.
Mother	Avv.
Wife	Kâtvoti.
Youth, bachelor	Mokh varsh.
Child—son	Kin mokh.
Child—daughter	Tüj mokh.[11]
Infant—son	Popen.[12]
Infant—daughter	Kin minthki.[13]
Twins	Mor mokh.
Fatherless, Motherless, Orphan	Tobbâri.[14]
Widower	Baruda.[15]
Widow, barren woman	Mudegitti,[16] barudi.
Great-grandfather	Pêvian.
Great-grandmother	Pêviavv.
Grandfather	Pîyan.
Grandmother	Pîavv.
Brother—elder	Ennon.
Brother—younger	Ennorvet, enta.

[10] The etymology is doubtful. One is reminded of Greek, gunaik.
In Tamil kokku = *copulatio.* [POPE.]
Kuk = *a receptacle*, also *pudendum muliebre.*

[11] Tüj mokh. Here mokh = *child.* High Tamil, maga.
Tüj is a difficulty. In Kanarese, tush = *inferior.* I imagine this is the idea. [POPE.]

[12] [13] The derivations of these words have already been given in this Chapter.

[14] Tobbâri. Tagappan = tam + appan = *their father*, or simply *father*; Tamil. This is pronounced commonly tôppan.
Âri = '*one deprived of.*' Drâvidian root aru. [POPE.]

[15] Baruda. In old Kanarese, barru = *decay, die, fail in strength.*
In Tamil this root is varru.
Sansk.: vridda = *old.*
Tamil: maladi = *barren women.* [POPE.]

[16] Mudegitti, moṭṭai = *baldness*; muṇḍai = *bald, a widow—whose head is shaved.* [POPE.]

CHAP. VII.

601

Sister—elder	Enakkan.
Sister—younger	En norvet kukh, enta.
Father's brother—elder	Ennin perud.
Father's brother—younger	Ênnin kirud.
Father's sister—elder and younger	Mâmi.
Mother's brother—elder and younger	Mâman.
Mother's sister—elder	Perud avv.
Mother's sister—younger	Kirud avv.
Son's wife	Mortwirth.
Daughter's husband	Enman mokh.
Husband's mother / Wife's mother	Mâmi.
Husband's father / Wife's father	Mâman.
Husband's brother—elder	Yen âl ennon.
Husband's brother—younger	Yen âl norvet.
Wife's sister—elder	Yen kâtvoti akkan.
Wife's sister—younger	Yen kâtvoti norvet kukh.
Wife's brother	Pâyâl or Bëiâl.
Grandson—son's son	Yen mokh ver et mokh.
Granddaughter—son's daughter	Yen mokh ver et kukh.
Old man	Kelâl.
Old woman	Kelachi.
Family, relation	Anatama, pâltiâl, pâyâl,[17] kutasaram.[18]
Ancestor	Mûpu, doddavan.
Clan	Kôleh—in Badaga language

[17] Pâltiâl, pâyâl. In old high Tamil we have pâttil = *house*.

Âl is the constant abbreviation for avargal = *they*. Thus the word pâttiâl = *those belonging to the house*.

The Sanskrit root pâ = *protect, cherish*.

The two words are probably different forms of the same. [POPE.]

[18] Kutasaram. Tamil, kûda = *together*; çaram = *a going*.

In Sanskrit kuṭumba is *family*. [POPE.]

601

The word Anatama,[19] which means elder and younger brother, is the generic title given to all very near relations.

Regarding the appellation for cousins, the people say they have no names for them—'The son of my little-father, ênnin kirud, is the same as my brother.' Yen perudên kirudên mokh yen aṇan taman ershchi.

[19] Anatama. In Kanarese, aṇṇa|tamm|andaru.
elder younger they (who are)

So in Telugu, anna|damu|lu. Here we have soft n, d for t and plurali-sing particle lu.

In Tamil, aṇṇan = *elder brother*; tambi = *younger brother*.

The Drâvidian root ṇa = *upper*, and may be compared with Greek ἀνά. Tam = *one's own*; so in terms of relationship = *my own, my*, a familiar kindly expression. [POPE.]

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pâlthchi*
551 and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's
584 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead.
583 An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claiming his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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601 * Names used to express relationships in Toda.

English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1. Father	*Ea, Eyan.*	
2. Mother	*Aff.*	
3. Son	*Mâkh.*	
4. Daughter	*Kukh.*	
5. Father's elder brother	*Peruddn*	Great father.
6. " younger "	*Kirudin*	Little do.
7. " elder sister	*Mâmi.*	
8. " younger "		
9. Mother's elder brother	*Mâman.*	
10. " younger "		
11. " elder sister	*Perudaff*	Great mother.
12. " younger "	*Kirudaff*	Little do.
13. Father's brother's son	*An*	Brother.
14. " " daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
15. " sister's son	*Machen.*	
16. " " daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.
17. Mother's sister's son	*An*	Brother.
18. " " daughter	*Akhan*	Sister.
19. " brother's son	*Machen.*	
20. " " daughter	*Tajmakh*	Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Âit* and *Tajmakh*, which simply mean man and woman.

In *Anthropological Journal for January and July* 1871, page 28, *ya* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

551

Male Names.	Female Names.
1. Kôvi, a sacred buffalo bell of a *Tiriavi* is so called.	1. Kâthaveli, (lit.) silver coin.
2. Perudl, literally a great man.	2. Darythinir, (lit.) a jewel scale.
3. Nârîkôt, (lit.) child of jackal.	3. Tâmakh, (lit.) gold one.
4. Poukôt, (lit.) child of gold.	4. Berath, no meaning that I can find out.
5. Tshinkôt, (lit.) do.	5. Depbili, (lit.) silver ring.
6. Padrithrâ, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.	6. Pondshilkammi, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. Kôdâlvên, (lit.) the man of the funeral.	7. Kattuhien, (lit.) Cutcherry, Sirear office.
8. Âlvên, (lit.) a man.	8. Pîttipurugu, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. Beltavên, (lit.) like silver.	9. Pîttuppu, (lit.) white ring.
10. Kirnâli, (lit.) little one.	10. Tâkôn, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

114 121 IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

616 618 A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toɪrðas and töüviɭj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tiɪmod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoɪɭ, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toɪrðas are reckoned to have ten mod, the töüviɭj 618 five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined 842 by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called puɪsuṭṭ, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

522 601 618 Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are poɭjoɪɭ. Membership in a group of people known as poɭjoɪɭ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the poɭjoɪɭ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

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[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319–23.

582 601 618 daughters of his maternal grandmother's sisters' daughters, and so on; in the preceding generation his mother, his mother's sisters, his maternal grandmother's mother's daughters' daughters, and so on. To the generation younger than him belong his sisters' daughters, his mother's sisters' daughters' daughters, and so on. A man will also designate as his poɫjoɪɫ his mother's sons, his maternal grandmother's sons, his sisters' sons, and so on for any son of a woman who is related to him as poɫjoɪɫ, but not the descendants of these males. This network of relations in the female line cuts across mod divisions, and divides the toɪrðʊs at present into five exogamous sets of poɫjoɪɫ, the töüviɫj into six. Rivers[4] has given a concrete example of how mod-relationships are handed down from one generation to the next; the relationships of poɫjoɪɫ are preserved in the same way even when links in the relationship are no longer remembered.

582 835 A man, then, while marrying within his own half of the whole tribe, must marry outside of his own mod and outside of his poɫjoɪɫ. As it is put by the Todas themselves, he must not marry a woman who is ŭʊdmortkværlvoj, "one who is born to one and the same mod" or poɫjoɪɫ to him. The other peculiarities of Toda marriage and sexual relationships, viz. polyandry, the institution whereby a man may take another's wife upon the payment of compensation, that by which a man may take a concubine from the other half of the tribe, and the general license permitting a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman who takes his fancy without any permanent tie being formed, seem to have blinded observers to these fundamental rules, which govern not only marriages, but also all sexual relationships. No man may marry or have intercourse with any woman who is related to him through a wholly male line or through a wholly female line. This is the system which is generally followed by the castes and communities of Hindu south India (with some exceptions which follow the rules prevalent in north India or some peculiar system of their own). The corollary following from it, that a man may marry his cross-cousin, obtains of course among the Todas as it does among the other south Indian communities following these rules. Among the Todas it is optional, though preferable, and is applied in the symmetrical fashion.[5] It seems to be the rule among many of the south Indian communities that the mother's brother's daughter is preferred, though without excluding the possibility of marriage to the father's sister's daughter; there is no trace of this preference for asymmetry among the Todas.

Page 490.

Rivers, p. 514, and my informants generally.

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Rivers' account of the general rule[6] is incomplete and in part incorrect. How this came about is of course not certain, but a guess may be hazarded on the cause. There is even now, when information is apparently more easily obtained on most subjects than it was thirty years ago, some reticence and embarrassment about the subject of poɭjoɪɭ. It seems to be connected in part at least with the taboos that surround the relationship, perhaps more with the general air of indecency and ridicule with which the Todas approach the subject. This will be made clear when an account is given of the names of the divisions and the stories behind them. At the moment it is necessary to criticize Rivers' account. He interprets the term poɭjoɪɭ (his püliol) as including both sets of prohibited affinities. This, being quite contrary to Toda usage, explains the impression he records that "it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his püliol included all the people of his own clan" (i.e. mod). It was a new and wholly erroneous idea. The list of püliol which he gives is in part a mixture of two sets of relationships, in part incorrect, and as a whole incomplete. A man may not marry the daughters of his father's brothers (Rivers' heading i) or the sisters of his father (heading iii), since they are üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj. The daughters of his mother's sisters (heading ii) and the daughters of his sisters (heading iii) are forbidden, since they are poɭjoɪɭ. His fourth head, the daughters of the sisters of his father's father, gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriages to such persons found in the genealogies.[7] The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poɭjoɪɭ to him, but üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj; they cannot have married his üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj, and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given[8] that a person must not marry the child of his motʃiɲj (matchuni, i.e. cross-cousin) is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him. If she has married outside his mod, there are no objections. Again, if a man's male motʃiɲj has married a woman who is poɭjoɪɭ to the man's mother, the motʃiɲj's daughter will be forbidden to the man; otherwise, not. The case in the last paragraph on p. 511 of Rivers' work, that of a man marrying a daughter of his sister's daughter, is impossible, since she would be his poɭjoɪɭ. The final case in this paragraph, the marriage of two brothers to the daughter of their sister's son, violated no rule; the disapproval that attended the marriage was undoubtedly due to the disproportion in age, not as such, but as depriving

[6] Rivers, pp. 509–11.
[7] Rivers, p. 511.
[8] Rivers, p. 511 *mad.* and again p. 513.

582 601 618 114 some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poɭjoɪɭ are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

196 A note on the semantics of the word poɭjoɪɭ may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the poɭj." The most usual meaning of poɭj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called ɑɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ü̈ɯd-voɭjoɪɭoɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ü̈ɯd) poɭj (i.e. poɭjoɪɭ)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poɭjoɪɭ institution. The semantic development of poɭj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poɭjoɪɭ and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poɭjoɪɭ. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate puɭɪi, "building, temple."

613 539 As was said above, there are at present five sets of poɭjoɪɭ among the toɪrðɑs. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinɯl of the kerɯroɪɭ (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the kü̈ɑtæmboɭjoɪɭ or oɪrvɯtʂɣɑɪkvoɭjoɪɭ is said to be descended from kü̈ɑtæm (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poɭjoɪɭ make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oɪr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɯtʂ). A crow (kɑɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moɣðɯtkoɪtʃvojvoɭjoɪɭ, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
587 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iʂxuuɪR]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuuɪR]. His sister [sindafuɪL] (Sindavul) married [tuaɪsmonguuɪR] (59, Tormungudr) [14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuɪf]. [iʂxuuɪR] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough,
[601] Mary was married to [nasoɪn] (son of [teɪpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [nasoɪn] and [sindafuɪL] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasoɪn] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this mar-
[584] riage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iʂxuuɪR], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
797 ried to [pumxuuɪR]. When she came of age however, [pumxuuɪR],
184 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
686 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to
627 marry [tōumuʂkuLN]. [iʂxuuɪR] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuuɪR] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tōumuʂkuLN] and [sotjabuɪf] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peɪθoɪL]
[692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iʂxuuɪR]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaɪsmonguuɪR] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iʂxuuɪR]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.

♂[iʂxuuɪR] ♀[sindafuɪL] = ♂[tuaɪsmonguuɪR]

♂[pumxuuɪR] ♀Mary = ♂[nasoɪn] ♂[tōumuʂkuLN] = ♀[sotjabuɪf]

[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[2] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[3] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in ego's generation based on age relative to that of ego.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to ego. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of ego's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, onoi in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okoi in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ŭwr-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endoi in address. En-ŭwr-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" num-ŭwr-fed "your younger sibling," an-ŭwr-fed (or an-dan-ŭwr-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ŭwr-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ŭwr-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," num-ŭwr-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or oban-ŭwr-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -ku ix (= ku ix) a female.[5]

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

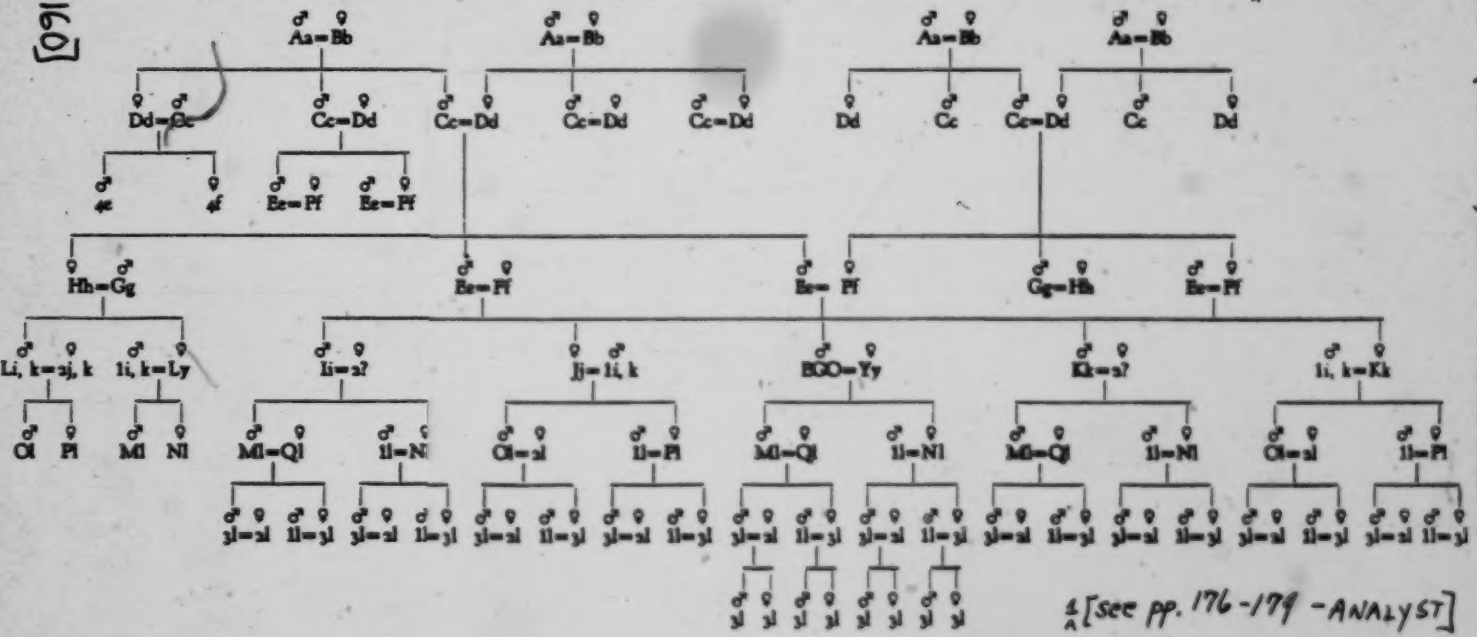
[3] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 207–23, 1938), p. 209 fn. 1. In this paper I use ł, ł for palatalized alveolar sibilants, c, ç for post-dental affricates and č, ǰ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ŭ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1935–36 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[4] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and passim.

[5] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom ego would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

DIAGRAM 1. GENEALOGY OF TODAS (MAN SPEAKING).

Capitals indicate reference terms of a classificatory nature, numerals reference terms of a descriptive nature, and small letters address terms. (See Appendix.) ½ A


♂ Aa=Bb ♀
♂ Aa=Bb ♀
♂ Aa=Bb ♀
♂ Aa=Bb ♀
♀ Dd=♂ Cc
♂ Cc=♀ Dd
♂ Cc=♀ Dd
♂ Cc=♀ Dd
♂ Cc=♀ Dd
♀ Dd
♂ Cc
♂ Cc=♀ Dd
♂ Cc
♀ Dd
♂ 4e
♀ 4f
♂ Ee=♀ Pf
♂ Ee=♀ Pf
♀ Hh=♂ Gg
♂ Ee=♀ Pf
♂ Ee=♀ Pf
♂ Gg=♀ Hh
♂ Ee=♀ Pf
♂ Li, k=♀ aj, k
♂ 1i, k=♀ Ly
♂ 1i=♀ a?
♀ Jj=♂ 1i, k
♂ BGO=♀ Yy
♂ Kk=♀ a?
♂ 1i, k=♀ Kk
♂ Ol
♀ Pl
♂ Ml
♀ Nl
♂ Ml=♀ Ql
♂ 1l=♀ Nl
♂ Ol=♀ al
♂ 1l=♀ Pl
♂ Ml=♀ Ql
♂ 1l=♀ Nl
♂ Ml=♀ Ql
♂ 1l=♀ Nl
♂ Ol=♀ al
♂ 1l=♀ Pl
♂ jl=♀ al
♂ 1l=♀ jl
♂ jl=♀ al
♂ 1l=♀ jl
♂ jl=♀ al
♂ 1l=♀ j

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Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as ŋoo. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as ŋoo. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɨ̃ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, eŋoɨ̃ or en-goɨ̃ "my friend" (in address -es is added), nun-goɨ̃ "your friend," an-goɨ̃ or tan-goɨ̃ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

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When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocaoɨ̃ɲu, eningoɨ̃ɲu.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[114] [126] [601] [561]

in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister terms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as ego the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496-98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of ego is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper The Songs of the Toda (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343-60, 1937), especially pp. 356-59.

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[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 516-19.

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song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song pijnɪr (Piliar, 52) and merŋnɪs (Mudriners, 57) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another sindɪrp (Sintharap), wife of kɪɪnɪsjaff (Kuriolv, 52), and kosɪr (Kosar, 57) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: tæ:rbjxæ:m, son of sirjɪr (Siriar, 20), and tɔɔbɪɪs, son of tɔrkas (Tokas) and pɪnɪr (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter ejɪ: "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ɨoo's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ɨoo's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., mɔn-mɔɪ "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ɨoo" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and mɔn-gɪɪ "daughter, etc." may be replaced by en-ɛkɪŋ-fæ:dfɔj-mɔɪ "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," en-ɛɪŋ-fɔd-mɔɪk-fæ:dfɔj-xɪɪ "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference mɔčiŋj "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ɨoo's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (en-in-mɔčiŋj "my father's cross-cousin," en-af-mɔčiŋj "my mother's cross-

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DIAGRAM 3. GENEALOGY OF TERMS (WOMAN SPEAKING).

Only the section is given where female usage differs from male.

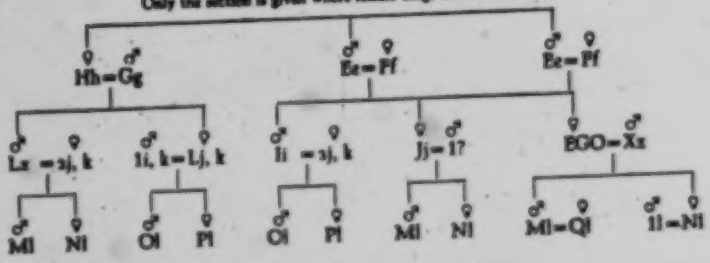


DIAGRAM 5. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR WIFE'S RELATIVES.

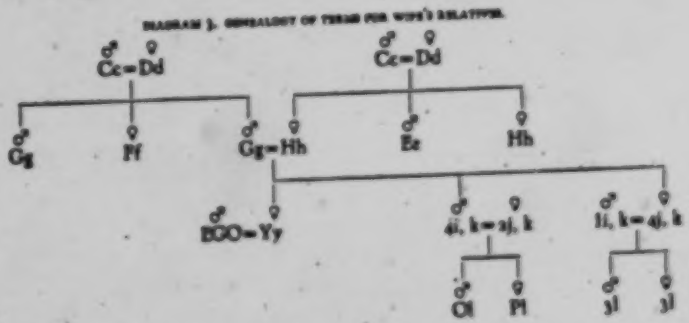
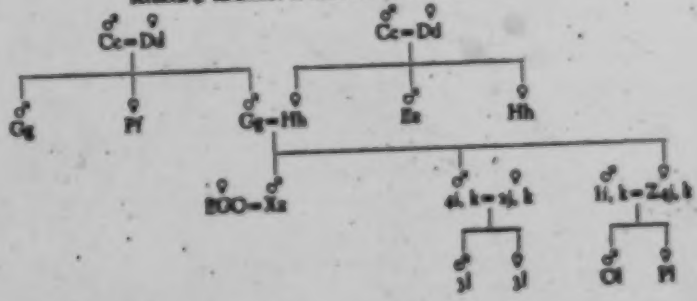


DIAGRAM 6. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR HUSBAND'S RELATIVES.



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cousin;" sex may however be indicated by the addition of the respective sex-denoting words). In 100's generation sex is specified in referring to and addressing his siblings and parallel cousins older than himself, and in addressing cross-cousins, but not in referring to and addressing siblings and parallel cousins younger than himself or in referring to cross-cousins; in reference in the latter cases an optional reference is allowed. In descending generations sex is specified in reference but not in address. 601

In 100's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age older or younger than his own (see above), in the case of siblings and parallel cousins when referred to or addressed, and in the case of cross-cousins of the same sex as 100 when addressed. In the first ascending generation 100's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and 100's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's, in both cases by prefixing per-ʊmʊ "big-who is" and kur-ʊmʊ "small-who is" to the classificatory terms, either of reference or address.

The father is not distinguished in address or reference from his brothers and male parallel cousins, nor in address from his male cross-cousins; the mother is not distinguished in address or reference from her sisters and female parallel cousins, nor in address from her female cross-cousins. A step-parent is not distinguished in reference or address from a parent. [595]

In 100's generation siblings by the same father are not distinguished in reference or address from children of the father's brothers or from children of the mother's sisters. There is a permissively used special term of reference for a man's brother who is a son of the same father, oṇṭafn; e.g., eṇ en-oṇṭafn-ṇji "he is my brother, the son of the same father as myself," oṇṭafn-mox fuṇjoṭi "do not seize the wife of (your) brother by the same father (i.e. do not carry her off as you may do with other men's wives and then have compensation [or] arranged by the tribal council)."[10] When special exactness is needed, descriptive phrase may be used.

In the first ascending generation there is a special term, both in reference and address, for the father's sisters and female parallel cousins, and this is also used for the mother's male siblings' and male parallel cousins' wives, and for 100's mother-in-law and her female siblings. Similarly, there is a special term for the mother's brothers and male parallel cousins, and this is used also for the father's female siblings' and female parallel cousins' husbands, and for 100's father-in-law and the latter's male siblings. In 100's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences, except those who are affines; a spouse's siblings are not classed as 100's cross-cousins, unless they are really so. In the first descending generation a distinction is made in reference between two groups: (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are all descriptively distinguished, e.g., en-mox "elder brother's son," en-ʊmʊ-kul-mox-mox "my younger brother's son," mofiṇj-ʊmʊn-mox "female cross-

[10] Kinship, pp. 134-35. It is possible that oṇṭafn is the word meant by Rivers (p. 184), overleaf. [114]

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cousin's son," (male speaking in all these cases), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself (these are all man-mox [male],* man-gux [female], or may be distinguished descriptively, e.g., ekn-mox "elder sister's son," en-tuny-fed-mxan-mox "my younger sister's son," mofing-mxan-mox "male cross-cousin's son," male speaking in all cases). The terms man-mox, man-gux are used also of the children of one's spouse's sibling of the opposite sex to that of one's spouse. Members of (a) are cross-cousins to members of (b). In address members of (a) and members of (b) are not distinguished. It will be noted that the sex of the speaker must be regarded in (a) and (b), as in the last paragraph on this page.

The terms of address that would apply to ego's spouse's relatives if the spouse were a cross-cousin apply also to these relatives when the spouse is not a cross-cousin. That is, the basic equation for terms for affines is: cross-cousin = spouse. The only violation of the equation is found in that, man speaking, wife's sister is not equated with the daughter of father's sister or of mother's brother, and, woman speaking, husband's brother is not equated with the son of father's sister or of mother's brother. The basic equation also works with terms of reference in the ascending generations and in class (b) of the preceding paragraph for the first descending generation. In the spouse's own generation and in class (a) of that paragraph in the first descending generation descriptive terms of reference are used; e.g., en(k)-ka-ofiap-dan-ep "elder brother of my wife," en(k)-ka-ofiap-dan-ekn-mox "son of my wife's elder sister," en-o-ofy-dan-ekn "my husband's elder sister," etc. A woman may refer to her husband's female siblings, real or classificatory within his patrilineal ab (mod), as mod-ekn, apparently irrespective of their relative ages; in address ordinary "sister" terms are used. This word, though itself a phrasal term, is in connotation a simplex, like man-mox and man-gux (cf. pp. 162 and this page above).

Two classes in the first ascending generation yield one class only in the second ascending generation, divided in terminology on the basis of sex, both in reference and address. Likewise, in the third and preceding ascending generations, though occasions for address are comparatively rare. Frequently, when no more exact reference is necessary, the terms for the second ascending generation are used for all preceding generations. In the second and succeeding descending generations no distinctions are made in address, and the same form is used as in the first descending generation (cf. p. 163). In reference descriptive terms are used, distinguishing the sex of the individual and the reference status of the individual's links with ego as in the second paragraph above, (a) and (b); e.g., man-mox or mosh-fa-ofiap-mox "son's son," man-gux or mosh-fa-ofiap-gux "son's daughter," ka-man-mox or ka-mah-fa-ofiap-mox "daughter's son," man-man-mox "son's son's son," mofing-man-man-mox "son's son of male cross-cousin."

"Husband" is *ofy* in reference, *ofyo* in address; "wife" is *tagnam* in reference, *tagnamja* or *ka-nja* in address. When ego is male, he addresses a female cross-cousin, even if she is

* Kroeber, p. 488, queried whether man-mox denotes also a son-in-law who is not a sister's son. It is not used of him; he is *pend* (see p. 163); when circumlocution is required *kanan-ofy* "daughter's husband."

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not his wife, by the same terms that he uses for his wife; similarly, when *ioo* is female, she addresses a male cross-cousin, even if he is not her husband, by the same term that she uses for her husband.

Affines are referred to collectively as *pojo·ŋ*; the same term includes also female affines. When the term refers to an individual, it may denote either male or female.

There is a special reference term for the wife of one's son (own son or the son of one's own brother), if she is not one's sister's daughter, viz. *moot·kâ* (*moot-* as in *moot-moot* = "son's;" *-kâ* [i.e. *pâ*] is not otherwise found).

There is a special reference term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father (or fathers in a polyandrous marriage), viz. *ŋwait*. It may also be used of the woman in reference to this type of relationship. In address these women use to one another "sister" terms. The word is frequently combined with *ŋpaîn* (cf. p. 183 above) in songs. When a woman laments her husband's death, if her husband had several brothers each married to a separate wife, she may sing:

oo·ŋpaîn *o:jutkuk*
oo·ŋwait *kuuutkuk* (or, *uuy:utkuk*)

"You (plural) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father; you (plural) made (or, caused to sit) six sisters-in-law (wives of brothers)." This may also be said in the words *ekoonot* during the dancing at a man's funeral.[a] When a man laments his brother, if he had several brothers each of whom had a separate wife, he may sing:

oo·ŋpaîn *o:jutkuk*
oo·ŋwait *o:jutkuk*

"We (inclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father: we (inclusive) were (having) six wives." When a man laments his wife under the same circumstances, he may sing:

oo·ŋpaîn *o:jkooon*
oo·ŋwait *o:jkuu*

"We (inclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father; you were one of six wives of the brothers."

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The system is essentially classificatory, as is shown especially by the terms of address. It is used in this way by the Todas. Each member of a person's patrilineal sib is addressed by the appropriate classificatory vocative. It will be remembered from Rivers' treatment[a] that the classification is made even when the various families of a sib are unrelated so far as the Todas' genealogical knowledge goes; the correlation of generations is handed down by adoption and frequent use, and even when the links of a pedigree have been lost to memory, the correct terminology based on the last pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and the persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with

[a] See The Range of the Todas, pp. [illegible]. [a] Pp. [illegible].

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the appropriate terms. Similarly, the members of a matrilineal sib use the appropriate terms to one another, assigning the appropriate terms between any two individuals in the same way that it is done within the patrilineal sib, even when knowledge of the pedigree has been lost. An example may be given of the usage between members of matrilineal sibs. Tapoyn, son of [illegible] of the [illegible] patrilineal sib (Teigudr, 4) and his wife [illegible] (Uwer), is related to kaufmanij of the [illegible] patrilineal sib (Kurpurudi, 14) as nephew to maternal uncle, addresses him with the vocative [illegible], and is addressed as [illegible]. Kaufmanij addresses [illegible] elder sister ([illegible]), since his mother addressed her as daughter ([illegible]); they are members of the same matrilineal sib but the pedigree is not known to the Toda.

Within each moiety of the tribe, the Toda may be related, when they are related, as members of the same patrilineal sib, as members of the same matrilineal sib, or by marriage. Frequently, between the same two individuals there is not only one relationship, but two or even three. The question arises as to which relationship takes precedence in determining the use of kinship terms. When this matter was investigated, it was found that the informants were quite articulate on the subject and gave an answer in general terms. Relationship within a matrilineal sib overrides any other relationship; of the other two, relationship by marriage overrides relationship within a patrilineal sib. Relationship by marriage may involve two marriage links, i.e. it is necessary for a Toda to address with the correct terms his wife's relatives by another marriage in her family. If the wife has a choice of terminology for any of her relatives by marriage, once she has determined the correct term, her husband adopts an appropriate term on the basis of his wife's usage, provided that he is not himself related to the person involved as co-member of a matrilineal sib, this relationship overriding all others. This statement also applies [illegible] between a woman and her relatives by marriage. The general statement given by the informants is borne out by usage. A few examples will suffice.

Ka:mq (Keimuds, 21) calls [illegible] (Teiudshon, 23) father ([illegible]) since they are members of the same patrilineal sib and related thus by generations. He should then by this relationship call the latter's son [illegible] younger brother ([illegible]). But [illegible] (Nevedi), mother of [illegible], calls ka:mq elder brother ([illegible]) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Consequently, [illegible] calls ka:mq maternal uncle ([illegible]).

Kaufmanij (Kurpurudi, 14) and pamq (Pamq, 14) are brothers' sons within the same family, and the former should call the latter elder brother ([illegible]). But kaufmanij's mother [illegible] (Pathudrdi) called pamq's mother kupirdi (Kupirudi) grandmother ([illegible]) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Hence kaufmanij calls pamq grandfather ([illegible]).

Kalgoron (Kalgoron, 15) is by relationship in the same patrilineal sib elder brother to kaufmanij. The former's son [illegible] should then be called by kaufmanij son ([illegible]). But the mother of [illegible], kaiud (Kaiud, 17), is by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib grandmother to kaufmanij, i.e. mother to his mother. Hence he calls her son maternal uncle ([illegible]).

Pidipoma (Pidiwoi, 10) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to parents (Pawra, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mamu. The wives of these men were sinmir (Senmi) married to pidipoma, and pawrgidi (Pargwdi) married to pawra. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmir would have called pawrgidi grandmother (pindi). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmir should have called pawrgidi minjai (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmir's mother ondiji (Ashwoli, 43) was sister to pawrgidi, both being daughters of the same mother pandwi. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmir called pawrgidi mother (ami).

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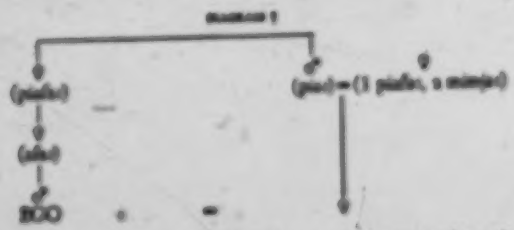

In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (pim) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (minjai). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (pindi), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (minjai) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous page[24] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers,[25] an account of the rules regulating

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[24] Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.

[25] Pp. 369-70. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. In general long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

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APPENDIX

Reference terms, classificatory

A pehin

B pehif; members of preceding generations may be referred to exactly as mu:d-tal-fin, mu:d-tal-fof (great-great-grandparents), nom-tal-fin, nom-tal-fof (great-great-great-grandparents), or they and the great-grandparents may all be referred to by grandparent terms.

C pim

D pitif

E in, eji:

F of, ofof

G mun, mumum

H ning, ninning

I on, onon

J okn, okok

The second entries are reduplicated forms which do not differ from the simplex forms in denotation; they are in connotation somewhat less formal, and no trace of them has been found in the song-language or in the address terms, formal or otherwise. For a preliminary discussion of the linguistic structure of the forms, see my paper *Echo-words in Toda* (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. 1, pp. 109–17, 1938), p. 112.

K -tuy-fed (-mun, -mu:n; see p. 159)

L mo:ciny (-o:f or -mun, -ko:mun or -mu:n)

M mon

N ko:n

O mun-mon (see pp. 161, 164)

P mun-gu:n

Q mon-kfi (see p. 164)

X o:f

Y ko:mun

Z mod-okn (see p. 164)

Reference terms, descriptive

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1. The husband of a female relative is referred to by -n-o:f suffixed to the term by which she is referred to; e.g., okn(n)-o:f "elder sister's husband," en-tuy-fedn-o:f or en-tuy-fed-mun-o:f "younger sister's husband" (in both cases if the husband is not mon's cross-cousin, and permissively if he is), mo:ciny-mun-o:f "female cross-cousin's husband" (if he is not mon's brother), ko:mn-o:f "daughter's husband" (otherwise pojo:f), mun-gu:n-o:f "sister's daughter's husband (man speaking), brother's daughter's husband (woman speaking)" (unless he is mon's son), mon-mun-o:f "son's daughter's husband," ko:mn-gu:n-o:f or ko:nk-fa:nfiny-mun-o:f "daughter's daughter's husband," en(k)-ko:nfojn-den-okn-o:f "my wife's elder sister's husband," en-o:fy-den-okn-o:f "my husband's elder sister's husband" (see 4 below for discussion of -den = tun), etc. In most cases explicit description could be carried further, as okny-fa:nfiny-mun-o:f "elder sister's daughter's husband."

2. The wife of a male relative is referred to by -(k)-ko:nfoj (or -(g)-gonfoj, depending on certain grammatical rules) suffixed to the term by which he is referred to; e.g., on(g)-gonfoj "elder brother's wife," en-tuy-fed(k)-ko:nfoj or en-tuy-fed-mon(k)-ko:nfoj "my younger

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brother's wife" (in both cases if the wife is not ʒoo's cross-cousin, and permissively if she is), močiṇj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "male cross-cousin's wife" (if she is not ʒoo's sister), man-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "sister's son's wife (man speaking), brother's son's wife (woman speaking)" (unless she is ʒoo's daughter), moɪt-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "son's son's wife," kuɪxn-mox(k)-koɪtfoj or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "daughter's son's wife," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-oṇ(g)-goɪtfoj "my wife's elder brother's wife," en-oɪ/n-dan-oṇ(g)-goɪtfoj "my husband's elder brother's wife," etc. Explicit reference can be carried further, as okng-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "elder sister's son's wife."

3. The son or daughter of a relative is referred to (a) by suffixing -n-mox or -n-ɣuɪx (-n- need not be found) respectively to the term for the relative, or (b) by suffixing -k-fæɪdfoj-mox or -k-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx respectively (-k- may be replaced by -g- depending on certain grammatical rules as in 2); e.g., oṇ-mox or oṇg-fæɪdfoj-mox "elder brother's son," oṇ-ɣuɪx or oṇg-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx "elder brother's daughter," en-ūɯr-fedn-mox or en-ūɯr-fedk-fæɪdfoj-mox "my younger sibling's son," kuɪx[n]-mox or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "daughter's son," man-mox[n]-mox or man-moxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "sister's son's son (man speaking), brother's son's son (woman speaking)," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-okn(n)-mox or en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-okng-fæɪdfoj-mox "my wife's elder sister's son," etc. Permissively for explicit reference we may find, e.g., en-okn(n)-mox or en-okng-fæɪdfoj-mox "my elder sister's son." A son's son is moɪt-mox (moɪt- = moxn; cf. p. 165), a son's daughter moɪt-xuɪx; a son's son's son is moɪt-mox-mox.

4. Other relatives of relatives may be referred to by suffixing -n- (which need not be found) plus the appropriate term. Most frequently -dan- or -ðan- (= tan; the variation depends on grammatical rules) is inserted after -n- or after the member which may end in -n-; e.g., en(k)-koɪtfojn-dan-on "my wife's elder brother," en(k)-koɪtfojn-[dan]-ūɯr-fed "my wife's younger sib'ling," en-in-[dan]-močiṇj "my father's cross-cousin." This tan is originally the reflexive pronoun of the 3rd person; it is used often enough in this sense, but more often with kinship terms as in the examples just given without any meaning that I have been able to discover (never, however, when a 1st or 2nd personal pronoun form would immediately precede it). Though it might mean in these uses "(his) own" there are some contexts where no question of the persons being "own" brothers or the like can arise. The reflexive force seems to have been lost in this use with kinship terms, and one is tempted to think that kinship terms are on the way to a grammatical state in which they will not occur without a pronominal reference, i.e. inalienable possession (in reference only, not in address). The reduplicated forms of E-J do not occur with tan preceding. A few other examples may be given: kūɑtæm-dan-af "kūɑtæm's mother," piɟjaɪr-ðan-biin "piɟjaɪr's grandfather," i-oɟ/ðan-man-mox "this man's sister's son," iðam-dan-mun "the maternal uncle of these men," in-dan-mun-ōū-m "all the seven maternal uncles of this man," an-dan-oɟ "her husband," e(m)-muɪd-am tan-oṇatm-oɪfemi "we (exclusive) three are brothers," iðæɪd-m tan-oṇ-m tan-ūɯr-fed-n-ūk-oč ucum "these two were living like brother and sister;" in one passage a snake's coming is referred to and the snake, not referred to previously, is called tan-e(f)-foɪb "the mother snake" and later on tan-in-foɪb "the father snake" comes. Cf. for other examples 1–3 above and pp. 159, 164.

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Terms of address

Ordinary		Formal: Used by men	Formal: Used by women
a pefɑ: b pefɑfɑ:	or pia: piafɑ:	a and b same as for c and d	
c pia:		timbje:ʔ	(ɛ)tjɑ̃ɑ̃ʔ
d piafɑ:		timbiafɑʔ	(ɛ)tjɑ̃ɑ̃fɑʔ
e eja:		tjɛ:ʔ, tj:ʔ	(ɛ)tjejɑʔ
f afɑ:		tjafɑʔ	(ɛ)tjafɑʔ
g mumɑ:		tjʊ:ʔ	(ɛ)tjmumɑʔ
h mimjɑ:		tjmimjɑʔ	(ɛ)tjmimjɑʔ
i oɲɑ:		tjɔ:ʔ	(ɛ)tjɔɲɑʔ
j okɑ:		tjokɑʔ	(ɛ)tjokɑʔ
k endɑ:			
l enɑ:			
x oɪ̃jɑ:			
y tɔɣmɔxjɑ:, kuɪxjɑ:			

[194] (The formal terms contain extra-phonemic phonetic material, the glottal stop, nasalized vowels, and initial consonant groups.)

601 In formal address a man, to a man whom he calls endɑ: or enɑ:, uses the latter's name plus -es; e.g., kũɑɲmes.

576 A man who is addressed formally by another man with the salutation timbje:ʔ, tjɛ:ʔ, or tjʊ:ʔ, answers tæ:m.

Older man or woman to younger woman when putting feet to the latter's forehead in salutation, i.e. in formal address: (ɛ)tjfunɛʔ.

Woman to younger male related to her within a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage or by "lover-mistress" relation, says, if he is of:

tõõ̃j̃j moiety	(ɛ)tjfokeʔ
tɔ:rõɑ: moiety	
melgɑ:s patrilineal sib	(ɛ)tjfokeʔ
kɑ:s patrilineal sib	(ɛ)tjxenɑʔ
nɔ:ɲ, mö:ɲ patrilineal sibs	(ɛ)tjũũ:rẽẽʔ
tɔ:rɔ:ɲ, kö:rɔ:ɲ, nirj, mɲkitj, kerw, pwɑgɔ:ɲ patrilineal sibs	(ɛ)tjxũwẽʔ

601 Corresponding to these salutations, in a lament for her husband a woman uses the vocatives: wɑfokɑ:, wɑfokɑ:, wɑxenɑ:, wɑõũ:rõɑ:, wɑxũwẽɑ:; cf. with these terms the Badaga classification of the Todas given by Rivers, pp. 541–42. A man in a lament for his wife uses the vocative wɑfenɑ:; cf. the salutation (ɛ)tjfunɛʔ used by older man or woman to younger woman.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

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Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation. [576]

There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated. [114]

A further note should be added on the words mox and kuɪx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuɪx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuɪxjoɪ in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ-, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuɪx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯsoxuɪxjoɪ, containing kuɪx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯsomoxjoɪ, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmoxuboɪ, enmorjuboɪ, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, morj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuɪx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯsamoxjaɪ "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained. 192 601

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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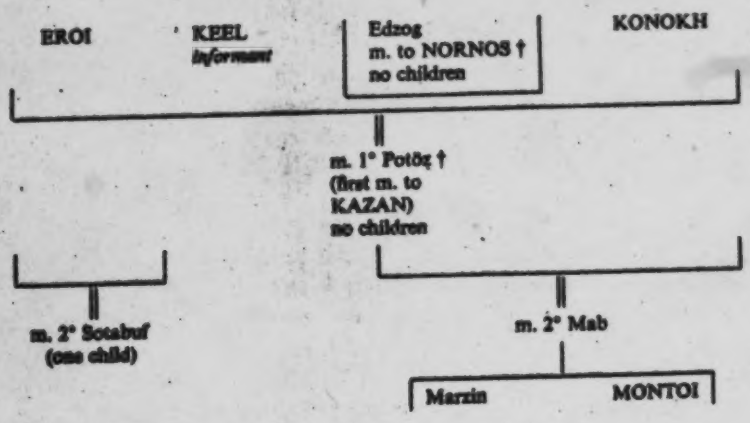
TABLE 21. GENEALOGY OF THE ARSHMAD OF KUUR (TEIVILKH) MODOL.



Note: This is how Keel described it to me, but according to Rivers it would seem that Eroi had been married twice before, Keel and Konokh once each respectively, and the girl, Edzog, at least four times previously, twice polyandrously to successively three and two husbands (see Rivers, *The Todas*, genealogical table No. 56). [587]

Males in capital letters
Females in small type
† = dead
m. = married

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595 his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous [621] households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one [592] in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I 595 visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroï, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] Then the following occurred: Eroï found employment as a govern- [587] ment peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotabuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

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jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *nad*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensaion to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have sumnoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoï, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *pursütpimi* in the first instance.

The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

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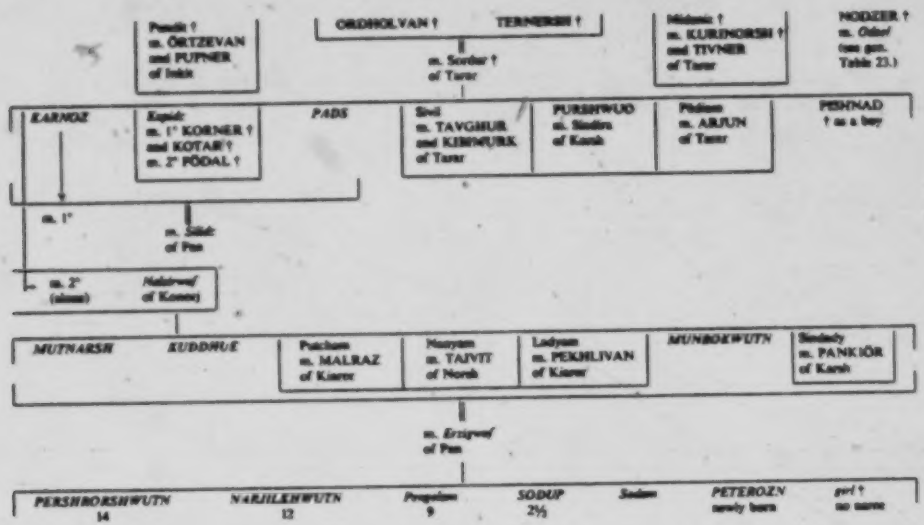
601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
[843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
[164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
[578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
[682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was
[595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

13: Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW60 Toda AW60

TABLE 22. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: THE PRINCIPAL FAMILY OF THE MELGARSH ETUMAD.



Note: The name of the clan to whom outsiders belong is given after the name of someone married. The ages of the children are given in figures below their names.

Conventional signs as in Table 21.

[PAGINA P. 276]

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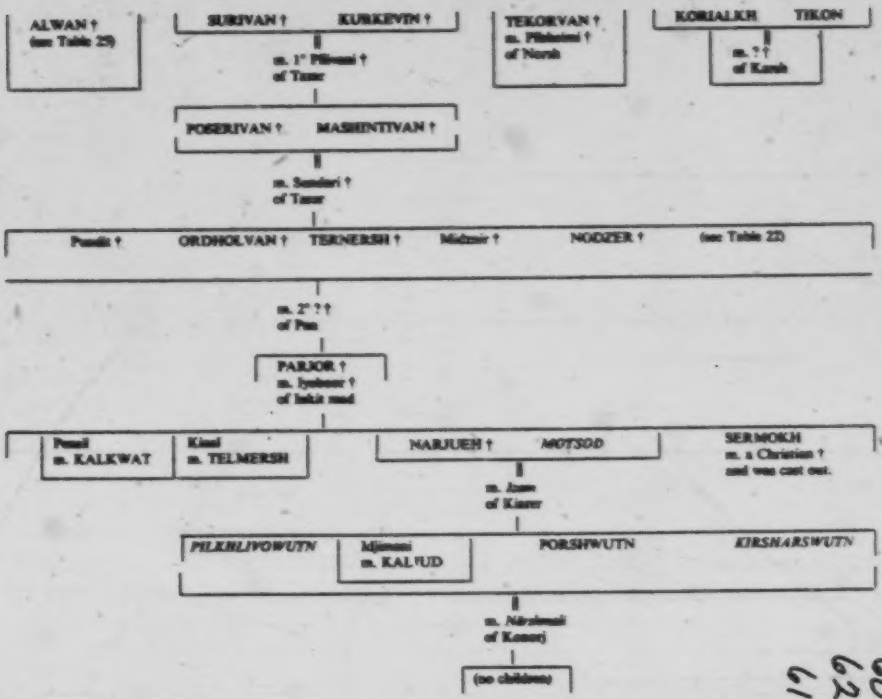
TABLE 26. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHERS FROM ANOTHER MARRIAGE.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

[facing p. 278]

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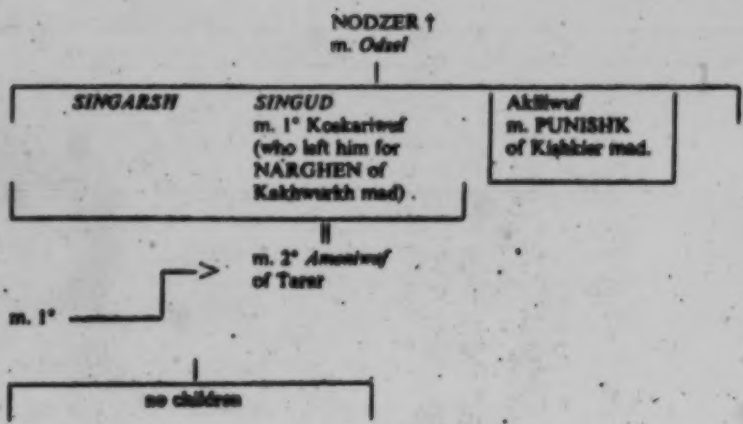
TABLE 23. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF NODZER LIVING AT MELGARSH MAD.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

TABLE 25. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF THE GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHER ALWAN.

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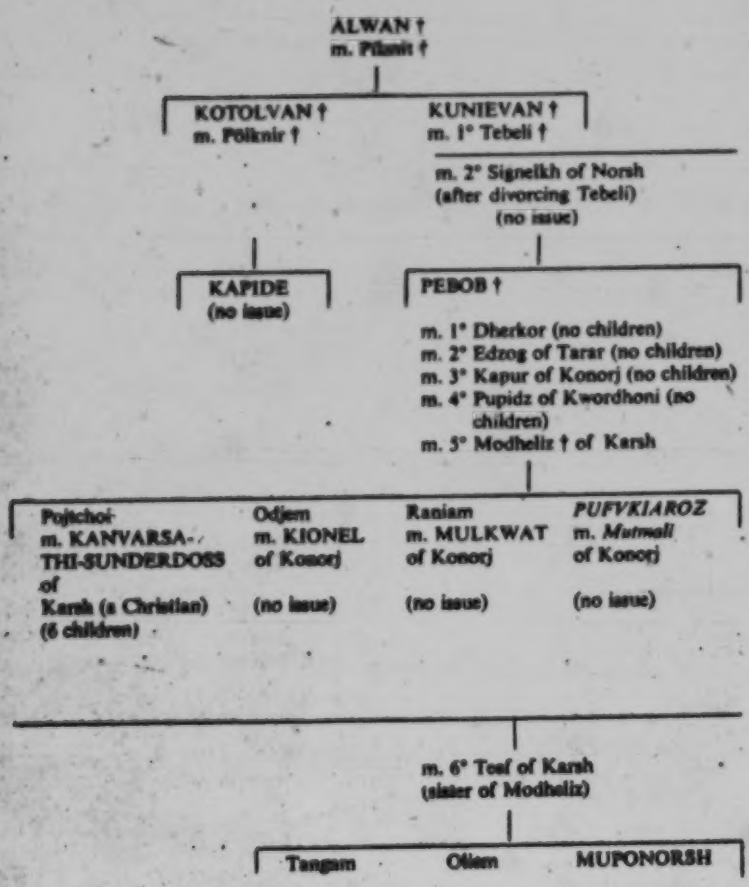

Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology*.
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matri-lineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the
[171] categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
114 word, *puliol*. Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
602 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ,
614 ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

> [Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 602 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitons we must also find exogamous lineages.

[171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda an be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligaions between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 332) (BD named by FZ p. 332)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	S chief fourner at funeral
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	Cutting of lock of hat at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	
Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothes
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 582 601 602 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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764 built of wood, some of which has been brought by the funeral party, while the rest is found near the burning ground. The wood used on this occasion must be of the kind called *kers*[1] and the pyre is built of an oblong shape, rising about three feet above the ground.

The first of the funeral ceremonies is different for the two sexes. At the funeral of a male the ceremony of *puzhutpimi*, "earth we throw," or *kedrpuzhutpimi*, "funeral earth we throw," is performed, while the corresponding ceremony for a woman is to place certain leaves in the armlet on the right arm of the corpse.

THE PUZHUTPIMI CEREMONY

616 764 602 In the *puzhutpimi* ceremony a man digs up a little earth in front of the entrance to the buffalo pen. The digger must belong to the Tartharol, if the dead man is one of the Teivaliol, and *vice versâ*; thus, at the funeral of Pursevan (53)[2] of Kuudr, the earth was dug by Kedjeri (6) of Nòdrs. In this case the Tartharol were told to send someone to dig, and they selected Kedjeri.

At the funeral of a Tarthar man the earth is first thrown by the *wursol*, who must be, on this occasion, one of the Teivaliol. A Melgars *wursol* may not perform this office. After the *wursol* has thrown earth, it is thrown by certain relatives of the deceased who are present. At a Teivali funeral only the relatives perform this ceremony, no one corresponding to the *wursol* taking part.

Before the people begin to throw earth, one of the dead man's division asks "*Puzhutkina?*"—"Shall I throw earth?" and a man of the other division replies, "*Puzhut!*"—"Throw earth!" At the funeral of Pursevan a Teivali man asked the Tartharol in this way, and the Tartharol responded. At this funeral earth was thrown by the following: Punatvan (53), a younger brother of the dead man; Kuriolv and Piliar (52), Pöteners (54); Targners, Pungusivan and Tevò, the sons of the

[1] *Eugenia Arnottiana*. This is the tree in which the hole is cut at the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

[2] This was a *marvainolkadr*, but the rules for the earth-throwing are the same at the first funeral.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

dead man, and Pòl, the son of Punatvan. In this case all 616
who threw earth were not only Kuudrol—*i.e.*, of the same 764
clan as the dead man—but were also of the same family, so
that their relation to one another can be traced in the 602
genealogies. Kuriolv, Piliar and Pöteners would all have called Pursevan "*aia*," or father, and were first cousins once removed according to our system of kinship. I do not know whether the earth-throwing is usually limited to the nearer relatives in the same clan. The family to which Pursevan belonged was unusually numerous, and it is probable that in most cases other families of the clan are called upon to take a part.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse[1] the earth was thrown 113
into a circle made of rough stones laid upon the grass with 764
an opening on one side, and Mr. Thurston[2] records a similar case in which the earth was thrown into a circle of stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been constructed for the occasion. This is probably done when the funeral is held at a place where there is no *tu*, and it is possible that these funerals were not being held at regular funeral places of the clan, and that the circles of stones were intended to represent buffalo pens. At the funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse the 'priest' handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to the stick with which they turned up the earth.

Each man, as he throws, kneels down, facing the opening of 764
the pen, and then bows down so that he touches the earth with his forehead, many saying "*Swami*" as they do this. Three handfuls of earth are thrown into the pen, and then three handfuls are thrown backwards on the corpse, the man standing up as soon as he has done this. Each man covers his head with his cloak before he throws, as shown in Figs. 49 and 50.[3]

[1] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 274.

[2] *Bull.*, 1901, iv., p. 12.

[3] These photographs were obtained from Messrs. Wiele and Klein, and I do not know the place or nature of the funeral which they illustrate, but there is no indication of a pen in the picture; they probably represent throwing earth at the entrance of a former pen. There is such a place at Taradrkirsi, the male funeral place of the Kars clan. Here earth is thrown by the side of a wood where the forest has grown over the site of an old *tu*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

THE TIVERI TÛR CEREMONY

764 At the funeral of a woman no earth is thrown, but a
●602 ceremony is performed which is said to correspond to it. A
606 woman goes in search of the leaves of the *tiveri* plant,[1] the leaves being called *tiveri tûr*. The woman who plucks the leaves must be the *motvilth* (daughter-in-law) of the dead

FIG. 50.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. THROWING EARTH BACKWARDS ON THE CORPSE.

woman, but if it is a child who is dead the leaves are plucked by the mother-in-law or potential mother-in-law. If a dead woman has no daughter-in-law, it was said that her daughter might pluck the leaves, but at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), a childless woman, the leaves were sought and plucked by Naburveli, the wife of Mushkers (28), who would have called the husband of Kiuneimi "brother," being of the same family and generation, although only his second cousin according to

[1] *Atylosia Candollei.*

602 606 764 our system of kinship. In this case, therefore, the leaves were plucked by a sister-in-law, or, more strictly, by the wife of the 'brother' of the dead woman's husband. In this case both Kiuneimi and Naburveli were daughters of Nòdrs men, but this was probably only a coincidence.

At the funeral of Kiuneimi, Naburveli was accompanied by a man and by another woman, but it was quite clear that they would on no account be allowed to touch the leaves, which must be plucked by the daughter-in-law or other relative who is performing the ceremony. When found, the *tiveri* leaves are put by the woman in the armlet on the right arm of the dead woman. Then the men present say to the woman :—

"*Parthûl*	*ûtchka,*	*tiveri*	*tûr*	*parch*	*pudthka?*"
In the armlet	is it put,	*tiveri*	leaves	plucking	have you come?

and the woman replies :—

"*Tiveri*	*tûr*	*parch*	*pudthpimi,*	*parthûl*	*ûtchpimi,*
Tiveri	leaves	plucking	we have come,	in the armlet	we have put,

ir	*pats?*"
the buffalo	catch!

The woman thus announces that this ceremony has been completed, and that they may proceed to the next event of the funeral rites, that of catching the buffalo.

The *tiveri tûr* ceremony of a woman's funeral was said to correspond to the earth-throwing ceremony of a man's funeral, but this correspondence may only mean that each is the first of the actual funeral ceremonies. Since, however, a woman belongs to the clan of her husband, the leaves are always put into the armlet by a woman of the same clan as the deceased. In this respect the ceremony resembles that of earth-throwing, but my informants laid stress on the fact that the ceremony should be performed by a *motvilth* or other relative-in-law, and no reference was made to the fact that they would be of the same clan. This makes it probable that there is no real correspondence between the two ceremonies.

764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachütthti*[1] (*kach*, cloth, *ütthti* or *ütiti*, he
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FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

[1] This ceremony is also called *kachpütchpimi*.
[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Toda funerals. It takes place in the middle of a crowd, who gather round the corpse possibly while the lamentation is still going on or while other ceremonies are in progress. In the first funeral I witnessed the ceremony took place while dancing was going on, and I missed it entirely, though I was told afterwards that it had taken place as usual, and was able to obtain the names of the chief actors.

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In the ceremony of *kackütthti*, a man belonging to the clan of the deceased gives a cloth to one of his *paiol*, or brothers-in-law. The latter gives the cloth to his wife or wife's sister, or to some woman whom he would be allowed to marry, and the woman places the cloth on the corpse. The man who originally gave the cloth then takes it from the body and gives it to another *paiol*, and the ceremony is repeated till the cloth has been given to all the *paiol* present.

The man who gives the cloth should belong to the same clan as the dead person. At the funeral of a male, the proper person is the father of the deceased, if he is alive, or some other elder of the clan. At the funeral of a woman, a man of the clan of the woman's husband is chosen. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3 and 28), a widow of Kanòdrs, the cloth was given by Neratkutan (28), who was of the same family as the husbands of the dead woman and the eldest representative of their generation. At the funeral of Sinerani (52), the cloth was given by Tebkudr (68), who was the younger brother of the father of Keinba, the husband of the dead child.

The men called *paiol*, to whom the cloth is given, seem to include all those who have married women of the same clan as the giver of the cloth. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi the cloth was given to Pepob (44) of Melgars, and to Nelkush and Tevò (3) of Nòdrs, who had all married women of Kanòdrs.

At the funeral of Sinerani, the cloth was given to Kuriolv (52), who was the father of the dead child, not, however, for this reason, but because he was the husband of Sintharap, Tebkudr's sister. At this funeral the only other man to whom the cloth was given was Piliag (52), who received it in the place of his brother, Piliar (52), who was not present. The latter, like Kuriolv, was the brother-in-law of Tebkudr (68).

764 If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,[1] and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present. Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-kedr* of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52) to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife, if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife, who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the dead body.

764 The father of each woman who places the cloth on the body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth-rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, the men who have married into the family of the dead person have to perform this ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth-giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

[1] The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister (see Chapter XXI).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the setting of Kadsht and the appearance of Keirt[1] as the indications that the final ceremonies were to begin, and this was about two o'clock on the following morning. 765

At every funeral place used for the *marvainolkedr*, there is a circle of stones, smaller than that in which the hut is built, with an opening which in some cases faces the east. This circle of stones is the *azaram*, and before the ceremonies begin, a man digs a hole by the opening in its side. The various objects to be burnt with the remains are now brought from the hut in which they had been placed on the previous day, and are laid outside the *azaram* and the *narskedr* is laid by their side. As the remains are removed from the hut, the wailing becomes louder and the people cry bitterly. Outside the stone circle a fire is made of the wood called *kidmän*,[2] upon which clarified butter is poured. This fire, which is known as the *puntiit*, is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased. At the funeral of a male, there is burnt on this fire the dairy vessel called *ertatpun* which had belonged to the dead man, and the imitation buffalo horns called *petkuter*, about ten in number for a man and five for a boy. At the funeral of a woman, I think that a *majpatitthpun* is burnt, viz., a vessel used for fetching buttermilk from the dairy, but I am not certain of this.

There now follows the ceremony called *narsatipimi*, *i.e.*, "the *nars* we rub," in which the leading part is taken by a person of the same sex as the deceased. I only have a full record of this ceremony at a woman's funeral, and in this case a woman took the relics out of their covering, and threw away the pieces of bark in which they had been enclosed. She rubbed butter on the pieces of skull and the hair, put the hair between two pieces of skull, tied them together with thread, and replaced them in the ornamented cloak (*pukuruputkuli*). She then bowed down and touched the remains with her forehead, and then this salutation was performed by all those present. 602 605 765

At a funeral seen by Mr. Thurston,[3] this ceremony was performed on the previous day at the *marvainolkedr*, and in

[1] See Chap. XXV. [2] Probably *Olea robusta*.

[3] *Bull.*, i. 176.

602 this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified
605 butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-
765 in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram*, and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

765 The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the
177 *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male :—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain
439 called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus. 765

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi* *tavat*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*. 177 439

(*c*) A *nanmakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trkîpmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place. 765

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankâti*. At the funeral of a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *asaram*, where they 602 605 765

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

602 remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that
605 the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased,
765 the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *azaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

177 The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water
765 (*kédr tüt ârs kudrchi*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out[1] and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

765 The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwungg*) and goes round the

[1] This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Silkidz also lighted the pyre. 766 588

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kuriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainolkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *azaramkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidzeimi (21), the ceremony of *pursütpimi* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matchuni*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidzeimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*pursadikina?*"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Pursad!*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidzeimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

Funeral Contributions

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainolkedr*, it was the rule that every *maumokh*, or sister's son, should 764 431 602

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 supply a buffalo, while in the case of a child it seemed that
431 buffaloes were sometimes given by the *mun*, or mother's brother.

602 Buffaloes were also given by the husbands of the daughters of a man, whether they were the *manmokh* of the man or not. They might be given by other relatives, but it seemed that the gift was especially a duty of the *manmokh* and *paiol*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should also contribute a buffalo for her second funeral.

At the present time the limitation of the number of buffaloes which may be slaughtered has removed the necessity for these gifts, but it still remains the custom for one of the buffaloes to be supplied by the *manmokh* or some corresponding relative, or, at any rate, it seems to be usual for one buffalo to be supplied by relatives of a man on the male side, and another by relatives on the female side; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (52) one buffalo was given by Kuriolv, the father of the dead child, and the other by Perner (68), the father of the child's mother, and also the grandfather of her husband.

Contributions in money may be made by any relative, and all those who have married into the family of the deceased, even if only boys, should contribute eight annas or a rupee towards the general expenses, this custom being called *tinkanik panm útpimi*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should contribute at least five rupees to the expenses of the second funeral.

The ceremony of *kachütthti* (see p. 358) also involves a payment from his sons-in-law to a man of the same clan as the dead man. The money is not paid, however, till the woman who places the cloths on the body has attended twenty funerals and is, therefore, probably not paid at all in many cases, but it may be regarded as tribute from those who have married into a family at each death in the family.

The contributions of buffaloes and money from a man to the relatives of his wife are called *pòdri*.

Contributions of food are received from various relatives, who also contribute certain of the objects used for the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *manmokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle.

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Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased.

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At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world,

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[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this restriction only applies to near relatives.

551 A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,
576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

before women, and men even may bow down before women (see p. 502). 601

Since, owing to the *mokhthodvaiol* connexion, a Tarthar woman may have a Teivali *mun* and *vice versa*, the *kalmelpudithti* salutation takes place between people of the two divisions, and I have often seen a woman of one division placing her head beneath the foot of a man of the other division. 602 576

When a person meets one of his kin, he uses a form of greeting which depends on the nature of the relationship. Most of these greetings consist of some form of the word *iti* or *itvi*, which was said to mean "blessing" or "bless," together with the kinship term.

A man would greet an elder brother or anyone whom he would call *anna* by the word "*tion*," cut very short so as to sound like a single syllable. This is a corruption of *iti anna*. A person greets a younger brother or one whom he would call *enda* by uttering his name followed by the word *ers*, as in "*Sakari ers*," "*Pakkwar ers*." A father is greeted as *itiai*, a mother as *itiava*. An elder sister as *itiakka*; a younger sister as *itvena*, and this latter form is used for any female relative younger than the speaker. It is the duty of younger female relatives to perform the *kalmelpudithti* salutation, and as soon as a man says *itvena*, the woman at once bows down and places her head beneath the raised foot of the man, helping him to raise it at the same time.

A mother's brother or father-in-law (*mun*) is greeted by *itimon* and a *mumi* is greeted by *itimimia*, but so slurred as to be hardly recognisable. The grandfather and grandmother are greeted in the words *itin pia* and *itin piava*.

Whenever a new Toda came to join people who were with me, there would be a chorus of greetings, and the newcomer would look round carefully to see who was present, giving to each his proper salutation and obviously taking the greatest care that no one was overlooked. Since the relationship of brother is the most frequent, the greetings heard most often on these occasions were "*tion*" and ". . . . *ers*."

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to
764 the salutation of the dead. When the body first reaches
the funeral place it is saluted by all present, and in the
602 case of kin, the mode of salutation varies with the bond of
601 kinship. Those related to the deceased as *in*, *av*, *pian*, *piav*, *mun*, *mumi*, *an*, or *akkan*, bow down at the head of the corpse and touch the body with their foreheads, while all those whom the deceased would have called *enda* or *ena* bow down at the feet. The place saluted by those who are not kin is determined by age, but in the case of kin, the bond of kinship is more important than the age, so that the former condition determines the mode of salutation. Thus at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), Kòdrner (7) saluted at the head of the dead woman. He was the younger, but was her *mun* owing to the fact that Kiuneimi's step-mother Kureimi, was a Kars woman whom Kòdrner called sister.

The Duties of Kin

602 The funeral ceremonies provide the greatest number of
764 examples of kinship duties, the parts taken by many of the mourners being determined largely by their bonds of kinship to the deceased. The place of chief mourner is taken by the brother or son of a dead man, by the husband of a dead woman, and by the father of a dead child, though, at the funeral of a girl, the husband plays the most important *rôle*.

Various duties fall to relatives of the same clan or of the same family of the clan. The earth-throwing at the funeral of a male, the smearing of butter on the buffalo, lighting the pyre at the first funeral and the two fires at the *azaramkedr*, and ringing the bell at the final scene, are all performed by near relatives of the same clan and family as the deceased.

Cutting off a lock of hair and mixing food are acts performed by the chief mourner, who is of the same clan as the deceased, whether brother, son, husband, or father.

The *manmokh*, or sister's son (who may be also son-in-law), has certain definite duties. Formerly, when many buffaloes were killed, one was always given by the sister's son, and he still gives a thread cord, called *pennar*. Many other relatives give these cords, but that given by the *manmokh* is especially

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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honoured in that it is put round the body of the dead man inside his cloak, and not merely laid on the covering of the body as are the others.

The *mun* does not appear to have any duties at a funeral, though in old days he contributed a buffalo, and, at the present time, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered may be given by the *mun* or other representative of the mother's family.

The *matchuni* (child of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt) has several duties, of which the most important are those at the *irsaṇkati* ceremony of the *azaramkedr*. The other duties are the secondary result of the marriage regulation which makes the *matchuni* the natural bridegroom or bride, and, in consequence, it is the *matchuni* who performs the *pursütpimi* ceremony at the funeral of an unmarried girl. Similarly, the *matchuni* may take the place of a *paiol* at the cloth-giving ceremony.

The duties which have, however, the greatest social interest are those performed by the relatives by marriage. At the funeral of a woman certain ceremonies, such as that in which leaves of the *tiveri* plant are put in the dead woman's armlet, the *urvatpimi* ceremony for an unmarried girl, rubbing the relics, lighting the fire at the *azaramkedr*, and burning the funeral hut, should be performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman or the mother-in-law of a girl. These relatives are, however, of the same clan as the deceased, owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of the same clan as her husband; and I am therefore doubtful how far these relatives perform the duties in question as members of the same clan, and how far as relatives by marriage. Some of the duties, such as lighting the funeral fires, are done by men of the same clan at the funeral of men; and I am therefore inclined to believe that they are performed by a woman for this reason and not because she is mother-in-law or daughter-in-law, but this point is one which must remain indefinite with our present information.

Similarly the duty of covering the head is a little difficult to understand. The head of a widower is covered (see p. 365) by one of his *paiol*—his father-in-law or his brother-in-law—and in this case it is clearly a duty which falls to a relative by

602 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own
764 father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's
604 brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tersampt-pimi* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated
602 together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When
605 two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Male matchuni have also to go through a ceremony when they pass in company over either of the two sacred rivers of the Todas, the Paikara (Teipakh) and the Avalanche (Pakhwar). As the two men approach the river, they pluck and chew some grass, and each man says to the other "*pò thdrikina, pò kudrikina?*"—"Shall I throw the river (water), shall I cross the river?" or, instead of the second sentence, they may say "*pò pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the river?" They then go to the side of the river and each man dips his hand in the water and throws a handful away from him three times and then they cross the river, each with the right arm outside the cloak as is usual when crossing these sacred streams. 602 605 788

If the *matchuni* cross on a Tuesday, Friday or Saturday[1] they do not throw water, but are content with chewing the grass, and if the funeral ceremonies of a person belonging to the clan of either are not complete the water will not be thrown.

This ceremony performed by *matchuni* when crossing a sacred river was said to be connected with the legend given on p. 592, in which two *matchuni* are concerned.

[1] Properly the river should not be crossed at all on these days (see p. 418).

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

as may be most convenient to them. In either case, the marriage both in name and in fact, is identical.

It is the custom for the husband to give a feast to his nearest relatives on such a joyous occasion.

It will be seen that up to this stage, the woman is married with her own consent to one man—he who pays the dowry, or gives security to society for his own good behaviour. But now, if the husband has brothers or very near relatives, all living together, they may each, if both she and he consent, participate in the right to be considered her husband also, on making up a share of the dowry that has been paid. In fact it was formerly their almost universal custom—in the days when women were more scarce than they are now—for *a family of near relations to live together in one mand, having wife, children and cattle all in common.*

Now if we consider that one or more brothers may each become the husbands of separate wives by virtue of having each paid a dower, and that younger brothers as they grow to age of maturity, and other brothers as they become widowed, may each, either take separate wives or purchase shares in those already in the family, we can at once understand that any degree of complication in perfectly lawful wedded life, may be met with, from the sample of the single man living with a single wife, to that of the group of relatives married to a group of wives. We begin to see also why tribes following polyandrous habits, endeavour to prevent further complications by making widows 'remain in the family.'

All the children of these very promiscuous unions are held to be brothers and sisters. And as, as is manifest, a generation or two of such marriages must produce inextricable confusion in relationships, so we find that the Todas, who like nothing so much as reducing things to simple formulæ, rather ignore the whole subject, terming them anatama.[4] They will

[4] See Note 19 of Chapter VII.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXV. describe the connection between such brothers as follows: 'Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their mothers being sisters, they are brothers.' An uncle is styled 'my little father'; most significant.

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The marriage system I have described is elastic. It is capable of being modified in its internal working without change in the actual principle. Thus, when women are scarce, several men have to be content with one wife between them. But as women become more numerous, a greater proportion of men are able to procure a wife a-piece. This condition of permanent routine is supremely satisfying to the Toda mind.

192 The general expression for marriage is represented by the word kûdiken — I join.[5] Thus, 'Beliani is married to Nastufi' would be translated Beliani Nastufig kûdthchi, or they are joined to one another. But in addressing a man with the casual question of, 'Are you married?' the ordinary way of putting it, would be to say, 'Is there a son?'—Mokh vathchya? He would reply, Ha, mokh vathchi, 'Yes, there is a son:' or if married, but childless, he would detail, Ân kukh kûdthbini, mokh illade—'I joined a woman, a son is not.'

Similarly, the enquiry made of a woman would be, Belthta gavthchya?—'Is the neck-ring tied?'[6]

[115] 843 Mr. Metz has been so good as to describe for me a singular custom connected with weddings, which he learnt subsequently to my having left the Nilagiris: of which no sort of explanation can be supplied by the Todas.

When the wife has gone seven months with her first child, she retires with her husband alone, to the depths of the village wood, where at the foot of some tree she places a

[5] I am not certain that in the word 'join,' we have got the most primitive meaning of kûdiken. The Hindustani word kûdna, and its Sanskrit root kurdd = *play*, might be compared.

[6] For the modes in which husbands and wives address one another, see Chapter VII.

618 wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this
539 poɭjoɪɭ are forbidden to become poɭoɪɭ to this tiɪ. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the moγδɯtkoɪt ʃvojvoɭjoɪɭ of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a
[522] tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories[1] were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the kŭɯdzɯl, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the poɭjoɪɭ should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

● 602 A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse
835 between ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poɭjoɪɭ of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's mod), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his poɭjoɪɭ or his ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the noɪjm or council takes cognizance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

602 Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same tuɯ or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

[1] [See pp. 106 and 107, cat. 539 — Analyst]

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by [264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poɭjoɪɭ of the opposite sex.

602 533 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poɭjoɪɭ of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 602 196 192 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poɭjoɪɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to [833] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is [522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯɽγŭɑrt–, "neck-cut," and kŭɑrtγŭɯɽt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪdjvöɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

196 521 192 602 Thus adð–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also kuʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nartj–, "make walk," is permitted when ur, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb paʃj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪtj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again avvaʃ is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way pun, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [841] [304] Similarly poɪθj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kiɪpoṇt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 621 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ŭudmortkvæɪdvoj or poʃjoɪʃ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

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[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By
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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [1193] [234] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 718 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of [462] stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [718] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [716] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology.*
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the
[171] categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
114 word, *puliol.* Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
602 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ,
614 ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

[Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him, [otherwise] there are no objections. (Emeneau, 1937, p. 105) 114 602 614

Emeneau's examples are clear enough. In fact, he also provides internal and conclusive evidence that the Toda disagree with him. About the use of the term *puliol* he says, in a later work (1941, p. 171): "Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and this branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before the matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way." And, he goes on, "we feel that the pūliol (Rivers' spelling) relation between mother and daughter is perhaps is point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it." In fact, the Toda merely say that *puliol* includes all the relatives without reference to matri-sib.

The matter is not really very complicated. Emeneau comes surprisingly near but entirely misses the point. He notes (1937, p. 106) that the semantics of the word *puliol* means "man of the puli or palli," but, saying that "will not explain our word," he goes off in an entirely different direction trying to find exogamous "houses." In fact, the semantics are quite eloquent: *puliol* are the people who are sacred like the *palli* (dairy)—that is, no "entrance" is permitted.[3] They are precisely all the prohibited categories of kin; hence the term appears to stand opposed to *paiol* or "affines." Rivers does not juxtapose the two but makes the meaning of *paiol* abundantly clear in his treatment of Toda funerals (e.g., 1906, p. 358). The *paiol* (pp. 450, 459) are precisely the persons such as MB (or father-in-law), cross-cousins, ZS (or son-in-law) whom Dumont (1957*b*) has singled out as "affines." 114 602 196

Hence we see in the Toda case that Dumont's highly interesting structural juxtaposition of "kin vs. affine" is noted and culturally recognized by the Toda themselves in the opposition of *puliol* or *paliol* vs. *paiol*, or kin/affine. 114 602

It seems clear that what Rivers wrote in 1906 accords well with some of the best recent analyses of South Indian kin structures. Whatever we finally arrive at as the real meaning of the term *puliol*, we

[3] Prince Peter of Greece in a very interesting paper also notes these semantics and links the *puliol* with prohibited categories of kin which he describes, following Emeneau, as "matrilineal sibs." Yet the line of argument from the prohibition of sexual relations between children suckled by one mother to "matrilineal sib" is by no means clear. The Sinhalese, too, have similar ideas on milk kinship" (see above, p. 139) without corporate matrilineages. The evidence for "sibs" such as names which connote obscenity, joking, and simple myths seems curiously meager. This case, too, really rests on the sexual prohibitions which, as we have argued, permit interpretations of a nonlineal kind. I came across this material too late to incorporate it into the chapter. See Peter, Prince of Greece (1951). [614]

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 602 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitions we must also find exogamous lineages.

[171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda can be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligations between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 332) (BD named by FZ p. 332)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	S chief fourner at funeral
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	Cutting of lock of hair at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	
Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothers
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 582 601 602 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

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Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.

602 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own
764 father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by
604 different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tersampt-pimi* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

602 Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated
605 together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is determined entirely by the *pursütpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife. 611 851

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *terersthi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two *rôles* he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote. 611 604

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *manmokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy 192 593 577

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
648 without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a
[614] whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
623 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
692 of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda
[614] clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of
[648] deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
852 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes
302 stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet. 553 852 302

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf. 604 [616]

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock cf hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner. [858]

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time. 304 796 [616] [793]

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their [604] [616] [413] [562]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was [837] that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of [684] his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would [623] next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority [115] (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

881 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, 616 two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by 616 a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by some- 833 body from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked 604 upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has 124 been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about [114] Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

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therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the setting of Kadsht and the appearance of Keirt[1] as the indications that the final ceremonies were to begin, and this was about two o'clock on the following morning. 765

At every funeral place used for the *marvainolkedr*, there is a circle of stones, smaller than that in which the hut is built, with an opening which in some cases faces the east. This circle of stones is the *azaram*, and before the ceremonies begin, a man digs a hole by the opening in its side. The various objects to be burnt with the remains are now brought from the hut in which they had been placed on the previous day, and are laid outside the *azaram* and the *narskedr* is laid by their side. As the remains are removed from the hut, the wailing becomes louder and the people cry bitterly. Outside the stone circle a fire is made of the wood called *kidmän*,[2] upon which clarified butter is poured. This fire, which is known as the *puntiit*, is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased. At the funeral of a male, there is burnt on this fire the dairy vessel called *ertatpun* which had belonged to the dead man, and the imitation buffalo horns called *petkuter*, about ten in number for a man and five for a boy. At the funeral of a woman, I think that a *majpatitthpun* is burnt, viz., a vessel used for fetching buttermilk from the dairy, but I am not certain of this.

There now follows the ceremony called *narsatipimi*, *i.e.*, "the *nars* we rub," in which the leading part is taken by a person of the same sex as the deceased. I only have a full record of this ceremony at a woman's funeral, and in this case a woman took the relics out of their covering, and threw away the pieces of bark in which they had been enclosed. She rubbed butter on the pieces of skull and the hair, put the hair between two pieces of skull, tied them together with thread, and replaced them in the ornamented cloak (*pukuruputkuli*). She then bowed down and touched the remains with her forehead, and then this salutation was performed by all those present. 602 605 765

At a funeral seen by Mr. Thurston,[3] this ceremony was performed on the previous day at the *marvainolkedr*, and in

[1] See Chap. XXV.

[2] Probably *Olea robusta*.

[3] *Bull.*, i. 176.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

602 this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified butter was applied.

605 This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-
765 in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

765 The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the
177 *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male:—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain
439 called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus. 765

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi* 177
tavat, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*. 439

(*c*) A *nanmakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trktpmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* 765
are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place.

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there 602
follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankati*. At the funeral of 605
a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on
the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, 765
and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *azaram*, where they

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

602 remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that
605 the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased,
765 the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *azaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

177 The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water
765 (*kédr tüt ârs kudrchi*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out[1] and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

765 The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwungg*) and goes round the

[1] This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

602 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own
764 father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by
604 different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tersampt-pimi* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

602 Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated
605 together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Male matchuni have also to go through a ceremony when they pass in company over either of the two sacred rivers of the Todas, the Paikara (Teipakh) and the Avalanche (Pakhwar). As the two men approach the river, they pluck and chew some grass, and each man says to the other "*pò thâdrikina, pò zudrikina?*"—"Shall I throw the river (water), shall I cross the river?" or, instead of the second sentence, they may say "*pò pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the river?" They then go to the side of the river and each man dips his hand in the water and throws a handful away from him three times and then they cross the river, each with the right arm outside the cloak as is usual when crossing these sacred streams.

602 605 788

If the *matchuni* cross on a Tuesday, Friday or Saturday[1] they do not throw water, but are content with chewing the grass, and if the funeral ceremonies of a person belonging to the clan of either are not complete the water will not be thrown.

This ceremony performed by *matchuni* when crossing a sacred river was said to be connected with the legend given on p. 592, in which two *matchuni* are concerned.

[1] Properly the river should not be crossed at all on these days (see p. 418).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

THE TIVERI TÛR CEREMONY

764 At the funeral of a woman no earth is thrown, but a
602 ceremony is performed which is said to correspond to it. A
606 woman goes in search of the leaves of the *tiveri* plant,[1] the leaves being called *tiveri tûr*. The woman who plucks the leaves must be the *motvilth* (daughter-in-law) of the dead

FIG. 50.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. THROWING EARTH BACKWARDS ON THE CORPSE.

woman, but if it is a child who is dead the leaves are plucked by the mother-in-law or potential mother-in-law. If a dead woman has no daughter-in-law, it was said that her daughter might pluck the leaves, but at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), a childless woman, the leaves were sought and plucked by Naburveli, the wife of Mushkers (28), who would have called the husband of Kiuneimi "brother," being of the same family and generation, although only his second cousin according to

[1] *Atylosia Candollei.*

602 our system of kinship. In this case, therefore, the leaves
606 were plucked by a sister-in-law, or, more strictly, by the
764 wife of the 'brother' of the dead woman's husband. In this case both Kiuneimi and Naburveli were daughters of Nòdrs men, but this was probably only a coincidence.

At the funeral of Kiuneimi, Naburveli was accompanied by a man and by another woman, but it was quite clear that they would on no account be allowed to touch the leaves, which must be plucked by the daughter-in-law or other relative who is performing the ceremony. When found, the *tiveri* leaves are put by the woman in the armlet on the right arm of the dead woman. Then the men present say to the woman:—

"*Parthûl*	*ûtchka,*	*tiveri*	*tûr*	*parch*	*pudthka!*"
In the armlet	is it put,	*tiveri*	leaves	plucking	have you come?

and the woman replies:—

"*Tiveri*	*tûr*	*parch*	*pudthpimi,*	*parthûl*	*ûtchpimi,*
Tiveri	leaves	plucking	we have come,	in the armlet	we have put,

ir	*pats!*"
the buffalo	catch!

The woman thus announces that this ceremony has been completed, and that they may proceed to the next event of the funeral rites, that of catching the buffalo.

The *tiveri tûr* ceremony of a woman's funeral was said to correspond to the earth-throwing ceremony of a man's funeral, but this correspondence may only mean that each is the first of the actual funeral ceremonies. Since, however, a woman belongs to the clan of her husband, the leaves are always put into the armlet by a woman of the same clan as the deceased. In this respect the ceremony resembles that of earth-throwing, but my informants laid stress on the fact that the ceremony should be performed by a *motvilth* or other relative-in-law, and no reference was made to the fact that they would be of the same clan. This makes it probable that there is no real correspondence between the two ceremonies.

[Melqarsh Village]

264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

512 In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would [234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond [264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position, [606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and [278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back
853 to the *ertilkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to feed them before the next day.

845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Ön had a son called Püv. One day when Püv was acting as *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, he was churning in the dairy with a ring on the little finger of his right hand. When the dairyman goes to fetch water he should always take the churning stick out of the *patat* or vessel in which the milk is churned. On this occasion Püv left it in the *patat* and went out to fetch water. As he was going a black bird called *karpüls* tried to check him, saying "*tls, tls, tls,*" meaning "Don't go to the water," but Püv paid no attention and went on. When he was taking the water the ring dropped from his little finger into the spring. Püv saw the ring in the water, but could not reach it, and so he got into the spring. The water was not deep, and yet as soon as he stepped into the spring it completely covered him and he was drowned. When Ön found that his son was lost he cried very bitterly and covered himself with his cloak (*tuni*). (Ön is said to have been a *palol* at this time.) When Ön covered himself he looked downwards and saw, as through a veil, his son in Amnòdr playing with the ring, putting it on and off his finger.[1]

When Ön saw that his son was in Amnòdr he did not like to leave him there alone and decided to go away to the same place. So he called together all the people and the buffaloes and the trees to come and bid him farewell. All the people came except a man of Kwòdrdoni named Arsankutan. He and his family did not come. All the buffaloes came except the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Some trees also failed to come. Ön blessed all the people, buffaloes and trees present, but said that because Arsankutan had not come he and his people should die by sorcery at the hands of the Kurumbas, and that because the *arsaiir* had not come they should be killed by tigers, and that the trees which had not come should bear bitter fruit. Since that time the Todas have feared the Kurumbas, and buffaloes have been killed by tigers. All the Todas and all the buffaloes appear to have suffered for the evil deeds of Arsankutan and the *arsaiir*.

Then Ön went away to Amnòdr, taking the buffaloes

[1] According to another account, Püv died from trying to catch the image of a white calf in the water. At that time, it was the custom to kill and bury any calf of a white colour, and one had been buried close to the spring.

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

SUICIDE

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

THE MONEGAR

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

176 existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it
234 was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore
422 the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda
428 mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

234 There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies
422 involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a
425 member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *tererstthi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

234 Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas
609 and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes. 234 609

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons. 422 428 595

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljcidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men. [586]

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to 428

TODAS AND BADAGAS

101 The Todas call a Badaga *Mav*,[1] which seems to be a form of the Canarese word for father-in-law or maternal uncle. The origin of this term is said to have been that when the Todas first met a Badaga, they asked his name and he
177 answered "*Mav*." A Badaga who performs certain services for the *palol* is called *tikelfmav*. Certain elders of the
609 Badagas are also called *madtin*.

Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two which is represented in Fig. 69. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin*, you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas.

177 The Badagas perform definite services for the Todas and give what may be regarded as a tribute of grain at the harvest.
651 The tribute is called *gudu*. I did not myself investigate the nature of the *gudu*, and there is some difference of opinion among previous writers[2] as to whether a definite amount of grain

[1] *Mav* is also the Toda word for sambhar.

[2] According to Harkness, "each burgher, hamlet, or village" gives about two quarts (p. 108), or (p. 135) half a bushel to the *ti* and half a bushel to the other Todas. According to Breeks (p. 9), the *gudu* is about one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-fifth of the gross produce.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

or a given proportion of the crop is given. I have no information as to the way in which the giving of the tribute is regulated, and it is eminently one of those points on which evidence must be sought from both Todas and Badagas. In the case of the Kotas, we shall see that there is a definitely

FIG. 69.—A BADAGA GREETING A TODA

organised system regulating the relations of certain Kota villages to certain Toda clans, and some such system probably exists to regulate the supply of Badaga grain to different clans, but I have no information on the point.[1]

[1] It is possible that the elucidation of this point might also help towards the explanation of the Badaga account of the Toda clans.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas. 177 437

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus, from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as that described by Harkness. 177 234 609 437

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in the Toda community is in connexion with the *naim*, or council, of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of the two communities. 177 623

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other. 177

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 Badaga. While a Toda regards a Badaga as his equal, or
186 perhaps even as his superior, he looks down on the Kota as inferior, as hardly to be classed as a man with himself. In
609 their secret language, a Toda speaks of a Kota as *kimas ithwai*, "he that is beneath," and in the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) the Kotas are the only hill tribe which is not thought worthy of mention—they are not thought to be of sufficient importance to be able to cast the evil eye. When a Kota meets a Toda, he raises both hands to his face and salutes from a distance. The two people do not touch one another in general, though I do not know that contact is definitely prohibited. A Toda will not sleep or take food at a Kota village in general, but makes an exception in the case of Kulgadi in the Wainad (see p. 200). It is usually supposed that the contempt of the Toda for the Kota is due to the flesh-eating, or even carrion-eating, habits of the latter, and this is certainly one of the elements which influence the relations between the two peoples.

177 The Kotas supply the Todas with the larger part of their pottery and ironware.[1] All the earthenware vessels of the
437 dairies, except those of the inner rooms of the *ti* dairies, are supplied by the Kotas, and the various knives and other metal objects of the Todas are chiefly obtained from these people. The Kotas supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals and they supply the music on these occasions.

Just as the Badagas do not supply grain to the Todas only, so the Kotas do artisan work for Badagas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Kotas are the artisans, not of the Todas only, but of the whole hill district.

101 The relations between the Todas and Kotas are strictly regulated, each Kota village supplying certain Toda clans.
177 There are seven Kota villages on the hills of which the
437 following are the Toda and Badaga names:—

In the Todanad district:—

Tizgudr, Tizgadr, or Tizgwadr (Badaga, Tirichigadi), between Ootacamund and Kanòdrs, near the Toda village of Ushadr.

[1] According to Breeks, the Kotas who supply the Todas are known as *mmffu* Kotas.

177 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*),
437 and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the
764 grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudshmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given
437 clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given
609 food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten
796 on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk, buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day
609 to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified
796 butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

rubs it on the heads of the two Kota priests, who prostrate themselves, one at each foot of the Toda, and the Toda prays as follows:— 177 609 796

Ullamâ;	*Kôtv*	*ardu*	*tânenmâ;*	*kadr*	*pelumâ;*
May it be well;	Kotas	two	may it be well;	fields	flourish may;

mâ an mâ;	*ir*	*kar*	*mâ,*	*nôv*	*padr*	*mâ.*
rain may;	buffalo	milk	may,	disease	go	may.

The Toda then gives the two *mu* containing the clarified butter to the Kota priests, and he and his companions return home.

This ceremony is obviously one in which the Todas are believed to promote the prosperity of the Kotas, their crops, and their buffaloes.[1]

In another ceremonial relation between Todas and Kotas, the Kwòdrdoni *ti* is especially concerned. The chief annual ceremony of the Kotas is held about January in honour of the Kota god Kambataraya. This ceremony lasts about a fortnight, and, during part of the time, the proceedings are attended by Todas and other of the hill tribes. In order that this ceremony may take place, it is essential that there should be a *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, and at the present time this *ti* is only occupied every year shortly before and during the ceremony. The *palol* gives clarified butter to the Kotas, which should be made from the milk of the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the *ti*. Some Kotas of Kotagiri whom I interviewed claimed that these buffaloes belonged to them, and that something was done by the *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti* in connexion with the Kambataraya ceremony, but they could not or would not tell me what it was.

The relations between Todas and Kotas are probably of very old standing. The fact that the Kotas supply the bow and arrows burnt at a Toda funeral suggests that the connexion goes back to the time when the Todas used these weapons, while the special sieve supplied by the Kotas for a funeral is of a different pattern from that in use at the present 177 174

[1] The Kotas are agriculturists as well as mechanics, and, according to Breeks, they are quite as efficient as the Badagas in this occupation. They also keep buffaloes, though chiefly or entirely for their own use.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *ôr kârthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them. 101 609

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood. 177 437

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge. 177 754

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *teuol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners. 177 787

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf; 177 773

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were
773 deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

174 In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the
177 Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and
773 this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

TODAS AND IRULAS

101 The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and
177 have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by
609 the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among
754 the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

177 The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection
773 of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tên* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 9).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the 778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion 609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *tudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsikodri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of 618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a 234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the 554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
" white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
142 " fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 13·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe.*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
302 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
" readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
● 609 " been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
302 distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
157 at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to
609 consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing
sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-humour.

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.) 1 A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bŭguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 533
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Māv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, *Tenure of land.*
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirāi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pittheki*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirāi fanam* = Or. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analysis]

765 they walk to another stone near the Kêdmane in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki with the bow in the middle, and the *Varzhâl* in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting

Amunâdga Sérumā
Karma dharma tilimā.

which may be rendered, "May he enter heaven, may it be well with his good deeds "and his sins."

The Peikis and Pekkans do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kêdmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Āzāram*.

765 The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases
177 of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes.
609 It is curious that the Todas, to whose relatives the dead animals are consecrated, make no objection to this disgusting operation, though carried on at the very door of the *Kêdmane*. I asked a Toda once about it, and he replied, "*When the buffaloes are* "*alive they are ours; when dead they belong to the Kotas.*"

765 The *Kêd* is burnt about four o'clock on the following morning (they say the burning must be completed before dawn) at the *Āzāram*,* a single circle of large stones fixed in the ground not far from the Kêdmane. They first light a fire outside the *Āzāram*, and then spread the *pûtkuli* with the *kêd* in the middle of the circle, and pile burning sticks on it until, with the help of ghee, they make a great blaze. They put on the inside fire the following articles:—

A *Kêf Kutti*, a sort of large knife or sickle wrapped round with cloth.
An axe.
Twenty-one bamboo measures ornamented with cowries, two anna bits, and coloured threads, and containing barley, kīre, and sāme grain.
Four or five cakes of jaggery.
A winnowing basket.
A basket for holding rice.
Three or four Toda walking sticks.
A straight pole (*Tarzh*) 20 feet long, ornamented with tassels and rosettes of cowries, and sometimes with a small silver umbrella. (*Plate* XI., *fig. b.*)
A palm-leaf umbrella.
A miniature bow and three arrows.† (*Plate* XI., *fig. a.*)
A purse.

* I could not ascertain with any certainty whether these stone circles, which are always to be found near the funeral mand, had been constructed in recent years or were of considerable antiquity. Their appearance, however, did not suggest any great age. From the Todas whom I questioned on the subject, it was very difficult to elicit any definite information; but the impression which their answers conveyed, was, that now and then they construct new circles, when they consider that the old ones have been used long enough.

177 † I am told that these are burned at the green funeral when the Kotas have time to make them, but they
761 must not be made beforehand, or the man for whom they were intended would die; and as the Kotas will only work, and the Todas only burn on certain days, it must frequently happen that the two do not coincide.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

648 464 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it 461 [241] beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda 562 512 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described [157] [171] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans 177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, 609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even [735] the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, 114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most 177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, 164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

196 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:
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nalkanɯsk	sydj-mil-sydj	pɯtɯθik		
poljoɨl-xoɨrjm	oɨtoɨl-fonṭ	öštjɯḍoɨ	ɯdɯθik	
om arjeń	enk öštoθ	soɨj-moɨḍkin	ɯdɯθɯng	noɨrṇɯsfɯn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgats. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poljoɨl.' Noɨrṇɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poljoɨl, oɨtoɨl is used as demanded by convention, as is also poṇt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poljoɨl (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɨškj was replaced by koɨrjm,[23] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɨtoɨl-foṇt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, noɨrṇɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by shame, embarrassment (noɨškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poljoɨl, is to be explained.

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On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poljoɨl, oɨtoɨl did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poljoɨl, oɨtoɨl may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

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It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɨrṇɯs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[23] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to the point that he will say that Madbeithi was also his father. 595

In most of the genealogies, the descent is traced from some one man, but there can be no doubt whatever that this man was usually only one of several brothers, and the probable reason why one name only is remembered is that this name was that of an important member of the community, or of the last surviving of the brother-husbands. 842 851 611

When the husbands are not own brothers, the arrangements become more complicated. When the husbands live together as if they were own brothers there is rarely any difficulty. If, on the other hand, the husbands live at different villages, the usual rule is that the wife shall live with each husband in turn, usually for a month at a time, but there is very considerable elasticity in the arrangement.

It is in respect of the 'fatherhood'[1] of the children in these cases of non-fraternal polyandry that we meet with the most interesting feature of Toda social regulations. When the wife of two or more husbands (not own brothers) becomes pregnant, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall perform the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow. The husband who carries out this ceremony is the father of the child for all social purposes; the child belongs to the clan of this husband if the clans of the husbands differ and to the family of this husband if the families only differ. When the wife again becomes pregnant, another husband may perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and if so, this husband becomes the father of the child; but more commonly the *pursütpimi* ceremony is not performed at all during the second pregnancy, and in this case the second child belongs to the first husband, *i.e.*, to the husband who has already given the bow and arrow. Usually it is arranged that the first two or three children shall belong to the first husband, and that at a succeeding pregnancy (third or fourth), another husband shall give the bow and arrow, and, in consequence, become the father not only of that child, but of all succeeding children till some one else gives the bow and arrow.

[1] I use the term 'fatherhood' instead of 'paternity' because the latter term seems to imply a meaning which does not belong to the Toda notion of 'father.'

618 *monegar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in
184 government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council
554 are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and
463 *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavodiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

Laws of Descent

611 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male
851 line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursütpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.[1] I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

[1] Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuli*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is determined entirely by the *pursütpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife. 611 851

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *tererstbi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two *rôles* he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote. 611 604

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *manmokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy 192 593 577

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
234 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 234 611

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect. 842 181

Adoption

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies. 597

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pòlm* of the father. 736 611

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan. 842 618

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends
428 on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known.
851 Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by
428 a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would
611 arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which
671 would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony
183 was performed several generations ago. When the eldest child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

The history is also very interesting in showing that a century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

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Don't let the tirièri go to ruin!
Let one become a thousand!
Let all be well!
Let us have plenty of calves!
Let us have plenty of milk!

During three days and nights the bell is kept fastened round the cow's neck. On the morning of the third day it is removed from her neck, and lodged in the priest's house. It is never worn again during that cow's lifetime.

The entire tirièri herd is far more sacred than any of the ordinary village droves of buffalos, and the bell-cows are infinitely more sacred than any other cows of the sacred drove. So far as I could ascertain: whilst the bell-cow is the direct lineal descendant, from mother to daughter, from some remote but sacred ancestor, the remainder of the tirièri herd are the offspring of some original drove, whose members are probably related to the bell-cows.

A certain number of bulls are retained in the sacred herd; those male calves which are not wanted being given away to the Kotas. The finer animals are retained. When a young bull has arrived at mature age, and has proved his vigour, he undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed; by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the tirièri, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. He is not a very sacred character. In fact it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove, after due sanctification.

174 It appears to me as somewhat remarkable that a people so
234 fond of simple regulation and undeviating rule, should permit
611 the principle of female succession amongst their cattle, whilst maintaining agnate law amongst themselves. I cannot admit the contrast between the two systems to be merely the result of accident. Knowing the direct simplicity and good sense of

the savage mind, I see the probability that once on a time, the scheme of inheritance and of kinship, both among themselves and for their buffalos, was identical; viz., through the female line. And the more remotely ancient the mode of Toda life, and the nearer it approached to man's primæval condition, the greater the probability that the habits of animal and man approached one another in general similitude.

CHAP. XIII.

174 234 611

Before proposing for consideration the conclusion which I draw from the facts of early identity and present difference in such customs, I will give an extract from a well-known work on primitive marriage. Mr. M'Lennan in striving to show 'that the most ancient system in which the idea of blood-relationship was embodied, was a system of kinship through females only,' writes: 'considering that the history of all the races of men, so far as we know it, is the history of a progress from the savage state; considering the social condition of rude tribes still upon the earth—remembering that the races which can be traced in history had all a previous history, which remains unwritten—it cannot seem a very strange proposition that there has been a stage in the development of human races when there was no such appropriation of women to particular men—when, in short, marriage as it exists among civilized nations was not practised. We believe that we shall show, to a sufficient degree of probability, that there have been times when marriage in this sense was yet undreamt of. Wherever this has been the case, the paternity of children must have been uncertain; the conditions essential to a system of kinship through males being formed, would therefore be wanting; no such system would be formed; there would be—there could be—kinship through females only.'[4]

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In Chapter XXVII. reasons for my belief are given, that with polyandry came the change from promiscuous unions and kinship through the female line, to inheritance through males

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[4] M'Lennan, 'Primitive Marriage.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XIII.

174 234 611

only—the system which now obtains amongst these people—in which argument I am glad to find Mr. M'Lennan almost entirely with me.

Now therefore, I would advance the suggestion, that the system of kinship in cattle, through their *cows*, is perhaps contemporaneous with the age when the Todas also, prior to the introduction of polyandry, held to the practice of kinship through the female line. In which belief are grounds for confidence in the very high antiquity of the Toda bell-gods.

The worship of the *bull*, may possibly be a further development of cattle worship.

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 621 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 423 234 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

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Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
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modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwoten-Pöldh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörorl or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Püth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhosi	

4: Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

234 The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
778 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

[Information on Toda sib organization will also be found in category 618.]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Tarthāl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthāl woman visits at a Têrthāl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in butter-milk. The restrictions which are imposed on Têrthāl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Têrthāl woman, on a visit at a Tarthāl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkūli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthāls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Têrthāl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyâl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

564 574 [252] 564 621 [193] 564 614

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikāra bungalow.

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Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

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8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

T 121 614 551 T [171]

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

C 614 551

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

C 593 551 [769] [553] [171]

T 551 614

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

T C 121 122 T 104

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, f, θ, x should be read for v, δ, γ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondʊriidz. One of these is the daughter of iimuxfuun (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxʊʊiɪr (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondʊr to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

§3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töö "god" or nɔiɪr "sacred place" or by the compound töönɔiɪr, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and nɔiɪr when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god öm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töönɔiɪr, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–60, 1937).

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly. 776 778 [871] [354]

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the küasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of küasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toirθasoiʃ moiety, but not among the töüfiʃjoiʃ), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tiɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of küasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one küasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one küasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the küasm. 778 552 [788] [614] [103]

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and küasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. üuşoiɪ of the meʃgaisoiʃ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paing (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maikais of the kaisoiʃ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiɪ-places of this sib. toiɪjaʃf of the kaisoiʃ (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kurpoʃj dairy at the mund kaiɪ. komdüuɪ of the toiroiɪoiʃ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoʃj dairy at the mund toiroiɪ. pepoib of the meʃgaisoiʃ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuisais, a mund of the sib. köiroiɪxüuṭṇ of the köiroiɪoiʃ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second küasm of the people of the sib. oiɪtjarz of the puirgoiɪoiʃ (34, Atiurz) has the second küasm of the people of the sib. munoimbiɪʃtj, son of koitsiθj (12, Kashidi) has one of the küasm of the buffaloes of his sib. 778 551 614

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

778 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this
551 is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has
614 been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tærθj in §12 and tærθjxæɪn, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tɯɪpɯsxüɯtṇ, son of tæɪpɑx (20, Teipakh), and tɯɪfnɯs (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoʃj dairy at the mund toɪroɪr, which is named tɯɪpɯsfoɪü. In the case of one man pɑnɯs (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is kɔɪnɯs, which is the first küɑsm of the mund pɑʃtɑɪr of the toɪroɪroɪʃ, but that a real küɑsm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name pɑnɯs is based on the second küɑsm of this mund, pɑɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged küɑsm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. öɪkjɑʃf (24, Irkiolv) after the küɑsm öɪrṇɯs, öɪkjɑʃf, and oɪxüɯlṇ (24, Orguln) after the küɑsm oɪrṇɯs, oɪxüɯlṇ; the küɑsm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
776 existent is clear, for kiɪrṇɯs of the niɪrjoɪʃ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second küɑsm of the mund niɪrj, and orjxɑɪs of the
614 möɪroɪʃ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second küɑsm of the mund pɑn. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always
551 clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of
103 compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. töümod (24, Teimad) < a valley (pɑʃ) called töümodfɑʃ. mɑgoj (24, Mogai) < mɑgojnæɪs "cubit (mɑgoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtsüɯɪ of his sib.[6] kɑkɑɪr (20, Kakar) < kɑkɑɪrxüɯt, an open place in the middle of thickets (küɯt) near the mund toɪroɪr. See also kæɪn in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiɪθjmuɪrj (20, Kidimudri) < kiɪθjmuɪn, a mountain; mɯn is the peak of a hill and muɪrj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

[6] Rivers (p. 623) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

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§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nasom (a son of tæipax [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. kūarom of the puirgoirolj (34, Kwodron), who is named after the mund kūairθyuj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. panus in §6). The suffix -air is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ar "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinair (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. sirjair (20, Siriar) <sirirangam, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piljair (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun pilj "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kuirfolj dairy at the mund kuirūair, which has as kūasm piljog, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag). 551 193 [614]

§15. Rivers took -alf (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So toisjalf in §5, and öikjalf in §6; the latter is one kūasm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one kūasm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are kūuisjalf (52, Kuriolv) and paiukisjalf (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from kūuisuirn, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at pirts, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from puna:salf, the second kūasm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. paiukisjalf<paiukisjnair, the watering place of the kurpolj dairy at the mund kais, with the ending from toisjalf, the name of the kurpolj dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in poiū used as a personal name, viz. tyljpoiū (12, Tilipa), which is derived from poiūθyljpoiū, the kūasm of the ūusolj dairy at the mund noesminoir. Usually some change is made, as in tuipuaxūuiṭn and tuifnus in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piṡjxūuir in §21. 551 193 234

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. punuir (23, Puner)<panarūū, the second kūasm of Mt. 551 193 [553]

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551 193 [553] pairθoṭj near the mund kaɾkos. edzen (22, Idjen) < iidzfaʃ, a valley near the mund paʃtair; this man was afterwards called küaɾxas, from a rocky ground near the mund tæilgüuir, since there was another man called edzen. natylj (25, Natuli) < kinxatylj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund paʃtair; kinxatylj = "small (kin)-stone (kas)-deep pool (tylj)," and natylj = "beauty (nas)-deep pool (tylj)." I could not discover that natylj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæɾθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæɾθj and kæm, a brother of tæɾθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmaʃf, cf. kæingüuṭṇ (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkiɾθj, for which see §12.

551 552 614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or küasm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjair in §14. Others are 551 776 177 moiramas, a son of töüθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moiramn, i.e. Mariamma; noixoroidzn, a son of sirjair (table 20). < noixuir "Nagore" or noixuirxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roidzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noixor or noixoroif "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ardʒoṇ "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ṇ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ardʒ. The other name is idjoin (a son of tæipax, table 20). This is from idroidzn "king (roidzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in öingüuṭṇ (20, Enkutan); öin, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes küaröü, who belonged to the sib of the melgaisoij, had another name mæiltarz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

551 177 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. kointsarz, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (arz is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa arasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

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also means "Englishman, European in general." It may be that the Tamil 551
arasan is also concerned in the origin of the Toda word, but in that case we 177
should expect final -n to remain.). It is to be expected that names of Badagas might be adapted, and perhaps such cases occur, but I have no record of any.

§20. One name that I know of has reference to an incident in the life of 551
a man's father. udjoɪsn (34, Udiosan) was made from udj "a government 554
appointment" and oɪsn "he who became," since when this man was born, his father held an appointment as a forest-ranger.

§21. Many of the examples given above are names of men of the 551
toɪroɪroɪ sib. In order to give a comprehensive view of all the names of 614
one sib, I collect those here with references to the paragraphs where they are treated above and add all those that have not yet been mentioned. A few names given in Rivers' tables of this sib are not remembered by my informants, either because they belonged to children who died before they made any mark in the tribal life, or because the taboos on the names of the dead have caused them to be forgotten. I mark with an asterisk those names that follow the norm of derivation from names of places, objects, etc., connected with the sib.

RIVERS' TABLE 20

*tæɪθj (§12)
*tuɪzɪɪθj (§12)
*tuɪpɪɪθj (§12)
*nöɪrnuɪz (Narsners) < unöɪrof, the second küasm of the mund tæɪlgüuɪr (see nertnuɪz, §11)
*muɪdbɪɪθj (§12)
*ertsɪɪθj (§12)
*kakaɪr (§7)
*tæɪpax (Teipakh) < tüurθæɪpax, a pen at the mund toɪroɪr sɪrjaɪr (§§14,17)
*tæɪfxüuɪr (Tavkudr) < Mt. tæɪf near toɪroɪr, "he who has horns as tall as Mt. tæɪf" (cf. §8)
*kɪɪθjmurj (§7)
*paɪŋxüuɪr (Pankudr) < paɪpdüuɪ, two pens, one at toɪroɪr, one at kækos (cf. §8)
*köɪkɪsjxüuɪtp (§9)
*ædʒ, son of kakaɪr, < ædʒalxuɪt, a ravine near paʃtaɪr (cf. §7)
idjom (§18)
nasom (§14)
*tuɪpuɪzxüuɪtp (§§9, 15)

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öngüuṭṇ (§18, and cf. §9)
nojxoroidzn (§17)
*tæröjxæm (§16)
*puutʃofxüuṭṇ (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 21

petüurröj (§12)
*karorfuun (§10)
*oirdüurröj (§12)
*paikirröj (§12)
*kydsirröj (§12)
*küurṭirröj (§12)
*piiljdjnurs (§11)
*kæmodz (§13)
*iṭxüurr (§8)
*muunæis (Muners), name of a mountain near the funeral-place tyltsüui (cf. §5)

küodxarts (Kudrvas), son of kæmodz; this was the name of the father or grandfather of petüurröj, a great man of former times. The origin of the name is unknown; a guess was hazarded that the first part (küod) represents the Badaga word for an umbrella and has to do with the shape of a tree connected with the sib.

komtsarz (§19)

RIVERS' TABLE 22

*pailkirröj (§12)
*kiuṇjxæir (Kiuniar), a level ground where the game el, tipcat, is played near the mund pəʃtair (cf. §5)
*poilgar (Polgar), a valley between toirorr and pəʃtair (cf. §5)
*edzen, alias *küarxas (§16, and cf. §5)
*puudüui (Pundu) <pundüui, a cooking ground at karkos (cf. §16)
*könuuuif (Keinmuv) <könmuifnirr, the dairy watering-place at pəʃtair (cf. §7)
*pəʃtxüurr (Pushtikudr) <nerpəʃt (§§8, 11) with special reference to the pəʃt "large flat lichen-covered rock" at the mund
*tuiküuṣ, son of poilgar, <tuiküuṭeöj, a mountain, formerly a semi-mythical hero who belonged to the sib

RIVERS' TABLE 23

*panuis (§§6, 11)
*toikas (Tokas), a mountain near karkos (cf. §5)
*puuniur (§16)

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*tööθuxn (Teitukhen), a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. §5)
*ɪɪdzxüɯɪɾ (§8)
*komdüɯɪ (§5)
*tööθüɯɪ, son of toɪkas and puɪnuɪr, <name of the general pen at toɪroɪr (cf. §5)
moɪronɯs (§17, and cf. §11)

RIVERS' TABLE 24

*puɪtʃefɯn (§10)
*uɪrküɯɪrfɯn (§10)
*kidʒxüɯtɳ (Kidjkutan), origin unknown to my informants (cf. §9)
*öɪkjolf (§§6, 15)
*töümod (§7)
*oɪxüɯlɳ (§6)
*toɪliθj (§12)
*nertnɯs (§11)
*magoj (§7)
*piʃtjxümɪɾ (Pushtiködr) <piʃtjfoɪü, the second küasm of the üɯsolj dairy at toɪroɪr (§15, and cf. §8)
*tyljodzxüɯɪɾ (§13, and cf. §8)
*kæɪnxüɯtɳ (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 25

*natylj (§16)
*kergæɪrfɯn (§10)
*küɯɪrjnɯs (§11)
*tɯɪfnɯs (§§6, 11, 15)
ardʒoɳ (§18)

§22. This list contains 66 names, plus one alias; 6 of those in Rivers' tables were unknown to my informants. Of the 67 names, 2 are of unknown origin, one (küadzarts) is doubtfully connected with the sib, 8 are definitely not connected with the sib, and 56 (55 plus one alias) are definitely connected with the sib. Expressed in percentages and counting the one doubtful case with the two of unknown origin, we have approximately 83.6% accounted for as being sib-names, 4.5% of unknown origin (and the presumption is that they are sib-names), 11.9% derived from other sources than the sib. In a similar enquiry into the names of the piɪtoɪj, 59 names (one an alias) were known to my informants. Of these, two could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, 56 were certainly sib-names, and one was doubtful. This last was koɪmdzöɪn (62, Komjon) "queen-bee." When he was born, his parents were living at kafiθj in the Wynad where honey is

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55 614 very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly töm, a son of piʃjog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because [237] honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kuɪüuɪtoɪʃ, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (töm) has just been analyzed, and one, piʃjaɪr, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the töüfiʃjoɪʃ moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toɪroɪroɪʃ sib, belonging to the toɪrθaɪroɪʃ moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toɪrθaɪroɪʃ sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kuɪüuɪtoɪʃ and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piɪtoɪʃ have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the töüfiʃjoɪʃ moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any [124] definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association [533] with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

551 193 §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

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of female-denoting significance, is -ɪɪdz. E.g. ɑrlɪɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from ɑrl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noɪʂoɪ/; it was at noɪʂ that the goddess töɪkisj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

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mɑxɑrxoj	potsɯθnoɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
mɑxɑrɑrl	oɪkjɯθnoɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noɪʂ) the sacred place where töɪkisj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that ɑrl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with töɪkisj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moɲɪɪdz (7, Manidz); moɲ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—iɲefædʒ, moɲefædʒ "quarrels (pædʒ) about women (iɲ, a Badaga word) and land;"

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iɲexüɑɪt̪	kot̪jɑθik
woman-bungalow	you built
moɲexöɪr	kertɑθik
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɑrmɪɪdz (44, Termidz) < tɑrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nümɪt̪ɪɪdz (3, Notidz) < nümɪt̪ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪt̪, koɲenümɪt̪ "dancing (oɪt̪) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koɲ)." poɲɪɪdz, daughter of kümɪɪpɑx (52, Kulpakh) < poɲ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otsodjfoɲ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sinɪɪdz (21, Sinidz) < sin "gold." lɑɪbɪɪdz, daughter of töɪkümɪr (63, Teikudr), < lɑɪbm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). rɑɪpojɪɪdz (also rɑɪpoj), daughter of kömnɑɪz (34, Kemners), < rɑɪpoj "rupee." rɑɪmɪɪdz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. roɪdʒɪɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), < roɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪɪdz (28, Pirkidz) < pɪrkitɑn, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nīlgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmɪɪdz (63, Sanmidz) < sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

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551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæıbj, daughter of öıknuır (8, Arkners), < "baby;" pentʃ, daughter of korxūuıṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæısn; a woman's name tæıs is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kujnıır, 3, Kainir).

[177] §30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tirfj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandirfj, daughter of kūuılpox (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 614 778 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and kūasm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. öıngūuıṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

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551 193 614 §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[11] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

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[562] [533] [778] [11] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the kūasm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

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797 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might
533 some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfuusodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 I have shown elsewhere [9] that the personal names of Toda males are
797 in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and
[614] more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of
[533] each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytized from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When
553 we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is
797 different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no
[113]

[9] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40. 206–223.

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177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
177 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Oot-
233 acamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
425 from the Todas. The sib of the unkitjo:ʃ (Rivers' Pam; for
[614] details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ʂo:ʃ and melga:-ʂo:ʃ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
[311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ʂo:ʃ sib, the other of
[191] the mötʂo:ʃ sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ʂo:ʃ sib were sold to Government
[614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
[684] when the sib of the ka:ʂo:ʃ were in need of a large sum of money to settle parkumʂ's liability in the suicide of nörnmʂ. In general,

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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθas moiety has come near extinction, viz. the nirjo:ʃ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumɨ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new poɔlm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 194

The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunoʈ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the ti·. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not tōunoʈ. Some munds also which have dairies are not tōunoʈ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunoʈ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunoʈ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the tōunoʈ, which are utumḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunoʈ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuθuṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation.

When a tōunoʈ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunoʈ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunoʈ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōuθuṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nōdrodehi, i. e. noʈoḍoi-, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōuθuṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (utumḍmoḍ or tōunoʈ) was created, as we have said, by a tōuθuṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By
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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri- [614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [993] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The res- 778 triction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [962] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [778] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [916] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period. 841 778 234 [193]

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poɣ). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoɣ, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper. 764 841 778 [614]

One mund, kuuɣy of the sib called mö:ɣ was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti:-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti:-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuuɣy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund. 778 183 562 [841]

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle). [113]
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

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LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL FORMS: A STUDY OF TODA KINSHIP TERMS AND DUAL DESCENT

By M. B. EMENEAU

121 THAT THE DATA obtained by linguistic investigation of any community is of indispensable value for the ethnographer studying that community has long been axiomatic for the anthropological school of which Sapir was a brilliant member. His statement of the point in *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* deserves to be quoted:

> Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. In a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society. Some day the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labors of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which he is describing.[1]

To go a little further and say that the culminating item of value that the linguistic student can give to ethnology is the study of a community's most highly verbalized cultural manifestations would be what Sapir would and undoubtedly did hold. It is here, in their verbal art-forms, stories, songs, oratory, or the like, that the members of the culture give the most overt and self-conscious expression to the patterns which they follow or profess to follow in their life. Linguistic study, if it is confined to its primary object of recording and analyzing the forms of utterances and never goes beyond that, can offer little to ethnology. It must, with that analysis as a basis, go on to a strict philological analysis of well-recorded and fully guaranteed texts in the forms most highly esteemed by the culture, and the results of such study should provide then "the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines [of a culture gained through sheer observation] significant and intelligible."

121 The following study presents the kinship system of the Todas of the Nilgiris in South
128 India. In a previous paper on *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, the existence was re-
● 614 ported of a complete division of the Todas into matrilineal sibs alongside of the previously
[114] known complete division into patrilineal sibs. In this paper I present, following on the kinship system, the material on the functions of the two sib-systems as against one another. In these sections an attempt has been made to use the evidence provided by the Toda art-form of highest prestige, the songs. Discussion based on this evidence is found on pp. 160–161 on the use of "friend" terms beside kinship terms, on p. 165 on the special kinship term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father, and throughout the Appendix, which presents the kinship terms; and again on pp. 169–172, where the data on the

[1] Edward Sapir, *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* (Language, Vol. 5, pp. 207–14, 1929), p. 209.

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emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[2] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[3] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in ego's generation based on age relative to that of ego.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to ego. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of ego's mother's clan-sister) is oŋ in reference, oŋoı in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, oknı in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ŭwr-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endoı in address. En-ŭwr-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nwn-ŭwr-fed "your younger sibling," ɑn-ŭwr-fed (or ɑn-dɑn-ŭwr-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ŭwr-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ŭwr-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nwm-ŭwr-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or ɑθɑın-ŭwr-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xuıx (=kuıx) a female.[5]

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–901 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[3] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 209–23, 1938), p. 209 fn. 1. In this paper I use ł, ł for palatalized alveolar sibilants, c, ç for post-dental affricates and č, ǰ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ɯ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1935–36 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

[4] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and *passim*.

[5] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women who ego would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

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not his wife, by the same terms that he uses for his wife; similarly, when a so is female, she addresses a male cross-cousin, even if he is not her husband, by the same term that she uses for her husband. 601

Affines are referred to collectively as pojoɨ; the same term includes also female affines. When the term refers to an individual, it may denote either male or female.

There is a special reference term for the wife of one's son (own son or the son of one's own brother), if she is not one's sister's daughter, viz. moɪt-ɓʃθ (mort- as in moɪt-mox = "son's;" -ɓʃθ [i.e. piʃθ] is not otherwise found).

There is a special reference term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father (or fathers in a polyandrous marriage), viz. ʊ̈ɯrxitj. It may also be used of the woman in reference to this type of relationship. In address these women use to one another "sister" terms. The word is frequently combined with oɲtofn (cf. p. 163 above) in songs. When a woman laments her husband's death, if her husband had several brothers each married to a separate wife, she may sing:

oɪr-oɲtofn oɪjɯθsuk
oɪr-ʊ̈ɯrxitj kɯstɯθsuk (or, ɯʂtjɯθsuk)

"You (plural) were six (=an indefinite number) sons of one father; you (plural) made (or, caused to sit) six sisters-in-law (wives of brothers)." This may also be said in the words shouted during the dancing at a man's funeral.[13] When a man laments his brother, if he had several brothers each of whom had a separate wife, he may sing:

oɪr-oɲtofn oɪjɯθuk
oɪr-ʊ̈ɯrxitj oɪjɯθuk

"We (inclusive) were six (=an indefinite number) sons of one father: we (inclusive) were (having) six wives." When a man laments his wife under the same circumstances, he may sing:

oɪr-oɲtofn oɪjθemɯn
oɪr-ʊ̈ɯrxitj oɪjθiɯn

"We (exclusive) were six (=an indefinite number) sons of one father; you were one of six wives of the brothers."

The system is essentially classificatory, as is shown especially by the terms of address. It is used in this way by the Todas. Each member of a person's patrilineal sib is addressed by the appropriate classificatory vocative. It will be remembered from Rivers' treatment[14] that the classification is made even when the various families of a sib are unrelated so far as the Todas' genealogical knowledge goes; the correlation of generations is handed down by adaptation and frequent use, and even when the links of a pedigree have been lost to memory, the correct terminology based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and the persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with 601 614

[13] See The Songs of the Todas, pp. 556–57. [14] Pp. 490–92.

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the appropriate terms. Similarly, the members of a matrilineal sib use the appropriate terms to one another, assigning the appropriate terms between any two individuals in the same way that it is done within the patrilineal sib, even when knowledge of the pedigree has been lost. An example may be given of the usage between members of matrilineal sibs. Tisjom, son of tæigüwɪr of the noɪs patrilineal sib (Teigudr, 4) and his wife uɪɑɪr (Uwer), is related to kaɲfɯsodj of the kɑɪs patrilineal sib (Kunpuradi, 14) as nephew to maternal uncle, addresses him with the vocative mumɑɪ, and is addressed as enɑɪ. Kaɲfɯsodj addresses uɪɑɪr as elder sister (okɑɪ), since his mother addressed her as daughter (enɑɪ); they are members of the same matrilineal sib but the pedigree is not known to the Todas.

Within each moiety of the tribe, the Todas may be related, when they are related, as members of the same patrilineal sib, as members of the same matrilineal sib, or by marriage. Frequently, between the same two individuals there is not only one relationship, but two or even three. The question arises as to which relationship takes precedence in determining the use of kinship terms. When this matter was investigated, it was found that the informants were quite articulate on the subject and gave an answer in general terms. Relationship within a matrilineal sib overrides any other relationship; of the other two, relationship by marriage overrides relationship within a patrilineal sib. Relationship by marriage may involve two marriage links, i.e. it is necessary for a Toda to address with the correct terms his wife's relations by another marriage in her family. If the wife has a choice of terminology for any of her relations by marriage, once she has determined the correct term, her husband adopts an appropriate term on the basis of his wife's usage, provided that he is not himself related to the person involved as co-member of a matrilineal sib, this relationship overriding all others. This statement also applies *mutatis mutandis* between a woman and her relations by marriage. The general statement given by the informants is borne out by usage. A few examples will suffice.

Kæmoʒ (Keinodz, 21) calls töötɯm (Teitukhen, 23) father (ejɑɪ) since they are members of the same patrilineal sib and related thus by generations. He should then by this relationship call the latter's son moɪronɯs younger brother (endɑɪ). But nafab (Navob), mother of moɪronɯs, calls kæmoʒ elder brother (oɲɑɪ) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Consequently, moɪronɯs calls kæmoʒ maternal uncle (mumɑɪ).

Kaɲfɯsodj (Kunpuradi, 14) and pɯnog (Punog, 14) are brothers' sons within the same family, and the former should call the latter elder brother (oɲɑɪ). But kaɲfɯsodj's mother pi*j*ɓodʃi*j* (Pathudveli) called pɯnog's mother kupiɪʒi*j*i*j* (Kupirveli) grandmother (piafɑɪ) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Hence kaɲfɯsodj calls pɯnog grandfather (piɑɪ).

Kalginɯs (Kalgeners, 15) is by relationship in the same patrilineal sib elder brother to kaɲfɯsodj. The former's son tɯɪɾɾɯd should then be called by kaɲfɯsodj son (enɑɪ). But the mother of tɯɪɾɾɯd, koɪɯl (Kutil, 27), is by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib grandmother to kaɲfɯsodj, i.e. mother to his mother. Hence he calls her son maternal uncle (mumɑɪ).

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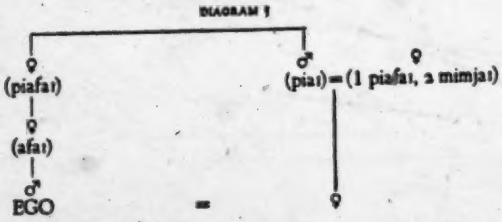
Piɨldjnɯs (Pūldenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to pɑnɯs (Panera, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumɑɪ. The wives of these men were sinmiɪr (Sinmir) married to piɨldjnɯs, and pæɪrgɑ̃ɨlj (Pergveli) married to pɑnɯs. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmiɪr would have called pæɪrgɑ̃ɨlj grandmother (piɑfɑɪ). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmiɪr should have called pæɪrgɑ̃ɨlj mimjɑɪ (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmiɪr's mother ccɛɓɑ̃ɨlj (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pæɪrgɑ̃ɨlj, both being daughters of the same mother pɯnbuɪf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmiɪr called pæɪrgɑ̃ɨlj mother (afɑɪ).

DIAGRAM 3



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piɑɪ) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumɑɪ). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piɑfɑɪ), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjɑɪ) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[14] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[15] an account of the rules regulating

[14] *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.*

[15] Pp. 367–71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

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535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (ɯp-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy (poʃj-ful-fæ ɪst), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojotʃ, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 169). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojotʃ, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojotʃ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

[616] [837]

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the ɯnkitj, nirj, and pumoɪr sibs of the toɪrôas moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the töûßʃj moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [851] [621]

[16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pus-ɯʃt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ɯt-ɑɯ-mod) as opposed to other munds (mɛt-mod) has been explained in my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After* (Annāla, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoɪ̨ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɪ̨ŝkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɪr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɑrlɪɪʒ had married pɪ̨ŝkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the möɪr patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kötɪ(k)-kotpoɪ̨ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pɑŝs-ɑɪt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

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539 pɑrmɑxθur,[*] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kujniɾ asked what
614 it was he was told: il-θon-uji puɾɾotj-noɪj yst "It is just here that the puɾɾotj-noɪj [a tiger
[775] that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poljoɪ̯-xuɪrjfojoɪ̯
[114] ũud-mortk-fæɪdfoj-xuɪrjfojoɪ̯ṇ puɾɾotj-noɪj ysti; poljoɪ̯ ṇoɪṇjti; oɪtoɪ̯ xursti' udng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The puɾɾotj-noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poljoɪ̯ feel shame; the oɪtoɪ̯ laugh.' " The word poljoɪ̯ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɪ̯ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poljoɪ̯ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɪ̯, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poljoɪ̯ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poljoɪ̯ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪškj (cf. the verb noṇjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-
[764] day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These
[578] included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kuɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

puɪlkũuɪrθoɪr poljoɪ̯-ṇoɪškj oɪjxũuθun
pæɪθoɪr oɪtoɪ̯-ṇoɪṇ oɪjxũuθun

noɪḍoɪ̯k-noɪškj oɪjxũuθun
sɪɪmjoɪ̯k-sɪg oɪjxũuθun

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poljoɪ̯, the oɪtoɪ̯, the people of the country (noɪḍoɪ̯), the people of the district (sɪɪmjoɪ̯; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poljoɪ̯ and the oɪtoɪ̯ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poljoɪ̯ and oɪtoɪ̯ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[*] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Padmakhasir: pp. 398-400); his account is in general incomplete.

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In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says:

poljoɨ̯-ṇoɨ̆ɨ̆kj	æɪfʉmen
oɪɪoɨ̯-foṇt	æɪfʉmen
noɪɪoɨ̯-ṇoɨ̆ɨ̆kj	æɪfʉmen
sɪɪmjoɨ̯-sig	æɪfʉmen

"I have become ashamed before the poljoɨ̯; I have become a word [i.e. a subject for ridicule] before the oɪɪoɨ̯; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of pont "word" with oɪɪoɨ̯ seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's poljoɨ̯ would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The poljoɨ̯ and the oɪɪoɨ̯ together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

poljoɨ̯k-noɨ̆ɨ̆kj	æɪfʉmen
oɪɪoɨ̯k-foṇt	æɪfʉmen

"I have become ashamed before the poljoɨ̯; I have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɨ̯." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by poljoɨ̯ and oɪɪoɨ̯, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way. [777]

Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

poljoɨ̯-ṇoɨ̆ɨ̆kj	æɪfʉnum
oɪɪoɨ̯-foṇt	æɪfʉnum

"We have become ashamed before the poljoɨ̯, we have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɨ̯." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, poljoɨ̯ and oɪɪoɨ̯ seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we feel that the poljoɨ̯ relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

196 539 ●614 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

noḷkanɯsk	aydj-mil-aydj	pɯṭɯθik		
poḷjoɨ̨-xoɪrjm	oɪtoɨ̨-foṇt	öštjɯḍoɪ	ɯdɯθik	
oɪn arjen	enk öštoθ	aotj-moɪḍkin	ɯdɯθɯng	noɪṛṇɯsfɯn

"You sent message after message to the mund ongɯs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poḷjoɨ̨.' Noɪṛṇɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poḷjoɨ̨, oɪtoɨ̨ is used as demanded by convention, as is also poṇt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poḷjoɨ̨ (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪrjm,[23] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɨ̨-foṇt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, [115] noɪṛṇɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly [609] knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by [114] shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poḷjoɨ̨, is to be explained.

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poḷjoɨ̨, oɪtoɨ̨ did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poḷjoɨ̨, oɪtoɨ̨ may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 835 It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪṛṇɯs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[23] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the tortjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[34] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjuir (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister ezog (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[35] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[34] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's tortjfoj-oi. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Maknir (Makner), wife of tulkirθj of the noŋ patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tôôfurs (Tevô), looked like his mother's tortjfoj-oi, nobus of the pirtoi patrilineal sib (Nabus, 64), also called kurtj (he reared the children after tulkirθj died). In a quarrel tôôfurs might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobus-mox "son of nobus" or kurtj-mox "son of kurtj," or as nobus or kurtj.

[35] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana (Biṭṭiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeevaram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

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 But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
● 614 background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find
[197] at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[36] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[37] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

197 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
174 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the
[79] Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[38] that the model house
[787] or dairy used in the uɪr-foṭt ceremony, and called poɪl-poḷj (Rivers' pūlpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyḷj) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
595 fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
[114] ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Fur-
[171] thermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[39]

174 The toɪṭjfoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women
837 that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[36] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123–47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611–40, 1907). [37] Pp. 693–718, especially pp. 698 ff. [38] Rivers, p. 702.

[39] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 379–83, 1938).

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The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have how been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōwg. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil kogku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa kogga with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koggu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa kodagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōwg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

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616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man') and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
554
564

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwoten-Pöidh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörori or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Püth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhoni	

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modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

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642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a
[614] whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per varthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the
[123] sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

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595 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized
851 one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically; they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place
851 during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman – which appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely
[843] at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives, and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia
[824] Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp,
[354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from *mark* grass (Andropogon schoenanthus).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother (in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying, after the *kwarshm* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, pursvat!* (To Terkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs*
[414] *iveru?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*, as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsh* name for the bow. Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something

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the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die.

578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed.

595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kahörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mod* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above).

[115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mod*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursütpini* was, however, performed for

595 614 595 587 595

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601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
[843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
[164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
[578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
[682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was
[595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

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to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by 831
overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of
course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined pa- [848]
ternity through the *pursütpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent
guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting
children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and conse-
quently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it
would, I suppose, elsewhere.

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases 833
of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded
earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard,
but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while
catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as
contradicting these findings.

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris 114
has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited
by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities
Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows
with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry
within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the
subject of an addendum.

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in 614
many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to 616
W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and
he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that
originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe.

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh 614
at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the 554
subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh
people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples –
such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the
palol), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *ti-
mud* – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a

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[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity
621 of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

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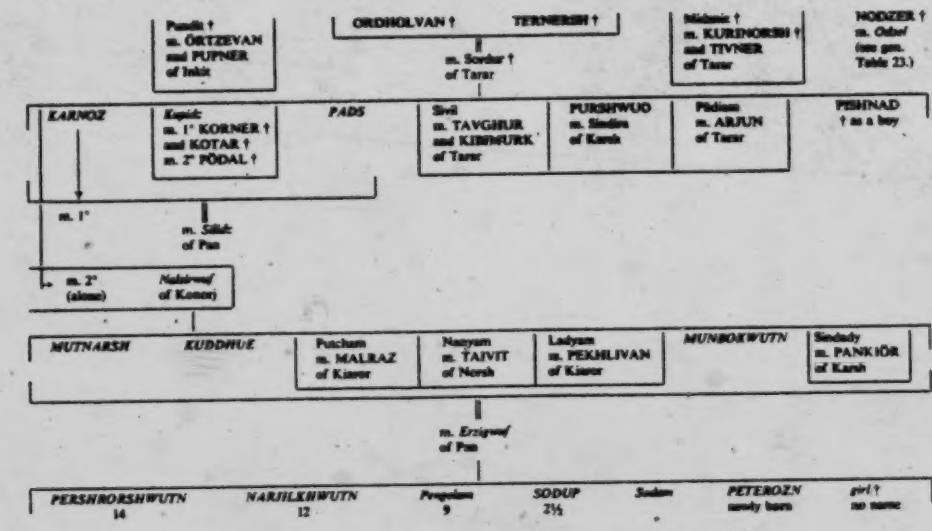
TABLE 22. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: THE PRINCIPAL FAMILY OF THE MELGARSH ETUMAD.



Note: The name of the clan to whom outsiders belong is given after the name of someone married. The ages of the children are given in figures below their names.

Conventional signs as in Table 21.

601
621
614

[page p.276]

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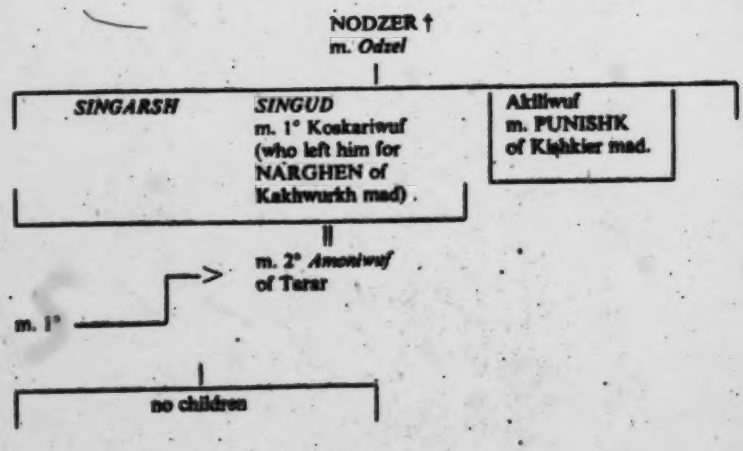
601
621
614

TABLE 23. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF NODZER LIVING AT MELGARSH MAD.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

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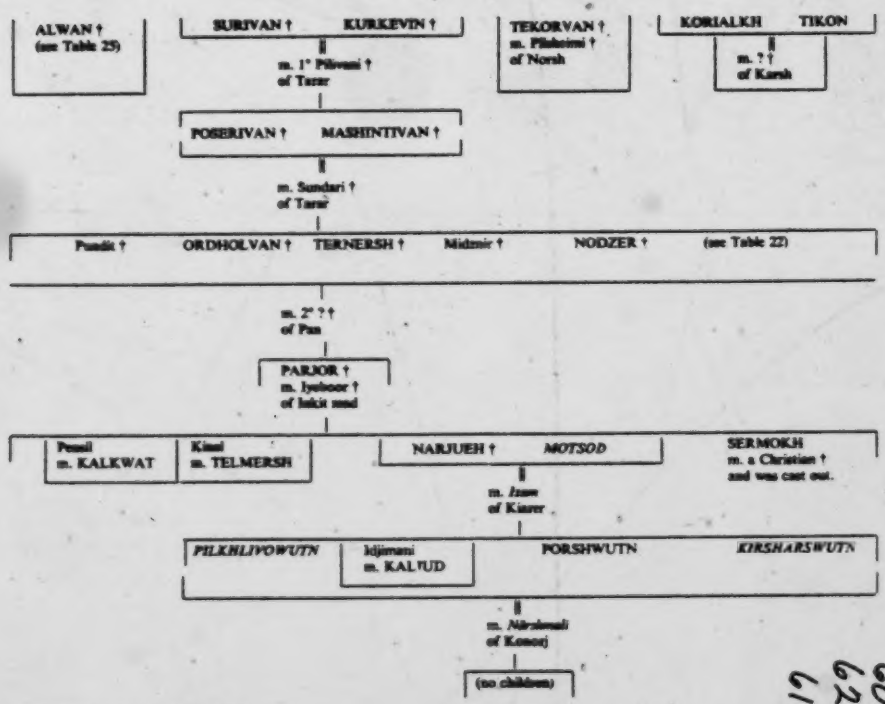
TABLE 24. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHERS FROM ANOTHER MARRIAGE.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

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621
614

[facing p. 278]

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TABLE 25. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF THE GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHER ALWAN.

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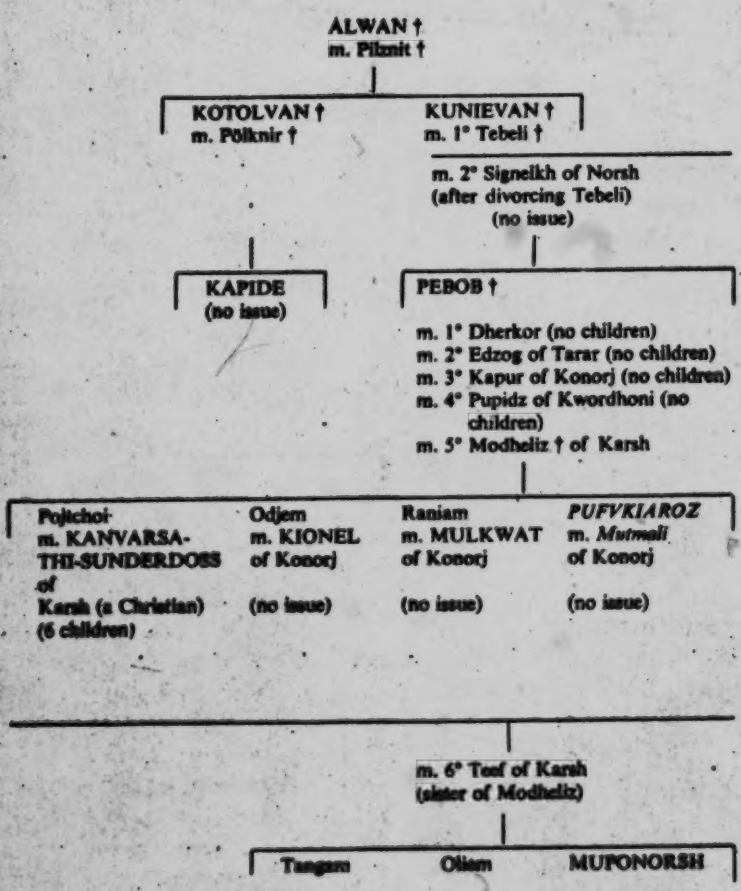
621
614



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

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[Melgarsh Village]

159 621 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] [754] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly, nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children, whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

[735] [123]

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

[464] [291]

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

[124]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*.

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family.

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal.

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join

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still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clam members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of [614]
the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
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764 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-
588 world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground,
614 with a further display of grief and lamentation.
775

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance,
123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me
855 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex-
159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con-
857 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Närshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

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[Melgarsh Village]

159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said
776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen
[125] such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
159 even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh*, *wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be-
[836] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konor).

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology.*
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

[171] It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
114 word, *puliol.* Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
602 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ,
614 ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

> [Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him, [otherwise] there are no objections. (Emeneau, 1937, p. 105) 114 602 614

Emeneau's examples are clear enough. In fact, he also provides internal and conclusive evidence that the Toda disagree with him. About the use of the term *puliol* he says, in a later work (1941, p. 171): "Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and this branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before the matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way." And, he goes on, "we feel that the püliol (Rivers' spelling) relation between mother and daughter is perhaps is point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it." In fact, the Toda merely say that *puliol* includes all the relatives without reference to matri-sib.

The matter is not really very complicated. Emeneau comes surprisingly near but entirely misses the point. He notes (1937, p. 106) that the semantics of the word *puliol* means "man of the puli or palli," but, saying that "will not explain our word," he goes off in an entirely different direction trying to find exogamous "houses." In fact, the semantics are quite eloquent: *puliol* are the people who are sacred like the *palli* (dairy)—that is, no "entrance" is permitted.[8] They are precisely all the prohibited categories of kin; hence the term appears to stand opposed to *paiol* or "affines." Rivers does not juxtapose the two but makes the meaning of *paiol* abundantly clear in his treatment of Toda funerals (e.g., 1906, p. 358). The *paiol* (pp. 450, 459) are precisely the persons such as MB (or father-in-law), cross-cousins, ZS (or son-in-law) whom Dumont (1957*b*) has singled out as "affines." 114 602 196

Hence we see in the Toda case that Dumont's highly interesting structural juxtaposition of "kin vs. affine" is noted and culturally recognized by the Toda themselves in the opposition of *puliol* or *paliol* vs. *paiol*, or kin/affine. 114 602

It seems clear that what Rivers wrote in 1906 accords well with some of the best recent analyses of South Indian kin structures. Whatever we finally arrive at as the real meaning of the term *puliol*, we

[8] Prince Peter of Greece in a very interesting paper also notes these semantics and links the *puliol* with prohibited categories of kin which he describes, following Emeneau, as "matrilineal sibs." Yet the line of argument from the prohibition of sexual relations between children suckled by one mother to "matrilineal sib" is by no means clear. The Sinhalese, too, have similar ideas on milk kinship" (see above, p. 199) without corporate matrilineages. The evidence for "sibs" such as names which connote obscenity, joking, and simple myths seems curiously meager. This case, too, really rests on the sexual prohibitions which, as we have argued, permit interpretations of a nonlineal kind. I came across this material too late to incorporate it into the chapter. See Peter, Prince of Greece (1951). [614]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

574 576 called *kalmelpudithti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

234 512 788 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *ashtadikkan*.

618 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name
621 from the chief of these villages, the *ezudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take
101 their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr,
174 Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad,
● 616 and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol,
618 Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same
361 part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages
621 far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER V

THE TI DAIRY

THE *ti* is the name of an institution which comprises a herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing districts tended by a dairyman-priest or priests called *palol* with an assistant called *kaltmokh*. Each dairy with its accompanying buildings and pasturage is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village. 234 793

In most cases there are two kinds of buffaloes at each *ti*, and each kind should properly be tended by its own *palol* and *kaltmokh*. There is, however, only one *ti* which possesses two *palol* at the present time, and they share a *kaltmokh* between them, though a second is appointed on certain ceremonial occasions. In other cases one *palol* tends both kinds of buffalo, and in others, again, the dairies are unoccupied for the greater part of the year and the office of *palol* is only filled for certain limited periods.

Each *ti* is regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, but the *palol* has to be taken from the Teivaliol, the choice being in some cases restricted to one or two Teivali clans; thus, the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must belong either to Piedr or Kusharf. The *palol* is chosen by the Tarthar owners, but the latter do not seem to gain any material advantage from their possession. In fact, it involves them in some expense owing to the necessity of giving certain feasts, and this expense was put forward as one reason why a *ti* is often unoccupied. Never- 184 234 616

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There are a few small points in which the ordination of a Teivali dairyman differs from that of the Tartharol. The Teivaliol use three pieces of the grass called *kakar*, with which the candidate sweeps the threshold of the dairy before bowing down and entering, the grass being left on the threshold. Among the Teivaliol also the place of the *petuni* may be taken by the special kind of cloth called *twadrinar*, which is manufactured by the Todas, and in the case in which I saw the ceremony, the candidate wore this instead of *petuni*. The Tartharol must use *petuni*.

234 × 616 ● 793 292

In the only case in which I saw this ceremony the ordination was to a Teivali dairy and the candidate was completely naked except for the *kuvn*. The Tarthar *tarpalikartmokh* wears part of an ordinary mantle as a loincloth during his ordination. The ceremony is the same for the *kudrpalikartmokh* as for the *tarvalikartmokh*, except that the former is quite unclothed except for the *kuvn* and that he alone has a *mani* to salute.

THE WURSOL

The ceremony begins either on Tuesday or Friday and lasts two days. On the first day the candidate goes early in the morning to the ordinary dairy of the village at which he is to be *wursol*; at Kars he goes to the *kudrpali*. He receives food from the *palikartmokh* and eats it sitting on the seat (*kwattin*) outside the dairy. He stays near the dairy till the afternoon. When the *palikartmokh* has finished his afternoon work and has distributed butter and buttermilk, one of the men of the village comes to the candidate and says, "*Nirid!*" The candidate throws off his cloak and is given either a full *tuni* or a piece of this garment called *petuni*. The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the door of his dairy, and the candidate stands opposite to him and asks three times "*Tuniwathina?*"—"Shall I put on the *tuni?*" The *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Vat!*"—"Put on!" Then the candidate raises the garment to his forehead and if he has been given a complete *tuni* he puts it on; if only a *petuni* he puts it in the string of his *kuvn*. This string is

234 × 292 793

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

visited Kiudr for the purpose of testing the people of the village for colour-blindness, Sintagars, who was pregnant and was living at Molkush, was not allowed to come to the hut to be tested like the rest, but sat on the mound shown in the foreground of Fig. 7, about thirty yards away. 843 621

The features of the hand-burning ceremony as performed by the Tartharol differ considerably from those for a Teivali woman, and I will begin with a description of the former. 616 843

On the day of the new moon, the woman goes to the *pushars*. The husband (or in his absence his brother or other near male relative) cuts six sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs* and sets them up so as to represent a dairy with two rooms, which is called *pülpali*. He then cuts four bamboo-reeds called *wadr*, about eighteen inches long, which represent dairy vessels; two of them are called *patatpun*, and the other two *ertatpun*. He fills these with water taken neither from the *pali nipa* nor from the *ars nipa*, for if he touched the water of either of the streams, they would be defiled and their water could not be used. He therefore fetches the water from a stream at some distance from the village. 843

The husband brings the reeds half filled with water and places those called *patatpun* in the inner room of the *pülpali*. He takes the other two—the *ertatpun*—to a two-year-old female calf (*pòl*), and pours out the water from one reed on the left side of the middle of the back (*ûv*) of the calf, and catches the water in the other. He then gives two leaves (*kakuders*) to the woman, who makes a leaf vessel, into which he pours three times from the *ertatpun* the water which has flowed from the back of the calf. The woman raises the leaf vessel to her forehead and then drinks, and the man puts the two *ertatpun* into the outer room of the *pülpali*.[1] The woman then bows down with her forehead to the threshold of the *pülpali*, and the man takes up the sticks forming the imitation dairy and the four reeds and throws all away.

[1] It will be noticed that the *patatpun* are placed in the inner room and the *ertatpun* in the outer room. In the ordinary dairy both would be placed in the inner room, though in different places. The procedure of this ceremony seems, therefore, to resemble that of the *ti* rather than of the ordinary dairy. It suggests that we have here a relic of a time when every dairy had at least two rooms, one for the things of the *patatmar* and another for the things of the *ertatmar*.

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A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas.

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word *pülpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar ceremonies. *Püli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pül* would be used for outskirts in this special sense.

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some time after, the child has its face covered, and no one except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtâr teritlti*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtâr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed.

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majvatvaiidrn*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

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764 built of wood, some of which has been brought by the funeral party, while the rest is found near the burning ground. The wood used on this occasion must be of the kind called *kers*[1] and the pyre is built of an oblong shape, rising about three feet above the ground.

The first of the funeral ceremonies is different for the two sexes. At the funeral of a male the ceremony of *puzhutpimi*, "earth we throw," or *kedrpuzhutpimi*, "funeral earth we throw," is performed, while the corresponding ceremony for a woman is to place certain leaves in the armlet on the right arm of the corpse.

THE PUZHUTPIMI CEREMONY

616 764 602 In the *puzhutpimi* ceremony a man digs up a little earth in front of the entrance to the buffalo pen. The digger must belong to the Tartharol, if the dead man is one of the Teivaliol, and *vice versâ*; thus, at the funeral of Pursevan (53)[2] of Kuudr, the earth was dug by Kedjeri (6) of Nòdrs. In this case the Tartharol were told to send someone to dig, and they selected Kedjeri.

At the funeral of a Tarthar man the earth is first thrown by the *wursol*, who must be, on this occasion, one of the Teivaliol. A Melgars *wursol* may not perform this office. After the *wursol* has thrown earth, it is thrown by certain relatives of the deceased who are present. At a Teivali funeral only the relatives perform this ceremony, no one corresponding to the *wursol* taking part.

Before the people begin to throw earth, one of the dead man's division asks "*Pushutkina?*"—"Shall I throw earth?" and a man of the other division replies, "*Pushut!*"—"Throw earth!" At the funeral of Pursevan a Teivali man asked the Tartharol in this way, and the Tartharol responded. At this funeral earth was thrown by the following: Punatvan (53), a younger brother of the dead man; Kuriolv and Piliar (52), Pöteners (54); Targners, Pungusivan and Tevò, the sons of the

[1] *Eugenia Arnottiana.* This is the tree in which the hole is cut at the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

[2] This was a *marvainolkodr*, but the rules for the earth-throwing are the same at the first funeral.

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dead man, and Pòl, the son of Punatvan. In this case all who threw earth were not only Kuudrol—*i.e.*, of the same clan as the dead man—but were also of the same family, so that their relation to one another can be traced in the genealogies. Kuriolv, Piliar and Pöteners would all have called Pursevan "*aia*," or father, and were first cousins once removed according to our system of kinship. I do not know whether the earth-throwing is usually limited to the nearer relatives in the same clan. The family to which Pursevan belonged was unusually numerous, and it is probable that in most cases other families of the clan are called upon to take a part. 616 764 602

At a funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse[1] the earth was thrown into a circle made of rough stones laid upon the grass with an opening on one side, and Mr. Thurston[2] records a similar case in which the earth was thrown into a circle of stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been constructed for the occasion. This is probably done when the funeral is held at a place where there is no *tu*, and it is possible that these funerals were not being held at regular funeral places of the clan, and that the circles of stones were intended to represent buffalo pens. At the funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse the 'priest' handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to the stick with which they turned up the earth. 113 764

Each man, as he throws, kneels down, facing the opening of the pen, and then bows down so that he touches the earth with his forehead, many saying "*Swami*" as they do this. Three handfuls of earth are thrown into the pen, and then three handfuls are thrown backwards on the corpse, the man standing up as soon as he has done this. Each man covers his head with his cloak before he throws, as shown in Figs. 49 and 50.[3] 764

[1] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 274.

[2] *Bull.*, 1901, iv., p. 12.

[3] These photographs were obtained from Messrs. Wiele and Klein, and I do not know the place or nature of the funeral which they illustrate, but there is no indication of a pen in the picture; they probably represent throwing earth at the entrance of a former pen. There is such a place at Taradrkirsi, the male funeral place of the Kars clan. Here earth is thrown by the side of a wood where the forest has grown over the site of an old *tu*.

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764 Fig. 50 shows the special action employed in throwing backwards, the hand being turned inward.

616 The earth-throwing ceremony is one of several funeral rites, in which men of one division take part in funerals 764 belonging to the other division. Thus, at a Tarthar funeral

FIG. 49.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. IN THE CENTRE IS THE CORPSE. THE FOREMOST MAN ON THE LEFT IS KNEELING DOWN PREPARATORY TO THROWING EARTH.

the earth is dug by one of the Teivaliol; the Tartharol then ask for permission to throw the earth, and the permission (or order) is given by the Teivaliol—*i.e.*, those who have dug the earth have to give the word that the earth may be thrown.

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avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences. 234 764

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among the younger and more agile of the community, but at an important funeral the older and more experienced men may undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for the adroitness with which they perform the feat. 555 616 764 541

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is not satisfactory. 234 764

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 616 618 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *puzhut*, and incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *puzhut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

772 and this was given as the reason why the dead used to be
775 burnt face downwards. It will be remembered also that Ön was looking downwards when he saw his son Püv in Amnòdr (see p. 185).

775 Amnòdr is presided over by the god Ön, who went there after the death of his son Püv, and it is often called Önnòdr after him, while this world, presided over by the goddess Teikirzi, is known as Inanòdr or Eikirzinòdr.[1] The people of Amnòdr or Önnòdr are known as the Amatol. Formerly the Todas used to go freely to and fro between Amnòdr and Eikirzinòdr, but this was stopped owing to the behaviour of Kwoto, and since his time only the dead go to Amnòdr and they do not return.

The Amatol live in much the same way as the inhabitants of this world. They have their buffaloes and their dairies, and the daily life of the people appears to be much like that of the living Todas. As the people walk about, however, they wear down their legs. They have to walk every day, and when a man has worn down his legs as far as the knees Ön sends him back to this world as another man.

Ön will not allow any pigs or rats to enter Amnòdr, as they would root up and spoil the country.

[616] Dead people travel to Amnòdr by well-defined routes, which are different for Tartharol and Teivaliol, while the Taradrol have a separate Amnòdr for their clan.

The dead do not set out for Amnòdr till after the second funeral, taking with them the things burnt at the *azaramkedr*. Both Tartharol and Teivaliol journey westwards towards the Kundahs and cross the Pakhwar or Avalanche river at the same spot.

The paths for the two divisions then diverge. The Tartharol go by a place called Katchâr, while the Teivaliol go by Kusheigûdr, situated by the bridle path now leading from Avalanche Bungalow to Avalanche Top. Whenever a Teivali man passes this spot for the first time he throws three stones called *ovidnikârs*. Similarly, a Tarthar man passing Katchâr for the first time throws three stones in

[1] This is one of several instances in which the initial *t* of a word is omitted in compound forms.

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead. 124 173 601

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure. 551 784 [616]

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect. 124 173 601

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres* 128 601

[1] [pp. 749-788]

584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panm ûtpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see pp. 358).

881 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl
616 reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tâzâr ututi*, or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

881 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique,
836 who may belong to either division and to any clan, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night
626 and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,[1] different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

[1] The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madnol* or *palinol*.

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
588 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions
591 of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokkthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

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the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokkthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village. 582 616 588 591

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. 582 618

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The 835

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Intercourse between
[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the
684 man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitazmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitazmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

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even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. 588
If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitasmokh*, and 837
a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, 851
and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the 616
woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live 595
with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women 588
to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of 837
the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali 616
mokhthodvaiol may take his wife to live with him at one 628
of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar 591
men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages.

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitasmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
616 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give
837 the woman either a *kaivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pultki* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[773] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage.
837 A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.
[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

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still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharsol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season. 618 621 361

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position. 618 178

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans. 101 177 618 616

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

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101 prise the remainder of the Tarthar clans—viz., those of Taradr,
177 Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Pàm and Nidrsi. I could
618 obtain no direct information from the Todas which would
explain why the Badaga classification should differ from their
616 own. It is possible that it is an old classification of the Todas, but this is unlikely, since it is probable that the intercourse with the Badagas is not very ancient. It seems to me possible that it may have arisen out of the constitution of the *naim* or council. This has four Toda representatives belonging to Kuudr (representing the Teivaliol), Kars, Nòdrs and Taradr. This would correspond to four of the Badaga divisions, and the fifth, the Melgarsol or Pekkan, would certainly be well known to the Badagas through their privileges as *mòrol*. It is possible that the Nòdrs representative used also to represent Pan, and that the Taradr member represented the remaining clans, and, if so, it would point to there having been some old five-fold division of the kind believed in by the Badagas. It is quite clear that the five-fold division has no influence on the marriage regulations and Peiki, Todi and Kuttan all marry freely within their divisions. Except in connexion with the *naim*, I could learn of nothing which would show that the five-fold division has any social significance, and I know of no other way in which the Panol are associated with the Nòdrsol nor of any other way in which the six clans included in the Kuttan are associated together. It is possible that the five-fold division is connected with some customs regulating the payment of the Badaga tribute to the Todas, but I could learn nothing of such customs.

618 Each clan has divisions of two kinds called *kudr* and *pòlm*. The *kudr* is a division of ceremonial, the *pòlm* of practical, importance.

THE KUDR

Normally each clan has two *kudr* and two only, and, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, these divisions become of the greatest importance in connexion with the *irnòrtiti* ceremony, the whole regulation of which is dominated by the division into *kudr*. So far as I could ascertain, the *kudr* has now no

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CHAPTER XXIX

TEIVALIOL AND TARTHAROL

THE existence of these two divisions of the Toda people raises one of the most interesting problems of their social organisation. The fact that the Todas are an Indian people at once suggests that we have to do here with some form of the institution of caste. Each division is endogamous, as is the caste, and each is divided into a number of exogamous septs resembling the gotras of a caste. Again, there is some amount of specialisation of function, the Teivaliol being the division from which the most sacred of the dairymen are chosen. 564 616

The names of the two divisions probably correspond with this differentiation of function. The Teivaliol evidently derive their name from the sacred office, *deva*, of Sanskrit origin, being in common use in South India for 'sacred,' while *devalayam* means a temple.[1] The origin of Tartharol[2] is more doubtful, but I believe that the word carries the idea of ordinary, *târ* being used sometimes in this sense.

There is little restriction on social intercourse between the two divisions. So far as I am aware, they can eat together, and a member of one division can receive food from any member of another. 616

Though intermarriage is forbidden, the irregular unions in which the man is the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman (see Chap. 588 616

[1] There is also a place called Devali in the Wainad which may possibly be connected in some way with the Teivaliol.

[2] Grigg (*Manual*, p. 187) derives the word from *tasan*, a servant. *S* or *sh* is sometimes inserted into the word Tartharol, but it is purely euphonic, and I do not think that this derivation is at all probable.

588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
574 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
793 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas
184 belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol. This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
554 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, the moment he ceases to hold office. 184 616 793 184

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive. 554

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very striking point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the Tartharol that there were certain differences in language between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was 198 616 554

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
234 only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

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Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol. 184 234 616

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*. 616 764

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *kodtiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said 616 765 184

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
184 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two
divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tâzâr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

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belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other. 616

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali. 796 852 765 769

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division. 184 846 616

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another [272]

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident
616 reason why this rite should be practised by the members of
one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the
ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when
going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart
from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
differences between the two divisions may be regarded as
796 secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual
174 and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some
time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
184 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived
192 from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if
the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the
197 interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be
still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and
Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or
tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

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now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened. 174 184

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:— 192 197

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*kîrstegi*
Basket	*tòdri*	*putukêri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tòdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kònipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pòditch*	*pòtch*
Comb	*tîrkòli*	*siekhkòli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pòdri*	*idrnpòdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkòni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkòni*
Mushroom	*kiûn*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipöti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*telikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

616

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself —that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *pûli*. 184 194 616

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes
184 which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
616 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning
775 the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by
621 their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
616 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

174 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

616 The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

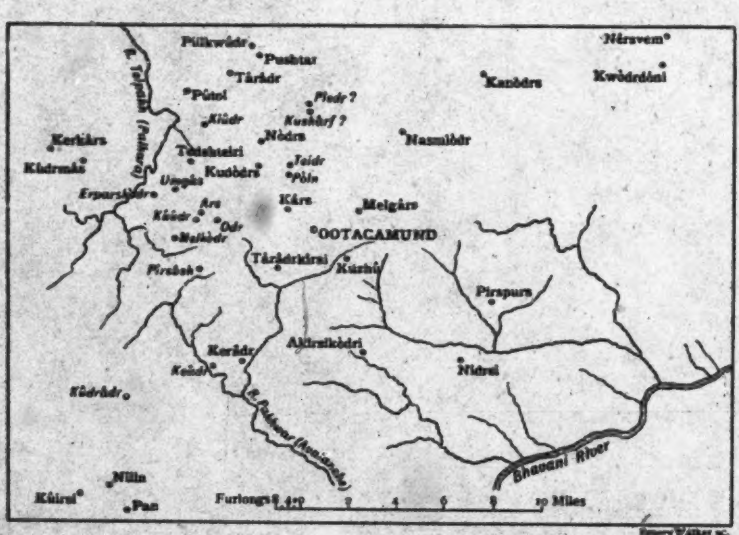

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnòdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a com-
616 munity, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards
791 of the community. At the present time the majority of the *teuol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

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sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other.

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills.

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out some interesting differences between the two divisions. The data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1] would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol.

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 and the greater freedom from external influence is probably
177 an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide
616 among them at present, though it will not explain the greater prevalence in the earlier generations.

847 The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two
184 divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.

The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Mekanâd in 1835 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are div[illegible] into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz. :—

1. Dêvalyâl.
2. Tarserzhâl.

The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

"ETHNOLOGY.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
" possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
" with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
" self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
" at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
" Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
" darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
" the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
" the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
" strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
" features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
" *forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2¼ inches from the root of the nose
" to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
" moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
" colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
" in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
" measuring from root to tip 2¼ inches, and height from base of alæ to ridge 1¼ inches,
" breadth of alæ from side to side 1¼ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
" full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1835.
Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 23th August 1835, says:—
" This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
" total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
" Captain Harkness counted 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
" girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Breese' Table, No. 28.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Breese' Tables.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, 262
except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This [462]
consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds, which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones, the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, 231
though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their *munds*. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the European Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into 616●
two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a 793
better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*. These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes, though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at. Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry, and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest, naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests [292]
are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

616 others, I cannot recal, undergo a shorter and less severe period
793 of initiation. Both are often dairymen, an office of great honour and importance; but a *Khoota* is equally eligible, provided he goes through certain preparatory rites in order to purify himself for it. The especial duties of the priests are to tend the sacred herds just mentioned; to conduct the periodical sacrifice of a calf to invoke fruitfulness among their herds; to present the daily offering of milk at their temples; and to superintend the funeral rites. Of actual or of assembled worship, they have none, so far as I could discover, though, individually, they offer up occasional prayers to an Invisible Being for recovery or preservation from sickness.

346 Their temples differ but little in appearance from the ordinary huts. One of them, standing in a pretty little glen, near the road between Jakatalla and Coonoor, I made an examination of at a time when the *mund*, about half a mile off, to which it belonged was deserted by its inhabitants. Creeping in on all fours, I discovered, as well as the darkness permitted, that it contained nothing whatever but a square metal bell and a shapeless black stone, about twice the size of a man's head, the latter placed alone on the floor at the end furthest from the entrance. Being unwilling to bring this out to the light, I could not ascertain whether its colour was natural or artificial. The size precluded the notion of its being an aerolite, although it is well known that meteoric stones have been, in the early history of many countries, regarded with religious awe. To this temple, I
782 had often previously seen the priest from the neighbouring *mund* bring, in the early morning, a vessel of new milk; but whether the offering was poured out, as some say it is, as a libation, or merely presented and taken away again, I had no means of ascertaining without the risk of giving annoyance.

000 It will be borne in mind that black stones have, from the earliest times, been objects of reverence or actual adoration from east to west; as, for instance, in Mecca, also among the ancient Romans, and even in the western islands of Scotland, where, moreover, milk was offered to them. Bells, too, have been, in past ages, regarded with veneration, and as having mysterious powers over demons and evil spirits, not only by various Eastern races and castes, but in ancient Britain.

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

114 121 IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

616 618 A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toɪrðas and töüviɭj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tɪmod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoɪɭ, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toɪrðas are reckoned to have ten mod, the töüviɭj 618 five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined 842 by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called puɜɯṭt, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

582 601 618 Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are poɭjoɪɭ. Membership in a group of people known as poɭjoɪɭ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the poɭjoɪɭ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

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[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319–23.

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648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:ɭ), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!"). 581 588 616 178 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kum:ɕjaɭf made an innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kum:ɕjaɭf or the children of this union. The example was followed in kum:ɕjaɭf's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kum:ɕjaɭf's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

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have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ɸ- 588
jaḷf's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kum:ɸjaḷf, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 881
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organisation would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the toufiḷj moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the to:rθaṣ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the to:rθaṣ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the to:rθaṣ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

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535 dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such
614 religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy
765 (poj-ful-fæ:st), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such
[648] unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc.
[616] At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojot*l*, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojot*l*, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojot*l* relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is
[616] prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he
[837] has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are
535 allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person
614 belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard
616 to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person
764 may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person
765 there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the unkitj, nirj, and puŋgoɪr sibs of the tɔ:rɔ̃ moiety, since the munds of
[837] these sibs are far from any munds of the tö:ɔ̃ɛ̃j moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her
[851] pregnancy to legitimize the child (puu-mɔt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[621] [17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ɪɪt-fɪɪd-mod) as opposed to other munds (ɪɪɪt-mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101-21, 1938), pp. 113-15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoɨ/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words. 535 614 616 764 765

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other. [533] 614

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɨlkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɨr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɑrliɪz had married pɨlkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the möɪr patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is 539 614 775 196 114

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kön(ɨ)-koɨpoɨ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pats-uɨt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320. [576]

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economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

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616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
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modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwoten-Pöldh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörori or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Püth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhoni	

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modols

10. Melgarsh 614
11. Pam or Pirspurs 616
12. Kidmad 554
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh 564

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition. 173 887 582

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-nganipotvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson. 642 614 622 793 114 173 776

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child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and 595
return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves 851
a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held.

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to pro- [842] create children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, [684] so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about [616] by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would [848] otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas.

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the 851
legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a 848
man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a 836
pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her.

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to 586
become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently [587]
compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was [837] that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of [684] his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would [623] next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority [115] (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

881 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar* 616 *utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by 616 a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by some- 833 body from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", 604 which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked 124 upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about [114] Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

881. 616 833 604 124

therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off. [302]

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15). [114]

616 837

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization. [595]

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only. [773]

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

616 837 Either the couple live together in the same *mad*, quite openly, or the man visits the woman periodically at the house of her husband or husbands. In the case of a Tardharsh being *mokhthodvaiol* to a Teivilkh woman, because of the prohibition for those of her kind to [62] visit the *mads* of the superior moiety, it always has to be her lover who visits her at her home. There is no objection on the part of the husbands as, in accordance with the formalities necessary to establish a *mokhthoditi* relation, they will have been consulted in advance and will have given their consent to the arrangement.

837 The usual way for a man to go about getting himself a *sedvaitazmokh* is, after having found the lady of his choice, to approach her husband or husbands, if she has any, or her father or fathers if she has none, and to obtain their consent to what he plans. He will agree to give the [431] men a present (such as a piece of cloth or a *putkuli*) in exchange, whereupon, if the other party is in accordance, he becomes the woman's *mokhthodvaiol* without any further formality. (Rivers has it that a third party may be called in to seal the pact, (see *The Todas*, p. 527) but none of my informants said this was done nowadays.)

Some time later, he will make collective obeisance to the lady's *pailol*, that is, her male relations (fathers and brothers). This is as in [588] a Toda marriage, there being no difference at all here between regular and irregular unions. On this occasion the man will promise to give the woman some pieces of jewellery, and her son, should she have one, a buffalo calf. It is after these promises have been made, that the *mokhthodvaiol* will perform the *kalmelpudithti* salution to the *pailol* and, significantly enough, after this has taken place, he will call his *sedvaitazmokh's* father *mun* as he would his wife's father or his maternal uncle.

While working at Melgarsh *mad*, I had the opportunity to see how such a *mokhthoditi* arrangement functioned. Amoniwuf, the common wife of the two brothers, Singharsh and Singhud, had a regular lover, a Teivilkh from Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol*, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded (his picture is shown on pages 56 and [113] 57 of Lidio Cipriani's *I Toda, Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vol. LXVII, 1937). Things seemed to go very smoothly, and all three men as well as the woman appeared happy and on the best of terms. The Teivilkh used to come regularly to Melgarsh, at least twice a week in the afternoon, staying until the next morning when he would go home again early. I was told that he had given Amoniwuf a very [431] nice gold necklace, which I was, however, never shown. The husbands

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by 831
overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of
course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined pa- [848]
ternity through the *pursütpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent
guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting
children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and conse-
quently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it
would, I suppose, elsewhere.

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases 833
of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded
earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard,
but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while
catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as
contradicting these findings.

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris 114
has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited
by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities
Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows
with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry
within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the
subject of an addendum.

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in 614
many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to 616
W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and
he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that
originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe.

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh 614
at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the 554
subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh
people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples –
such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the
tipalol), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *ti-*
mad – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a

4: Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
Toda AW60

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[2]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[2] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

[Information on Toda "clans" will also be found in category 614.]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

574 576 called *kalmelpudithti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

234 513 788 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

● 618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddiken*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 621 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name from the chief of these villages, the *etudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

101 174 616 618 The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad, and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol, Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 361 621 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ing to the need for pasturage, and the villages in the Kundahs and other outlying parts of the hills appear only to be visited during the dry season before the south-west monsoon sets in.

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621
618

Each clan is further subdivided, these subdivisions being of two kinds. One, called the *kudr*, is only of ceremonial importance, and we shall meet with it first in the chapter dealing with offerings. The other, called the *pòlm*, is of more practical importance, and is the basis of the machinery for regulating any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another. 415

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often a 618 621

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarnalikartmokh* is that of Melgara. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *pallikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarnalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *karu*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthiady* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrai*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarnalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarnalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sawi* or *Sawai*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*ta*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, *pineipir*; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given being called in general *nòdrodvaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who rule." 173 234 618

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan have passed into the possession of other clans. This has happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds. 425 431

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*. 234 778

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The *nashperthir* of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the *martir*. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be 234 618 621 778

234 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its
618 reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.
621 At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in
778 constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail
421 the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There
618 were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six
621 places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7)	possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwar	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kuzhu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62). 234 421 618 621

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *püdrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeipir*; at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi. 173 234 618

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 234 463 554 618

[1] See Chapter XXIII.

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the
618 Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary
793 person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 512 788 In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*, touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursuli* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

THE KUGVALI OF TARADR

234 618 621 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village and the institution to be described in the next chapter—the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*pòlm*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmokh*. This dairyman must be a

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

234 member of the Taradr clan, but need not necessarily be a
343 member of the family in charge.

618 Each of the chief Taradr villages has a special dairy for
621 the *kugvalir*. It is called the *kugvali* (*kugpali*) or chief dairy (*kug*=*etud*=chief), and it was said to be the chief of all the dairies. All these dairies have one room only, except that at Taradr itself, where there are two rooms. These dairies do not at present differ in form or general appearance from

FIG. 24.—THE 'KUGVALI' OF TARADR. ON ITS LEFT IS THE 'KWOTARS,' AND ON THE EXTREME RIGHT, UNDER THE TREE, IS THE 'KUSH.' THE FLAT STONE TO THE RIGHT OF THE 'KUGVALI' IS THE 'PÜDRSHTIKARS' (see p. 654).

dairies of other kinds. The *kugvali* at Taradr is shown in Fig. 24, and it is the dairy on the right-hand side of Fig. 5.

234 The *kugvalir* have one feature peculiar to themselves. They are never recruited from any other herd. Even the buffaloes of the *ti* often have additions to their number, especially through the ceremony of *irnörtiti* (Chap. XIII), but in no circumstances are any additions from outside made to the *kugvalir*.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE MÒROL

I have said that no ordinary Toda is allowed to approach the *palol* except on certain days, and then may only go to a certain place in the surroundings of the *ti*. There is, however, one very remarkable exception to this rule, the members of certain clans having the privilege of going to the *ti* at any time and taking buttermilk (*mòr*). Owing to the latter privilege they are always known as *mòrol*. 184 618 554 234

The most important *mòrol* are the members of the Melgars clan, and at the Nòdrs *ti* they are the only people possessing these peculiar rights. A Melgars man may go to the *ti* on every day of the week, when he enters the small enclosure in which the dairy is situated, going, however, by a special opening at the back so that he does not actually pass the dairy and sits down in front of or may enter the sleeping hut. He is given buttermilk by the *kaltmokh* after it has been given to the *palol*, and he also receives food. At the Nòdrs *ti* the two *palol* divide the responsibility of providing food between them; if four *mòrol* come, each *palol* gives food for two men.

The rights of the Melgarsol appear to be exercised very constantly. I rarely visited the Mòdr *ti* without finding several *mòrol* present, and so far as I could observe they made the most of their privileges and enjoyed themselves well. It was very remarkable to see several Todas making themselves quite at home at the *ti*, while other Todas were standing outside wholly prohibited from entering into the life of the place. On one occasion when I visited Mòdr, the brother of one *palol* was standing without at the appointed spot waiting till the business of the morning was over, while several *mòrol* were within enjoying their privileges to the full.

The Melgarsol have certain other rights and duties in connexion with the *ti*, and especially on the occasion of the procession which takes place when the buffaloes migrate from one place to another (see Chap. VI), after which ceremony the *mòrol* sleep at the *ti mad*. At some dairies members of other clans may act as *mòrol*, but in no case do they occupy quite so privileged a position as the people of Melgars. Thus, at

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 343 352 which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

173 234 618 773 793 The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vĕdrmâ, kârs wadrth vĕdrmâ, män mas vĕdrmâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf.

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55).

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.'

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Önâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost.

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.)

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûztheniz ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

The Pan Ti

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the
793 *warspoh*.

Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

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pokvelkars in front of the dairy. The *palol* asks three times, "*Tunitusthpacha?*"—"Have you returned from washing the *tuni?*"—and each time the boy replies, "*tunitusthpuspini*"—"I have come from washing the *tuni*." Then both *palol* and boy go to the front of the *kadr* in which the calves are kept and the *palol* puts into the gate three bars (*tasth*), which shut the opening of the enclosure. The boy asks three times, "*Tasthvatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tasth?*"—and each time the *palol* replies "*Tasthvat!*" The boy, who hitherto has been *perkursol*, now touches the *tasth*, and by so doing attains the full rank of *kaltmokh*, and at once goes and pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol*.

The latter parts of the ordination ceremonies of the *kaltmokh*, from the point at which he receives *petuni* from the *palol* to the touching of the *tasth*, are always performed whenever the *kaltmokh* returns to the *ti* after a journey in which it has been necessary to degrade himself to the rank of *perkursol* (see p. 100). The initial stages of becoming a *kaltmokh* are known in general as *niròdibudnudr*.

The Ordination of the Palol

In accordance with the fact that the *palol* belongs to the highest and most sacred grade of the dairy-priesthood, we find that the ceremonies preceding his entrance upon office are far more elaborate and prolonged than for the minor grades.

In order that a Teivali man may become a candidate for the office of *palol* he must first have gone through a preliminary qualifying ceremony called *tesherst*. When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the people of the clan to which the *ti* belongs are restricted in their choice to those men who have been through this ceremony. When one of these qualified men has been selected, he then goes through the proper ordination ceremonies, known as *niròditi*.

In the case of a *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, the *niròditi* ceremonies are performed partly at Nòdrs, partly at Òdr, one of the most sacred villages of the Nòdrs clan, and finally at the *ti mad* where he is to hold office.

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At the present time most of the gods are believed to inhabit the summits of the hills, but they are not seen by mortals. Before the Todas were created, the gods lived on the Nilgiri Hills alone, and then it is believed that there followed a period during which gods and men inhabited the hills together. The gods ruled the men, ordained how they should live and originated the various customs of the people. The Todas can now give no definite account of their beliefs about the transition from this state of things to that which now exists. 773 776

Each clan of the Todas has a deity especially connected with it. This deity is called the *nòdrodchi* of the clan, and is believed to have been the ruler of the clan when gods and men lived together. I am doubtful whether there is at the present time any belief that the *nòdrodchi* exerts an influence over the clan with which he is connected. [618]

There was no department of Toda lore which gave me greater difficulty than the study of the beliefs about the gods. There was no doubt that two gods stood out pre-eminent among the rest. One was a male deity whose name was Ön, and the other a female deity, Teikirzi. A simple question which I had the greatest difficulty in settling was the relation of these deities to one another. According to one account they were brother and sister; according to another, father and daughter. It seemed quite certain they were not husband and wife, and most probable that they were brother and sister. Others of the gods were believed to be related to one another, but on such points as this I found it almost impossible to obtain trustworthy information. It may have been reticence which made the difficulty, but I do not think so, and am inclined to think that the Todas have now only vague ideas about the histories of their more ancient gods, and have nothing like the definite traditions which they possess about deities of obviously more recent origin.

Sometimes there were discrepancies between different accounts which I could not clear up, and in such cases I give the account which seems to me to be the most trustworthy.

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Elnâkhum is said to have built the long wall which still exists at the village of Nòdrs. 173

The story of Kwoten reads very much like that of a man who really lived and was deified after his death. The minute detail with which several of the natural incidents of his life are known might be held to point in this direction, but perhaps more important is the fact that his ring can still be seen, and that his spear was, according to Breeks, in existence not long ago. It looks as if Kwoten was a man who raised Pan from a comparatively insignificant position among the Todas to be one of their chief clans, and was the means of introducing several innovations in Toda custom. It is probable that he was deified after his death, and that some of the incidents of his life have acquired miraculous characters. 773 776 [618]

Kwoto or Meilitars

There was once a man belonging to Melgars who married a woman of Kanòdrs and took her to Melgars. When she became pregnant, the woman was taken by her husband to Kanòdrs. On the way back to Melgars they passed Ushadr, the place where the funeral ceremonies of Melgars men took place. They were standing in front of the funeral hut at that place when the man found a good *twadri* tree,[1] and, cutting three or four sticks from it, brought them to his wife, who stripped the bark from the sticks. While she was doing this, the pains of labour came on, and soon after she gave birth to a gourd (*kem*). Both husband and wife were very much ashamed, and they decided to say that a child had been born and had died, and the man went round to all the villages to say that this had happened and that the funeral would be held at Ushadr. Accordingly they had the *etvainolkedr* (first funeral ceremony) at Ushadr, the gourd being covered with a *putkuli* (cloak), so that it was taken to be the body of a child.

First the buffaloes were caught and killed, and then the supposed corpse was taken to the burning-place, where a fire

[1] Probably the tree or bush from which the material called *twadrinar* is manufactured by the Todas.

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234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their atten-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
618 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
623 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
688 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

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the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance. 782 796

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pölm* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*. 618 673 688

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed :— 234 782

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy. 796

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time. 673 688

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
796 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
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ceremony is to take place, and all the men of the same *kudr* as the man who is giving the buffalo must also leave the village if they should be living there. Their place is taken by men of the *kudr* which is to receive the buffalo. If men of both *kudr* are living at the village, those of the giving *kudr* go and those of the receiving *kudr* remain; thus, when Kòdmer, who lives at Kars, made his offering, he and his brother left and went to live at another village of the clan, while Parkurs and his brothers, who belong to the other *kudr*, remained behind. If there is a *wursuli* at the village, the *wursol* remains at his post. If the *palikartmokh* is of the same *kudr* as the offender, he leaves and a new dairyman from the other *kudr* is appointed. All the men who remain at the village sleep in the outer room of the dairy—at Kars, in the outer room of the *kudrpali*. The *palikartmokh* does his dairy work in the inner room as usual and sleeps in the outer room with the rest.

The people live thus at the village for a month, no women, no men of the offending *kudr* and no people of other clans being allowed to visit them.

The actual ceremony takes place at the end of this month, on the Sunday following the new moon. On the Saturday the man, called the *irnörtpol*, who is to make the offering brings a female calf between one and two years of age to a wood near the village and makes a rough temporary calf enclosure (*kadr*), tying the calf to a tree. If the calf is troublesome, the man and his companions may sleep in the wood by the side of the calf, but generally they leave it in the wood and go to sleep in the village where they have been living. The calf must have no blemish, its eyes must be clear, and no part of its ears or tail may be cut.[1]

On the following morning a boy between ten and fifteen years of age is chosen, who is called *ponkartvaimokh*, the boy who observes the festival. It is his duty to drive the calf.

All those who are to be present take in their hands green sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs*. All have their right

[1] The special mention of uncut ears and tail in this and the *arkumpikpini* ceremony suggests that the widely spread practice of cutting the ears of animals may occur among the Todas, but I have no other notes on the subject.

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arms outside their cloaks (*kevenarut*), and must have bathed in the morning and abstained from food. 618 796 621

When the time for the ceremony comes, the *ponkartvaimokh*, who is followed by the *irnörtpol* and other men of his division, drives the calf towards the village. The people in the village then call out "*Irnört! it vos!*"—"Give the buffalo! Come here!" and they go to the appointed place and stand on the dairy side of the *irnörtkars*, or other spot appointed for the ceremony, while the calf is driven up towards the stones or other mark from the side away from the dairy. The *palikartmokh*, naked except for the *kuvn*, and the *wursol*, with the *tuni* round his loins, stand with the people of the receiving *kudr*. When the *ponkartvaimokh* has driven the calf up to the place, he asks three times, "*Irnörtkina?*"—"Shall I give the buffalo?"—and the *palikartmokh* replies each time, "*Irnört!*" The boy then drives the calf across the stones or other mark to the place where the buffaloes of the receiving *kudr* are standing. According to one account, the calf is driven direct into the *tu*, but it seems almost certain that this is wrong, though it may be that it is the practice of some clans. The calf then becomes the property of the *kudr* whose representatives have been living at the village. At Nödrs the calf is driven through the gap in the wall and across the pool of water in the direction of the conical dairy.

All those present, both the man who has given the calf and his companions and those who have received the calf, bow down to the ground, resting their foreheads on the ends of their cloaks (as in Fig. 44), and utter a formula different for each clan. At Kars it runs:—

Sudmi, Teikhzi, Tärziolv, Kärziolv, Kärzü ultämd; ir kark ultämd; irnörtvusipini,[1] *ultämd.*

Then all present go to the dairy or dairies and bow down at the threshold. At Kars they go to Tarziolv (the *kudrpali*), to Karziolv (the *wursali*), and to Karzu (the buffalo pen) and

[1] Or *irnörtpusipini*, "buffalo giving have we come." The whole formula runs, "Swami, Teikizi, the *kudrpali*, the *wursali*, the buffalo pen, may it be well; may it be well with the buffaloes and calves; buffalo giving have we come, may it be well."

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618 796 621 bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairyman, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*, which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the *irnörtpol* must again leave the village, but the only one of

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FIG. 44.—THE 'NERSATITI' SALUTATION.

their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartvaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no

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people other than men of the same *kudr* may visit the village during this time. 618

At the end of the month the people who have been occupying the village rub the dairy or dairies thoroughly with buffalo-dung (*palikâratiti*, dairy he purifies). All the people of the village then return and another feast takes place, in which the food is rice boiled in milk. Then the usual inhabitants of the village return to their houses, and if any men of the receiving *kudr* have come from another village, they return and life resumes its normal course. 796 621

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* may thus involve the removal of the usual inhabitants from a village for about two months, and the giving of two feasts, while the man who has offended also loses a calf. The Todas probably think little of the inconvenience of removal, though probably they are more troubled by it now than in former times, especially when they have to leave a village like Kars, which is, under normal circumstances, always inhabited at the present time. It seems that the inconvenience, together with the expense of the feasts, is sufficient to render the ceremony a very unusual incident in the lives of the Todas.

TUNINÖRTITI

The smaller importance of this ceremony as compared with *irnörtiti* is shown in several ways. The ceremony may be performed at any village at which there is a dairy, and it is not necessary for the people of the receiving *kudr* to stay at the village for a month before the ceremony is performed.

The prescribed day is Sunday, and on the previous day all the people of the same *kudr* as the giver of the *tuni* leave the village, and the men of the other division come and sleep in the dairy as before the *irnörtiti* ceremony. The man who [437] gives the *tuni* is called the *tuninörtpol*, and he procures the garment from a Badaga, paying for it about 1 rupee 4 annas.

On the Sunday morning the *tuninörtpol* comes with some companions, all having abstained from food. The *palikartmokh*, who must be of the same *kudr* as the other men at the village, goes to the front of the dairy and one of the men calls out,

618 "*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
688 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
796 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
618 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
621 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*. If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
618 which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
796 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

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in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food.

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr[1] which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtpol bon!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pilinörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:—

Tānemmd,		*tārmāmā;*	*atch*	*kar*	*tā*	*mā,*	*atch*
May it be well,		may it be well;	little	calf	give	may,	little
mokh	*tā*	*mā;*	*kar*	*kulāth,*	*kar*	*kuleiti*	*tā*
son	give	may;	calf	not refuse milk,	calf	take milk	give
mā,	*kar*	*nesāth,*	*neseiti*	*tā*	*mā;*	*opath*	*ātm*
may,	calf	not kick away,	stand	give	may;	once	meal
āthi	*puneral*	*kwar*	*arki*	*madi;*	*mā*	*ārk mā;*	
it is	twelve	years	vow	will;	may there be	no disease;	
nudri	*ārk mā;*	*kazun*	*ārk mā;*	*per*	*ārk mā.*		
may there be	no trouble;	may there be	no *kazun;*	may there be	no Tamil.		

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kazun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

[1] This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any inter-
193 course with people other than the Badagas and Kotas. "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts
796 them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
618 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kârs clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regula-
777 tions which have been described in this chapter. One of these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

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the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. 783
When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to 782
regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as 688
if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it 796
seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo 782
is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most 783
nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in 688
going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded 618
as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of 796
pilinörtiti to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

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782 social regulations exist without anything which can clearly
783 be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people
688 whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than that they now possess.

618 If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the
796 religious sanction has been added to the system of social punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the gods.

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843 been milked by any one else since the time it last calved. The Melgars man places the milk in front of the hut where the woman usually lives, and then goes away, and the milk is taken by the people of the village. In the evening, after the day's work is over and the buffaloes are shut up for the night, a woman is chosen who has had no contact with the secluded woman, and she takes the milk drawn by the Melgars man to the *puzhars*, together with the leaves of the kind called *parsers*. She pours out the milk three times into these leaves and gives to the pregnant woman to drink. The latter has previously bathed and put on a new mantle, and after drinking she returns to the ordinary hut and may resume her household work.

[618] The milking is done by a Melgars man for all the Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni, where the buffalo is milked by a man of that clan. I do not know why this clan forms an exception to the general rule, but Kwòdrdoni is one of the most remote Toda villages, and it is possible[1] that the difficulty of getting a Melgars man to come to them has led the people to do this part of the ceremony themselves.

For fifteen days after leaving the seclusion-hut, the woman must drink buttermilk procured from a Melgars dairy, and must take food called *peritòr*,[2] viz., grain or rice which has been cooked in Melgars buttermilk. At the end of the fifteen days she gives up taking the *peritòr*, but continues to drink Melgars buttermilk for another fifteen days.

For a woman of the Teivaliol, the ceremony of *urvatpimi* is much more simple. No *pülpali* is made, and the husband fetches two pieces of reed only, which are called *ertatpun*. They are half filled with water, which is poured from one over the back of a calf into the other as in the Tarthar ceremony, and the woman drinks in the same way, but this is immediately followed by the hand-burning, and the rite with the two sticks and the invocation of Pirn and Piri is entirely omitted.

[1] The fact that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni are not allowed to intermarry suggests, however, that there is some relation between these clans which is the cause of the exception.

[2] This may possibly be a corruption of *perithtòr*.

234 first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are
764 completed.

Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to
778 possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthenware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to the *kudeipir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan). It is dug up by the Teivali *palikartpol* and given by him to a Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

234 Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back
764 of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head
618 between the horns. This should be done by a man of the same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *ŧrkîpti*. It is done by striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe (*masth*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in some cases more are necessary. The *wursulir* are killed by the *wursol* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same division as the deceased, but of a different clan. Certain clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo; thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr man a member of one of the other clans performs this function. Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol. At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing might also be done by a man of Pām or Nidrsi. Each buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiks* at which the *wursulir* are killed is at some distance from the funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot lest she should see the sacred bell.

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764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachütthti*[1] (*kach*, cloth, *ütthti* or *ütiti*, he
618

FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

[1] This ceremony is also called *kachpütchpimi*.
[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

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Toda funerals. It takes place in the middle of a crowd, who gather round the corpse possibly while the lamentation is still going on or while other ceremonies are in progress. In the first funeral I witnessed the ceremony took place while dancing was going on, and I missed it entirely, though I was told afterwards that it had taken place as usual, and was able to obtain the names of the chief actors. 764 602 618

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, a man belonging to the clan of the deceased gives a cloth to one of his *paiol*, or brothers-in-law. The latter gives the cloth to his wife or wife's sister, or to some woman whom he would be allowed to marry, and the woman places the cloth on the corpse. The man who originally gave the cloth then takes it from the body and gives it to another *paiol*, and the ceremony is repeated till the cloth has been given to all the *paiol* present.

The man who gives the cloth should belong to the same clan as the dead person. At the funeral of a male, the proper person is the father of the deceased, if he is alive, or some other elder of the clan. At the funeral of a woman, a man of the clan of the woman's husband is chosen. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3 and 28), a widow of Kanòdrs, the cloth was given by Neratkutan (28), who was of the same family as the husbands of the dead woman and the eldest representative of their generation. At the funeral of Sinerani (52), the cloth was given by Tebkudr (68), who was the younger brother of the father of Keinba, the husband of the dead child.

The men called *paiol*, to whom the cloth is given, seem to include all those who have married women of the same clan as the giver of the cloth. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi the cloth was given to Pepob (44) of Melgars, and to Nelkush and Tevò (3) of Nòdrs, who had all married women of Kanòdrs.

At the funeral of Sinerani, the cloth was given to Kuriolv (52), who was the father of the dead child, not, however, for this reason, but because he was the husband of Sintharap, Tebkudr's sister. At this funeral the only other man to whom the cloth was given was Piliag (52), who received it in the place of his brother, Piliar (52), who was not present. The latter, like Kuriolv, was the brother-in-law of Tebkudr (68).

764 If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,[1]
602 and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present.
618 Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-kedr* of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52) to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife, if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife, who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the dead body.

764 The father of each woman who places the cloth on the
767 body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth-
437 rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, the men who have married into the family of the dead person have to perform this ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth-
764 giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

[1] The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister (see Chapter XXI).

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw 616 earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *puzhut*, and 618 incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *puzhut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

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person, and if two or more funerals are held simultaneously it gives an appearance of the olden times. So far as I could ascertain, however, the funerals of two or more people only take place together when they belong to the same clan. 765 177

In some cases, however, the funeral places of two or more clans are very near one another. In such a case there might be a certain amount of combination of the different ceremonies, but some of the rites would be carried out at different spots for each clan. Something of this kind appears to have happened at the funeral ceremonies recorded by Mr. Thurston (*Bull.* i., p. 176). Similarly the *marvainolkedr* of a man or woman of the same clan may be held simultaneously owing to the fact that the funeral places for the two sexes are usually close to one another. The buffaloes would, however, be killed at different places, and the remains would not be burnt and buried at the same *azaram*. 765 618

Owing to the custom of having the *marvainolkedr* of several people simultaneously, it has often been supposed that the Todas have a kind of anniversary ceremony for all those who have died during the year, but there is no doubt that this is wrong. There was a large *marvainolkedr* soon after I left the hills (in January, 1903), but it was a ceremony for two women only, Narskuti (63 and 56), and Tersveli (63 and 52), both belonging to the Kuudrol, and it was held at Kurkalmut, the proper funeral place for the women of Kuudr. It is quite possible that owing to the restrictions on the slaughter of buffaloes it may become more and more the custom to hold several *marvainolkedr* simultaneously, and that this custom may develop into an anniversary ceremony. This could only come about, however, by throwing over the custom that the funerals of each clan should be held at a definitely appointed place, and there is no doubt that this has not yet happened. 765

At the second funeral ceremony the relics are placed in a special hut, and at a man's funeral the hut has the same name as at the *etvainolkedr*, and apparently it may sometimes happen that the same hut is used at both ceremonies. The second funeral is not always held, however, at the same place 349 765

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for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is 527
also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it 764
seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was 796
chosen.

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if 527
the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts 796
form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans; 621
thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I 618
have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be performed.

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòdrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they
796 might fall.

Several previous writers, when recording the choice of
621 certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the
618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday,
777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi* ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in
777 this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the present time a given act is done or not done on a given day, the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

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the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village. 582 616 588 591

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. 582 618

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The 835

835 fact, however, that this restriction should exist in connexion with a ceremony suggests that even to the Todas there is something reprehensible in intercourse between man and woman of the same clan (see also p. 530).

582 There are certain special prohibitions against marriage between members of certain clans. Among the Tartharol
618 the Panol are not allowed to marry the Kanòdrsol, a prohibition said to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, and it is said that since that day no marriage has ever taken place between the clans of the two men. In the genealogical record there is no case in which these two clans have intermarried.

I was also told that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni might not intermarry, but there are three examples of such marriages in the genealogies. I could not obtain any reason for the restriction, and the information is probably incorrect. The restrictions on marriage between the people of Melgars and those of Kidmad and Karsh have already been considered.

Among the Teivaliol there are also prohibitions against intermarriage between certain clans. The people of Piedr may not marry those of Kusharf. Judging from the genealogical record, the prohibition is not strictly followed, for three such marriages have taken place in recent times. In one of these cases, however, in which a Piedr man married a Kusharf woman, the woman soon became seriously ill, and the marriage was annulled. I could obtain no reason for the prohibition of marriage between these two clans. Marriage was also prohibited between the Piedrol and the Pedrkarsol, this being due to a comparatively recent quarrel between members of the two clans, of which an account is given in Chapter XXVIII.

I have analysed the genealogical records with the view of ascertaining whether certain clans intermarry with any special frequency. Among the Tartharol, I find that the people of Nòdrs marry most frequently those of Kars and Taradr. The Karsol, the largest of the Tarthar clans, distribute their marriages widely over the whole Tarthar division. The Panol chiefly marry with Kars and Melgars.

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582 618 The Taradrol have married most often with Nòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Keradr, a very small clan, shows no special predilection. The people of Kanòdrs have intermarried most often with Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Kars and Melgars. The people of Kwòdrdoni marry most often people of Kanòdrs, Kars and Nidrsi. The Pämol have married chiefly with Kanòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Most of the Nidrsi marriages have been with Kars. The Melgarsol have married in fairly equal proportions people of Nòdrs, Kars, Taradr and Päm.

These facts are interesting in that they show that there is a tendency for the three clans of Nòdrs, Kars and Taradr to intermarry. These are not only the most important Tarthar clans, but they occupy the same district of the hills, in the centre and towards the north and north-west. Similarly, the clans of Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni and Päm, situated towards the north-east and east, show a distinct tendency to intermarry. Further, the Melgarsol, who form a special group standing somewhat apart from the rest, distribute their marriages fairly equally, but have often married with Päm, a clan seated near them geographically.

The analysis of the genealogies shows that the geographical distribution of the Tartharol on the hills has had a definite influence on the intermarriage of the different clans.

Among the Teivaliol, intermarriage has been greatly influenced by the enormous size of the Kuudrol as compared with the other clans of the division. In order to marry outside their own clan, the people of Kuudr have married nearly all the available members of the other clans of the Teivaliol, leaving very few to intermarry with one another. Thus the genealogies record 161 marriages between Kuudrol and members of the other five Teivali clans, leaving only sixteen marriages between the members of those five clans. Owing to the enormous development of one clan, the Teivali division has almost come to be in the position of a community with a dual marrying organisation in which every member of one group must marry a member of the other group, but there is no reason whatever to think that this is due to any other reason than the excessive development of one clan in numbers.

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582 618 On studying the marriages in detail it is found that the Kuudrol have married members of the Piedr clan most frequently, but this is chiefly because the Piedrol stand second to the Kuudrol in point of numbers, although it is also furthered by the restriction in marriage between Piedr and Kusharf. The marriages of the Kuudrol with other clans seem to be determined more by the numbers available than by any predilection for special clans.

Both Pedrkars and Kulhem are said to be offshoots of the Kuudrol, but apparently the separation is so remote that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. It is possible that the necessity of providing spouses for the Kuudrol has tended to break down a restriction which probably once existed.

582 621 The Todas have never married people outside their own community, and a strong prejudice against such marriages still exists. This may be illustrated by two recent cases.

A woman, married in the usual way, was divorced by her husband because she became ill. She returned to her own home, where she was visited by a Tamil blacksmith. The latter was very anxious to marry the woman and on one occasion took her away to the plains, but she was followed by her relatives and brought back to her home. Later she married two Toda brothers and was taken by them to their village, but she was followed by the blacksmith, who brought her back to the village of her parents. The Todas seem to have no strong objection to her relations with the stranger so long as she remains among themselves.

In the other case a woman about twelve years ago was visited by a rich Mohammedan who gave money to her husbands, and it was said also that he bribed the chief Toda people, *i.e.*, the members of the council. The Mohammedan wished very much to marry the woman and for a sum of money the Todas consented. After the woman had lived for a few days in the bazaar with her new husband, her relatives came and took her away, and I was told that the Mohammedan took the loss so much to heart that he died of grief, but my informants were doubtful whether his grief was due to the loss of his wife or whether it was because

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he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had given. Here again the people appear to have had no objection to the relations of the woman with the Mohammedan so long as she remained in the community. 582 621

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general term, *pūliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *pūliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *pūliol* of a man:— 582 601 618

(i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.

(ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.

(iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, *i.e.*, his *mumi* and his *mankugh*.

(iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, *i.e.*, of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *pūliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *pūliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *pūliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *pūliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

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582 601 618

kinship which a Toda has chiefly in his mind when he considers whether he may or may not marry a given woman. He has not two kinds of prohibited affinity, one depending on clan relations, and another on relations of blood-kinship, but he has only one kind of prohibited affinity, to which he gives the general term *püliol*, including certain kin through the father and certain kin through the mother, and there is no evidence that he considers the bond of kinship in one case as different from the other as regards restriction on marriage.

The fact that the Toda includes all those kin whom he may not marry under one general term, and that the kin in question include members both of his own and other clans, goes to show that the Todas recognise the blood-kinship as the restrictive agency rather than the bond produced by membership of the same clan.

The analysis of the genealogical record has shown that these restrictions on marriage are enforced. I have already stated that the genealogies show no single case in which marriage has occurred between members of the same clan. *i.e.*, between *püliol* who come under the first head in the list given above.

I have also failed to find a single case in which marriage has taken place between the children of two own sisters, or of marriage between the children of two women who would call each other "sister" whose names occur in the same genealogical table. Thus I have found no case in which a marriage has taken place between the children of two women so closely related to one another as Punzueleimi and Nasturs, of Table 3, these women being first cousins according to our system of kinship.

It would be a prolonged task to ascertain whether marriage ever takes place among the Tartharol between the children of two clan-sisters in the widest sense, and I do not know whether such marriage may not sometimes occur.

Among the Teivaliol marriages between clan-sisters even in the widest sense must be very rare owing to the fact that nearly all marriages take place between people of Kuudr on the one hand and members of the five other Teivali clans on the other. Since in most cases two women of any one

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of these five clans marry men of Kuudr, marriage between their children would be restricted under the first prohibition, and similarly the children of two Kuudr women could only intermarry in those cases in which members of the other five clans have married one another. Among the Teivaliol, I do not believe that marriages take place between the children of sisters in the widest sense, and I have little doubt that they are very exceptional among the Tartharol. 582 601 618

There is no case in the genealogies in which the third restriction has been broken, in which a man has married his father's sister or his sister's daughter, his *mumi* or his *mankugh*.

There is at least one case in the genealogies in which there has been an infringement of the fourth restriction given on page 509. The marriage of Nargudr (62) with Tolveli (58) is an example of the marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister. I believe that this restriction is part of a wider regulation. Using Toda terms of kinship the law would run: a person must not marry the child of his *matchuni*. The marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister, such as that of Nargudr with Tolveli, would be an infringement of this law. I have only found one other case in the genealogies in which this law would have been broken, *i.e.*, in the marriage of Teitnir (52) and Tersveli (63). Tersveli's father, Teikudr, is the son of Kavani, the sister of Pareivan, Teitnir's father. Teikudr is therefore the *matchuni* of Teitnir, who has married his daughter.

I was told that though a man might not marry the daughter of his sister, he might marry the children of this woman. I do not know of any such marriage and it is improbable that it would often come about, since it would involve the marriage of a woman with the brother of her grandfather. There is, however, at the present time an example of the marriage of a woman with her father's mother's brother, whom she would therefore call *pin*, or grandfather. This is the marriage of Kaners and his brother Kudrievan (63) with Edjog (56), the daughter of Tuliners, the son of the sister of the two men. I was told, however, that this marriage met with a good deal of disapproval among the Todas, but I could not learn that there was any definite prohibition against it.

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CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

618 IN this chapter I propose to bring together a number of matters connected with the social organisation; to consider the various sections into which the clan is divided for social or ceremonial purposes, the method of government, the laws concerning property and inheritance, and the position of women.

We have already seen that the primary fact in the social organisation of the Todas is the existence of two divisions, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol,[1] and the last chapter has shown that these divisions form endogamous groups, each of which is divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans. In some respects the clan is a definite unit in the social organisation with a certain amount of power in regulating its own affairs, owning property and having in many cases social or religious usages peculiar to itself.

THE CLAN

618 The clan system is territorial, and I could discover no trace of its ever having been totemic. The clan owns a number
621 of villages and takes its name from the chief of these, the
361 *etudmad*. The connexion of the clan with the village is so generally recognised that in some cases in which the *etudmad* of the clan has disappeared, or is rarely visited, there is a tendency to name the clan after the chief village

[1] A full account of the two divisions and of their relation to one another will be given in Chapter XXIX.

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season.

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position.

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans.

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 prise the remainder of the Tarthar clans—viz., those of Taradr,
177 Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm and Nidrsi. I could
obtain no direct information from the Todas which would
●618 explain why the Badaga classification should differ from their
616 own. It is possible that it is an old classification of the Todas, but this is unlikely, since it is probable that the intercourse with the Badagas is not very ancient. It seems to me possible that it may have arisen out of the constitution of the *naim* or council. This has four Toda representatives belonging to Kuudr (representing the Teivaliol), Kars, Nòdrs and Taradr. This would correspond to four of the Badaga divisions, and the fifth, the Melgarsol or Pekkan, would certainly be well known to the Badagas through their privileges as *mòrol*. It is possible that the Nòdrs representative used also to represent Pan, and that the Taradr member represented the remaining clans, and, if so, it would point to there having been some old five-fold division of the kind believed in by the Badagas. It is quite clear that the five-fold division has no influence on the marriage regulations and Peiki, Todi and Kuttan all marry freely within their divisions. Except in connexion with the *naim*, I could learn of nothing which would show that the five-fold division has any social significance, and I know of no other way in which the Panol are associated with the Nòdrsol nor of any other way in which the six clans included in the Kuttan are associated together. It is possible that the five-fold division is connected with some customs regulating the payment of the Badaga tribute to the Todas, but I could learn nothing of such customs.

618 Each clan has divisions of two kinds called *kudr* and *pòlm*. The *kudr* is a division of ceremonial, the *pòlm* of practical, importance.

THE KUDR

Normally each clan has two *kudr* and two only, and, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, these divisions become of the greatest importance in connexion with the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the whole regulation of which is dominated by the division into *kudr*. So far as I could ascertain, the *kudr* has now no

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other significance, and I do not know whether the division is one which formerly possessed a social significance which it has now lost, so that the *kudr* only persists in ceremony, or whether it is a mode of division of the clan which has arisen purely in connexion with the *irnörtiti* and other allied ceremonies. 618

In one or two cases there was some doubt as to whether a certain division of the people was a clan or a *kudr*. This was especially the case with the Kwaradrol, now extinct, who were said by some of my informants to have been a clan, but it seemed clear that they only formed a *kudr* of the Keadrol, and were not properly a distinct clan. This is one case in which a *kudr* has a distinctive name, and another example occurs in the Panol where the *kudr* have separate names, one the Panol or Pandar, the other the Kuirsiol or Peshteidimokh. In general, each *kudr* is named after its leading man, thus the two *kudr* of the Nòdrsol are spoken of as the *kudr* of Mudrigeidi (1) and Kerkadr (2). The man who gives his name to the *kudr* is probably responsible for the general management of the ceremonies in which the *kudr* is concerned.

In a few cases a clan was said to have more than two *kudr*, but on cross-examination it turned out in each case that the statement was due to the fact that the clan contained a section which had no part, or only a subordinate part, in the *irnörtiti* ceremony and that this section might sometimes be spoken of as a *kudr*. Thus, in the Kuudr clan there are three sections, two which have reciprocal relations in the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a third consisting of the family of Tövoniners (51) which lost certain privileges owing to a dispute many generations ago (see p. 675). This family could perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but in such a case the buffalo would go to the members of the two other divisions and Tövoniners would receive nothing if either of the other divisions performed the ceremony. Another example of a clan said to have three *kudr* is that of Piedr, where the family of Nongarsivan (62) stands in the same relation to the other divisions as is the case with the family of Tövoniners in the Kuudrol. In this case Nongarsivan's exceptional position is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 probably due to the fact that his family lives at Kavidi in the Wainad.

When a *kudr* becomes extinct a new division of the remaining *kudr* may take place, but, as a rule, this is not done till an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony arises. There are several cases in which one *kudr* of a clan has now been extinct for several years, but though the re-division is often a subject for discussion, it is not probable that a new *kudr* will be instituted till the necessity arises. Occasionally, however, it would seem that a new *kudr* may be decided on apart from an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony, for about the time of my visit the people of Keadr, who had lost one *kudr* by the dying out of the Kwaradrol, decided that the family of Karem (69), of which the sole living representatives are three boys, should form a new *kudr*. I could not learn what had been the motives for the decision. Some unimportant clans which have arisen by fusion from other clans, such as those of Kidmad and Kulhem, have no *kudr*, and do not appear ever to have possessed these divisions.

THE PÒLM

The word *pòlm* means 'portion,' and is the name of the section of the clan by means of which is regulated the sharing of any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole. Any expenses which the clan may incur as a whole are not equally divided among the individual members of the clan, but are equally divided among the *pòlm*. The chief occasion on which such expenses arise is in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy.

When a clan owns a *ti* and a dairy of the *ti* needs to be rebuilt or repaired, the expense also falls on the clan, and is equally divided among the *pòlm*, as in the case of the village dairy.

The outlay is equally divided among the *pòlm*, however much they may vary in size. Thus in the Kars clan one *pòlm* has sixteen adult male members, while another has only one, but this one man would contribute exactly the same amount as the other sixteen.

Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another. 618

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter. [623]

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers, who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source. [578]

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted. 618 184 554 463

The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

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618 *moncgar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in
184 government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council
554 are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and
463 *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavòdiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

Laws of Descent

611 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male
851 line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursütpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.[1] I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

[1] Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuli*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda -

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 234 611

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect. 842 181

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies. 597

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pòlm* of the father. 736 611

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan. 842 618

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

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842 hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently
618 married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

GOVERNMENT

623 The most important feature of Toda government is the *naim*, or *noim*,[1] a council having a definite constitution. The
627 *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general, and, in addition, more informal councils,[2] consisting of the chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim* may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs of a clan.

623 The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five
177 members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri, from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the *naim*. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations between the Todas and Badagas.

623 The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda representatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8) and Piutolvan (10) of Kars, Kudòdrsvan (3) of Nòdrs, and Ircheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had not been taken by Piutolvan, the second Kars representative. All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

[1] A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kûtkûdriti*, "the assembly assembles," or *kûtpuniti*, "the assembly makes."

[2] It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

622 The earliest *monegar* whom the Todas remember is Teitchi or Teiti (52). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Mutevan, who is still alive. The two eldest sons had died before their father, and Persevan, the third son, was said to be weak-minded, and Mutevan was therefore chosen to succeed.

Mutevan is now a very old man, probably about eighty years of age, and his office was taken over some years ago by his eldest son, Ivievan. Though Ivievan is the *monegar* he is not the chief representative of his family on the *naim*, this position belonging to Kuriolv, the son of Pareivan and Persevan. Ivievan is helped in collecting the assessment by an assistant *monegar*, and till lately this place belonged to Parkurs of Kars.

177 It does not appear that the monegarship is a real Toda office, but that the earliest *monegar* was appointed by Mr. 622 Sullivan, the first British official of the Nilgiris. The family, 554 however, to which the *monegar* belongs is called the *mani-kudupel*, which may mean the *monegar* family, but I could not discover definitely whether this title is older than the institution of the monegarship. It is possible that Teitchi was one of the chief men of the *naim* when the Europeans first came to the hills and that he was therefore appointed as *monegar*.

It is quite clear that at the present time the *monegar*, Ivievan, is not the most important man among the Todas, but that the predominant position belongs to his cousin, Kuriolv, the representative of the family on the *naim*.

HEADMEN

● 618 Though it is very doubtful whether the institution of *monegar* is not an innovation, and whether the Todas as a whole have properly any true chief, it is fairly clear that the clan and its divisions have definite leaders.

Each clan has a headman or *etudol*; usually, it seemed to me, one who had come to the top by virtue of his character and ability. I did not learn how far his position was generally recognised nor by what means he was chosen. It was quite clear, however, that the leading man of a clan

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions. 618

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pòlu* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property. 421 618 621

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy[1] was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual 177 421 423

[1] For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan. There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

●618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[591] While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands 618 had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she 766 should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

dependent on the transference of a young girl to the clan of a boy who acts as husband to the corpse. By her marriage to Keinba, the dead girl became a member of the Keadrol, and her funeral should have been held at the burning-ground of this clan. Many of the features of the ceremonies were in accordance with this change of clan, and since all were not so, the various mishaps which occurred at the funeral were ascribed by the Todas to the departure from prescribed custom.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

In this chapter I propose to give a short account of each of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan. 618

The Tarthar Clans

Nòdrs

The people of Nòdrs owe their special importance to their connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nòdrodchi*, or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed certain special favours on her people. Chief among these is the possession of the Nòdrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact that the Nòdrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nòdrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *tesherst*, is also usually performed at a Nòdrs village. 123 773 618 234 554

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical
618 dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday,
764 and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Òdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Külthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

621 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still
361 inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

234 food when Teigudr (4) took his wife Uwer from Nertolvan
621 of Pan (16). On this occasion Nertolvan came to Tedshteiri to receive nine buffaloes from Teigudr, and the number of ovens corresponded with the number of the buffaloes.

Kudrnakhum (Kudinagamand). The chief point of interest about this village is that it is the place where the ceremony of *tesherst* often takes place. It is an outlying village to the west which I was unable to visit.

Perththo (Perattitalmand). This is a village which is shared by two clans. The part occupied by the Nòdrsol is called Meil Perththo, or Upper Perththo. The other part of the village was said to be general property, but it is at present occupied by Melgars people.

Kozhtudi or *Kozhteidi*. The special feature of this village is that it has a *wursuli* in which everything has to be carried out *kabkaditi*, *i.e.*, the dairyman is not allowed to turn his back to the contents of the dairy. This certainly points to the village having been at one time of importance.

Kars

618 This is at present the largest of the Tarthar clans, having
621 sixty-seven male and fifty female members. It is represented in the *naim*, and there was some reason to think that it occupies a more important position in this body than the other Tarthar clans. The family of Parkurs (8) is called *tinkanikudupel*, ranking next to a *manikudupel*, and Parkurs was till lately a second or assistant *monegar*.

There seems to be no doubt that the Karsol have always been an important clan, and its members are often mentioned in the stories, though they do not appear to have had any legendary hero such as those of Melgars and Pan. Their *nòdrodchi* (ruler or presiding deity) is Kulinkars, now believed to live on a hill near Makurti Peak. The Kars people possess a *ti* which in importance and wealth is second only to that of Nòdrs.

618 Kars resembles Nòdrs in having two *kudr* differing greatly in size. Kutadri is the head of one, which comprises all the members of the family given in Table 7. It has two *pòlu*, headed by Kutadri and Peithol. The other *kudr* has eight

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

pölm, of which the chief men are Parkurs (8), Pidrvan (9)[1], Piutolvan (10), Kudrvas (11), Kutthurs (12), Mongudrvan (13), Kiunervan (14), and Keitazvan (15). Till recently there appear to have been only five *pölm* in the Kars clan, each of which has lately been divided into two. There is a very marked disproportion in the number of members of some of these divisions; thus the *pölm* of Parkurs has sixteen males in five more or less distinct families, while others have only three or four males. Nevertheless each of the latter would contribute the same amount towards joint expenses of the clan as the sixteen males of the *pölm* of Parkurs. 616

The chief villages of the Karsol are in or near Ootacamund, and this clan formerly had several other villages on sites now occupied by modern buildings.

The following are the chief places:—

Kars (Kandalmand). This village is one of the best known of Toda villages, being just on the outskirts of Ootacamund. It is a very typical example of a Toda village; there is a small group of houses, with a large dairy, the *kudrpali* (Fig. 21), called *Tarziolv*, close to them; just above the houses on the rising ground is a smaller dairy, the *wursuli* called *Karziolv*, shown in the background of Fig. 42 and partly shown in Figs. 23 and 44. Opposite the *kudrpali* are two raised circular mounds with flat tops called the *imudrikars* (seen in the foreground in Fig. 21), on which the body of a dead man is laid before being taken to the funeral hut at Taradrkirsi. Above the *kudrpali* is the hut for calves. 234 621

In the middle of the enclosure within which the village lies, is a row of stones (shown in Fig. 42) which are the *irnörtkars*, and in the ceremony of *irnörtiti* the calf is driven across these stones.

Behind the houses there is a small circular enclosure which is now used as a *tu* and is called *Althftu*. The entrance to this enclosure is shown in Fig. 29 just in front of the boy carrying the dairy vessels. Formerly there was a dairy of the conical kind within this circle, of which the name was *Ishpok*. About five generations ago, this dairy still existed

[1] Pidrvan died soon after my visit.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. 234
There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalars* 621
which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning.

Isharadr and *Peletkwur*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy 351
and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol.

Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are 621
still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *arkumptthpini* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Türskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tüli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr.

PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and 618
are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name 621
for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 Kundahs, but they are only visited during the dry season, and
621 for the greater part of the year the Panol live at the comparatively new village of Naters in the most thickly populated part of the hills. The legendary hero, Kwoten, belonged to Pan.

The clan is small, having now about twenty-seven male and nine female members. It is not represented on the *naim*, and in the Badaga grouping of the Todas this clan is joined with that of Nòdrs.

The Panol have two *kudr*, and provide the only example among the Tartharol in which the *kudr* have special names. The formation of the *kudr* is said to have been due to Kwoten, who divided the people into Panol and Kuirsiol, named after the two chief villages of the clan. The two divisions are also called Pandar and Peshteidimokh.

The Pandar or Panol have three *pòlm*, headed by Timurvan (16), Todars (16), and Nòrtiners (17). The Peshteidimokh or Kuirsiol have two *pòlm*, headed by Timners (18) and Imokhvan (19).

The *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* ceremonies are performed in front of the *wursuli* at Pan or Kuirsi. The spots on which the ceremonies take place are not marked by any stones, and the ceremonies are spoken of as *paliknörtiti*, *i.e.*, "he gives to the dairy," though, as a matter of fact, the calf passes from the men of one *kudr* to the men of the other *kudr* as in other clans.

The *madnol* of Pan are said to be Sunday and Wednesday, and the funerals of men take place on Sunday or Tuesday, and those of women on Thursday or Saturday. It is probable that Tuesday is the proper day for the funerals of men, but that they are now sometimes held on Sunday.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Panol :—

Pan (Onnamand) is commonly known to Europeans as
234 "One mand." It is a large village in the south-west corner of the Kundahs, with two houses of the long variety, with a door at each end and a partition in the middle. There is a *wursuli* called *Keinulv*, and a *kudrpali* called *Nersolv*, and outside the pen there is a stone called *mutchudkars*.

Kuirsi (Kolimand). This village is near Pan. It has a

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wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh. 621 234

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place. 621 764

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members. 618 621 234

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amnòdr) near Perithi. 775

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618 234 The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

The following are the chief villages:—

621 234 764 *Taradr* (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most characteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *püdrshtikars* after the name of the buffaloes (*püdrshtipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalikartmokh* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

621 *Kudrmas* (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Pushtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tesherst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed. 621

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members. 618 621

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pòlm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood. [211]

KANÒDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of [177] 618 234

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618 the hills. The clan is distinguished by its possession of the
234 conical *poh* at Kanòdrs, and by the fact that many of the adventures of Kwoto or Meilitars took place in the region it inhabits. Although Kwoto was a Melgars man, he is regarded as having a close connexion with the Kanòdrs people, and various features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs *poh* are said to be derived from him.

618 The clan is at present a small one, with a distinct majority of females. In fact, it seems so usual for members of this
842 clan to have no children or only female children that there is some likelihood that the Kanòdrsol may become extinct. The present numbers are about thirteen males and twenty-three females.

618 There was some doubt as to the number of *kudr*. I was told that there are three, headed by Arsolv (27), Kineri (29), and Pòlkab (30) respectively, but at an *irnörtiti* ceremony both Arsolv and Kineri would give to Pòlkab, while the latter would give to both, so that it seems probable that there are properly only two *kudr*, as in other clans. One of these has only one *pòlm*, that of Pòlkab. The other has three *pòlm*, headed by Arsolv, Neratkutan (28), and Kineri.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Kanòdrsol:—

Kanòdrs (Devarmand). This village now consists of the *poh* only. There are still two *mani* at this village, one of which is called *Pünkòghlag*, a name closely resembling the name of the churning-stick at the *ti*. There are at present no dwelling-huts at the place, nor any remains of such huts, though it would appear from the legend of Kwoten that the village was inhabited at one time.

Pishkwosht (Biklapatimand). This is a large village where most of the Kanòdrsol now live. The only dairy is in ruins. Close to the village there are a number of flat stones almost level with the ground (Fig. 71) which are called *Teudr*, "the god way," and are said to mark the spot where the gods (*teu*) used to meet. Just above these is a large buffalo pen, which is reputed not to have been made by man. Whenever the gods went this way they used to deposit pieces of dried buffalo-dung on this spot and these became the stones of the *tu*.

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Near the village is a forest hut, and opposite this are two stones called *pedrkars*. The Todas once had a large gathering here, and a man jumped a long distance which was recorded by means of these stones. 621

The other villages of the Kanòdrsol, *Taknin*, *Kuzhu* or

FIG. 71.—THE STONES AT PISHKWOSHT CALLED 'TEUAR.'

Kushu, &c., are in the same neighbourhood, but I was unable to visit them, and do not know whether they have any objects of interest.

KWÒDRDONI

This is the most outlying of Toda clans, but numerous tea estates have been established in its neighbourhood, and the people appear to have been a good deal influenced by the altered conditions. I was unable to visit any of the villages, and I know less about this clan than any other. 177 618 621

All the villages of the clan are situated in the district of the hills called by the Todas Purgòdr, and the people of the clan are, therefore, often called the Purgòdrol.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen
621 females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Punmud*.

PÄM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234 The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Päm* was then
621 adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Päm was called *Palikûdrbedz* and the buffalo-pen, *Tûgûdron*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmokh*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kwatkash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

618 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of
159 this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

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man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English soldiers came to Päm and insulted the women and how Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at Wellington. 618 159

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Päm for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 177 618 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo. 234 618

There are two *mani*, called *Eshkiakudr* and *Eikudr*, each with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pineipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvali*. [178]

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of these seems to be of any importance. 621

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

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621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the 778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion 609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsikòdri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of 618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a 234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the 554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

an account has been already given. They are still capable of holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which are wholly unshared by other clans. 184 618 234 554

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi.* "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad oiiti.* "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti.* "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug putz nitz ithtothi.* "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ithtothi.* "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part. He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning 554 796

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554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduthti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The Me'gars people themselves believed that their exceptional
618 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan.
773 They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so
234

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that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the *tarvali* of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other than that of Melgars.

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some special relation between the people of Melgars and those of Kwodrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòdrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

618 The one *kudr* has four *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kiunievan (44), Artholvan (45), Nòtirzi (46) and Ilgeivan (48).
621 Tergudrvan (47) belonged to the same *pòlm* as Artholvan. The families included in Table 49 are all extinct in the male line, and, with the exception of Tikon, I am doubtful to which *kudr* or *pòlm* they belonged.

Melgars, the chief village, is situated behind the gardens of Government House at Ootacamund. It has few features of interest, and there is little to be seen at the other villages of the clan. *Nüln* (Narigulimand) is situated in the Kundahs.

Two Toda villages, Ki Perththo and Padegar, are said to be the general property of the Tartharol, but at the time of my visit both were inhabited by the Melgarsol.

The village of *Katol*, which is now ruined, is mentioned by Harkness as one of the villages near Ootacamund.

The chief funeral place is *Ushadr*, mentioned in the story of Kwoto. There is another funeral place called *Mirzoti* common to Melgars and Kidmad.

KIDMAD AND KARSH

618 These are two sub-divisions of the Melgarsol which separated
621 from the main body, probably about seven or eight genera-
554 tions ago. At first I heard only of Kidmad, and it was
578 only when working over the Nidrsiol that I found there were people living with this clan who did not belong to it, but were an offshoot of the Melgars people and were called Karshol.

According to one account, both Kidmadol and Karshol separated from the main body at the same time, but, according to another, the people who first separated belonged to Karsh and then split some generations later into the two groups.

The separation was due to a quarrel between father and son. The Melgars people were holding a council and one of the chief men of the clan was late in coming. When he appeared in the distance, he was recognised by nobody but his own son, who, when asked who was coming, said "*pazuli padmokh pöti âtham nôtthred? Kûtm it vòrs!*—*i.e.*,

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"A wanderer and bastard comes, why do you look at him? Let the council go forward!" (*Pazuli* is a name applied to a man who belongs to no clan, and *padmokh* is the name of the child of a woman with whom no man has performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony.)

The *manmokh* (sister's son) of the father was present at the council, and when his uncle arrived, the *manmokh* told him what had been said by his son in the council, and the father said, "I am no *pazuli*, it is you who are the *pazuli*: henceforward you must not live at Melgars; you will have nothing from me except what I give you to-day." The father gave the son a one-horned buffalo (*kwadrkutir*) and a portion of the Mirzoti funeral place.

Since that day descendants of the son have been separate from Melgarsol and they have held their funerals at Mirzoti, but not on the same spot as the Melgars people.

The Kidmadol and Karshol have lost certain privileges possessed by other Todas. The loss of these privileges is expressed by the Todas as follows:—

(i.) *Meitün kitht ògadi.* "He may not sit on the *meitün*." When a man of Kidmad or Karsh goes to any Tarthar dairy he is not allowed to sit on the raised bed on the right hand side of the door.

(ii.) *Nirsi nest ògadi.* "He may not rub the fire-sticks." If fire has to be made at a male funeral, or on any other occasion, it must be done by a man of another clan.

(iii.) *Ertatpun pitth ògadi.* "He may not touch the *ertatpun*," a dairy vessel which may be touched by any other Toda man. The result of this restriction is that a man of these clans can never hold a dairy office.

Marriages are not allowed between Melgars people and those of either Kidmad or Karsh.

The village of Karsh no longer exists; it was near Akirzikòdri, but in the time of Kilpan (51) the people were so poor that they went to live with the Nidrsiol and have remained with them since. Though living at Nidrsi, they are still regarded as a separate people, and marriages may take place between the two clans. They have only three or four ordinary buffaloes. If a male dies they have to kill

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621

a *persasir*, which they obtain from Melgars. The only males living are one man and his son, the father having also two sisters.

The Kidmadol are more prosperous, and the men of the clan appear to be fairly prominent people among the Todas, in spite of their disadvantages. Kijievan (5) has the reputation of being one of the ablest people of the whole community. The clan numbers five males and three females.

THE TEIVALI CLANS

KUUDR

This is the most important of the Teivali clans, at any rate from the social point of view. It has supplied the *monegar* since the institution of this office, and it is the only Teivali clan represented on the Toda *naim* or council. From the religious point of view the Kuudrol are less important and have no exclusive rights to any sacred office,[1] though they are exceptional in being greeted by the *palol* with the *kwarzam* of their clan, *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu*, followed by *idith* as in the prayers. The origin of this custom is said to be that long ago strangers came to the hills and massacred all the people of the clan except one boy, who hid himself in the buffalo pen. The present people of Kuudr are descended from the boy and his escape is commemorated in the greeting of the *palol*. The Kuudrol also possess the very sacred dairy of Kiudr.

The Kuudr clan is the largest of the Teivali clans and stands second in point of numbers among all the Toda clans. It has at least sixty-three male and thirty-five female representatives. I omitted to obtain the children of two families, and these would raise the numbers slightly.

I had much difficulty in obtaining a correct account of the organisation of the Kuudrol, the difficulty proving to be due to certain anomalies in this clan. It has three chief divisions, headed by Kuriolv (52), Ishkievan (60) and Tövoniners (61),

[1] For the story how the Kuudr people came to lose the right of providing the *palol* for the Nödrs *ti*, see p. 114.

618 621 and each of these divisions is sometimes called a *kudr*. From the point of view, however, of the *irnörtiti* ceremony it is clear that the division of Tövoniners is not a definite *kudr*, for the men of this division do not receive buffaloes from any other division, although they may themselves perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, in which case the buffalo goes to the men of the other two divisions. The family of Tövoniners differs also from other families of the clan in having no place at the village of Kuudr. This anomalous position of the family is due to the part played by the men of the family in the quarrel which led to the separation of the Pedrkars people from Kuudr (see p. 675). The family of Tövoniners is probably not a *kudr* in the strict sense of the term, and if so, the Kuudr clan falls into line with other clans in being divided into two *kudr* only.

There was also some confusion about the *pòlm* of the Kuudr clan, one source of confusion being due to the trouble connected with the parentage of Teitchi (52), which has been already considered (see p. 564).

It was quite clear that the *kudr* of Ishkievan has two *pòlm* only, headed by Ishkievan and Tadrners (60).

Kuriolv's division was said to have eight *pòlm*, the head men being Kuriolv (52), Targners (53), Pöteners (54), Keitas (55), Tüliners and Tikievan (56), Mudriners (57), and Madsu (58). The men of the first four *pòlm* are known to be closely connected with one another, and, as may be seen in the genealogies, the first three claim common descent from Tudrvan. Similarly the *pòlm* of Tüliners, Tikievan and Madsu are known to be closely connected. About the position of the *pòlm* of Mudriners, as we have already seen, there is much doubt, the state of affairs being that it is really most closely connected with the *pòlm* of Tüliners and Tikievan, but that Kuriolv claims it as closely allied to his own through the relation of Teitchi to Kòrs. Formerly the family of Arsners (59) formed a separate *pòlm*, but owing to the fact that it now has only two young members, and is very poor, it has been joined to the *pòlm* of Madsu (58).

Including the families of Tövoniners and Arsners, there

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *tsikhwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Ödr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its
621 clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
778 sacred than Kuudr.

It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in
[342] which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

621 to a son and the seclusion-hut was at Molkush, and both before and after the birth the woman and those connected with her were living at this village. It seemed as if the restrictions connected with life at Kiudr are avoided by building at a little distance what is technically another village, at which the people live whenever for any reason they are not allowed to live at Kiudr. Its existence seemed to me to be one of the many devices by means of which the Todas keep the letter of the law with the minimum of inconvenience.

Miuni (Marlimand). This is a village of the Kuudrol which is reverenced by all Todas on account of the belief that it was formerly the meeting-place of the gods. It is a very picturesque village, situated near the Marlimand reservoir and has two dairies.

Kwirg is chiefly important as the place at which new *pep* is made for the Kuudr clan. Its prayer is given on p. 222.

Ars is an uninteresting village near Kuudr.

Peivòrs. This is a village near Paikara. It contains a double house, shown in Fig. 8, and has two dairies, one of which is now used as a calf-house. The second dairy was built when two families were living at the village, and the one dairy was not large enough for both.

Pirsush. This is a *kalolmad*.

Karia, a village near the Paikara road, from which a modern long house in the Tamil style is to be seen. Behind this are the old dwelling-hut and the dairy. At the time of my visit the new house was unoccupied and the people were living in the old hut.

PIEDR

618 The people of Piedr derive their special importance from
621 the fact that they provide the *palol* for the sacred *ti* of Nòdrs. According to tradition, they had this privilege exclusively at one time; later, they shared it with the Kuudrol, and now they share with the people of Kusharf. They form a fairly large clan, having about twenty-eight male and fourteen female members.

As in the case of the Kuudrol, there was some doubt about

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the divisions of the clan. There are said to be three *kudr*, of which the chief men are Teikudr (63), Eisòdr (64), and Nongarsivan (62). If a man of Teikudr's division has to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo goes to Eisòdr's division, and *vice versa*. If a man of Nongarsivan's division performs the ceremony, the buffalo would go to both the other divisions. Thus Nongarsivan's *kudr* seems to form an extra division, like that of Tövoniners among the Kuudrol. I did not obtain any explanation of this, but it is probably due to the fact that the people of Nongarsivan's division live at Kavidi in the Wainad, and are, in consequence, regarded as being outside the regular affairs of the clan. I failed to obtain an account of the *pölm*.

The chief village of the clan is now rarely visited. It is in the northern parts of the hills near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I had hoped to have visited it and the neighbouring village of Kusharf, but had not time. Some members of the clan visit the village of Piedr once a year, but I did not learn what was done on the occasion.

Kuudi. This is now one of the chief villages of the clan. It has a modern house, the largest and most highly ornamented Toda dwelling which I saw on the hills.

Tavatkudr is a village of one hut and a dairy. It was this dairy which was burnt during my visit as a consequence of the revelation of *ti* secrets to me by Kaners, who lived at this village.

Eparskòdr is an ancient village at which the first Toda died (see p. 400). At present the village consists of a dairy only.

Kavidi is situated in the Wainad, not far from Gudalur. I did not visit it, but, so far as I could gather, it contained no object of interest and there was no evidence that it was an ancient settlement.

The clan has several funeral places, partly owing to the fact that the Kavidi people are at too great a distance from the top of the hills to hold the *etvainolkedr* in the ordinary funeral place. The Kavidi people, therefore, have two special funeral places, called *Sudvaili* for males and *Mòmanothi* for females. The second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, was, however, held at the regular places of *Meroln* and *Pamarkol*.

618 621 A disused village in the Wainad is called *Potvaili*. The termination *vaili* of this village and of the male funeral place only occurs here, and is probably borrowed from some other language, possibly from the Kurumbas.

One abandoned village of this clan, *Nongarsi*, seems to have been situated near Ootacamund. Its Badaga name is Kettarimand, and it is possibly one of the villages mentioned by Harkness.

KUSHARF

The people of this clan are called indifferently Kusharfol or Umgasol. There seemed to be no doubt that Kusharf is the chief village, but, like Piedr, it is little used, and Umgas is coming to be regarded as the *etudmad*.

The Kusharfol seem to be in some way related to the Piedrol. They share with the latter the privilege of providing the *palol* for the Nòdrs *ti*, and the two clans are not allowed to intermarry. They have the same *nòdrodchi*, Teipakh, and it seems possible that they were originally two sub-divisions of one clan.

At present the Kusharfol are not numerous, having only about thirteen male and thirteen female representatives. They have two *kudr*, headed by Nòdrners and Ongudr, each of which has two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ongudr (65) and Pangudr (66); of the other, Nòdrners and Erkhud (67).

The chief village of Kusharf is near Hullatti, and, like the neighbouring Piedr, is rarely visited.

Umgas. This is at present the most important village of the clan; it is shown in Fig. 72. There are two large dwelling-huts shown on the right-hand side of the figure. The building to the left of them is the chief dairy, which is called *Kwotòdrvok*. It is a *pok* and not a *pali*, though of the ordinary form, and is exceptional in being situated so near the dwelling-huts. The *pali* is situated still more to the left, hidden by trees.

The two tall stones in the foreground are called *nadrkkars*. They serve as *irnòrthars* and also mark out the path by which women must go on their way to the huts, the women

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618 621 having to keep on the right-hand side of these stones. By the wall of the huts and close to the *poh* there are two stones, the *majvatitthkars*, at which women stand when they receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairy. About fifteen yards in front of the other dairy (*pali*) there is a stone called *imudrikars*. On one side of this there is a narrow well-worn track along which women must go on their way to the dairy,

FIG. 72.—THE VILLAGE OF UMGAS, SHOWING THE 'MAIDRKKARS' IN THE CENTRE. BEHIND THE STONES IS THE 'POH' OF THIS VILLAGE, AND ON ITS RIGHT ARE THE DWELLING-HUTS.

and nearer the *pali* there are two *majvatitthkars*, where they stand when receiving buttermilk.

Between the *poh* and the *pali* there is the *tu* and at the far end of this is a large stone, the *mujitthkars*, marking the spot where the *mu* is buried.

Teidr is not far from Nòdrs. It has two huts and a dairy. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs takes its name from this village, the *wurzol* who gave the name to the stone being a Teidr man.

Teidr is one of the villages which is said to have been

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618 621 formerly a *ti mad*, and in support of the statement I was taken to see two stones called *neurzülnkars* at some little distance from the village.

Pòln is close to the tree known in Ootacamund as "the umbrella tree." There are two huts and a dairy, which was in ruins at the time of my visit. Under the "umbrella tree" there are two stones. One of these has been overgrown by the tree so that it is now firmly imbedded. It is called *Koratew* and is said to have been thrown by Korateu from his hill. The other stone is deeply imbedded and only shows three small projections above the ground. This is the *Nòtirzikars* and was thrown to this spot by the goddess Nòtirzi from her hill.

In a wood near at hand overgrown by trees, there is another stone called *Känkars*, marking the spot where the *pasthir* were killed at the funeral place which formerly existed here.

KEADR

This clan had at one time the privilege of supplying the *palol* to the Pan *ti*, but its numbers are now small, and the *palol* of this *ti* at present belongs to the Piedrol. There are now only eleven males and ten females belonging to the clan.

Till recently there was a branch of the clan called Kwaradrol, taking their name from the village of Kwaradr. According to some, the Kwaradrol were a separate clan, but there seemed to be little doubt that they were part of the Keadrol and formed one *kudr* of the clan. The division only became extinct in the male line a few years ago, and the genealogical record of the family is given in Table 70.

The head man of the other *kudr* is Perner (68), and this division has three *pòlm*, two of which are headed by Perner and Pichievan (69), while the third has only three young boys, Karem (69) and his brothers, as members. Since the Kwaradrol died out, the clan has only had one *kudr*, but during my visit it was decided that a new *kudr* should be

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formed, and the *pòlm* of Karem was made the new division, so that in future the Keadrol will have one *kudr* consisting of one *pòlm*, and another of two *pòlm*. It was said that the original partition of the clan into Keadrol and Kwaradrol was due to Kwoten, who established the two divisions in order that there should be someone to take the place of a *palol* who left on account of a funeral in his clan. 618 621

Keadr. This, the chief village of the clan, is situated near Keradr. I was unable to visit it, and have no record of any features of interest it may possess.

Kwaradr, the village from which one division took its name, is near Avalanche, and is now falling into ruins owing to the dying out of the family which occupied it.

Pekhòdr is called by the Badagas Osamand, or "new village," and has only been in existence about ten years.

Kapthòri is now in ruins, but is mentioned in the story of Kwoten.

PEDRKARS

This clan is an offshoot of the Kuudrol, from which it has now for a long time been separated. The division arose out of a quarrel at a council which was once being held at Kuudr.[1] There were three parties in the *naim*, each wishing that a different ceremony should be performed. One party wished to give salt to the buffaloes, a second wanted to sacrifice a calf (*erkumptkpimi*), and a third were in favour of moving to another village (*irskidthtothi*). The three parties could not agree, and it was finally decided that those who wished to do *irskidthtothi* should separate from the rest. They did so and went to live near Kwòdrdoni, and have since been a separate clan, now known as the Pedrkarsol. The people who wished to do *erkumptkpimi* were the ancestors of Tövoniners, and it is in consequence of this quarrel that this family occupies its anomalous position and has no place at Kuudr. 578 618 621

At the same time the people of Pedrkars lost the privilege of being *palol* or *wursol*, but they may become eligible by performing the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr.

[1] This was evidently a council consisting of the members of the clan only.

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578 For some time after the separation intermarriage was not
618 allowed between Kuudr and Pedrkars, but recently such
marriages have taken place, and several are recorded in the
621 genealogies.

There are very few members of the clan, only seven males and five females. At present there is only one *kudr* and this has only one *pòlm*. Formerly there were two *kudr*, but one became extinct some time ago.

About three generations ago there was a quarrel between the people of Pedrkars and those of Piedr. A man of Pedrkars named Kavanadi had married a woman of Piedr and one day quarrelled with his wife's father. At Piedr there were at the entrance of the buffalo-pen two large wooden posts (*tüli*). After the quarrel Kavanadi went to Piedr and carried off both the posts with the wooden bars (*tasth*) by which the opening of the pen is closed. When Kavanadi had carried the posts and bars as far as a place called Kalin, near the Kota village of Tizgudr, a stone on the top of one of the *tüli* fell down. It may still be seen and is known as *Kalinkars*. Kavanadi went on, but he soon began to spit blood, and when he had gone some way further, he was obliged to drop the *tüli* at a place which is now called *Tülipudinpem*. He managed to reach his home at Pedrkars and then died. A council was held and it was decided that marriage should not be allowed in future between the Piedrol and Pedrkarsol, and no such marriages are recorded in the genealogies.

The stone called Kalinkars which fell by the way is now said to be able to move about and may be seen one day at one spot and on another day at another. The Kotas of Tizgudr have several times taken the stone to their village, but it has always gone back again. In spite of his unfortunate end, Kavanadi is regarded, more or less, as a hero by the Todas and is mentioned in the funeral eulogy of Pidrvan (p. 387).

621 All the villages of the Pedrkarsol are in the part of the
hills near Kwòdrdoni. Pedrkars itself is said to have been at
773 one time a *ti mad*. Some Tamil people once came to the
619 hills and found some of the buffaloes of the *ti* standing by a

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was
773 killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars ama, kwòdr nòdr ama*," "may the Tamil stone become; may
618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name from this village.

KULHEM

184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior
554 position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to
618 sit on the *meitün* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are
773 not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr* bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*, *kaltmokh*, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnörtitı* to Kuudr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulthlem*, is near Kanòdrs.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 The only other village of importance is *Konikwòr*, near Paikara. At the time of my visit several of the clan were living at a place called *Kultu*. This is not properly a Toda village, the people living in a hut of the Badaga form near a tea plantation in order to sell the buffalo dung to the planters.

618 This clan now numbers only six males and three females, all belonging to one family (72). They have neither *kudr* nor *pòlm*.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ÊTUD MAND.

Customs of the Village Dairy or Pâlthchi—Duties of the Pâlkarpâl—Important difference in the duties of the Pâlâl and Pâlkarpâl—The Tarvâl—The inside of a Dairy—The Dairy of an Êtud Mand is a Shrine—The Badagas term it Mui Mand: why?—Toda form of oath.

CHAP. XVII.

THE customs and ceremonies of the tirièri or Toda cathedral—seat of a divine milkman, established as the medium of conveying the Gods' gift to man—are repeated, though in less awfully sacred form, in every Mand of the tribe; in the village dairy or pâlthchi. 234 463 793

The configuration of the dairy has already been described in Chapter VI.

Similarly as one or more nearly-naked recluses belonging to the Peiki clan, are established as pâlâls for the care of the tirièri, assisted by their kâvilâls; so a lesser luminary, generally from the same clan, is the unclothed, ascetic, but more mildly sacred pâlkarpâl,[1] who, also living *en garçon*, but without any pretensions to God-head, presides over the dairy of each village, helped under certain circumstances by a somewhat similar character in the vorshâl.[2] Both of these men also, have been purified in that wonderful juice which qualifies to the holy offices of milking buffalos and the charge of relics.

I state that the pâlkarpâl is generally, though not always, of the Peiki clan; for as I observe, the Peikis permit the 234 793 618

[1] Pâlkarpâl. See note 4 of Chapter VI.
[2] See note 4 of Chapter VIII.

CHAP. XVII.

234 793 618 unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 621 It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are [862] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 793 788 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up.* [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately
621 related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without
423 the consent of the occupants ;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are
234 the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption ;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of
851 both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in
595 common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the
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Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

114 121 IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

616 618 A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toɪrðas and töüviɭj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tiɪmod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoɪɭ, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toɪrðas are reckoned to have ten mod, the töüviɭj 618 five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined 842 by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called puɪsuṭṭ, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

582 601 618 Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are poɭjoɪɭ. Membership in a group of people known as poɭjoɪɭ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the poɭjoɪɭ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

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[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319-23.

582 601 618 daughters of his maternal grandmother's sisters' daughters, and so on; in the preceding generation his mother, his mother's sisters, his maternal grandmother's mother's daughters' daughters, and so on. To the generation younger than him belong his sisters' daughters, his mother's sisters' daughters' daughters, and so on. A man will also designate as his poɭjoɪɭ his mother's sons, his maternal grandmother's sons, his sisters' sons, and so on for any son of a woman who is related to him as poɭjoɪɭ, but not the descendants of these males. This network of relations in the female line cuts across mod divisions, and divides the toɪrðas at present into five exogamous sets of poɭjoɪɭ, the töüviɭj into six. Rivers[4] has given a concrete example of how mod-relationships are handed down from one generation to the next; the relationships of poɭjoɪɭ are preserved in the same way even when links in the relationship are no longer remembered.

582 835 A man, then, while marrying within his own half of the whole tribe, must marry outside of his own mod and outside of his poɭjoɪɭ. As it is put by the Todas themselves, he must not marry a woman who is üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj, "one who is born to one and the same mod" or poɭjoɪɭ to him. The other peculiarities of Toda marriage and sexual relationships, viz. polyandry, the institution whereby a man may take another's wife upon the payment of compensation, that by which a man may take a concubine from the other half of the tribe, and the general license permitting a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman who takes his fancy without any permanent tie being formed, seem to have blinded observers to these fundamental rules, which govern not only marriages, but also all sexual relationships. No man may marry or have intercourse with any woman who is related to him through a wholly male line or through a wholly female line. This is the system which is generally followed by the castes and communities of Hindu south India (with some exceptions which follow the rules prevalent in north India or some peculiar system of their own). The corollary following from it, that a man may marry his cross-cousin, obtains of course among the Todas as it does among the other south Indian communities following these rules. Among the Todas it is optional, though preferable, and is applied in the symmetrical fashion.[5] It seems to be the rule among many of the south Indian communities that the mother's brother's daughter is preferred, though without excluding the possibility of marriage to the father's sister's daughter; there is no trace of this preference for asymmetry among the Todas.

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[4] Page 490.

[5] Rivers, p. 514, and my informants generally.

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Rivers' account of the general rule[6] is incomplete and in part incorrect. How this came about is of course not certain, but a guess may be hazarded on the cause. There is even now, when information is apparently more easily obtained on most subjects than it was thirty years ago, some reticence and embarrassment about the subject of poɭjoɪɭ. It seems to be connected in part at least with the taboos that surround the relationship, perhaps more with the general air of indecency and ridicule with which the Todas approach the subject. This will be made clear when an account is given of the names of the divisions and the stories behind them. At the moment it is necessary to criticize Rivers' account. He interprets the term poɭjoɪɭ (his püliol) as including both sets of prohibited affinities. This, being quite contrary to Toda usage, explains the impression he records that "it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his püliol included all the people of his own clan" (i.e. mod). It was a new and wholly erroneous idea. The list of püliol which he gives is in part a mixture of two sets of relationships, in part incorrect, and as a whole incomplete. A man may not marry the daughters of his father's brothers (Rivers' heading i) or the sisters of his father (heading iii), since they are üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj. The daughters of his mother's sisters (heading ii) and the daughters of his sisters (heading iii) are forbidden, since they are poɭjoɪɭ. His fourth head, the daughters of the sisters of his father's father, gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriages to such persons found in the genealogies.[7] The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poɭjoɪɭ to him, but üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj; they cannot have married his üɯdmortkvæɪdvoj, and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given[8] that a person must not marry the child of his motʃiṇj (matchuni, i.e. cross-cousin) is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him. If she has married outside his mod, there are no objections. Again, if a man's male motʃiṇj has married a woman who is poɭjoɪɭ to the man's mother, the motʃiṇj's daughter will be forbidden to the man; otherwise, not. The case in the last paragraph on p. 511 of Rivers' work, that of a man marrying a daughter of his sister's daughter, is impossible, since she would be his poɭjoɪɭ. The final case in this paragraph, the marriage of two brothers to the daughter of their sister's son, violated no rule; the disapproval that attended the marriage was undoubtedly due to the disproportion in age, not as such, but as depriving

[6] Rivers, pp. 509–11.
[7] Rivers, p. 511.
[8] Rivers, p. 511 *mod.* and again p. 513.

some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poɭjoɪɭ are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

A note on the semantics of the word poɭjoɪɭ may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the poɭj." The most usual meaning of poɭj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called ɑɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ŭɯd-voɭjoɪɭoɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ŭɯd) poɭj (i.e. poɭjoɪɭ)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poɭjoɪɭ institution. The semantic development of poɭj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poɭjoɪɭ and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poɭjoɪɭ. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate pɑɭɪi, "building, temple."

As was said above, there are at present five sets of poɭjoɪɭ among the toɪrðɑs. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinul of the kerɯroɪɭ (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The kŭɑtæɪnboɭjoɪɭ or oɪrvɯtʂɑɪkvoɭjoɪɭ is said to be descended from kŭɑtæɪn (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poɭjoɪɭ make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (ɑɪs) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɯʈ). A crow (kɑɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moγðɯtkoɪtʃvojvoɭjoɪɭ, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

618 539 order to strengthen a new-born child, they smeared it all over with butter and put it in front of the fire; as a result the child died. Another is called mukoɾðurktoɪɾjvmɨvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of those who carried large baskets to the mukoɾ swamp" or moɪvɣoɪṇoðmöʃɣüɑɾtvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of those who ground pepper without seeing the deer." It is told that seeing carrion-eating birds circling over a swamp they assumed that there was a dead deer there and went off with large baskets to bring back the flesh, telling the women meanwhile to grind a large heap of [831] pepper for the curry. Of the other two, more indelicate stories are told. One is called pikukveṇvotsvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of one who put butter on the navel." A woman covered her navel with butter and made a dog lick it and have intercourse with her. The other is called pɯltʃvoʃjoɪʃ. It is said that formerly a man and woman of this poʃjoɪʃ had sexual intercourse with one another. The women of this line are said to be particularly [192] strong in their sexual passions; the verb with this meaning ɑɾtsti, "she is passionate," and the noun ɑɾikn, "passionate woman" are tabooed under the conditions described below, and it is said that the element pɯltʃ–, not otherwise found, has the meaning of these tabooed words.

Six poʃjoɪʃ of the töüviʃj survive: one other is known to have become extinct some years ago with the death of küɯɪsjɣümɪɾ of the koʃemoɪʃ (Kurikudr in Rivers' Table 72). The others are as follows. The üɑɨvɑɣðɯɾspodjvæɪṭoɪḍjvojvoʃjoɪʃ," people of the house of one who hunted the pig in the üɑɨvɑx swamp" are so named because one of the line hunted a pig which he had seen for a whole day and night and yet let it escape him. Another is called nöɪṇgoɪṭkvɑɾɨɣɑɾtjvojvoʃjoɪʃ,"people of the house of those who sent fuel to nöɪṇgoɪɾ." Men of this line saw a hare, and intending to hunt it for food, set the family to work to collect fuel to roast it for three days. A third is called oɪrvmṭɣeɪɾjvoʃjoɪʃ. The story is the same as for the oɪrvɯṭɣɑɪkvoʃjoɪʃ of the other division, except that the cakes were in a basket mukeɪɾj, to which the element keɪɾj in the name is equivalent. Another, the pevɯɪtɣoʃɪjvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of the stealer of a large piece of meat," are so named because one of the line stole a large piece of meat at the sacrifice of a calf (æɪɾɣɯmtt, "act of killing male buffalo").[9] A fifth is called kɯðɯɾɣoɪlvɑʃjtʃetɑpeʃköθkjvojvoʃjoɪʃ,"people of the house of one who seizing a horse's leg pole-vaulted." It is told that a man, finding a dead horse, cut off the leg and vaulted with it until he reached the door of a house where he was beaten by the occupants. The last is called ömɨöü-körkojvɯṇæɪtpuɪṭvɯɾkɯṭvojvoʃjoɪʃ, "people of the house of one who taking the milking-pot in his left hand at the tɨ; dairy called ömɨöü broke

[9] See Rivers, p. 274.

4 [Sets of poljoɪʃ among the todas — ANALYST]

618 539 wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this poʃjoɪʃ are forbidden to become poʃoɪʃ to this tiɪ. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the moγδɯtkoɪt ʃvojvoʃjoɪʃ of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the kŭɯdzɯl, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the poʃjoɪʃ should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

602 835 A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse between ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poʃjoɪʃ of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's mod), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his poʃjoɪʃ or his ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the noɪjm or council takes cognizance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

602 Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same tuɲ or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

[See pp 106 and 107, cat. 539 -- Analyst]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans TIBET AJ1 TODA AW 60

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is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

To 131 161 114

The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

To [161] 595 618 [121]

Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, *i.e.*, a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars,

TODA AW 60

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and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

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The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

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Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

To 595 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

To 896 784 154 618 123

interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154

I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595

Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 515 wTi 595

As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other things which have now taken their places among the neces-
437 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the
443 larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
196 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
361 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several
621 huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etudmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*kata*). In this
361 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough
417 to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *mavtt* is also occasionally used.

618 Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name
621 from the chief of these villages, the *etudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take
101 their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr,
174 Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad,
616 and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol,
618 Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol,

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

166 The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same
361 part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages
621 far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ing to the need for pasturage, and the villages in the Kundahs and other outlying parts of the hills appear only to be visited during the dry season before the south-west monsoon sets in.

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Each clan is further subdivided, these subdivisions being of two kinds. One, called the *kudr*, is only of ceremonial importance, and we shall meet with it first in the chapter dealing with offerings. The other, called the *pòlm*, is of more practical importance, and is the basis of the machinery for regulating any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole.

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed. 181 234 771 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life. 793

The Dairy Organisation

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. 825 234

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*. 234 621 463 778 192

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *paḷthḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

234 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or
621 young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh*
463 is in far more general use, and is often employed even when
778 the dairyman is an elderly man.

192 At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies; a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursutir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

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the dairyman, or *wursol*, must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpalikartmokh* and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the *wursol* must be taken either from the members of the other chief division of the Todas or from one special clan of the Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between Tartharol and Teivaliol.

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The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali*, meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh*, who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh*.

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs*, which is called a *poh*, and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol*. The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti*.

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali*. The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli*, and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, and *wursuli*. Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli*, others *kudrpali* and *wursuli*. At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages
621 where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess
718 dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of the *ti* or the *tiir*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mad* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who
718 is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmokh* or, more rarely,
463 *kavelol*. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti* should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of
793 buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mad* had two dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmokh* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *poh*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tirieri*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

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vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv. 104 196

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity. 234 234 463 621 778

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pohkartpol*.

[1] This word, in the forms *boa*, *boath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

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CHAPTER IV

THE VILLAGE DAIRY

234 THIS chapter will be devoted to a description of the various kinds of dairy which are found at the Toda villages. An account will be given of the daily course of the dairy operations and of the ritual accompanying it. The description of special ceremonies which occur in connexion with the dairy will be reserved till future chapters, in which ceremonies of the same nature occurring in all grades of dairy can be considered together.

234 343 621 A village dairy is often situated at some little distance from the huts in which the people live, though sometimes it is in their immediate neighbourhood. When of the same form as the hut, it may not at once be distinguished from the latter, but it is usually enclosed by a higher wall which surrounds the building more closely, so that there is very little room between the two. The door seemed to me to be usually smaller than that of most of the huts, and it is always capable of being closed by a shutter on the inner side.

The dairy is usually divided into compartments completely separated from one another by a partition extending to the roof, one room being entered from another by a small door of the same kind as that by which the dairy itself is entered. The majority of dairies have two rooms, an inner room called *ulkkursh* and an outer room called *pòrmunkursh*. Many dairies, especially among the kind called *wursuli*, have only one room. At five Tarthar villages, viz., Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi, Keradr, Akirsikòdri, and Tim, there are dairies which have

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three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tiin*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitiin* (*meiltiin*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitiin*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waskal*. [354]

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out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another. 415

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmokh*, is often a 618 621

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

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called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, *pineipir*; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given being called in general *nòdrodvaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who rule." 173 234 618

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan have passed into the possession of other clans. This has happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds. 425 431

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*. 234 778

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The *nashperthir* of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the *martir*. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be 234 618 621 778

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brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.

At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 421 618 621

In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7)	possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwur	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kuzhu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

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Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62). 234 421 618 621

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called [illegible]*rsgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *piidrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeip*[illegible] at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *kei*[illegible]*ursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi. 173 234 618

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The 234 463 554 618

[1] See Chapter XXIII.

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234 512 788 In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*, touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursuli* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

THE KUGVALI OF TARADR

234 618 621 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village and the institution to be described in the next chapter—the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*pòlm*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmokh*. This dairyman must be a

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234 member of the Taradr clan, but need not necessarily be a
343 member of the family in charge.

618 Each of the chief Taradr villages has a special dairy for
621 the *kugvalir*. It is called the *kugvali* (*kugpali*) or chief dairy (*kug* = *etud* = chief), and it was said to be the chief of all the dairies. All these dairies have one room only, except that at Taradr itself, where there are two rooms. These dairies do not at present differ in form or general appearance from

FIG. 24.—THE 'KUGVALI' OF TARADR. ON ITS LEFT IS THE 'KWOTARS,' AND ON THE EXTREME RIGHT, UNDER THE TREE, IS THE 'KUSH.' THE FLAT STONE TO THE RIGHT OF THE 'KUGVALI' IS THE 'PÜDRSHTIKARS' (see p. 654).

dairies of other kinds. The *kugvali* at Taradr is shown in Fig. 24, and it is the dairy on the right-hand side of Fig. 5.

234 The *kugvalir* have one feature peculiar to themselves. They are never recruited from any other herd. Even the buffaloes of the *ti* often have additions to their number, especially through the ceremony of *irnörtiti* (Chap. XIII), but in no circumstances are any additions from outside made to the *kugvalir*.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

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must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pokkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 654 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudsipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

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621
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palikartmokh, and it does not appear to have any special complexities of ritual except in connexion with certain bells which this dairy contains. There are six of these bells, two kept on the *patatmar*, called *patatmani*, and four kept on the *ertatmar*, called *ertatmani*. During the dairy ceremonial these bells are 'fed' by the *palikartmokh*, the *patatmani* receiving milk and the *ertatmani* buttermilk. I only became aware of the existence of these bells incidentally, and had not the opportunity of ascertaining their history or meaning. It is clear, however, that they differ from the *mani* of the Tartharol and from those of the Piedr clan among the Teivaliol in that they are never used at a funeral (see p. 352).

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234 The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not
412 purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel
415 all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the
outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

778 All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are
783 thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

THE FIVE TI

173 At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to
234 the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The
621 Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the
773 name of one of its places, Tikirs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

[77] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh*
173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.
234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr,
773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given
221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the
234 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil,
621 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tìdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are
773 now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tìdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *unir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tìdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

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are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name. 173 221 234 621 773

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kòzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*. 234 552

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak 234 343 352

One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not
234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

THE KARS TI

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I
621 could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
773 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs. The story runs that Antò created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

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at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit. 173 234 621 773

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarzam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir* and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri. 234 793

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and [552] 234 778

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234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûztheniz ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

The Pan Ti

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

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place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Tarzhvâ. Its special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Nerâdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirsiol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursàs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *haltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursàs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *haltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

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THE NIDRSI TI

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This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi*. When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti*. The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti*. There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

234K Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
778 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
783 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
796 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a
month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there
621 is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]
234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
221 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I
796 cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

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man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the day following the migration. 234x 221 796

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*.

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season, returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*. 234x 221 233 621 796

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *mani* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neurzülnkars*. I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*. [778]

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234x 373 771 782 788 both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

234x 782 788 The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195] In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x 184 788 782 621 Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

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refused to discuss it. One point seemed quite clear, at any rate among the Teivaliol, viz., that the different villages of a clan had different prayers, though often with many clauses in common. 234* 184 621

In general, the prayer of the *ti* is longer and more elaborate than that of the village dairy. Different prayers are used at different dairies of the same *ti*, though here again they may have many clauses in common. 782 788

In all cases the prayer consists of two distinct parts: a preliminary portion consisting chiefly of names known as *kwarzam*, followed by a portion which may be regarded as the prayer proper.

The prayer proper should be the same in every dairy, but it seemed to me that there was a good deal of laxity as regards this portion, and there is no doubt that it is often slurred over hastily and is less strictly regulated than the preliminary portion of the prayer.

The following is the most generally accepted form: 788

Tâncumâ; may it be well or may be blessed;	*târmâmâ;* may it be well or may be merciful;	*i- kark tânenmâ;* with the buffaloes and calves may it be well;
nûv ârk mâ; may there be no disease;	*kazun ârk mâ;* may there be no destroyer;	*nudri ârk mâ;* may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects);
kâvel ârk mâ; may there be no wild beasts (tigers, &c.);	*per kârt pâ mâ:* may be kept from (falling down) steep hills;	*pusthi kârt pâ mâ;* may be kept from floods;
tût ârk mâ; may there be no fire;	*mâ un mâ;* may rain fall;	*maj eu mâ;* may clouds rise;
ufr âr mâ. may water spring.		*pul pûv mâ;* may grass flourish;

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence, followed by the words:

âtham them	*idith* for the sake of	*emk* for (or to) us	*tânenmâ.* may it be well.

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of the 782 788

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 given above were omitted, while others were added, especially
788 requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *pîrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

234 x It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

192 "May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer
782 from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals
788 and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

234 x The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several
184 groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes,
782 of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels
788 and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence
621 given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place
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[1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

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consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate. 234x 184

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated. 782 788 621 192

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer. 234x 192 788

Prayer of Kuudr

Atthkàr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
àners	Kuudr village.
palithdrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*thdrpali*).
palikidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*kidpali*).
thdrpalshpelk	lamp (*pelk*) of large dairy.
kidpalshpep	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumptthpimi* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etudmad*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at
796 the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary
[793] village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

313 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over
372 small firewood the people place several logs about three feet
782 in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pohvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf-- the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony--Analyst]

773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
796 know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI PRAYER OF KUUDR

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned:
788 *Atthkâr* and *Ôners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
621 *Moskar* and *Manêthi* (Ôdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsûlh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Tîndeuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsêram parsêram*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Ôdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kiugners* (Keshker), *Külnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Edstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòdshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tüli*, *Sing*, *Keitas*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ektrzam meidjam*, *Nòtrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ektrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrokhi*, Kulinkars. 192 782 788

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars. 234

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make 782 789 796

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
consequences and it is made in order to remove these
673 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence com-
796 mitted. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
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ceremony is to take place, and all the men of the same *kudr* as the man who is giving the buffalo must also leave the village if they should be living there. Their place is taken by men of the *kudr* which is to receive the buffalo. If men of both *kudr* are living at the village, those of the giving *kudr* go and those of the receiving *kudr* remain; thus, when Kòdrner, who lives at Kars, made his offering, he and his brother left and went to live at another village of the clan, while Parkurs and his brothers, who belong to the other *kudr*, remained behind. If there is a *wursuli* at the village, the *wursol* remains at his post. If the *palikartmokh* is of the same *kudr* as the offender, he leaves and a new dairyman from the other *kudr* is appointed. All the men who remain at the village sleep in the outer room of the dairy—at Kars, in the outer room of the *kudrpali*. The *palikartmokh* does his dairy work in the inner room as usual and sleeps in the outer room with the rest.

The people live thus at the village for a month, no women, no men of the offending *kudr* and no people of other clans being allowed to visit them.

The actual ceremony takes place at the end of this month, on the Sunday following the new moon. On the Saturday the man, called the *irnörtpol*, who is to make the offering brings a female calf between one and two years of age to a wood near the village and makes a rough temporary calf enclosure (*kadr*), tying the calf to a tree. If the calf is troublesome, the man and his companions may sleep in the wood by the side of the calf, but generally they leave it in the wood and go to sleep in the village where they have been living. The calf must have no blemish, its eyes must be clear, and no part of its ears or tail may be cut.[1]

On the following morning a boy between ten and fifteen years of age is chosen, who is called *ponkartvaimokh*, the boy who observes the festival. It is his duty to drive the calf.

All those who are to be present take in their hands green sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs*. All have their right

[1] The special mention of uncut ears and tail in this and the *erkumpthpimi* ceremony suggests that the widely spread practice of cutting the ears of animals may occur among the Todas, but I have no other notes on the subject.

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arms outside their cloaks (*kevenarut*), and must have bathed in the morning and abstained from food.

When the time for the ceremony comes, the *ponkartvaimokh*, who is followed by the *irnörtpol* and other men of his division, drives the calf towards the village. The people in the village then call out "*Irnört! it vos!*"—"Give the buffalo! Come here!" and they go to the appointed place and stand on the dairy side of the *irnörtkars*, or other spot appointed for the ceremony, while the calf is driven up towards the stones or other mark from the side away from the dairy. The *palikartmokh*, naked except for the *kuvn*, and the *wursol*, with the *tuni* round his loins, stand with the people of the receiving *kudr*. When the *ponkartvaimokh* has driven the calf up to the place, he asks three times, "*Irnörtkina?*"—"Shall I give the buffalo?"—and the *palikartmokh* replies each time, "*Irnört!*" The boy then drives the calf across the stones or other mark to the place where the buffaloes of the receiving *kudr* are standing. According to one account, the calf is driven direct into the *tu*, but it seems almost certain that this is wrong, though it may be that it is the practice of some clans. The calf then becomes the property of the *kudr* whose representatives have been living at the village. At Nòdrs the calf is driven through the gap in the wall and across the pool of water in the direction of the conical dairy.

All those present, both the man who has given the calf and his companions and those who have received the calf, bow down to the ground, resting their foreheads on the ends of their cloaks (as in Fig. 44), and utter a formula different for each clan. At Kars it runs:—

Swâmi, Teiktrzi, Târziolv, Kârziolv, Kârzû ultâmâ; tr kark ultâmâ; trnörtvuspimi,[1] *ultâmâ.*

Then all present go to the dairy or dairies and bow down at the threshold. At Kars they go to Tarziolv (the *kudrpali*), to Karziolv (the *wursuli*), and to Karzu (the buffalo pen) and

[1] Or *trnörtpuspimi*, "buffalo giving have we come." The whole formula runs, "Swami, Teikirzi, the *kudrpali*, the *wursuli*, the buffalo pen, may it be well; may it be well with the buffaloes and calves; buffalo giving have we come, may it be well."

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618 bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake
796 of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairy-
man, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*,
621 which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the *irnörtpol* must again leave the village, but the only one of

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FIG. 44.—THE 'NERSATITI' SALUTATION.

their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartvaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no

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people other than men of the same *kudr* may visit the village during this time. 619

At the end of the month the people who have been occupying the village rub the dairy or dairies thoroughly with buffalo-dung (*palikdratiti*, dairy he purifies). All the people of the village then return and another feast takes place, in which the food is rice boiled in milk. Then the usual inhabitants of the village return to their houses, and if any men of the receiving *kudr* have come from another village, they return and life resumes its normal course. 796 621

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* may thus involve the removal of the usual inhabitants from a village for about two months, and the giving of two feasts, while the man who has offended also loses a calf. The Todas probably think little of the inconvenience of removal, though probably they are more troubled by it now than in former times, especially when they have to leave a village like Kars, which is, under normal circumstances, always inhabited at the present time. It seems that the inconvenience, together with the expense of the feasts, is sufficient to render the ceremony a very unusual incident in the lives of the Todas.

TUNINÖRTITI

The smaller importance of this ceremony as compared with *irnörtiti* is shown in several ways. The ceremony may be performed at any village at which there is a dairy, and it is not necessary for the people of the receiving *kudr* to stay at the village for a month before the ceremony is performed.

The prescribed day is Sunday, and on the previous day all the people of the same *kudr* as the giver of the *tuni* leave the village, and the men of the other division come and sleep in the dairy as before the *irnörtiti* ceremony. The man who [437] gives the *tuni* is called the *tuninörtpol*, and he procures the garment from a Badaga, paying for it about 1 rupee 4 annas.

On the Sunday morning the *tuninörtpol* comes with some companions, all having abstained from food. The *palikartmokh*, who must be of the same *kudr* as the other men at the village, goes to the front of the dairy and one of the men calls out,

618 "*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
688 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
796 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
618 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
621 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*. If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
618 which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
796 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

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CHAPTER XIV

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CEREMONIES

THE ceremonies connected with childbirth begin before 843
the birth of the child. These ceremonies are only performed 595
for the first child or when the woman obtains a new husband, so that they may, from one point of view, be regarded as marriage ceremonies. Nevertheless, I prefer to consider them here, and to leave the ceremonies more strictly connected with marriage till a later chapter. These latter ceremonies are far less elaborate than those to be described in this chapter, and may be more fitly considered in connexion with the social regulation of marriage.

At or about the fifth month of pregnancy, a ceremony 843
is performed which is called *ôr patitth kaitütitthpimi*, "village 621
left, hand we burnt," or more shortly, *ôrvatpimi*, "village we leave," or *kaitütitthpimi*. The ceremony is named from its two essential features; the woman leaves the village and lives secluded in a hut and her wrists are burnt.

When it is known that the ceremony is to take place, a [343]
special hut, called *pushars* (Fig. 45), is built in a prescribed place at some little distance from the village, or if this building already exists, it is put into good order. The word *pushars* means "mud-house" or "earth-house," which would seem to point to a time when a temporary hut of mud was used, but at the present time it is built of wood, though it is of much simpler and rougher construction than the ordinary house.

The distance of the *pushars* from the huts in which the people live depends on the degree of sacredness of the village. According to Breeks, the distance is greatest in those villages

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843 621 which have a dairy of the conical kind, but it seems that there is no real difference between these villages and any other *etudmad*. In some cases when the dairy has a high degree of sanctity, the *puzhars* may be at an adjacent village; thus, a pregnant woman of Kindr goes into seclusion at Molkush,

FIG. 45.—THE 'PUZHARS' AT MOLKUSH.

about a quarter of a mile away, and at this village the seclusion-hut (Fig. 45) is about a hundred yards from the house in which the people live.

I may mention here that the objection to the presence of a pregnant woman in one of the more sacred villages may extend to a time when she is not in the seclusion-hut. When I

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visited Kiudr for the purpose of testing the people of the village for colour-blindness, Sintagars, who was pregnant and was living at Molkush, was not allowed to come to the hut to be tested like the rest, but sat on the mound shown in the foreground of Fig. 7, about thirty yards away. 843 621

The features of the hand-burning ceremony as performed by the Tartharol differ considerably from those for a Teivali woman, and I will begin with a description of the former. 616 843

On the day of the new moon, the woman goes to the *puzhars*. The husband (or in his absence his brother or other near male relative) cuts six sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs* and sets them up so as to represent a dairy with two rooms, which is called *pülpali*. He then cuts four bamboo-reeds called *wadr*, about eighteen inches long, which represent dairy vessels; two of them are called *patatpun*, and the other two *ertatpun*. He fills these with water taken neither from the *pali nipa* nor from the *ars nipa*, for if he touched the water of either of the streams, they would be defiled and their water could not be used. He therefore fetches the water from a stream at some distance from the village. 843

The husband brings the reeds half filled with water and places those called *patatpun* in the inner room of the *pülpali*. He takes the other two—the *ertatpun*—to a two-year-old female calf (*pòl*), and pours out the water from one reed on the left side of the middle of the back (*ûv*) of the calf, and catches the water in the other. He then gives two leaves (*kakuders*) to the woman, who makes a leaf vessel, into which he pours three times from the *ertatpun* the water which has flowed from the back of the calf. The woman raises the leaf vessel to her forehead and then drinks, and the man puts the two *ertatpun* into the outer room of the *pülpali*.[1] The woman then bows down with her forehead to the threshold of the *pülpali*, and the man takes up the sticks forming the imitation dairy and the four reeds and throws all away.

[1] It will be noticed that the *patatpun* are placed in the inner room and the *ertatpun* in the outer room. In the ordinary dairy both would be placed in the inner room, though in different places. The procedure of this ceremony seems, therefore, to resemble that of the *ti* rather than of the ordinary dairy. It suggests that we have here a relic of a time when every dairy had at least two rooms, one for the things of the *patatmar* and another for the things of the *ertatmar*.

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CHAPTER XVII

SACRED DAYS AND NUMBERS

WE have seen that nearly every Toda ceremony has its appointed day or days, and that the choice of these is often dependent on another Toda institution, the sacred day, either of the village or of the dairy. Every clan has certain days of the week on which people are restricted from following many of their ordinary occupations, although they are not the occasions of any special ceremonies. These sacred days are the *madnol* or village day, and the *palinol* or dairy day. Another occasion to which the same kinds of restriction apply is the *arpatsnol*, the day of the week corresponding to that on which the father of a man has died. 527 796

THE MADNOL AND PALINOL

The *madnol* is literally the village day. Each village has its *madnol*, and in some cases it would seem that different villages of a clan might have different *madnol*, but in general the *madnol* is the same for the whole clan. 527 784 621

Certain things may not be done on the *madnol*:—

(i) *ponkisthògadi*, a feast may not be given (lit. feast may not divide, *i.e.*, food must not be shared out).

(ii) *kkdrvtìgadi*, funeral ceremonies may not be performed.

(iii) *kwadrtògadi*, nothing may be given (from the village). Since buying implies the departure of money from the village, a secondary consequence is that nothing may be bought on the *madnol*, but if anything is given to an inhabitant of the village, he may bring it into the village on this day.

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527 (iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women
784 from other places come to the village.

621 (v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

234 Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of
527 the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day
784 or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *polnol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

527 There are various recognised methods of evading the rules
784 for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

183 Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

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for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was chosen. 527 764 796

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans; thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be performed. 527 796 621 618

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòdrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they
796 might fall.

Several previous writers, when recording the choice of
621 certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the
618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday,
777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi* ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in
777 this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the present time a given act is done or not done on a given day, the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

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but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing that the act shall or shall not be done on that day. 527

There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations connected with certain days of the week which have probably arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days. 777

There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays, on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol* is visited by Todas other than the *mòrol*. Such facts suggest that the three days on which the rivers should not be crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday. The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to the whole community may be connected with the belief in lucky and unlucky days. [784]

Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas evidently regard the first half of the month as most auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for the period of the full moon or for the second half of the moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may take place in the second half of the month, but I have no doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity. 527 796

The definite values assigned to different days of the week is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madnol* we have an institution very closely resembling that of the Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the existence of different *madnol* for different clans of the community would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on the business of life, and such a community would probably agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At present the *madnol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other 527 621

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527 sacred days, and if the latter were then to be neglected, we should have a community in which various activities were pro-
621 hibited on one day of the week, and the institution so arising would differ very little from the Hebrew Sabbath. It is possible that the Todas show in an early stage the institution of a Sabbath in which the whole community has not yet settled on a single and joint holy day.

Sacred Numbers

788 Certain numbers recur with great frequency in the dairy
801 ceremonial, and may be regarded as having a special sanctity on this account. There seems to be a general preference for uneven numbers, and this preference comes out very strongly in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which an uneven number of men must take part on any one occasion. The number of men performing this ceremony together must be three, five, seven, nine, &c.

In the dairy ritual the numbers which occur chiefly are three, seven and nine, but other numbers have also been singled out in other branches of Toda lore. The numbers which occur in ceremonial may now be considered in detail.

Three.—A large proportion of the ritual acts of the dairy are performed three times, usually with the accompaniment of the sacred syllable *Om* uttered thrice, once with each performance of the act. This three-fold performance is especially marked in the ceremony of putting milk or curds on the sacred bells and in the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk. In the ordination ceremonies, the number occurs less frequently. The purificatory drinking is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, but after drinking, the candidate rubs himself three times with the shoots or bark, and, at the ordination of a *palol*, the candidate drinks three times seven on several occasions. Other acts during the ordination of the *palol* are also performed thrice, and the same number occurs in the ordination of the *kaltmokh*.

Acts are performed thrice with special frequency in the ceremonial of the *ti*, and, at the ordinary dairy, this number is especially connected with the 'feeding' of the sacred

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the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the rank of *perkursol*. 778 784

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 788 823 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue to be treated with some degree of reverence. 778 621 788

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

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621 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be.
778 When going from Ootacamund to Paikara by the bridle path
788 the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *naim* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages,"
621 where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually
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villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *iskhnidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them. 562 621 778 784 788

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kalolmad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die. 621 627 761 778

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 627 778 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 621 778 788 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.
[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

582 618 On studying the marriages in detail it is found that the Kuudrol have married members of the Piedr clan most frequently, but this is chiefly because the Piedrol stand second to the Kuudrol in point of numbers, although it is also furthered by the restriction in marriage between Piedr and Kusharf. The marriages of the Kuudrol with other clans seem to be determined more by the numbers available than by any predilection for special clans.

Both Pedrkars and Kulhem are said to be offshoots of the Kuudrol, but apparently the separation is so remote that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. It is possible that the necessity of providing spouses for the Kuudrol has tended to break down a restriction which probably once existed.

582 621 The Todas have never married people outside their own community, and a strong prejudice against such marriages still exists. This may be illustrated by two recent cases.

A woman, married in the usual way, was divorced by her husband because she became ill. She returned to her own home, where she was visited by a Tamil blacksmith. The latter was very anxious to marry the woman and on one occasion took her away to the plains, but she was followed by her relatives and brought back to her home. Later she married two Toda brothers and was taken by them to their village, but she was followed by the blacksmith, who brought her back to the village of her parents. The Todas seem to have no strong objection to her relations with the stranger so long as she remains among themselves.

In the other case a woman about twelve years ago was visited by a rich Mohammedan who gave money to her husbands, and it was said also that he bribed the chief Toda people, *i.e.*, the members of the council. The Mohammedan wished very much to marry the woman and for a sum of money the Todas consented. After the woman had lived for a few days in the bazaar with her new husband, her relatives came and took her away, and I was told that the Mohammedan took the loss so much to heart that he died of grief, but my informants were doubtful whether his grief was due to the loss of his wife or whether it was because

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had given. Here again the people appear to have had no objection to the relations of the woman with the Mohammedan so long as she remained in the community. 582 621

Kinship and Marriage

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general term, *pūliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *pūliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *pūliol* of a man:— 582 601 618

(i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.

(ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.

(iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, *i.e.*, his *mumi* and his *mankugh*.

(iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, *i.e.*, of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *pūliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *pūliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *pūliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *pūliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

618 IN this chapter I propose to bring together a number of matters connected with the social organisation; to consider the various sections into which the clan is divided for social or ceremonial purposes, the method of government, the laws concerning property and inheritance, and the position of women.

We have already seen that the primary fact in the social organisation of the Todas is the existence of two divisions, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol,[1] and the last chapter has shown that these divisions form endogamous groups, each of which is divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans. In some respects the clan is a definite unit in the social organisation with a certain amount of power in regulating its own affairs, owning property and having in many cases social or religious usages peculiar to itself.

THE CLAN

618 The clan system is territorial, and I could discover no trace of its ever having been totemic. The clan owns a number
621 of villages and takes its name from the chief of these, the
361 *etudmad*. The connexion of the clan with the village is so generally recognised that in some cases in which the *etudmad* of the clan has disappeared, or is rarely visited, there is a tendency to name the clan after the chief village

[1] A full account of the two divisions and of their relation to one another will be given in Chapter XXIX.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season. 618 621 361

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position. 618 178

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans. 101 177 618 616

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions. 618

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pòlm* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property. 421 618 621

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy[1] was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual 177 421 423

[1] For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the
621 practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas
seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as
437 having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special
reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *u'kòren*
278 (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
962 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

234 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical
618 dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday,
764 and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Òdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Külthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

● 621 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still
361 inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts, so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum. 621 351 234

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*. 211 621 778

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among 234 621

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234 the villages of the Nòdrsol, and it was a question whether the
621 *wursuli* dairy, though of the ordinary form, had not even a greater sanctity than the *poh* of Nòdrs. More difficulty was made when I wished to go close to it than at any other place during the whole of my visit (except, of course, at the *ti* dairy), but, unfortunately, the affair was complicated by the fact that on this day my usual attendant, Kòdrner, was not with me, and the difficulty may have been partly due to this. When I was allowed to approach the building, only

FIG. 70.—A VIEW OF NÒDRS. THE STONE IN THE FOREGROUND ON THE LEFT IS THE 'NEROVKARS'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'UTEIKS.' IN THE BACKGROUND IN THE CENTRE IS AN OLD 'TU.' THE LOWER PART OF THE CONICAL DAIRY CAN BE SEEN BETWEEN THE BOY AND THE 'UTEIKS.'

one man came with me and he would not go within several yards of the dairy, while allowing me to go on. The special sanctity of this dairy is due to the fact that the two *mani* of the Nòdrsol are kept here. Both this dairy and a smaller *tarvali* are at a much greater distance from the village than usual, but with that exception there is nothing to distinguish them from the dairies of other villages. The *wursuli* is one of those which has two rooms. It is at the village of Òdr that the *palol* passes one night during his

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ordination ceremonies, and I was shown the spot under a tree where he has to sleep, the same spot being also used by the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* when they undergo any part of their ordination ceremonies at Odr. 234 621 773

Another feature of interest is the connexion of this village with Kuudr. An Òdr man must be present at the *irpalvusthi* and salt-giving ceremonies of Kuudr, and a Kuudr man must attend when these ceremonies are performed at Òdr. Further, the *kwarzam* of Òdr are said in the prayer of the *erkumptth-pimi* ceremony at Kuudr and the *Kwarzam* of Kuudr are said at Òdr.

The following legend records the origin of these customs:—

Soon after Teikirzi had given the buffaloes to the different villages, the buffaloes of Kuudr and Òdr were grazing together, and when evening came they could not be separated and both herds went together to the funeral place called Keikars. The *wursol* of Òdr and the *palikartmokh* of Kuudr brought their milking-vessels, each to milk his own buffaloes, and they also brought their churning-vessels (*patat*) and cooking-vessels. After they had milked, the *wursol* of Òdr went to pour his milk into his *patat*, and when doing so some of the milk splashed into the vessel of the *palikartmokh*. They then cooked some food with the milk, and as the food was boiling strongly, some of it went from one cooking-pot to the other. Then the people of the two villages met and decided that, as the two kinds of buffalo had been milked in one place and the two kinds of milk had been mixed with one another, each of the villages should mention the *kwarzam* of the other in its prayer, and people of one village should attend the ceremonies of the other.

Tedshteiri (Talapattaraimand). This is another important Nòdrs village. It was vacant at the time of my visit, but is still often occupied. It had at one time a dairy called *Okurshapali* with seven rooms, which was, like that of Nòdrs, a *kudrpali*. It fell into disuse at the same time as the Nòdrs dairy, and its site is still quite distinct; but though it seemed larger than usual, I could discover no indication of the number of rooms it had had. When I visited the village there were nine ovens standing in a row, which had been used to cook the 234 621

234 food when Teigudr (4) took his wife Uwer from Nertolvan
621 of Pan (16). On this occasion Nertolvan came to Tedshteiri to receive nine buffaloes from Teigudr, and the number of ovens corresponded with the number of the buffaloes.

Kudrnakhum (Kudinagamand). The chief point of interest about this village is that it is the place where the ceremony of *tesherst* often takes place. It is an outlying village to the west which I was unable to visit.

Perththo (Perattitalmand). This is a village which is shared by two clans. The part occupied by the Nòdrsol is called Meil Perththo, or Upper Perththo. The other part of the village was said to be general property, but it is at present occupied by Melgars people.

Kozhtudi or *Kozhteidi*. The special feature of this village is that it has a *wursuli* in which everything has to be carried out *kabkaditi*, *i.e.*, the dairyman is not allowed to turn his back to the contents of the dairy. This certainly points to the village having been at one time of importance.

Kars

618 This is at present the largest of the Tarthar clans, having
621 sixty-seven male and fifty female members. It is represented in the *naim*, and there was some reason to think that it occupies a more important position in this body than the other Tarthar clans. The family of Parkurs (8) is called *tinkanikudupel*, ranking next to a *manikudupel*, and Parkurs was till lately a second or assistant *monegar*.

There seems to be no doubt that the Karsol have always been an important clan, and its members are often mentioned in the stories, though they do not appear to have had any legendary hero such as those of Melgars and Pan. Their *nòdrodchi* (ruler or presiding deity) is Kulinkars, now believed to live on a hill near Makurti Peak. The Kars people possess a *ti* which in importance and wealth is second only to that of Nòdrs.

618 Kars resembles Nòdrs in having two *kudr* differing greatly in size. Kutadri is the head of one, which comprises all the members of the family given in Table 7. It has two *pòlm*, headed by Kutadri and Peithol. The other *kudr* has eight

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

pòlm, of which the chief men are Parkurs (8), Pidrvan (9)[1], Piutolvan (10), Kudrvas (11), Kutthurs (12), Mongudrvan (13), Kiunervan (14), and Keitazvan (15). Till recently there appear to have been only five *pòlm* in the Kars clan, each of which has lately been divided into two. There is a very marked disproportion in the number of members of some of these divisions; thus the *pòlm* of Parkurs has sixteen males in five more or less distinct families, while others have only three or four males. Nevertheless each of the latter would contribute the same amount towards joint expenses of the clan as the sixteen males of the *pòlm* of Parkurs. 618

The chief villages of the Karsol are in or near Ootacamund, and this clan formerly had several other villages on sites now occupied by modern buildings.

The following are the chief places:—

Kars (Kandalmand). This village is one of the best known of Toda villages, being just on the outskirts of Ootacamund. It is a very typical example of a Toda village; there is a small group of houses, with a large dairy, the *kudrpali* (Fig. 21), called *Tarziolv*, close to them; just above the houses on the rising ground is a smaller dairy, the *wursuli* called *Karziolv*, shown in the background of Fig. 42 and partly shown in Figs. 23 and 44. Opposite the *kudrpali* are two raised circular mounds with flat tops called the *imudrikars* (seen in the foreground in Fig. 21), on which the body of a dead man is laid before being taken to the funeral hut at Taradrkirsi. Above the *kudrpali* is the hut for calves. 234 621

In the middle of the enclosure within which the village lies, is a row of stones (shown in Fig. 42) which are the *irnörtkars*, and in the ceremony of *irnörtiti* the calf is driven across these stones.

Behind the houses there is a small circular enclosure which is now used as a *tu* and is called *Althftu*. The entrance to this enclosure is shown in Fig. 29 just in front of the boy carrying the dairy vessels. Formerly there was a dairy of the conical kind within this circle, of which the name was *Ishpoh*. About five generations ago, this dairy still existed

[1] Pidrvan died soon after my visit.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 and was tended by a *wursol*; but several dairymen died
621 in succession, and this so alarmed the Todas that it became impossible to obtain anyone to fill the office, and when the dairy decayed its remains were removed and the circular enclosure within which it stood has since been used as a pen. In size and appearance the enclosure is quite unlike other pens, and resembles much more nearly the circular walls round the conical dairies of Nòdrs and Kanòdrs.

Kuzhu (Kunditolmand). This, the second in importance of the villages of the Karsol, is a very picturesque place south of Ootacamund. There is a *kudrpali* called *Tudrpoh*, in front of which is a stone called *imudrikars*. The gold bracelet mentioned in the story of Kwoto is kept in this dairy. In front of the dwelling-huts is another stone called *menkars* (see p. 342). The *menkars* at Kuzhu and that at Nòdrs are the only stones of this name, but they do not resemble one another, and the Kuzhu stone is not adapted for the *narthpimi* game as is that of Nòdrs.

Keshker (Kakerimand). This is a large village near Ootacamund at which there is a *kudrpali*, but little else of interest. It is probably the Kishkeijar mentioned by Harkness.

Nasmiòdr (Aganadmand). This is a very old village which was probably at one time much more important than at present. It is situated about a quarter of a mile from the road leading from Ootacamund to Ebanad, not far from the Badaga village of Tuneri. There is now only a small dairy (*wursuli*) situated in the middle of a wood. When I visited Nasmiòdr, this dairy was unoccupied, and, as is usual in such cases, my Toda guide refused to go to the dairy with me, and remained outside the wood. Soon after I left the hills, it was to be occupied by the *wursol* of Kars, who would take his buffaloes there for a month.

This village is mentioned in two Toda legends, in both of which it seems to have been a village at which people were living. The dairy is called *Tilipoh* or *Pohtilipoh*, and it still contains the two *mani*, Karzod and Kòni, which were hung on the neck of Enmon (see p. 208). It is one of the few *wursuli* which have two rooms.

Pakhalkudr (Bagalkodumand). This village, not far from

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Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. 234
There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalars* 621
which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning.

Isharadr and *Peletkwur*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy 351
and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol.

Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are 621
still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Türskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tüli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr.

PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and 618
are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name 621
for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the

618 Kundahs, but they are only visited during the dry season, and
621 for the greater part of the year the Panol live at the comparatively new village of Naters in the most thickly populated part of the hills. The legendary hero, Kwoten, belonged to Pan.

The clan is small, having now about twenty-seven male and nine female members. It is not represented on the *naim*, and in the Badaga grouping of the Todas this clan is joined with that of Nòdrs.

The Panol have two *kudr*, and provide the only example among the Tartharol in which the *kudr* have special names. The formation of the *kudr* is said to have been due to Kwoten, who divided the people into Panol and Kuirsiol, named after the two chief villages of the clan. The two divisions are also called Pandar and Peshteidimokh.

The Pandar or Panol have three *pòlm*, headed by Timurvan (16), Todars (16), and Nòrtiners (17). The Peshteidimokh or Kuirsiol have two *pòlm*, headed by Timners (18) and Imokhvan (19).

The *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* ceremonies are performed in front of the *wursuli* at Pan or Kuirsi. The spots on which the ceremonies take place are not marked by any stones, and the ceremonies are spoken of as *paliknörtiti*, *i.e.*, "he gives to the dairy," though, as a matter of fact, the calf passes from the men of one *kudr* to the men of the other *kudr* as in other clans.

The *madnol* of Pan are said to be Sunday and Wednesday, and the funerals of men take place on Sunday or Tuesday, and those of women on Thursday or Saturday. It is probable that Tuesday is the proper day for the funerals of men, but that they are now sometimes held on Sunday.

The following are the chief villages of the Panol:—

621 *Pan* (Onnamand) is commonly known to Europeans as
234 "One mand." It is a large village in the south-west corner of the Kundahs, with two houses of the long variety, with a door at each end and a partition in the middle. There is a *wursuli* called *Keinulv*, and a *kudrpali* called *Nersolv*, and outside the pen there is a stone called *mutchudkars*.

Kuirsi (Kolimand). This village is near Pan. It has a

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wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh. 621 234

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place. 621 764

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members. 618 621 234

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amnòdr) near Perithi. 775

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618 The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has
234 three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

The following are the chief villages:—

621 *Taradr* (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most char-
234 acteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the
764 Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *püdrshtikars* after the name of the buffaloes (*püdrshtipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalikartmokh* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

621 *Kudrmas* (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.

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Pushtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tesherst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed. 621

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members. 618 621

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pòlm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, [211] erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood.

KANÒDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were [177] said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to 618 have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is 234 only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of

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618 the hills. The clan is distinguished by its possession of the
234 conical *poh* at Kanòdrs, and by the fact that many of the adventures of Kwoto or Meilitars took place in the region it inhabits. Although Kwoto was a Melgars man, he is regarded as having a close connexion with the Kanòdrs people, and various features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs *toh* are said to be derived from him.

618 The clan is at present a small one, with a distinct majority
842 of females. In fact, it seems so usual for members of this clan to have no children or only female children that there is some likelihood that the Kanòdrsol may become extinct. The present numbers are about thirteen males and twenty-three females.

618 There was some doubt as to the number of *kudr*. I was told that there are three, headed by Arsolv (27), Kineri (29), and Pòlkab (30) respectively, but at an *irnörtiti* ceremony both Arsolv and Kineri would give to Pòlkab, while the latter would give to both, so that it seems probable that there are properly only two *kudr*, as in other clans. One of these has only one *pòlm*, that of Pòlkab. The other has three *pòlm*, headed by Arsolv, Neratkutan (28), and Kineri.

● 621 The following are the chief villages of the Kanòdrsol:—

Kanòdrs (Devarmand). This village now consists of the *poh* only. There are still two *mani* at this village, one of which is called *Pünkòghlag*, a name closely resembling the name of the churning-stick at the *ti*. There are at present no dwelling-huts at the place, nor any remains of such huts, though it would appear from the legend of Kwoten that the village was inhabited at one time.

Pishkunsht (Bikkapatimand). This is a large village where most of the Kanòdrsol now live. The only dairy is in ruins. Close to the village there are a number of flat stones almost level with the ground (Fig. 71) which are called *Teudr*, "the god way," and are said to mark the spot where the gods (*teu*) used to meet. Just above these is a large buffalo pen, which is reputed not to have been made by man. Whenever the gods went this way they used to deposit pieces of dried buffalo-dung on this spot and these became the stones of the *teu*.

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Near the village is a forest hut, and opposite this are two stones called *pedrkars*. The Todas once had a large gathering here, and a man jumped a long distance which was recorded by means of these stones. 621

The other villages of the Kanòdrsol, *Taknin*, *Kuzhu* or

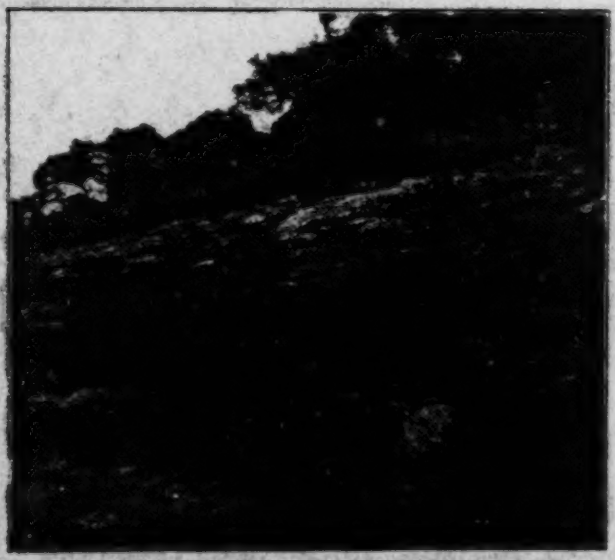

FIG. 71.—THE STONES AT PISHEWOSHT CALLED 'TEUAR.'

Kushu, &c., are in the same neighbourhood, but I was unable to visit them, and do not know whether they have any objects of interest.

KWÒDRDONI

This is the most outlying of Toda clans, but numerous tea estates have been established in its neighbourhood, and the people appear to have been a good deal influenced by the altered conditions. I was unable to visit any of the villages, and I know less about this clan than any other. 177 618 621

All the villages of the clan are situated in the district of the hills called by the Todas Purgòdr, and the people of the clan are, therefore, often called the Purgòdrol.

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618 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen
621 females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Punmud*.

PÄM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234 The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Päm* was then
621 adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Päm was called *Palikûdrbedz* and the buffalo-pen, *Tûgûdron*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmokh*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kwatkash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

618 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of
159 this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

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man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English soldiers came to Pām and insulted the women and how Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at Wellington. 618 159

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Pām for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 177 618 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pōlm*. The chief men of the *pōlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo. 234 618

There are two *wani*, called *Eakkiskudr* and *Eikudr*, each with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pisnipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarsuli*. [778]

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of these seems to be of any importance. 621

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the 778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion 609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsiködri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS.

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of 618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a 234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the 554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

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that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the *tarvali* of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other than that of Melgars.

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some special relation between the people of Melgars and those of Kwodrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòdrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

618 The one *kudr* has four *pòlm*, of which the chief men are
621 Kiunievan (44), Artholvan (45), Nòtirzi (46) and Ilgeivan (48). Tergudrvan (47) belonged to the same *pòlm* as Artholvan. The families included in Table 49 are all extinct in the male line, and, with the exception of Tikon, I am doubtful to which *kudr* or *pòlm* they belonged.

Melgars, the chief village, is situated behind the gardens of Government House at Ootacamund. It has few features of interest, and there is little to be seen at the other villages of the clan. *Nüln* (Narigulim ınd) is situated in the Kundahs.

Two Toda villages, Ki Perththo and Padegar, are said to be the general property of the Tartharol, but at the time of my visit both were inhabited by the Melgarsol.

The village of *Katol*, which is now ruined, is mentioned by Harkness as one of the villages near Ootacamund.

The chief funeral place is *Ushadr*, mentioned in the story of Kwoto. There is another funeral place called *Mirzoti* common to Melgars and Kidmad.

KIDMAD AND KARSH

618 These are two sub-divisions of the Melgarsol which separated
621 from the main body, probably about seven or eight genera-
554 tions ago. At first I heard only of Kidmad, and it was
578 only when working over the Nidrsiol that I found there were people living with this clan who did not belong to it, but were an offshoot of the Melgars people and were called Karshol.

According to one account, both Kidmadol and Karshol separated from the main body at the same time, but, according to another, the people who first separated belonged to Karsh and then split some generations later into the two groups.

The separation was due to a quarrel between father and son. The Melgars people were holding a council and one of the chief men of the clan was late in coming. When he appeared in the distance, he was recognised by nobody but his own son, who, when asked who was coming, said "*pazuli padmokh pöti âtham nôtthred? Kûtm it vòrs!*—*i.e.*,

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"A wanderer and bastard comes, why do you look at him? Let the council go forward!" (*Pazuli* is a name applied to a man who belongs to no clan, and *padmokh* is the name of the child of a woman with whom no man has performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony.) 618 621 554 508

The *manmokh* (sister's son) of the father was present at the council, and when his uncle arrived, the *manmokh* told him what had been said by his son in the council, and the father said, "I am no *pazuli*, it is you who are the *pazuli*: henceforward you must not live at Melgars; you will have nothing from me except what I give you to-day." The father gave the son a one-horned buffalo (*kwadrkutir*) and a portion of the Mirzoti funeral place.

Since that day descendants of the son have been separate from Melgarsol and they have held their funerals at Mirzoti, but not on the same spot as the Melgars people.

The Kidmadol and Karshol have lost certain privileges possessed by other Todas. The loss of these privileges is expressed by the Todas as follows:—

(i.) *Meitün kitht ȯgadi.* "He may not sit on the *meitün*." When a man of Kidmad or Karsh goes to any Tarthar dairy he is not allowed to sit on the raised bed on the right hand side of the door.

(ii.) *Nirsi nest ȯgadi.* "He may not rub the fire-sticks." If fire has to be made at a male funeral, or on any other occasion, it must be done by a man of another clan.

(iii.) *Ertatpun pitth ȯgadi.* "He may not touch the *ertatpun*," a dairy vessel which may be touched by any other Toda man. The result of this restriction is that a man of these clans can never hold a dairy office.

Marriages are not allowed between Melgars people and those of either Kidmad or Karsh.

The village of Karsh no longer exists; it was near Akirzikȯdri, but in the time of Kilpan (51) the people were so poor that they went to live with the Nidrsiol and have remained with them since. Though living at Nidrsi, they are still regarded as a separate people, and marriages may take place between the two clans. They have only three or four ordinary buffaloes. If a male dies they have to kill 621 618

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618 a *persasir*, which they obtain from Melgars. The only males
621 living are one man and his son, the father having also two sisters.

The Kidmadol are more prosperous, and the men of the clan appear to be fairly prominent people among the Todas, in spite of their disadvantages. Kijievan (5) has the reputation of being one of the ablest people of the whole community. The clan numbers five males and three females.

THE TEIVALI CLANS

KUUDR

This is the most important of the Teivali clans, at any rate from the social point of view. It has supplied the *monegar* since the institution of this office, and it is the only Teivali clan represented on the Toda *naim* or council. From the religious point of view the Kuudrol are less important and have no exclusive rights to any sacred office,[1] though they are exceptional in being greeted by the *palol* with the *kwarzam* of their clan, *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu*, followed by *idith* as in the prayers. The origin of this custom is said to be that long ago strangers came to the hills and massacred all the people of the clan except one boy, who hid himself in the buffalo pen. The present people of Kuudr are descended from the boy and his escape is commemorated in the greeting of the *palol*. The Kuudrol also possess the very sacred dairy of Kiudr.

The Kuudr clan is the largest of the Teivali clans and stands second in point of numbers among all the Toda clans. It has at least sixty-three male and thirty-five female representatives. I omitted to obtain the children of two families, and these would raise the numbers slightly.

I had much difficulty in obtaining a correct account of the organisation of the Kuudrol, the difficulty proving to be due to certain anomalies in this clan. It has three chief divisions, headed by Kuriolv (52), Ishkievan (60) and Tövoniners (61),

[1] For the story how the Kuudr people came to lose the right of providing the *palol* for the Nödrs *ti*, see p. 114.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

618 and each of these divisions is sometimes called a *kudr*.
621 From the point of view, however, of the *irnörtiti* ceremony it is clear that the division of Tövoniners is not a definite *kudr*, for the men of this division do not receive buffaloes from any other division, although they may themselves perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, in which case the buffalo goes to the men of the other two divisions. The family of Tövoniners differs also from other families of the clan in having no place at the village of Kuudr. This anomalous position of the family is due to the part played by the men of the family in the quarrel which led to the separation of the Pedrkars people from Kuudr (see p. 675). The family of Tövoniners is probably not a *kudr* in the strict sense of the term, and if so, the Kuudr clan falls into line with other clans in being divided into two *kudr* only.

There was also some confusion about the *pòlm* of the Kuudr clan, one source of confusion being due to the trouble connected with the parentage of Teitchi (52), which has been already considered (see p. 564).

It was quite clear that the *kudr* of Ishkievan has two *pòlm* only, headed by Ishkievan and Tadrners (60).

Kuriolv's division was said to have eight *pòlm*, the head men being Kuriolv (52), Targners (53), Pöteners (54), Keitas (55), Tüliners and Tikievan (56), Mudriners (57), and Madsu (58). The men of the first four *pòlm* are known to be closely connected with one another, and, as may be seen in the genealogies, the first three claim common descent from Tudrvan. Similarly the *pòlm* of Tüliners, Tikievan and Madsu are known to be closely connected. About the position of the *pòlm* of Mudriners, as we have already seen, there is much doubt, the state of affairs being that it is really most closely connected with the *pòlm* of Tüliners and Tikievan, but that Kuriolv claims it as closely allied to his own through the relation of Teitchi to Kòrs. Formerly the family of Arsners (59) formed a separate *pòlm*, but owing to the fact that it now has only two young members, and is very poor, it has been joined to the *pòlm* of Madsu (58).

Including the families of Tövoniners and Arsners, there

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keínkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Ȯdr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
778 sacred than Kuudr.

It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in
[342] which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906, Toda

the huts to the dairy a shallow stream flowing over broad flat stones is crossed. This stream is called *Keikudr*, and is of some ceremonial importance (see p. 307). 234 621 778

The dairy which is called *Kilpoh* is shown in Figs. 20 and 31, and is a large, well-built structure of the ordinary shape. It is situated within a high wall, which is much thicker than usual, and in front it must be several yards across, so that it is possible to walk about on the top of it. On this wall, on the right hand side, are two old stones (shown in Fig. 31), called *neurzülnkars*. Close to the dairy there are two ancient and weatherworn stones, shown in Fig. 32, to which the same name is given.

There are six bells in the dairy. Two are kept on the *patatmar* and are called *patatmani*, the individual names of the bells being *Mudrani* and *Kerani*. The other four are called *ertatmani*, and are kept on the *ertatmar*; their individual names are *Pongg*, *Nongg*, *Pundrths*, and *Pan*.

Kiudr is one of the villages which was said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. In favour of this is the fact that its dairy is called *poh* and that there are stones called *neurzülnkars* which are usually found at a *ti mad*. The people have also to play a part during the procession of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, and there seems to be little doubt that the village is in some way especially connected with the *ti* institution, though exactly how is uncertain.

Kiudr is certainly a village especially revered not only by the Kuudrol, but by all Todas. It is a *sati mad*, and any Toda will be believed if he speaks in front of its dairy. Another sign of the sanctity of the dairy is the fact that the ceremony of *pilinörtiti* may be performed here not only by members of the Kuudr clan, but also by any other Toda.

Molkush. This is a recently established village, little more than a quarter of a mile from Kiudr. The scenes shown in Figs. 16 and 17 were taken at this village. It has no dairy and the milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut. This village may be regarded as an adjunct to the sacred village of Kiudr, at which the ordinary buffaloes are tended. At the time of my visit the wife of one of the men who usually lived at Kiudr gave birth 621

621 to a son and the seclusion-hut was at Molkush, and both before and after the birth the woman and those connected with her were living at this village. It seemed as if the restrictions connected with life at Kiudr are avoided by building at a little distance what is technically another village, at which the people live whenever for any reason they are not allowed to live at Kiudr. Its existence seemed to me to be one of the many devices by means of which the Todas keep the letter of the law with the minimum of inconvenience.

Miuni (Marlimand). This is a village of the Kuudrol which is reverenced by all Todas on account of the belief that it was formerly the meeting-place of the gods. It is a very picturesque village, situated near the Marlimand reservoir and has two dairies.

Kwirg is chiefly important as the place at which new *pep* is made for the Kuudr clan. Its prayer is given on p. 222.

Ars is an uninteresting village near Kuudr.

Peivòrs. This is a village near Paikara. It contains a double house, shown in Fig. 8, and has two dairies, one of which is now used as a calf-house. The second dairy was built when two families were living at the village, and the one dairy was not large enough for both.

Pirsush. This is a *kalolmad*.

Karia, a village near the Paikara road, from which a modern long house in the Tamil style is to be seen. Behind this are the old dwelling-hut and the dairy. At the time of my visit the new house was unoccupied and the people were living in the old hut.

PIEDR

618 The people of Piedr derive their special importance from
621 the fact that they provide the *palol* for the sacred *ti* of Nòdrs. According to tradition, they had this privilege exclusively at one time; later, they shared it with the Kuudrol, and now they share with the people of Kusharf. They form a fairly large clan, having about twenty-eight male and fourteen female members.

As in the case of the Kuudrol, there was some doubt about

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the divisions of the clan. There are said to be three *kudr*, of which the chief men are Teikudr (63), Eisòdr (64), and Nongarsivan (62). If a man of Teikudr's division has to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo goes to Eisòdr's division, and *vice versa*. If a man of Nongarsivan's division performs the ceremony, the buffalo would go to both the other divisions. Thus Nongarsivan's *kudr* seems to form an extra division, like that of Tövoniners among the Kuudrol. I did not obtain any explanation of this, but it is probably due to the fact that the people of Nongarsivan's division live at Kavidi in the Wainad, and are, in consequence, regarded as being outside the regular affairs of the clan. I failed to obtain an account of the *pòlm*.

618
621

The chief village of the clan is now rarely visited. It is in the northern parts of the hills near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I had hoped to have visited it and the neighbouring village of Kusharf, but had not time. Some members of the clan visit the village of Piedr once a year, but I did not learn what was done on the occasion.

Kuudi. This is now one of the chief villages of the clan. It has a modern house, the largest and most highly ornamented Toda dwelling which I saw on the hills.

Tavatkudr is a village of one hut and a dairy. It was this dairy which was burnt during my visit as a consequence of the revelation of *ti* secrets to me by Kaners, who lived at this village.

Eparskòdr is an ancient village at which the first Toda died (see p. 400). At present the village consists of a dairy only.

Kavidi is situated in the Wainad, not far from Gudalur. I did not visit it, but, so far as I could gather, it contained no object of interest and there was no evidence that it was an ancient settlement.

The clan has several funeral places, partly owing to the fact that the Kavidi people are at too great a distance from the top of the hills to hold the *etvainolkedr* in the ordinary funeral place. The Kavidi people, therefore, have two special funeral places, called *Sudvaili* for males and *Mòmanothi* for females. The second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, was, however, held at the regular places of *Meroln* and *Pamarkol*.

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618 A disused village in the Wainad is called *Potvaili*. The
● 621 termination *vaili* of this village and of the male funeral place only occurs here, and is probably borrowed from some other language, possibly from the Kurumbas.

One abandoned village of this clan, *Nongarsi*, seems to have been situated near Ootacamund. Its Badaga name is Kettarimand, and it is possibly one of the villages mentioned by Harkness.

KUSHARF

The people of this clan are called indifferently Kusharfol or Umgasol. There seemed to be no doubt that Kusharf is the chief village, but, like Piedr, it is little used, and Umgas is coming to be regarded as the *etudmad*.

The Kusharfol seem to be in some way related to the Piedrol. They share with the latter the privilege of providing the *palol* for the Nòdrs *ti*, and the two clans are not allowed to intermarry. They have the same *nòdrodchi*, Teipakh, and it seems possible that they were originally two sub-divisions of one clan.

At present the Kusharfol are not numerous, having only about thirteen male and thirteen female representatives. They have two *kudr*, headed by Nòdrners and Ongudr, each of which has two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ongudr (65) and Pangudr (66); of the other, Nòdrners and Erkhud (67).

The chief village of Kusharf is near Hullatti, and, like the neighbouring Piedr, is rarely visited.

Umgas. This is at present the most important village of the clan; it is shown in Fig. 72. There are two large dwelling-huts shown on the right-hand side of the figure. The building to the left of them is the chief dairy, which is called *Kwotòdrvoh*. It is a *poh* and not a *pali*, though of the ordinary form, and is exceptional in being situated so near the dwelling-huts. The *pali* is situated still more to the left, hidden by trees.

The two tall stones in the foreground are called *nadrkkars*. They serve as *irnörtkars* and also mark out the path by which women must go on their way to the huts, the women

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618 having to keep on the right-hand side of these stones. By the
621 wall of the huts and close to the *poh* there are two stones, the *majvatitthkars*, at which women stand when they receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairy. About fifteen yards in front of the other dairy (*pali*) there is a stone called *imudrikars*. On one side of this there is a narrow well-worn track along which women must go on their way to the dairy,

FIG. 72.—THE VILLAGE OF UMGAS, SHOWING THE 'NADRKKARS' IN THE CENTRE. BEHIND THE STONES IS THE 'POH' OF THIS VILLAGE, AND ON ITS RIGHT ARE THE DWELLING-HUTS.

and nearer the *pali* there are two *majvatitthkars*, where they stand when receiving buttermilk.

Between the *poh* and the *pali* there is the *tu* and at the far end of this is a large stone, the *muütthkars*, marking the spot where the *mu* is buried.

Teidr is not far from Nòdrs. It has two huts and a dairy. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs takes its name from this village, the *wursol* who gave the name to the stone being a Teidr man.

Teidr is one of the villages which is said to have been

618 formerly a *ti mad*, and in support of the statement I was
621 taken to see two stones called *neurzülnkars* at some little distance from the village.

Pòln is close to the tree known in Ootacamund as "the umbrella tree." There are two huts and a dairy, which was in ruins at the time of my visit. Under the "umbrella tree" there are two stones. One of these has been overgrown by the tree so that it is now firmly imbedded. It is called *Korateu* and is said to have been thrown by Korateu from his hill. The other stone is deeply imbedded and only shows three small projections above the ground. This is the *Nòtirzikars* and was thrown to this spot by the goddess Nòtirzi from her hill.

In a wood near at hand overgrown by trees, there is another stone called *Känkars*, marking the spot where the *pasthir* were killed at the funeral place which formerly existed here.

KEADR

This clan had at one time the privilege of supplying the *palol* to the Pan *ti*, but its numbers are now small, and the *palol* of this *ti* at present belongs to the Piedrol. There are now only eleven males and ten females belonging to the clan.

Till recently there was a branch of the clan called Kwaradrol, taking their name from the village of Kwaradr. According to some, the Kwaradrol were a separate clan, but there seemed to be little doubt that they were part of the Keadrol and formed one *kudr* of the clan. The division only became extinct in the male line a few years ago, and the genealogical record of the family is given in Table 70.

The head man of the other *kudr* is Perner (68), and this division has three *pòlm*, two of which are headed by Perner and Pichievan (69), while the third has only three young boys, Karem (69) and his brothers, as members. Since the Kwaradrol died out, the clan has only had one *kudr*, but during my visit it was decided that a new *kudr* should be

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formed, and the *pòlm* of Karem was made the new division, so that in future the Keadrol will have one *kudr* consisting of one *pòlm*, and another of two *pòlm*. It was said that the original partition of the clan into Keadrol and Kwaradrol was due to Kwoten, who established the two divisions in order that there should be someone to take the place of a *palol* who left on account of a funeral in his clan. 618 621

Keadr. This, the chief village of the clan, is situated near Keradr. I was unable to visit it, and have no record of any features of interest it may possess.

Kwaradr, the village from which one division took its name, is near Avalanche, and is now falling into ruins owing to the dying out of the family which occupied it.

Pekhòdr is called by the Badagas Osamand, or "new village," and has only been in existence about ten years.

Kapthòri is now in ruins, but is mentioned in the story of Kwoten.

PEDRKARS

This clan is an offshoot of the Kuudrol, from which it has now for a long time been separated. The division arose out of a quarrel at a council which was once being held at Kuudr.[1] There were three parties in the *naim*, each wishing that a different ceremony should be performed. One party wished to give salt to the buffaloes, a second wanted to sacrifice a calf (*erkumptthpimi*), and a third were in favour of moving to another village (*irskidthtothi*). The three parties could not agree, and it was finally decided that those who wished to do *irskidthtothi* should separate from the rest. They did so and went to live near Kwòdrdoni, and have since been a separate clan, now known as the Pedrkarsol. The people who wished to do *erkumptthpimi* were the ancestors of Tövoniners, and it is in consequence of this quarrel that this family occupies its anomalous position and has no place at Kuudr. 578 618 621

At the same time the people of Pedrkars lost the privilege of being *palol* or *wursol*, but they may become eligible by performing the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr.

[1] This was evidently a council consisting of the members of the clan only.

578 For some time after the separation intermarriage was not
618 allowed between Kuudr and Pedrkars, but recently such marriages have taken place, and several are recorded in the
621 genealogies.

There are very few members of the clan, only seven males and five females. At present there is only one *kudr* and this has only one *pòlm*. Formerly there were two *kudr*, but one became extinct some time ago.

About three generations ago there was a quarrel between the people of Pedrkars and those of Piedr. A man of Pedrkars named Kavanadi had married a woman of Piedr and one day quarrelled with his wife's father. At Piedr there were at the entrance of the buffalo-pen two large wooden posts (*tüli*). After the quarrel Kavanadi went to Piedr and carried off both the posts with the wooden bars (*tasth*) by which the opening of the pen is closed. When Kavanadi had carried the posts and bars as far as a place called Kalin, near the Kota village of Tizgudr, a stone on the top of one of the *tüli* fell down. It may still be seen and is known as *Kalinkars*. Kavanadi went on, but he soon began to spit blood, and when he had gone some way further, he was obliged to drop the *tüli* at a place which is now called *Tülipudinpem*. He managed to reach his home at Pedrkars and then died. A council was held and it was decided that marriage should not be allowed in future between the Piedrol and Pedrkarsol, and no such marriages are recorded in the genealogies.

The stone called Kalinkars which fell by the way is now said to be able to move about and may be seen one day at one spot and on another day at another. The Kotas of Tizgudr have several times taken the stone to their village, but it has always gone back again. In spite of his unfortunate end, Kavanadi is regarded, more or less, as a hero by the Todas and is mentioned in the funeral eulogy of Pidrvan (p. 387).

621 All the villages of the Pedrkarsol are in the part of the
773 hills near Kwòdrdoni. Pedrkars itself is said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. Some Tamil people once came to the
618 hills and found some of the buffaloes of the *ti* standing by a

1: Rivers ·E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was
773 killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars*
ama, kwòdr nòdr ama," "may the Tamil stone become; may
618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name from this village.

KULHEM

184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior
554 position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to
618 sit on the *meitiin* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr*
773 bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*, *kaltmokh*, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnörtiti* to Kuudr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulthlem*, is near Kanòdrs.

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621 The only other village of importance is *Konikwòr*, near Paikara. At the time of my visit several of the clan were living at a place called *Kultu*. This is not properly a Toda village, the people living in a hut of the Badaga form near a tea plantation in order to sell the buffalo dung to the planters.

618 This clan now numbers only six males and three females, all belonging to one family (72). They have neither *kudr* nor *pòlm*.

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful
184 kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
616 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning
775 the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
621 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which
616

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Toda clans take their names, the Tarthar villages being in Roman type and those of the Teivaliol in italics. I have omitted the chief villages of those clans which I know to have arisen in recent times by splitting off from other clans, and I have included two villages of which I can only give the approximate positions. These are Piedr and Kusharf, which are now rarely occupied, and are situated off the main plateau, near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I also give

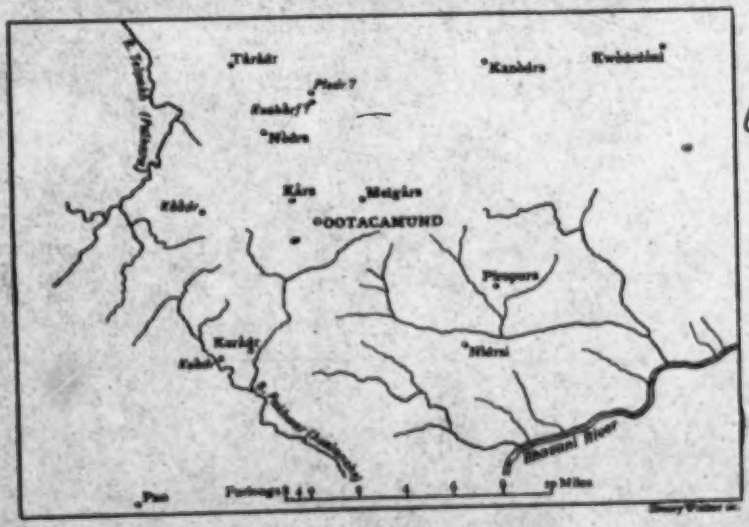

FIG. 73.

Pirspurs, the old *etudmad* of the Pämol. In Fig. 74 I give a second plan, showing the positions of all the villages which I know to be ancient, either because they possess sacred dairies or because they are mentioned in legend.

It will be seen that the greater part of the hills is occupied by the Tartharol, while the Teivali villages lie chiefly in the north-west part of the hills. The chief exception is the village of Keadr, which is situated some way south of the rest.

If, in coming to the hills, the Todas followed the routes now supposed to be traversed by the dead, the position of

174 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

616 The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

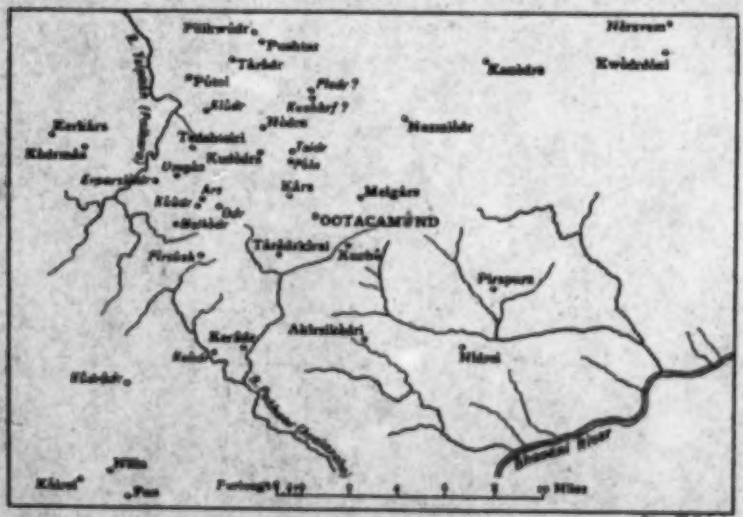

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnôdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a community, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards
616 of the community. At the present time the majority of the
791 *tenol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
734

APPENDIX III

List of Toda Villages (not including *ti mad*)

103
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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Akîrsîkòdri	Nidrsi	Taranadmand	male funeral place.
Ârpâr	Pâm		
Ârs	Kuudr	Anekkalmand	
Artol	Taradr	Aretalmand	
Âtimad	Taradr	Karadikottumand	
Eirgûdr	Nòdrs	Nerkodumand	
Erparskòdr	Piedr	Yeppakodumand	
Îdrtol	Kuudr	Edattalmand	
Inîkitj	Pâm	Bettumand	
Isharkdr	Kars	Kadimand	
Iûdi	Kwòdrdoni		male funeral place.
Îvigar	Kuudr	Kekidamand	in ruins.
Kabûdri	Pan	Tebbekudumand	male funeral place.
Kâkhûdri	Melgars	Kaggodumand	
Kalmathi	Kars	Kalmattimand	in ruins ten years.
Kalmad	Kars	Kalamand	in ruins.
Kanòdrs	Kanòdrs	Devarmand	*studmad.*
Kapthòri	Keadr	Kunnapemand	in ruins.
Karars	Keradr		
Karis	Kuudr	Kariyamand	
Kârs	Kars	Kandalmand	*studmad.*
Kârsh	Karsh		
Kashthòdr	Kuudr	Kattikadumand	unoccupied.
Katerk	Nòdrs	Kaitarkemand	
Katîkâr	Kwòdrdoni	Kodanadmand	
Katol	Melgars		in ruins.
Kâvâther	Nidrsi	Kabaitersimand	
Kavîdi	Piedr		in the Wainad.
Kekdr	Keadr	Karrikadumand	*studmad.*
Kehâr	Nidrsi		female funeral place.
Kedâr	Nòdrs	Kangatarmand	in ruins.
Keirod	Kuudr	Keradamand	[place.
Kerîdr	Keradr	Kannagimand	*studmad*, also male funeral
Kerkârs	Taradr	Karrakalmand	
Keskar	Kanòdrs		

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks*
Kashkar	Kars	Kakerimand	also called Minikimand.
Kidmad	Kidmad		
Khuis	Melgars		
Kidr	Kundr	Kengodumand	*satimad.*
Kish	Pisolr	Karimulimand	
Kòdrers	Piedr	Hadamand	
Koers	Keradr	Kokimalmand	in ruins.
Kozhber	Kundr	Kasubiramand	disused.
Koshtâdi	Nòdrs		
Kôdimad	Tarsdr	Kulimand	
Kadòdrs	Nòdrs	Kombutukkimand	
Kôdrkâdr	Kesdr	Kudukkadumand	
Kôdrnâs	Tarsdr	Kudimalmand	*kalsimad.*
Kâdrnâkham	Nòdrs	Kudinagamand	
Kugwuin	Kundr		disused.
Kûirsi	Pan	Kolimand	
Kâlikâl	Kwòdrdoni	Kolikkalmand	in ruins.
Kulkòdri	Nòdrs	Kolakkadumand	in ruins.
Kûlmud	Kars	Malaividumand	female funeral place.
Kûlthpuli	Nòdrs		female funeral place.
Kârkalmut	Kundr		female funeral place.
Kurvâs	Nòdrs	Kurudamand	
Kushârf	Kusharf		*studmad.*
Kôôdi	Piedr	Anaikundukulimand	(? Kôôdi).
Kôôdr	Kundr	Kundakodumand	*studmad.*
Kushû	Kars	Kunditolmand	
Kushû	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs: disused.
Kwarkâr	Kesdr	Kugadodmand	
Kwatkash	Pian	Marunallimand	female funeral place.
Kwbg	Kundr	Korangumand	
Kwòdrdôni	Kwòdrdoni	Kodudoenemand	*studmad.*
Madôni	Pedrkars		
Madû	Pian	Manjathalmand	
Madû	Kundr		disused.
Maranere	Pian		
Melgîrs	Melgars	Manjakkalmand	*studmad.*
Melkòdr	Kundr	Mekkodumand	
Mettr	Pedrkars	Madaliyurmand	
Merkwadrvalth	Kanòdrs		
Mersola	Piedr		male funeral place.
Mîsôti	Melgars		male funeral place.
Mîtul	Kundr	Merlimand	
Molkash	Kundr	Malkodmand	
Mòsandthi	Piedr		female funeral place.
Mulòrs	Nòdrs		funeral place for boys.
Muthâkle	Kundr		disused.
Nasmiòdr	Kars	(Agasadmand)	
Nâtôrs	Pan	Natanerimand	
Nedrbol	Tarsdr	Kilmand	in ruins.

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Nelkush	Nòdrs	Neykadimand	in ruins.
Nerigudi	Nòdrs	Nergulimand	
Nerngòdr	Kuudr		disused.
Nersvem	Kwòdrdoni	Nervenumandi	in ruins.
Nersvem	Nidrsi	Nadumand	in ruins.
Neshkwòdr	Keadr	Nedikodumand	
Nidrsi	Nidrsi	Nidimand	*etudmad.*
Nirkâtji	Kuudr	Nirkachimand	
Nirsht	Piedr		
Nirsk	Päm		female funeral place.
Nòdrmad	Taradr	Nadumand	
Nòdrs	Nòdrs	Muttanadmand	*etudmad.*
Nongârsi	Kars	Kettarimand	in ruins (? belonged to Piedr).
Nüln	Melgars	Nerigulimand	
Òdr	Nòdrs	Aganadmand	
Òrs	Taradr	Alaikudalmand	
Padegâr	Melgars	Kottapolmand	also called Kotapol, see p. 664.
Pâkhalkûdr	Kars	Bagalkodumand	
Paliners	Kuudr		
Päm	Päm		in ruins.
Pamârkol	Piedr		female funeral place.
Pan	Pan	Onnamand	*etudmad*: often called "One mand."
Panmuti	Nidrsi	Banatimand	
Parzkadi	Nidrsi		in ruins.
Pathâdr	Nòdrs	Buddankodumand	
Pathmârs	Pan	Bettumand	
Pèdrkârs	Pedrkars	Badakalmand	*etudmad.*
Pegârsi	Keradr	Attumand	in ruins.
Peivòrs	Kuudr		
Pekhòdr	Keadr	Osamand	"new mand."
Peletkwûr	Kars	Attakoraimand	
Pèrg	Pan	Yeragimand	*kalolmad.*
Perththo	Nòdrs	Perittitalmand	see p. 648.
Peshkimad	Pedrkars		female funeral place.
Pevar	Taradr	Pevarmand	in ruins.
Pidati	Nidrsi	Bendutimand	
Piedr	Piedr	Waragudumand	*etudmad.*
Plitth	Kuudr		male funeral place, near Kuudr.
Pineiwars	Nòdrs	Pinnapolamand	in ruins.
Pirshti	Nòdrs	Baggulamand	
Pirsûsh	Kuudr	Billanjikadumand	
Pishkwosht	Kanòdrs	Bikkapatimand	
Pòdzkwar	Kars	Narigulimand	or Pûzhkwar.
Poln	Kusharf	Pagulimand	
Pömad	Pemand	Kars	in ruins twenty years: near Peletkwur.
Pongûdr	Pedrkars		
Pòsh	Melgars	Onnekudimand	

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Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Pòti	Piedr	Pattimand	
Potvaili	Piedr		disused.
Pülkwûdr	Taradr	Olakkodumand	
Pulthkûln	Keradr	Bikkolmand	
Punmud	Kwòdrdoni	Banukudumand	female funeral place.
Punumikâtuni	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Purati	Nòdrs	Portimand	
Puretimokh	Melgars		female funeral place.
Purskudiâr	Pan	Porikodiyoramand	
Pushtar	Taradr	Pattaraimand	
Putamad	Kuudr		disused.
Pûtol	Nòdrs	Puttalmand	
Püvars	Kars	Ammakoraimand	
Pûvi	Päm	Pudiyapalamand	male funeral place.
Sultar	Pedrkars		male funeral place.
Sudvaili	Piedr		male funeral place in the Wainad.
Tâktut	Päm		place for small male funerals.
Taknin	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs.
Tâmâkh	Kuudr	Tamogamand	
Târâdr	Taradr	Tarnardimand	*etudmad*, and male funeral place.
Târâdrkdrsi	Kars	Kavaikkadamand	male funeral place, also *kalolmad*.
Tarkòdr	Kuudr	Terkodmand	
Tavatkûdr	Piedr	Tavattakoraimand	
Tebnârs	Taradr	Urutharaimand	
Tedshteiri	Nòdrs	Talapatharaimand	
Teidr	Kusharf	Denadmand	
Telgûdr	Taradr	Telhodumand	*kalolmad*.
Tigòir	Piedr	Tukkaramand	
Tîm	Pan		male funeral place: possibly another name of Kabûdri.
Tòthikeir	Nòdrs	Jegadevarmand	in ruins.
Tôvalkan	Keradr	Tuvalkandimand	
Tûdrkwur	Kusharf	Todakaraimand	
Tülchoven	Päm		male funeral place.
Umgâs	Kusharf	Yemmekalmand	
Ushâdr	Melgars	Kavaimand	male and female funeral place.
Wengûdr	Taradr	Yenakodumand	in ruins.

to do so, simply in order by change of pasture, to obtain a sufficiency of food for the cattle, on whose milk they almost entirely subsist. CHAP. VI.

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I make free to assert that no tribe of people, having the organ of Concentrativeness so largely and so uniformly developed as it is with the Todas, will ever be found to be habitual wanderers. Whether it be, that in the early days of the human race, circumstances having forced a family of man to become nomadic, the form of its skull gradually changed in the course of many generations, so as to adapt the man's disposition to his necessities; or if, on the contrary, the wandering habit be largely the result of defective size of that faculty; certain it is, that practice and corresponding cranial form are now in harmony, and that a small development of Concentrativeness will be found ever accompanied by a centrifugal tendency; attachment to a settled home being strong in proportion to the organ's volume, strong even to the extent of producing nostalgia when thwarted, if associated with remembrances of home and landscape.

Toda families reside in permanent villages—Mand or Madd—having each a certain tract of grazing ground surrounding it. Each minor division of the family has a house —Ârsh—in the Mand, and a share of the village land.

Nearly every Mand, however, has its duplicate, sometimes its triplicate, to which the entire body of the inhabitants migrate at certain seasons of the year, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of situations which become exposed to the west-monsoon rain and wind.

These storms drive at times with such intense severity over the wilds, that although at the time, the actual thermal state may be far from low, yet the evaporation induced by the extreme violence of the rain is known to lower the temperature of the body so as frequently to cause death to man and beast. Wild animals cower during these storms under

CHAP. VI. the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

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TABLE No. III. *Census.*

Mands		Houses					Inhabitants													
							Male					Female								
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Grand Total	Particulars regarding Inhabitants	Remarks M = Mands I = Inhabitants
Diljâvenu	Karikall	3	3	2	1	6	—	3	3[1]	4	10	1[1]	2	—	6[2]	9	19	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairyman. 3. Two of 12 years of age.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakhodi	Kakhodi	2	2	1	1	4	—	3[1]	—	2	5	—	2[2]	—	—	2	7	1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married: hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north. I. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Beresthro	Karrahro	2	1	1	—	2	—	4[1]	—	3	7	—	4[2]	—	1	5	12	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.
Koana-kour	Koana-korrdi	3	2	1	—	3	—	4	3[1]	3	10	—	4[2]	1[3]	1[4]	6	16	1. Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.
Elgodu	Elgodu	4	3	1	1	5	1[1]	4[2]	4[3]	3	12	1[4]	4[5]	—	6[6]	17	23	1. About 85 years. Admitted to this Mand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 16 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 75 years of age. 5. One in	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant

Bhughdo	Bhughdo	4	2	1	—	3	2[1]	4	2[2]	6	14	2[2]	4	—	4[1]	10	24	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 22, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	M. Much exposed, but well drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Kurdk	Kundal	5	3	2	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	2	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Mhamdd	Mardini	3	3	1	1	5	1[1]	6[2]	1[2]	3	12	1[2]	6	—	4	12	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kuthir	Kakkeri	3	2	1	—	3	—	6[1]	1[2]	3	12	—	6[2]	—	3	9	21	1. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 15. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Poor. A girl squints. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Kinzho	Kundetro	2	1	1	—	2	—	2	1[1]	2	5	1[2]	2	—	1[2]	4	9	1. A dairyman, 15 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south and east. I. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.
Melkark	Manchukill	4	3	1	—	4	1[1]	4	1[2]	1	6	—	3[2]	—	1[2]	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Bairyman aged 15. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and vigorous. Comfortable.
		33	25	13	4	42	5	49	22	36	112	7	47	1	29	84	196		

childbed. 6. One of 14 years, one of 12 years. One infant with a disease of the skin.—The four married men, and four single adults, are six brothers and two nephews.

with disease of the skin. A woman in childbed.

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 A perusal of the column in Table No. 3[1] which affords

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particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

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The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

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6. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

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[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life. 161 162 621

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study. 161

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate. 162

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye. 732

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health. 165 147

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the 757 164

1 [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]
2 [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TIRIÊRI.[1]

A Tiriêri Mand described—Names of Tiriêri—We visit the Tiriêri and see the Bell-gods—The holy Domain—The Priests are away—Who erected these upright Stones?—The Priests return—A Bargain struck—'Gods of our Fathers'—'These be your Gods'!!

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A tiriêri Mand, which is the residence of the pâlâl and kâvilâl, consists of two houses; the one a dairy or pâlthchi, in which the pâlâl lives and makes his nei, the other a house for the kâvilâl and his implements for cutting fuel. The two houses are a little apart, and separated by the tûars which surround them. A cattle pen, also encompassed by its wall or hedge, occupies a position close by. The site is invariably a spot secluded by natural advantages from contact with the outer world, and having the usual adjuncts of water, grazing and wood land.

There are at the present time, five tiriêris belonging to the tribe—there have been more—whose names are as follows;—

Pûrth	Kudar
Mâr	Markush

Puzhash.

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And exactly in the same manner as I have explained in Chapter VI. that ordinary Mands have their duplicates and even triplicates, so these tiriêri Mands have also their corresponding sites to which the little colonies move at certain seasons, for the sake of fresh pasturage.

[1] The derivation of the word has been given in note 3 of Chapter XIII, on the Bell-gods.

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234 793 618 unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 621 It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are [562] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 793 788 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up.* [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

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lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

234 778 621

It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, êtud Mands should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mands, and why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an êtud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu* or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet

* Kurpu. Drâvidian. Tamil has kuri = *indicate, point out.* Kurippu

or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell—konku. That many of these êtud Mands contain kurpus, I have ascertained by direct enquiry. That they all do so, or are supposed by the people to do so, is my belief. Hence we see the êtud Mands are *shrines;* the shrines of a race which burns its dead.

234 778 621

Now the Badaga name for such a village is mui Mand.[7] And as the very intimate knowledge which this cognate tribe possesses of Toda practice, would probably cause the word mui to be descriptive; it would materially assist us in our enquiries if we knew exactly what it does mean.

778 627

It has been ascertained that the Todas often settle disputes amongst themselves at these places—the tiriêri being too sacred to be approached for such purposes—challenging one another to make good their word, by repeating it at the êtud Mand. By joining all these notes together, I can frame an explanation that appears to me quite reasonable, and in consonance with my knowledge of the people's habits and mode of thought. They evidently consider the dairies containing kurpus, or relics of their ancestors, in the light of shrines; and in consequence, the precincts and presence to be holy ground; so holy that men would be restrained from lightly uttering a falsehood at such spots.[8] Hence it is, that these 'great' Mands are used for

—verbal noun = *a sign, indication, memorial.* The Kanarese uses guri. [POPE.]

Maṇi. Sanskrit maṇi = *jewel, bell.* Used in all the Drâvidian languages. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz draws a distinction between kurpu and maṇi; the latter is specific and implies a *metal ring* or *bell.* Thus although a maṇi is with this people always a kurpu, every kurpu is not a maṇi. It may be an *axe* or *staff.*

To me it seems that the word maṇi is a refinement introduced through contact with the Hindus; giving a more distinctly religious, sacred or holy meaning to the sentiment implied in the kurpu.

[7] Mui. In old Kanarese Muyyi is *retaliation.*

Mû in Tamil is *old, venerable.* [POPE.]

[8] Mr. Metz tells me that an oath is taken, by removing the mantle, and stepping over it, in the presence of the êtud Mand.

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

621 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

618 423 234

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

851 595 428

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

621 They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following
361 description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

of life. "A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda
342 " tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three
" of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the
" calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped
" construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or
" doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is
" not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid
" slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to
" entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so
" arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the
" height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other
" openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress
" and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that,
" to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling
335 " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance,
" and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with
" thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before
" and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the
" pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains
" the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is
" sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort.
513 " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high,
" and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform
" is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation
354 " on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of
352 " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops
" of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by
415 " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use.
" The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo
" measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two
" empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

351 " Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose
" stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10
" feet."

621 The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider
themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands
234 in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes.
Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

* Derived from *Mand*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mand*.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pōjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pōjāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
428 *patta** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
592 "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
177 depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Patta*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pattah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket*, *nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their *fields*, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Toda.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pûtkuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tunni*, made
234 specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanêri.

"The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the "exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in "some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without "a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is "at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fûr or Tûr, the "botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed "off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted "to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâle*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pâlâle*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peîkis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokrali*. There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tarnât mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpali*. There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl*.

V. *Pâlikârpâle* may be of any clan, but Peîki and Pekkan mands must have Peîki and Pekkan Pâlikârpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

II. *Pâlthchi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but
346 larger. Of *Pâlthchis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every
793 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas
621 *Etadmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthchis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikârpâl*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl*.

234 There are four *Boas*:—

(1.) Called *Mâshoo*; at Muttânâd *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the
778 left of the Segûr road.

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* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.

778 (3.) Called *Türzhea*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.

346 (4.) Near Brikspatti; called *Mutterzhea*.

Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedee* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

103 Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding God and Bell, where there is one.

621 776 778

Peiki Muimands (Etadmands).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasâri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mirzhan. Ertâtu. Kirzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apuzhanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekhen Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu.
	2. Karzhaldf	Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbôa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

* Measurements :—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	6′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eave to ground	8′ 8″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the central top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

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Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Mûsdâhyâld	Kérshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pèrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tîrsh pâlsh (in ruins).	
4. Nirsh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorsh	Mudersshva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtîl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârshtith	Kâtêtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângûar. / Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korshaldf.	
5. Kérkôârsh	Musdahyâldf.	
6. Kûrsamârsh	Marshaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirsâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpêver / Têkva / Pêshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. / Ârialdf.	
10. Kûërsh	Kânaldf.	
11. Pârshtâr	Karshaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

776 Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bêtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkiah (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmana."

771 In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest
788 kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasion-
778 ally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthâchi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be
782 well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Bad. Tîrsât. *Pl.* viii.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 791

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pōjāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pōjāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Parshdi* comes with three holy branches of the *Tīr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tīr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *sarala*, *mathu*, or *hera* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 996 621 173

The institution is *Mānāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting. 944

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Parshdvā*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Peikkan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*hoe*), the *Parshdvā* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālāchi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and 553 551

* Cf. *Rambo* xii. 9.

† *Mānāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the ●621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and
563 original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
651 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Tarthāl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthāl woman visits at a Têrthāl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in buttermilk. The restrictions which are imposed on Têrthāl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Têrthāl woman, on a visit at a Tarthāl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkūli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthāls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Têrthāl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyâl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

564 574 [252] 564 621 [193] 564 614

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikāra bungalow.

881 [123]

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

595

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-ot/jt), the rethatching of a dairy (po/j-ful-fæ ist), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fartjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojot/, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojot/, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojot/ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is [616] [837] prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the unkitj, nirj, and purnoir sibs of the tovrôas moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the tôôfilj moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [851] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimise the child (pus-ot/t). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[621] [17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ur-ôwd-mod) as opposed to other munds (mur-mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

648 [491] [137]

101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

342 361 621

141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

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104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ä = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot		z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ö = word	u = blue	è = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	ù = cook	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
			r = rot	ü = French	

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

302 The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, 304 knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the 291 same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *put-kuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

161 For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

103 No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
162 1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
●621 3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

616 Either the couple live together in the same *mad*, quite openly, or the
837 man visits the woman periodically at the house of her husband or husbands. In the case of a Tardharsh being *mokhthodvaiol* to a Teivilkh woman, because of the prohibition for those of her kind to
[621] visit the *mads* of the superior moiety, it always has to be her lover who visits her at her home. There is no objection on the part of the husbands as, in accordance with the formalities necessary to establish a *mokhthoditi* relation, they will have been consulted in advance and will have given their consent to the arrangement.

837 The usual way for a man to go about getting himself a *sedvaitazmokh* is, after having found the lady of his choice, to approach her husband or husbands, if she has any, or her father or fathers if she has none, and to obtain their consent to what he plans. He will agree to give the
[431] men a present (such as a piece of cloth or a *putkuli*) in exchange, whereupon, if the other party is in accordance, he becomes the woman's *mokhthodvaiol* without any further formality. (Rivers has it that a third party may be called in to seal the pact, (see *The Todas*, p. 527) but none of my informants said this was done nowadays.)

Some time later, he will make collective obeisance to the lady's *pailol*, that is, her male relations (fathers and brothers). This is as in
[588] a Toda marriage, there being no difference at all here between regular and irregular unions. On this occasion the man will promise to give the woman some pieces of jewellery, and her son, should she have one, a buffalo calf. It is after these promises have been made, that the *mokhthodvaiol* will perform the *kalmelpudithti* salution to the *pailol* and, significantly enough, after this has taken place, he will call his *sedvaitazmokh's* father *mun* as he would his wife's father or his maternal uncle.

While working at Melgarsh *mad*, I had the opportunity to see how such a *mokhthoditi* arrangement functioned. Amoniwuf, the common wife of the two brothers, Singharsh and Singhud, had a regular lover, a Teivilkh from Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol*, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded (his picture is shown on pages 56 and
[113] 57 of Lidio Cipriani's *I Toda, Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vol. LXVII, 1937). Things seemed to go very smoothly, and all three men as well as the woman appeared happy and on the best of terms. The Teivilkh used to come regularly to Melgarsh, at least twice a week in the afternoon, staying until the next morning when he would go home again early. I was told that he had given Amoniwuf a very
[431] nice gold necklace, which I was, however, never shown. The husbands

13: Peter E-5 (1939,1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 [621] [592] his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 595 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name: Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroï, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467] [587] Then the following occurred: Eroï found employment as a government peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotabuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do, etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in
621 number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8¾ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
624 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
[121] of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[312] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] *temple, the pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers, that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children, each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individuals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

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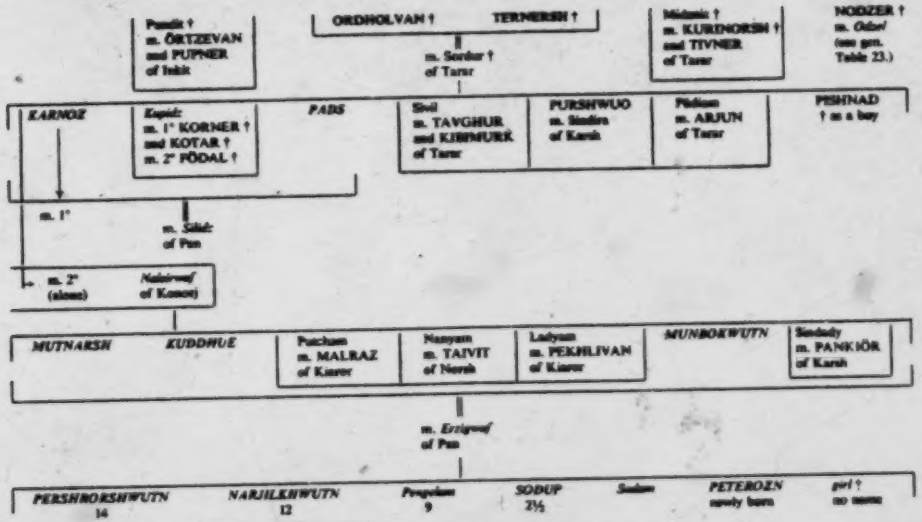
TABLE 22. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDNARSH) MODOL: THE PRINCIPAL FAMILY OF THE MELGARSH ETUMAD.



Note: The name of the clan to whom outsiders belong is given after the name of someone married. The ages of the children are given in figures below their names.

Conventional signs as in Table 21.

[PAGING P. 276]

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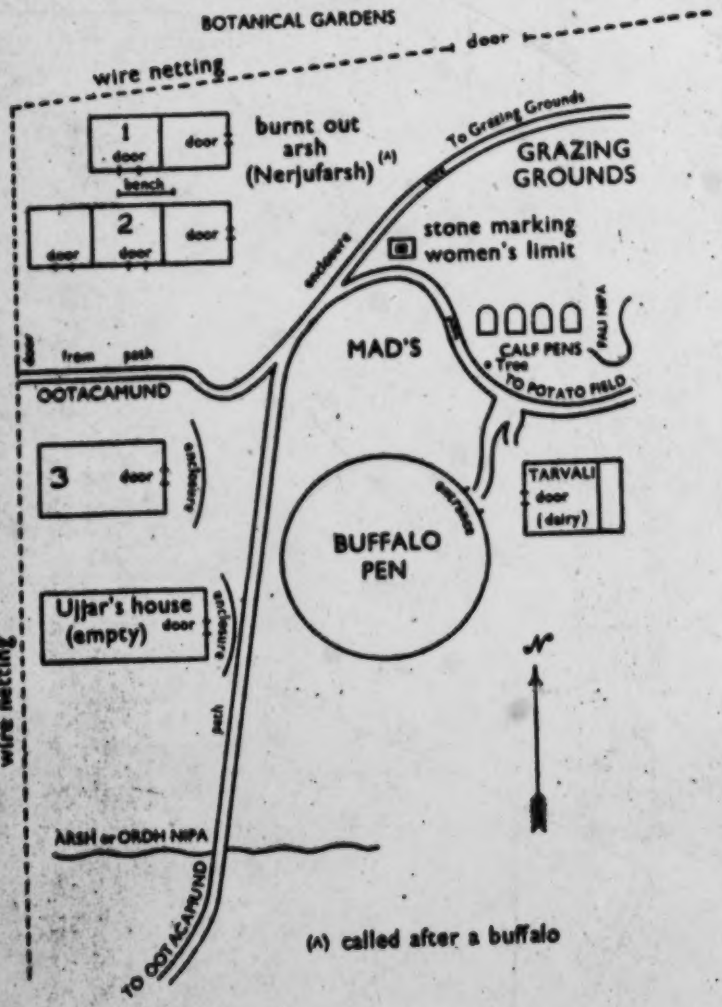

(A) called after a buffalo

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Fig. 18. Plan of the Melgarsh mad.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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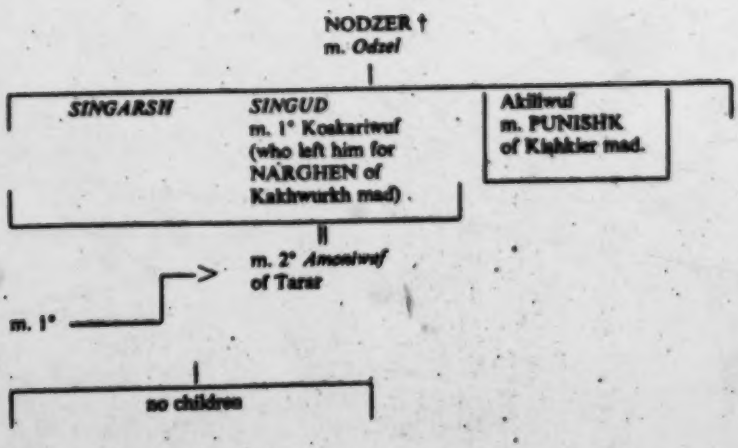
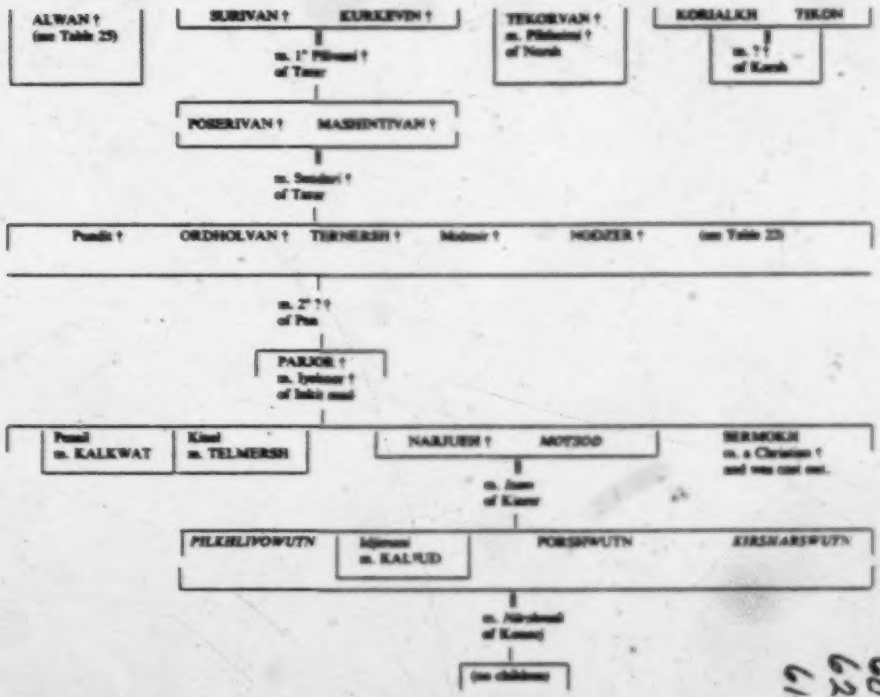
TABLE 23. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF NODZER LIVING AT MELGARSH MAD.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

TABLE 24. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHERS FROM ANOTHER MARRIAGE.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

[facing p. 278]

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

TABLE 25. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF THE GT. GT. GT. GRANDFATHER ALWAN.

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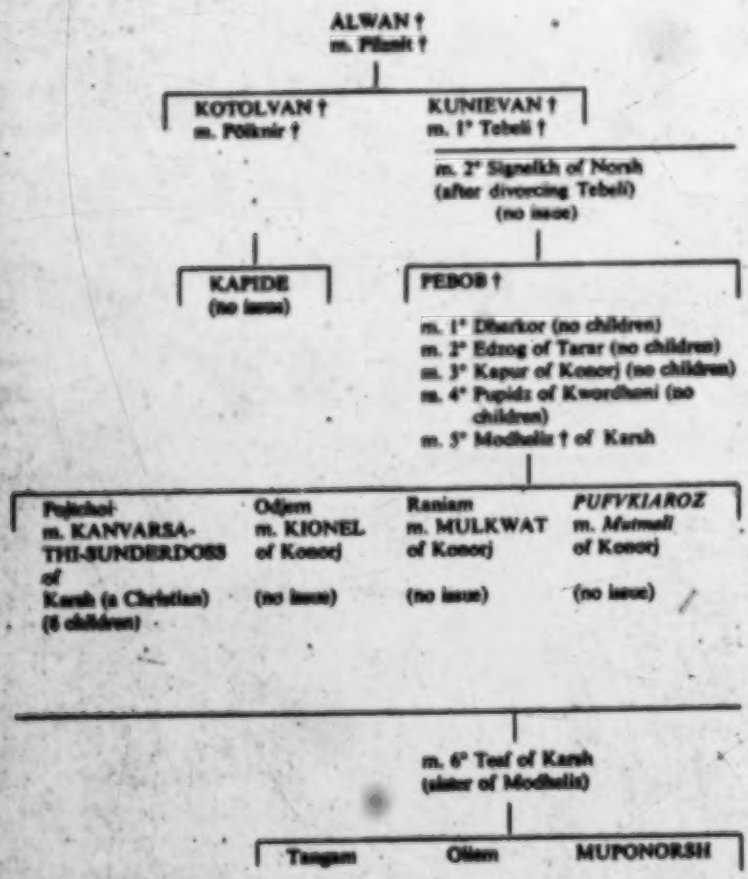

Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

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[Melgarsh Village]

159 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; 621 the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] [754] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly, nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children, whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to [935] [123] me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund [464] Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress [291] in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that [124] I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

(6) Nalsirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pads. She is twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knowns it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife. 159 621

(7) Mutnarsh: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [464]

(8) Kudoshe: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mad*, in the tribe's *wursulis* for which he is very much sought after. [732] [793]

(9) Munbokwuth: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Erzigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mad* where he apparently likes to stay. [595]

(10) Erzigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda women who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so [842]

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159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elabo-
621 rated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Urshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Urshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn
[846] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror.
[587] When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her
159 present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which
621 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then
[842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup
[777] and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus-
159 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he
621 left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur-
[837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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(11) PERSHRÖRSHWUTN, abbreviated to PERSHRÖRSH: The eldest boy of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is noticeably proud. He likes to go out to other munds, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mad*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman. 159 621 233

(12) NARJILKHWUTN, abbreviated to NARJILKH: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Munbokwutn, his youngest father.

(13) Pengelam: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friendly. She is gay and playful, and is nearby always in the company of Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris. 159 621 [123]

(14) SODUP: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exceptionally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop. [855]

(15) Sodam: She is as dull and backward as Sodup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) PETEROZN: Called after me (*Rozn* being Toda for Raja = Prince) who am his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived [123] [551]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 621 in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative. [276] He takes snuff and rarely goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being reserved for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-shaven except for a short moustache. [464] [291] He is a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda *putkuli* and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz, whom she helps a lot. [837] She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been accepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, handsome, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at the *mad*'s *tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies [233] the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

(23) PILKHLIVOWUTN: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early [464] twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding moustache.

(24) KIRSHARSWUTN: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershrörsh, and is a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 159 621

(25) Närshmali: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhlivowutn have to search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Närshmali had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershti* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them. [832] [837]

(26) Pufvkiaroz: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that surviving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also works as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [847] [797] [464]

(27) Mutmali: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns after some days, without Pufvkiaroz exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmali came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again. [832] [837]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

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511 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following members of the family:
621

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Pershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhlivowutn: Motsod, Izam, Kirsharshwutn and Närshmali.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby
[23] calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his
428 property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the
[562] latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from
[583] their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

4: Yalman E-4, 5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Pardon, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer. 773 674 609 754

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another. 674

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual. 673 688

Suicide

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die." 173 762 152

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die." 177 276 762

The Monegar

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below). 622

622 The earliest *monegar* whom the Todas remember is Teitchi or Teiti (52). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Mutevan, who is still alive. The two eldest sons had died before their father, and Persevan, the third son, was said to be weak-minded, and Mutevan was therefore chosen to succeed.

Mutevan is now a very old man, probably about eighty years of age, and his office was taken over some years ago by his eldest son, Ivievan. Though Ivievan is the *monegar* he is not the chief representative of his family on the *naim*, this position belonging to Kuriolv, the son of Pareivan and Persevan. Ivievan is helped in collecting the assessment by an assistant *monegar*, and till lately this place belonged to Parkurs of Kars.

177 It does not appear that the monegarship is a real Toda office, but that the earliest *monegar* was appointed by Mr. 622 Sullivan, the first British official of the Nilgiris. The family, 554 however, to which the *monegar* belongs is called the *mani-kudupel*, which may mean the *monegar* family, but I could not discover definitely whether this title is older than the institution of the monegarship. It is possible that Teitchi was one of the chief men of the *naim* when the Europeans first came to the hills and that he was therefore appointed as *monegar*.

It is quite clear that at the present time the *monegar*, Ivievan, is not the most important man among the Todas, but that the predominant position belongs to his cousin, Kuriolv, the representative of the family on the *naim*.

HEADMEN

618 Though it is very doubtful whether the institution of *monegar* is not an innovation, and whether the Todas as a whole have properly any true chief, it is fairly clear that the clan and its divisions have definite leaders.

Each clan has a headman or *etudol*; usually, it seemed to me, one who had come to the top by virtue of his character and ability. I did not learn how far his position was generally recognised nor by what means he was chosen. It was quite clear, however, that the leading man of a clan

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, On, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
●622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per varthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 356 412 462 512 While the men are doing their work, the women will have been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently woman's work.

They pound the grain with the *mask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 296 356 462 531 Though these are the three operations which are regarded as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 574 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another. 618

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter. [623]

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers, who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source. [578]

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted. 618 184 554 463

The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

842 hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently
618 married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

GOVERNMENT

623 The most important feature of Toda government is the *naim*, or *noim*,[1] a council having a definite constitution. The
627 *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general, and, in addition, more informal councils,[2] consisting of the chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim* may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs of a clan.

623 The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five
177 members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri, from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the *naim*. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations between the Todas and Badagas.

623 The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda representatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8) and Piutolvan (10) of Kars, Kudòdrsvan (3) of Nòdrs, and Ircheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had not been taken by Piutolvan, the second Kars representative. All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

[1] A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kûtkûdriti*, "the assembly assembles," or *kûtpuniti*, "the assembly makes."

[2] It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kuriolv, they are too old or infirm to serve. Kuriolv is still on the *naim*, and his influence is entirely predominant, and it appears that he has been instrumental in altering the constitution of the council very largely. The number of representatives has been increased, and the following were the members in 1902:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52) of Kuudr, Perner and Tebner (68), of Keadr, Parkeidi (21), Paners (23) and Siriar (20) of Taradr and Pidrvan (9) of Kars. Thus several members of the Kuudrol and Taradrol are serving, while there appears to be no representative of the Nòdrsol; and I was told by several Todas that Perner and Tebner are on the council because they are friends of Kuriolv, though, as members of the Keadr clan, they have no right whatever to the position. 623

On the slopes below the hill called Mirson, near Paikara, there are the remains of ruined walls marking a place where the *naim* used to meet. This place is called Idrgûdipem, and seems to have been at one time the chief meeting-place.

At the present time the *naim* meets anywhere. I have seen the council sitting in the compound of the bungalow at Paikara and on one occasion, when I was working in a bungalow at the Ooty Club, the *naim* sat in the grounds of the club. In general, they now meet at the places which happen to be most convenient for the chief members.

The members usually sit in a semicircular row. If they are considering a dispute between two parties, representatives of the parties take part in the sitting, and in these cases the members of the *naim* sit in the middle of the row while the representatives sit on either wing. 623 627 578

During my visit the council was chiefly occupied with the various complicated transactions which are always arising out of the custom of transferring wives from one man to another. This custom is the chief source of disputes among the Todas, and at times the *naim* may sit for several days before one case is settled.

I am doubtful whether the *naim* should have a definite head, but at the present time it certainly has such in the person of Kuriolv of Kuudr. He is the senior representative of the *manikudupel* of Kuudr, and is therefore the natural representative of this clan on the *naim*. He is highly intel- 623 159 555 176

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

623 159 555 176

ligent, and gave me the impression that he might have risen to a high place in any community. He has the reputation among the Todas of being very eloquent and of having great persuasive powers. When persuasion fails, there is very little doubt that he resorts to intimidation of some kind, though I could not discover what his means of intimidation are.

FIG. 60.—KURIOLV AND PILIMURG.

On one occasion the *naim* spent a whole day discussing a marriage case in the compound at Paikara. On the following day they met in a distant part of the hills to continue the discussion of the case, and I was told that this was arranged by Kuriolv because he hoped to enforce his wishes in some secluded spot more effectively than in the publicity of Paikara where the evidences of the 'government' probably lent moral support to his opponents.

However Kuriolv effects his purpose, there is no doubt that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

he almost entirely dominated the Toda people at the time of my visit. We have already seen that he has succeeded in altering the constitution of the *naim*, and several examples are given in this book of his interference in the normal course of Toda affairs; interference usually in favour of his own family or friends. In at least one case (see Chap. XVI) during my visit he considered himself superior to ceremonial laws. 159 623 555 176

He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died.

I did not obtain a full account of the duties of the *naim* and of the affairs which come under its jurisdiction. There is no doubt, however, that it is largely concerned with the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families, and clans. As I have already mentioned, it seemed to me that it was almost exclusively engaged during my visit in the regulation of the disputes arising out of the *tererstbi* custom. In one such case the question of funeral contributions was involved, and I have no doubt that the settlement of any dispute arising from this source would come within the province of the *naim*, and probably any doubtful point in the working of the social regulations would be submitted to it. 623 627

In addition to its functions in disputes between individuals, the *naim* has wide functions in connexion with Toda ceremonial. It decides when many ceremonies take place, and has the chief word in regulating the affairs of the *ti* dairies. Thus it appeared that the various arrangements and alterations of arrangements in connexion with the migration of the buffaloes of the Nodrs *ti* which were made during my visit were the work of the *naim*, or, at any rate, of its chief members.

Crime

I have no knowledge about the power of the *naim* in criminal as opposed to civil matters. I never heard of inquiry by the *naim* into any criminal offence committed by one man against another or against the community. It is, however, [523] 674

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view.

673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

598 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling

673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence

623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other

671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *tarersthi*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some-

586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been

674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be carried off by force from the home of the former, but,

177 however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas. 177 437

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfnarv*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus, from whom they are procured by the *tikelfnarv*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as that described by Harkness. 177 234 609 437

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in the Toda community is in connexion with the *nain*, or council, of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of the two communities. 177 623

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tuxtir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other. 177

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
234 only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wurzuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

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642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

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of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

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586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

[837] [684] [623] [115]

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 [114] A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

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648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all:

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[623] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, viriloid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very
828 deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangur, son of Piliar (52), however, was a case

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578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [682] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured [648] method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was 682 greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away [754] with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of [115] the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some [123] milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [757] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

601

jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *mad*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensation to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

595 587 [623]

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoï, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *purslitpimi* in the first instance.

[623] [851]

The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

595 422 [556]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [626] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first
843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood
851 of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage
585 ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law. 527 784 183

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules[1] are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days. 527 784 688 626 787

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatsnol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatsnol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatsnol*. 527 769 787

1 [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days.--- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panm ñtpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

881 616 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tâzâr ütiti*, or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

881 836 626 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division and to any clan, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,[1] different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

[1] The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madnol* or *palinol*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursiitpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursiitpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 181 831

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586 183 the time a child had been born of his marriage. Had this been a hard-working people, such a difficulty could have been surmounted by his acting as Jacob did for Rachel, whose proposition, accepted by Laban, was 'I will serve thee for seven years' for her.—Genesis xxix., 18. But no circumstance has yet induced the dolichocephalic Toda to labour.

In such a case as has been described, the marriage is simply cancelled, both parties being competent to marry again. But mark the decision as regards the child; whether son or daughter it remains the property of the father. The mother nurses and cares for it during infancy: but when it can take care of itself; when in fact it requires food from the family stock, it goes to its father's home. Here we recognise the influence of the property law. Some one must feed and clothe the child: but women have no property; hence the father must take charge of it. Such would be the judgment of the kûtacaram.

586 626 684 As regards the national feeling on such an affair[1] it would be looked on as a mishap, an unfortunate occurrence, and the defaulter would lose in public estimation. He might be fined a buffalo or two: but there the matter would end, in sedate quiet. The child born of the union would not suffer in any way; it is the son of so and so: there is the father, whose heir he is, and that, his mother.

562 If the Toda mode of inheriting property should give the impression that women are not of much account in the family, such a view would be quite incorrect. Woman's influence in the mand, through her husbands and children, is real. By the great tolerance and moderation of the men, aided by a very sufficient mental power and mastery of her subject, she maintains a good position in the house. It is not so much that the two sexes are equally balanced, for even if of like mental power, the muscular ability to enforce a requirement must always remain with the man, as that the women have settled into a position which gives ample scope

[1] Lie, failure of the bridegroom to pay the dowry, resulting in termination of the marriage.—Analyst]

234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells
541 were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
765 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
787 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
627 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
765 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *ishnidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them. 562 621 778 784 788

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kaloimad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die. 621 627 761 778

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is
627 also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there
798 to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the
621 reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole
798 or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.
788 Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.
[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

Intercourse between
[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually
684 complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitazmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitazmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
58 no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
627 on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
851 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said
58 to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners, the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pödri*, nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing purposes. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and *pödri* were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45). She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners from infancy, and after having three children, who died young, she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3), while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
595 married life, I add one taken from the book published by Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by
851 myself.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

842 hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently
618 married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

GOVERNMENT

623 The most important feature of Toda government is the *naim*, or *noim*,[1] a council having a definite constitution. The
627 *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general, and, in addition, more informal councils,[2] consisting of the chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim* may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs of a clan.

623 The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five
177 members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri, from which a Badaga man may be sent to také part in the *naim*. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations between the Todas and Badagas.

623 The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda representatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8) and Piutolvan (10) of Kars, Kudòdrsvan (3) of Nòdrs, and Ircheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had not been taken by Piutolvan, the second Kars representative. All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

[1] A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kûtkûdriti*, "the assembly assembles," or *kûtpuniti*, "the assembly makes."

[2] It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kuriolv, they are too old or infirm to serve. Kuriolv is still on the *naim*, and his influence is entirely predominant, and it appears that he has been instrumental in altering the constitution of the council very largely. The number of representatives has been increased, and the following were the members in 1902:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52) of Kuudr, Perner and Tebner (68), of Keadr, Parkeidi (21), Paners (23) and Siriar (20) of Taradr and Pidrvan (9) of Kars. Thus several members of the Kuudrol and Taradrol are serving, while there appears to be no representative of the Nòdrsol; and I was told by several Todas that Perner and Tebner are on the council because they are friends of Kuriolv, though, as members of the Keadr clan, they have no right whatever to the position. 623

On the slopes below the hill called Mirson, near Paikara, there are the remains of ruined walls marking a place where the *naim* used to meet. This place is called Idrgûdipem, and seems to have been at one time the chief meeting-place.

At the present time the *naim* meets anywhere. I have seen the council sitting in the compound of the bungalow at Paikara and on one occasion, when I was working in a bungalow at the Ooty Club, the *naim* sat in the grounds of the club. In general, they now meet at the places which happen to be most convenient for the chief members.

The members usually sit in a semicircular row. If they are considering a dispute between two parties, representatives of the parties take part in the sitting, and in these cases the members of the *naim* sit in the middle of the row while the representatives sit on either wing. 623 627 578

During my visit the council was chiefly occupied with the various complicated transactions which are always arising out of the custom of transferring wives from one man to another. This custom is the chief source of disputes among the Todas, and at times the *naim* may sit for several days before one case is settled.

I am doubtful whether the *naim* should have a definite head, but at the present time it certainly has such in the person of Kuriolv of Kuudr. He is the senior representative of the *manikudupel* of Kuudr, and is therefore the natural representative of this clan on the *naim*. He is highly intel- 623 159 555 176

he almost entirely dominated the Toda people at the time of my visit. We have already seen that he has succeeded in altering the constitution of the *naim*, and several examples are given in this book of his interference in the normal course of Toda affairs; interference usually in favour of his own family or friends. In at least one case (see Chap. XVI) during my visit he considered himself superior to ceremonial laws. 159 623 555 176

He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died.

I did not obtain a full account of the duties of the *naim* and of the affairs which come under its jurisdiction. There is no doubt, however, that it is largely concerned with the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families, and clans. As I have already mentioned, it seemed to me that it was almost exclusively engaged during my visit in the regulation of the disputes arising out of the *terersthi* custom. In one such case the question of funeral contributions was involved, and I have no doubt that the settlement of any dispute arising from this source would come within the province of the *naim*, and probably any doubtful point in the working of the social regulations would be submitted to it. 623 627

In addition to its functions in disputes between individuals, the *naim* has wide functions in connexion with Toda ceremonial. It decides when many ceremonies take place, and has the chief word in regulating the affairs of the *ti* dairies. Thus it appeared that the various arrangements and alterations of arrangements in connexion with the migration of the buffaloes of the Nodrs *ti* which were made during my visit were the work of the *naim*, or, at any rate, of its chief members.

CRIME

I have no knowledge about the power of the *naim* in criminal as opposed to civil matters. I never heard of inquiry by the *naim* into any criminal offence committed by one man against another or against the community. It is, however, [623] 674

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 423 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house. 598 627

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family. 425 361 621

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they [114 428] 171

or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell—konku. That many of these êtud Mands contain kurpus, I have ascertained by direct enquiry. That they all do so, or are supposed by the people to do so, is my belief. Hence we see the êtud Mands are *shrines;* the shrines of a race which burns its dead.

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Now the Badaga name for such a village is mui Mand.[7] And as the very intimate knowledge which this cognate tribe possesses of Toda practice, would probably cause the word mui to be descriptive; it would materially assist us in our enquiries if we knew exactly what it does mean.

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It has been ascertained that the Todas often settle disputes amongst themselves at these places—the tirièri being too sacred to be approached for such purposes—challenging one another to make good their word, by repeating it at the êtud Mand. By joining all these notes together, I can frame an explanation that appears to me quite reasonable, and in consonance with my knowledge of the people's habits and mode of thought. They evidently consider the dairies containing kurpus, or relics of their ancestors, in the light of shrines; and in consequence, the precincts and presence to be holy ground; so holy that men would be restrained from lightly uttering a falsehood at such spots.[8] Hence it is, that these 'great' Mands are used for

—verbal noun = *a sign, indication, memorial.* The Kanarese uses guri. [POPE.]

Mani. Sanskrit mani = *jewel, bell.* Used in all the Drâvidian languages. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz draws a distinction between kurpu and mani; the latter is specific and implies a *metal ring* or *bell.* Thus although a mani is with this people always a kurpu, every kurpu is not a mani. It may be an *axe* or *staff.*

To me it seems that the word mani is a refinement introduced through contact with the Hindus; giving a more distinctly religious, sacred or holy meaning to the sentiment implied in the kurpu.

[7] Mui. In old Kanarese Muyyi is *retaliation.*

Mû in Tamil is *old, venerable.* [POPE.]

[8] Mr. Metz tells me that an oath is taken, by removing the mantle, and stepping over it, in the presence of the êtud Mand.

CHAP. XVII.

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the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families. This belief is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that throughout the East the practice is common, to hold similar meetings at shrines of holy men; Pirs, Jogis, Fakirs, &c.

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That an êtud Mand should have larger herds of cattle than ordinary, may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy.

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It is important that we arrive at some decision on the object and use of a dairy which occupies a position so manifestly conspicuous amongst their social institutions: to enable us to clear our minds as to all the components of the Toda faith. So long as we do not know what an êtud Mand is, we should always feel that some material portion of their religious system remained unexplained.

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is [77] devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and [535] sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other [60] guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and [77] otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bëti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's [578] dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

[535] The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now [506] and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kéd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kédmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! ér kar ultamá*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kéd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kéd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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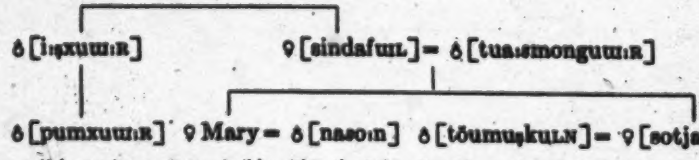
* *Monigar*—properly *manigakāran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchāyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1/2 [of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analysis]

797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
587 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iṣxuum:R]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuum:R]. His sister [sindafuiL]
(Sindavul) married [tua:smonguum:R] (59, Tormungudr) [14] and they
had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabu:f]. [iṣxuum:R] wanted Mary
to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough,
[601] Mary was married to [naso:n] (son of [te:pax] 20, Teipakh). (In the
tribal system [naso:n] and [sindafuiL] would use brother-sister terms
to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib,
but Mary could have been married to [naso:n] in spite of that, since she
would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through
a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the
tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this mar-
[584] riage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am
uncertain which) to [iṣxuum:R], a clear carry-over from tribal custom,
and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
797 ried to [pumxuum:R]. When she came of age however, [pumxuum:R],
184 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
686 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to
627 marry [tōumuṣkuLN]. [iṣxuum:R] tried to have the publishing of the
banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of
Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin
marriage, helped [pumxuum:R] by giving him cattle with which he might
start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money.
Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of
[tōumuṣkuLN] and [sotjabu:f] take place. The Toda Christians then
held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [pe:ðoR]
[692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the
majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to
[iṣxuum:R]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionar-
ies heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided how-
ever that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tua:s-
monguum:R] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iṣxuum:R].
These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them
without the knowledge of the missionaries.



[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitazmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his legal wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitazmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which 177
at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it 164
undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked- [114]
eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an [834]
absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection 628
with the question of the morality of the Toda women, 577
Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other 177
members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to [554]
his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his fellow Tribesmen.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, number- 114
ing, according to the latest census returns, 807 [61]
individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and [127]
other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi- 233
domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products 234
(butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a [443]
less extent than in bygone days before the establishment [178]
of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been 556
said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the 233
number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral 648
life. But I have met with more than one man who had 464
served, or who was still serving Government in the [181]
modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of [233]

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

648 464 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it 461 [241] beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda 562 512 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described [157] [171] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans 177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, 609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even [735] the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, 114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most 177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, 164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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Avalanché to Si[illegible] witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanché-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

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427 648 an offering or tribute, called gudu or basket of grain, partly in compensation for the land taken up by the latter for cultivation, and so rendered unfit for grazing purposes, but chiefly as an offering to secure the favour, or avert the displeasure of the Todas, who, like the Kurumbas (*q.v.*), are believed by the Badagas to have [754] necromantic powers over their health and that of their herds. The European settlers also bought land in 648 Ootacamund from them, and to this day the Government 423 pays them the sum of Rs. 150 per mensem, as compensation for interference with the enjoyment of their pastoral rights in and about Ootacamund. Their position was, however, always a matter of dispute, until it was finally laid down in the despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 21st January, 1843. It was then decided that the Todas possessed nothing more than a prescriptive right to enjoy the privilege of pasturing their herds, on payment of a small tax, on the State lands. The Court desired that they should be secured from interference by settlers in the enjoyment of their mands, and of their spots appropriated to religious rites. Accordingly pattas were issued, granting to each mand three bullahs (11·46 acres) of land. In 1863 Mr. Grant obtained permission to make a fresh allotment of nine bullahs (34·38 acres) to each mand on the express condition that the land should be used for pasturage only, and that no right to sell the land or the wood on it should be thereby conveyed. It may be added that the so-called Toda lands are now regarded as the inalienable common property of the Toda community, and unauthorised alienation is checked by the imposition of a penal rate of assessment (G.O., 18th April 1882). Up to the date of this order, however, alienations by sale or lease were of frequent occurrence. It remains to be seen whether

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the present orders and subordinate staff will be more adequate than those that went before to check the practices referred to." With the view of protecting the Toda lands, Government took up the management of these lands in 1893, and framed rules, under the Forest Act, for their management, the rights of the Todas over them being in no way affected by the rules of which the following is an abstract :—

1. No person shall fell, girdle, mark, lop, uproot, or burn, or strip off the bark or leaves from, or otherwise damage any tree growing on the said lands, or remove the timber, or collect the natural produce of such trees or lands, or quarry or collect stone, lime, gravel, earth or manure upon such lands, or break up such lands for cultivation, or erect buildings of any description, or cattle kraals; and no person or persons, other than the Todas named in the patta concerned, shall graze cattle, sheep, or goats upon such lands, unless he is authorised so to do by the Collector of Nilgiris, or some person empowered by him.

2. The Collector may select any of the said lands to be placed under special fire protection.

3. No person shall hunt, beat for game, or shoot in such lands without a license from the Collector.

4. No person shall at any time set nets, traps, or snares for game on such lands.

5. All Todas in the Nilgiri district shall, in respect of their own patta lands, be exempt from the operation of the above rules, and shall be at liberty to graze their own buffaloes, to remove fuel and grass for their domestic requirements, and to collect honey or wax upon such lands. They shall likewise be entitled to, and shall receive free permits for building or repairing their mands and temples.

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648 423 6. The Collector shall have power to issue annual permits for the cultivation of grass land only in Toda pattas by Todas themselves, free of charge, or otherwise as Government may, from time to time, direct; but no Toda shall be at liberty to permit any person, except a Toda, to cultivate, or assist in the cultivation of such lands.

In 1905, the Todas petitioned Government against the prohibition by the local Forest authorities of the burning of grass on the downs, issued on the ground of danger to the shōlas (wooded ravines or groves). This yearly burning of the grass was claimed by the Todas to improve it, and they maintained that their cattle were deteriorating for want of good fodder. Government ruled that the grass on the plateau has been burnt by the inhabitants at pleasure for many years without any appreciable damage to forest growth, and the practice should not be disturbed.

564 Concerning the social organisation of the Todas, Mr. Breeks states that they are "divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz., Dêvalyâl and Tarserzhâl. The first class consists of Peiki class, corresponding in some respects to Brāhmans; the second of the four remaining classes the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi. A Peiki woman may not go to the village of the Tarserzhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis." The class names given by Mr. Breeks were readily recognised by the Todas whom I interviewed, but they gave Têrthâl (comprising superior Peikis) and Tārthâl as the names of the divisions. They told me that, when 564 574 a Têrthâl woman visits her friends at a Tārthâl mand, she is not allowed to enter the mand, but must stop at a distance from it. Todas as a rule cook their rice in [952] butter-milk, but, when a Têrthâl woman pays a visit to

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595 851 842 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may [765] be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram).

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nīlgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 178 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulhārs bungalow.
† *Op. cit.*

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[765] separating to select a new partner, each couple saluted by bowing the head, and raising thereto the feet of the other, covered by the putkūli. [I have seen women rapidly recover from the outward manifestations of grief, and clamour for money.] From time to time the company of mourners was reinforced by late arrivals from distant mands, and, as each detachment, now of men and now of women, came in view across the open downs, one could not fail to be reminded of the gathering of the clans on some Highland moor. The resemblance was heightened by the distant sound as of pipers, [648] [533] produced by the Kota band (with two police constables in attendance), composed of four Kotas, who made a weird noise with drums and flutes as they drew near the scene of action. The band, on arrival, took up a position close to the mourning women. As each detachment arrived, the women, recognising their relatives, came forward and saluted them in the manner customary among Todas by falling at their feet, and placing first the right and then the left foot on their [576] head. Shortly after the arrival of the band, signals were exchanged, by waving of putkūlis, between the assembled throng and a small detachment of men some distance off. A general move was made, and an *impromptu* procession formed, with men in front, band in the middle, and women bringing up the rear. A halt was made opposite a narrow gap leading into the shola; men and women sat apart as before; and the band walked round, discoursing unsweet music. A party of girls went off to bring fire from the spot just vacated for use in the coming ceremonial, but recourse was finally had to a box of matches lent by one of our party. At this stage we noticed a woman go up to the eldest son of the deceased, who was seated apart from the

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765 pause ensued, broken eventually by the arrival of the other funeral party, the men advancing in several lines, with arms linked, and crying out U, hah! U, hah, hah! in regular time. This party brought with it pieces of the skulls of a woman and two men, which were placed, wrapt in cloths, on the ground, saluted, and mourned over by the assembled multitude. At this [648] stage a small party of Kotas arrived, and took up their position on a neighbouring hill, waiting, vulture-like, for the carcase of the buffalo which was shortly to be slain. Several young men now went off across the 765 787 hill in search of buffaloes, and speedily re-appeared, driving five buffaloes before them with sticks. As soon as the beasts approached a swampy marsh at the foot of the hill on which the expectant crowd of men was gathered together, two young men of athletic build, throwing off their putkûlis, made a rush down the hill, and tried to seize one of the buffaloes by the horns, with the result that one of them was promptly thrown. The buffalo escaping, one of the remaining four was quickly caught by the horns, and, with arms interlocked, the men brought it down on its knees, amid a general scuffle. In spite of marked objection and strenuous resistance on the part of the animal—a barren cow—it was, by means of sticks freely applied, slowly dragged up the hill, preceded by the Kota band, and with a Toda youth pulling at its tail. Arrived at the open space between the kraals, the buffalo, by this time thoroughly exasperated, and with blood pouring from its nostrils, had a cloth put on its back, and was despatched by a blow on the poll with an axe deftly wielded by a young and muscular man. On this occasion no one was badly hurt by the sacrificial cow, though one man was seen washing his legs in the swamp after the preliminary struggle with

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764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf [648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded, the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter- [765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over [775] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that "it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed, and are available for use another time. This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas them- [173] selves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man [763] supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764. 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhutkina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

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We did our work according to his orders, and this excellent order was an ample one. Now this ———, a chief of the Todas, son of———, a deceased Toda, the above man joined with the moniagar of ——— village, joined together, and, dealing with bribes, now they arose against us, and doing this great troubles on us, and also, by this great trouble, one day Mr. ——— came for shooting shapes (snipe) by that side. By chance one grazing buffalo came to him, push him by his horns very forcely, and wounded him on his leg. By the help of another gentleman who came with him he escaped, or he would have die at the moment. Now the said moniagar and ——— joined together, want to finish the funeral to his late father on the 18th instant. For this purpose they are going to shut the buffaloes without food in the kraal on the 18th instant at 10 o'clock. They are going to kill the buffaloes on the 19th instant at 4 o'clock in the evening. But this is a great sin against god. But we beg your honour this way. That is, let them leave the buffaloes in the grazing place, and ask them to catch and kill them at the same moment. And also your honour cannot ordered them to keep them in the kraal without food. And, if they will desire to kill the buffaloes in this way, these buffaloes will come on us, and also on the other peoples one who, coming to see funs on those day, will kill them all by his anxious. And so we the Todas begs your honour to enquire them before the 18th, the said funeral ceremony commencing, and not to grant the above orders to them."

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A Whit Monday at Paikara was given up to an exhibition of sports and games, whereof the most exciting and interesting was a burlesque representation of a Toda funeral by boys and girls. A Toda, who was

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Innerovya (name of buffalo).
Like this buffalo there is no other.
Parkûr (name of a Toda).
Like him there is no man.
The sun is shining. The wind is blowing.
Rain is coming. The trees are in flower.
Tears are falling. The nose is burning.
He is coming, holding up his umbrella.
He is coming, wearing a good body-cloth.
He is coming, wearing a good under-cloth.
He (the palol) is coming, wearing a black cloth.
He is coming, holding his walking-stick of palai wood.
I have a god. What is to become of me?
I am inclined to cry, my heart being heavy.
Oh, my child! Do not cry. It is still crying.
Thuree. Thuree. See. Be quiet.
A robust bull buffallo. Ach! Ach!
A big buffalo not intended for killing. Ach! Ach!
Is leading the cow buffalo. Ah! Ah!
Two or three men are driving it. Ah! Ah!

Song in honour of the arrival of the Maharani-Regent of Mysore at Ootacamund.

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All we Todas go to her house, and dance before her.
She gives us fifteen rupees.
She comes near our women, and talks to them.
She gives cloths to us.
Next day we take milk, eight bottles in the morning, four in the evening.
Month by month she pays us for our milk.
She goes back to Mysore, and, when she goes, we stand in a row before her.

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539 She gives us presents; cloths and three rupees.
[648] The women cut their hair, and stand before her.

Marriage Song.

Boys and girls are singing.
Much money are they spending.
To the girl her father is giving five buffaloes.
The husband tells his wife that she must curl her hair.
If her hair is curled, all the people will rejoice.
The buffalo is slain, and now we must all dance.
Why are not more people here? More should come.
My buffalo is big, very big.
Go quickly and catch it.
The Todas are all there. They are standing in a row.
Who will run, and catch the buffalo first?
To him will a present of five rupees be given.
I will go and catch it first.
The Todas are all fighting.
The Todas are all feasting.
People give them rice.
The buffalo is coming. Two men run to catch it by the neck.
Ten men collect the buffaloes. They pen them in a kraal.
At one o'clock we take our food.
The buffalo is running, and I hit it on the back with a stick.
It swerves aside, but I drive it back to the path.
Night comes, and we all dance.
Next morning at ten o'clock we bring out the buffalo, and slay it.

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animals which have not yet reached the milch stage and which otherwise would unprofitably use up the community's scanty pasturage. It seems also that the Christians still retain some of their original feeling that wealth is to be measured by possession of cattle. They tend to acquire more and more head of cattle and because of the pressure on their own pasture area the superfluous beasts are kept with the tribe almost permanently or in alternation with unproductive animals. In these cases the man who provides pasturage gets the produce, milk and the resulting products. In all cases when cattle are pastured on tribal lands, it seems that it is the buffalo that is so treated; cows are kept at the Christian colonies, since the tribal Todas do not own cows.

The Todas live in economic symbiosis with the other aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiris, viz. the Kotas and the Kurumbas, and with the Badagas, who settled in the Nilgiris perhaps five centuries ago. The mechanism of the economic interchanges has not yet been described in detail,[6] but an outline of the Toda relations with the Kotas will be given here. The Kotas are blacksmiths and potters, and all the Toda needs in these departments are supplied by them, as well as music for the Toda funerals. In return the Kotas receive the carcasses of all Toda buffaloes that die or that are slaughtered at funerals, as well as certain other minor perquisites, such as cane for house-building, bamboo churning-sticks, and a certain amount of clarified butter. The interchanges are made between individuals, who are in a permanent and usually hereditary relationship to each other, referred to by the Todas as [keɹ], by the Kotas as [keɹ]. The relationship includes also the right of the Kota to obtain by purchase from his Toda opposite number such buffaloes and buffalo calves as he may need for his own economic purposes. In most cases one Toda has several Kotas who supply him, the relative numbers of the tribes and the Kotas' similar relationships with the Badagas making such an arrangement necessary. This economic relationship has broken down formally so far as the Christian Todas are concerned. But in spite of this, there is a tendency among the Christian Todas to retain the relationship with their hereditary Kota partners. They obtain their iron tools and pots from these Kotas and recompense them on a more strictly commercial basis than the original one. *E.g.* [kanfuɹsodj] retains such relationships with the Kota who was his father's partner and has in addition formed a new relationship with another Kota. He at least still uses the term [keɹ] in referring to his relationship with these two men, though my Kota linguistic informant was insistent that the Kota

[6] Reference may be made to Rivers, chap. 27. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has made more extensive notes on the subject and it is hoped that his account will soon appear.

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term [KEL] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas. 648 437 184

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing. 797 797 535 [562] [184]

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[7] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc- 797 533

[7] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 543-566. [113]

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs. 797 184 582 627 [686] [692]

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures. 794 184 [233] [437] [648] [648] [754] [551] [582] [535] [533]

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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794 184 563 177 [867] The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 184 564 983 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

564 648 186 [574] [184] [794]

[15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

[113]

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for short or longer periods has however been passed and with 177
changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations; whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area.

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an 177
attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on 178
the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments.

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has 177
felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on 233
which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A 262
great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and 262
of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills 648
were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, 437
and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse. At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt. When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

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is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonises a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

648 437 648 437 178 648 186

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

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In general, 177 233 425 657

the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and prevent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic 177 657 life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in con- 177 nexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature 657 of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work 241 this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings 648 434 in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 5], 123. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:ɮ), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult (" son of so-and-so [the mother's lover] ! ").

582 588 616 198 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kumᵘ:ɖjaɮf made an innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kumᵘ:ɖjaɮf or the children of this union. The example was followed in kuᵐ:ɖjaɮf's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kuᵐᵘ:ɖjaɮf's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

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887 764 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmę (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kuuṇjaḷ, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemodz (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

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535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up·otjt), the rethatching of a dairy (poʃj·ful·fæ ıst), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod·furtjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojoɪʃ, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoɪʃ, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojoɪʃ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

[616] [837]

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the umkitj, nirj, and pumpoɪr sibs of the tɔrθas moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the töüßıʃj moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [851] [621]

[16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pæs·mjt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (mæ·ɑwʃ·mod) as opposed to other munds (mæ·mod) has been explained in my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After* (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

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133 feet high range of peaks that constitutes the culminating point reached from north to south by the Western Ghats, is visible in clear weather through a distinctly blue haze.

133 From the capital of the district, Ootacamund ("One-Stone House" in Tamil, shortened to *Ooty* by British residents), seat of the Government Administrator called the Collector, asphalted motor roads lead out in all directions over the grass-covered downs, which are interspaced here and there in the shallow parts with *sholas* or woods of short trees and bushes. The scenery is very beautiful, and the climate is excellent. Europeans from Madras city and from elsewhere, ever since the beginning of the 18th century, have made use of the station, the highest in India, from which to escape the insalubrious damp heat of the lowlands.

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101 It is here on this green plateau that the Todas live. In their own language, they call themselves *Olkh*,[1] "men", their other name by which all outsiders know them, Toda, being from the Badaga language, *Toda-ma*, "chief". Their houses, *arsh*, which are of a particular kind, made of slit bamboo and planks and thatched, in the shape of Nissen huts, have no chimney and no windows worth mentioning, while the door is barely two feet high, obliging those who enter through it to crawl in on all fours. These dwellings are grouped in small numbers, never more than four or five at a time, forming *munds* (in Toda *mad*), and are scattered all over the hills, near sholas, and often very far away from each other. This spread appearance is apt to be deceptive to begin with, as it would seem that each "village" is practically independent, and leads a life of its own. Actually this is not the case, since, regardless of the distance which separates various munds from each other (often twenty miles and more), tribal divisions make it perfectly clear which hamlets belong together and which do not.

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141 The people have a fine physical appearance. They are, on an average, generally taller than most Indians, the tallest Toda being something like six foot six. The men are profusely bearded, and wear their hair

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104 [1] Romanization of Toda here will be in accordance with the following personal transcription:

ä = hat	ee = meet	ai = bite	l = lot	s = soon	v = vat
a = hut	f = fun	j = French	m = me	t = top	w = won
b = best	g = gone	dj = job	n = no	th = Greek theta	y = yoke
d = do	gh = Greek gamma	sh = she	o = hot		z = zero
dh = Greek delta	ng = ring	tch = chap	ö = word	u = blue	ò = simply tonic
e = met	h = aspirate	k = kit	oi = hoy	ù = cook	
ei = date	i = hit	kh = Greek chi	p = pot	oo = moon	
			r = rot	ü = French	

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No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

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101 gods, are very close indeed; so close in fact that to know them really
648 well it would be necessary to make a special study of them from the
121 point of view of each of the five communities in turn. As others who have worked solely on the Todas before me, I am, however, only acquainted with these relations from the Toda viewpoint, and consequently can only briefly account for them here as described to me from that angle.

648 Of the four, the Badaga community is the largest. It is said, too, that it is the latest to have arrived in the Blue Mountains, but even so, this must have been quite a long time ago, as there are Portuguese descriptions of it going back for more than three centuries. The Todas
[186] consider the Badagas as practically their equals, and their name for them is *Mav*. They depend on them for much of their livelihood, as
[439] they are the agriculturists who supply them with grain, and all relations with the outer world are conducted to a large extent for the Todas through their intermediary. They pay a specified grain tribute called *kur* (Rivers' *gudu*) to the Todas, and the priests of the latter's most important temples may eat only Badaga grain (which includes rice) and none other. Furthermore a Badaga from the village of Tuneri is by right a member of the Toda tribal council, when it decides questions of inter-tribal importance, and at certain ceremonies in the principal temples, a Badaga, known as a *tikelvmav* has to be in attendance.

[186] The Kotas, called *Kuv* by the Todas, are looked down upon by them
[439] and considered low-caste. They are the artisans who supply metalware and pottery to their neighbours, and, as is often the case with smiths in India, also music at festive occasions. They are indispensable at Toda funerals, where they have very distinct duties such as providing a band, giving cloth, grain, ceremonial bows and arrows, money etc. for the proper disposal of the corpse, besides taking away the sacrificed buffaloes which they eat.

The Kurumbas and Irulas are slight, dwarf-like aborigines who inhabit the forest-clad, malarial southern and western slopes of the Nil-
[186] giris. They are known respectively as *Kurub* and *Eri* by the Todas, who fear them greatly as sorcerers and magicians. It is on them, and
[439] principally the Kurumbas, that the tribe is dependent for its supply of bamboo vessels, of a certain long pole, the *tari*, used at funerals, and more especially of medicine, which appellation includes poison. The Todas make habitual use of the latter when they want to fight each other in personal or inter-clan feuds. In Toda mythology, the two last named of their neighbours as well as the Kotas, but not the Badagas, are mentioned.

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776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[24] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
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642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
648 without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a
[614] whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
623 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
692 of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda
[614] clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of
[648] deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
852 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes
302 stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

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of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

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had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment. [764]

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *än* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366). 837 764 [301]

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough". 648● 837 [834] [684] [143]

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

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648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all:

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[625] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, viriloid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was
828 through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangur, son of Piliar (52), however, was a case

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578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking [754] place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very [682] few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [648] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 682 [754] [115] [662] Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [123] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his [757] case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

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595 her by Wunkwur. Kanvarsathi assured me that there were other such non-fraternal cases in outlying *munds*, but I did not come across any.

114 My impression was that the polyandry of the Todas is tending more and more to be restricted only to real brothers, in the way we use that word.
595 Rivers in his book does mention a number of instances in which non-brothers, not even classificatory, are married to the same woman (see *The Todas*, pp. 515–516), but although I searched for some, I was unable to find any in existence today. Rivers already remarked in his time: "It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present." (*The Todas*, p. 516.)

Rivers' description of the marriage of *matchuni* seems to imply that such weddings are monogamous, (see *The Todas*, pp. 512–513). I enquired about this when in the Nilgiris, and was told that it was not necessarily, although admittedly generally, so. There have been recorded cases of polygamous unions of this type, both polygynous and polyandrous, the latter being, rather naturally with the Todas, the more usual of the two. My informants could not take me to see any such case existing at the time, but assured me that they had known some. There was nothing in Toda custom to forbid it, they assured me (see also, *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers' Book, Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

● 648 Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf has shown, in his short
837 note about *Heriditary Friendships and Inter-Tribal Sex relations be-*
tween Todas and Mudugas (see Bibliography), that such relations of the
[114] Todas with their Muduga hereditary friends are definitely not limited to one man, but include a number of brothers. In this case, of course, we are not dealing with a regular marriage. Inversely, the Muduga headman whom he mentioned has access to the common wife of the two Toda brothers who are his friends, whenever he pays back their call in the Nilgiris, although the Mudugas themselves, like most more primitive people, do not practise polyandry. The type of established, even institutionalized, sex relation described here, seems definitely to follow the Toda pattern and not the Muduga one.

595 About sixty per cent of the Todas are polyandrous. I did not actually take count of exactly how many there were, because as the community is continually in flux with regard to marital arrangements, principally because of the *terershti* institution, figures would not have meant very much anyhow. But Kanvarsathi worked it out that the number of polyandrous marriages must involve just about that percentage of the whole tribe's number, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of

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married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

[Melgarsh Village]

still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, [614]
and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

TODAS AND BADAGAS

101 The Todas call a Badaga *Mav*,[1] which seems to be a form of the Canarese word for father-in-law or maternal uncle. The origin of this term is said to have been that when the Todas first met a Badaga, they asked his name and he answered "*Mav*." A Badaga who performs certain services 177 for the *palol* is called *tikelfmav*. Certain elders of the 609 Badagas are also called *madtin*.

Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two which is represented in Fig. 69. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin*, you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas.

177 The Badagas perform definite services for the Todas and give what may be regarded as a tribute of grain at the harvest. 651 The tribute is called *gudu*. I did not myself investigate the nature of the *gudu*, and there is some difference of opinion among previous writers[2] as to whether a definite amount of grain

[1] *Mav* is also the Toda word for sambhar.

[2] According to Harkness, "each burgher, hamlet, or village" gives about two quarts (p. 108), or (p. 135) half a bushel to the *ti* and half a bushel to the other Todas. According to Breeks (p. 9), the *gudu* is about one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-fifth of the gross produce.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

or a given proportion of the crop is given. I have no information as to the way in which the giving of the tribute is regulated, and it is eminently one of those points on which evidence must be sought from both Todas and Badagas. In the case of the Kotas, we shall see that there is a definitely

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651
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FIG. 69.—A BADAGA GREETING A TODA

organised system regulating the relations of certain Kota villages to certain Toda clans, and some such system probably exists to regulate the supply of Badaga grain to different clans, but I have no information on the point.[1]

[1] It is possible that the elucidation of this point might also help towards the explanation of the Badaga account of the Toda clans.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 The contribution of grain from the Badagas has usually
651 been regarded as given in return for the use of the land, the Todas being supposed to be the original owners of the soil. That this is not the whole explanation is shown by the fact that the Badagas also give a tribute of grain to two other Nilgiri tribes, the Kotas and Kurumbas. Harkness[1] was told by the Badagas that the portion given to the *ti* was in return for the prayers of the *palol*, and that they did not believe that "their crops or their cattle, themselves or their children, would prosper without his blessing." The Badagas also stated that they generally desisted from cultivating their fields when the *ti* was left without a *palol*. They looked on the tribute of grain to the Todas as given of their own good will, while a similar tribute to the Kurumbas was dictated by fear of the consequences of sorcery which might be employed if the duty were neglected.

[754] It has been supposed that the fear of Toda sorcery is one reason for the maintenance of the tribute, and, since the Badagas undoubtedly fear the power of the Toda sorcerers, it is probable that this factor plays a part, though one less important than in the case of the Kurumbas.

[234] Another view which has been taken is that the Todas maintain rights over old dairies in the middle of the Badaga fields, and that any recalcitrance on the part of the Badagas might be followed by the taking up of these old rights. It is possible that the Todas have at some time threatened to resume their rights over disused dairies, but, in the case of the more sacred dairies, the fear of defilement of the sacred buffaloes by approaching a Badaga village would prevent the Todas from putting such a threat into practice.

The grain is probably given, partly because it is an immemorial custom, partly because the Badagas believe that they receive benefits and avoid evils in consequence of the custom.

177 At the present time, the amount of grain supplied by the
437 Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* must, however, be that supplied by

[1] P. 136.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
234 sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
234 absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

421 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
428 *patta** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
592 "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue* "*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
177 depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
651 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt; indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
461 an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Patta*, commonly spelt *pattah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket*, *mat*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Toda.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.) 1 A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bûgurî* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 533
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, *Tenure of land.*
to settle at Cotacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas* † of land, and 2 *Kantirâi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pittkeli*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = Or. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analysis]

177 an undefined extent of land. Further, the Badaga and Kota cultivators had
421 always given them annually a portion of their field produce under the name of *gūdu*, but, "*whether out of superstitious motives, or to induce the Todas not to* "*molest them, or in acknowledgment of their proprietary right in the land,*"* was
423 uncertain.

651 This seems to be the case for the Todas.

On the other hand there is nothing in the Toda occupation which affects the universally acknowledged right of the Government to levy full assessment on all uncultivated land, when actually brought under tillage, a right which the Government had exercised without objection in the case of all lands cultivated by the Badagas and paying *gūdu* to the Todas.

The first step in the settlement of the matter was to declare in 1843 that the Todas had an absolute right in their mands or village sites and in the spots appropriated to religious rites, and had also a claim to compensation† for abandonment of their grazing privileges, but that purchasers from Todas could only buy the right of occupying the land for pasture. On this principle compensation was paid by Government for the area now forming the Ootacamund settlement. Subsequently, on further inquiry, in connexion with the survey of the Hills by Captain Ouchterlony, it was found that the Badagas generally were not disposed to admit the right of the Todas to demand *gūdu* from them at any specified rate, although they acknowledged the practice of giving *gūdu*, and their readiness still to give it "according to their own wants or fancy." It was found too that the Badagas had for some time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the *gūdu*, and that no claim had subsequently been urged by the Todas on the buyer. On inquiry into the extent of table land over which *gūdu* was claimable, it appeared that on the whole plateau of the Hills there were not more than about a hundred mands occupied and unoccupied, and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in practice, only extended to the area surrounding each mand. Under these circumstances it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a mand or of spots appropriated to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoccupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural purposes. Every lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *gūdu* would be charged to the grantee, and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *gūdu* was payable thereon. Subsequently, in 1863, sales by public auction were substituted for leases. Under orders from Government the revenue authorities have abstained from leasing, or putting up to public auction, land which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda

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* *Despatch from the Court of Directors to Madras*, dated 21 June 1843, No. 13.

† Compensation equivalent to the *Gūdu* was to be given, and added to the assessment when the land was taken and tilled; and in case the land so taken was a portion of that for which the Todas paid the pasture tax, a proportionate share of the tax was to be remitted.

In *Minutes of Consultation*, dated 7 May 1852, the *Gūdu* equivalent was fixed at 1 anna per Kani (cawny). A Cawny = 1·32 acres.

177 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gūdu* been claimed* for lands
421 disposed of by Government.

Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gūdu* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pattās*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gūdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gūdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— *Relig Rites Cere*

I. *Pālāls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a
234 mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pālaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pālaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pālāls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenād, and one near Kodanād. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pālāls* must be Peikis; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarscrzhāl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pālāls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilāl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pālāl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pālāl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,749, 29 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's* Letter of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gūdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few canas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
563 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced
651 by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

262 437 648 from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse.

443 430 431 [29] At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If [426] a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit [452] and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt. [557] When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the [652] first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

648 437 The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

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In general, 177
the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close 233
watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or 425
from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and pre- 657
vent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic 177
life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the 657
interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in con- 177
nexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature 657
of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work 241
this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings 648
in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of 434
Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 5], 125. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

177 the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief
[177] in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing
[178] no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage
[582] customs attempted by kuu:ʒaʎ and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and
[425] that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of
[426] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made
[657] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

161 There remains the important question of the effect of outside
177 influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): " The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems
[114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women
[831] by the polyandrous system combined with the mokʊotʃoj institution by which a woman has at least one " lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At the present time the custom of *tererstbi* has a far wider range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age. It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *tererstbi* should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.[1]

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *tererstbi* custom should be remedied.

DIVORCE

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the transference of wives just considered.

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

[1] For an instance see p. 535.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [682] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured [648] method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 682 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for [754] the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away [115] with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some [123] milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [757] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view.
673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

578 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling
673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence
623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other
671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *tererstlui*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some-
586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been
674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be carried off by force from the home of the former, but,
177 however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends
428 on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known.
851 Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by
428 a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would
611 arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which
● 671 would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony
183 was performed several generations ago. When the eldest child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

421 himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the
428 buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of
611 Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become
671 *extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and*
183 Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

[601] This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

157 The history is also very interesting in showing that a
184 century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their atten-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
618 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
623 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
688 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance. 782 796

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pölu* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*. 618 673 688

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed:— 234 782

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy. 796

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time. 673 688

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*;
234 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
688 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[787] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatnol*, or day

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 673 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
782 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the ceremony which has been ordered. The following is probably a typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*, who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madnol* or sacred days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*. The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv) and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following vow at each :--

Ir her	*ulldmd,*	*ptrsk*	*ulldkh en,*	*irnörtkin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."[1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
782 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
783 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
673 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
796 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recovering from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
796 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view. 673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

578 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling 673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence 623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other 671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *tererstlhi*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some- 586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been 674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be carried off by force from the home of the former, but, 177 however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

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In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary 773
or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part 674
in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, 609
but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, 754
but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the 674
transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except 673
in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments 688
or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

SUICIDE

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by 173
strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates 762
this is said to have been a recognised custom among the 152
Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been 177
borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There 276
has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when 762
angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

THE MONEGAR

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible 622
for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

he almost entirely dominated the Toda people at the time of my visit. We have already seen that he has succeeded in altering the constitution of the *naim*, and several examples are given in this book of his interference in the normal course of Toda affairs; interference usually in favour of his own family or friends. In at least one case (see Chap. XVI) during my visit he considered himself superior to ceremonial laws. 159 623 555 176

He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died.

I did not obtain a full account of the duties of the *naim* and of the affairs which come under its jurisdiction. There is no doubt, however, that it is largely concerned with the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families, and clans. As I have already mentioned, it seemed to me that it was almost exclusively engaged during my visit in the regulation of the disputes arising out of the *terersthi* custom. In one such case the question of funeral contributions was involved, and I have no doubt that the settlement of any dispute arising from this source would come within the province of the *naim*, and probably any doubtful point in the working of the social regulations would be submitted to it. 623 627

In addition to its functions in disputes between individuals, the *naim* has wide functions in connexion with Toda ceremonial. It decides when many ceremonies take place, and has the chief word in regulating the affairs of the *ti* dairies. Thus it appeared that the various arrangements and alterations of arrangements in connexion with the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* which were made during my visit were the work of the *naim*, or, at any rate, of its chief members.

CRIME

I have no knowledge about the power of the *naim* in criminal as opposed to civil matters. I never heard of inquiry by the *naim* into any criminal offence committed by one man against another or against the community. It is, however, [623] 674

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

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CHAP. IV.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful, seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of opposiveness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their force of character extremely small, and no great man of

[1] The Todas living in proximity to the haunts of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike persistency; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit distressed.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

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578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [682] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured [648] method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was 682 greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away [754] with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of [115] the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [123] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his [757] case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
177 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Oot-
233 acamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
425 from the Todas. The sib of the mṇkitjo:ḷ (Rivers' Pam; for
[614] details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ṛo:ḷ and melga:-ṛo:ḷ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
[311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ṛo:ḷ sib, the other of
[797] the mö:ṛo:ḷ sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ṛo:ḷ sib were sold to Government
[614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
[682] when the sib of the ka:ṛo:ḷ were in need of a large sum of money to settle parkumṛ's liability in the suicide of nörnmṛ. In general,

578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very [682] few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [648] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was 682 greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for [754] the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away [115] with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of [662] the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [123] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his [757] case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

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the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die. 578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed. 595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above). [115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursütpimi* was, however, performed for 595 614 595 587 595

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601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
[843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
[164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
[578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
[682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations
[595] could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

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During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Aperngor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some [123] milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [757] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

Intercourse between
[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the
684 man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitasmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

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583 584 girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

583 584 684 In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. An entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.[2] Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—kûtacaram.

585 301 431 The husband now gives his wife a necklace,[3] of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

585 The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

[2] Literally Âl = '*husband*' or '*man*.' Kâtvoti = '*wife*' or '*she who is bound to me*.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

[3] Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

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586 183 the time a child had been born of his marriage. Had this been a hard-working people, such a difficulty could have been surmounted by his acting as Jacob did for Rachel, whose proposition, accepted by Laban, was 'I will serve thee for seven years' for her.—Genesis xxix., 18. But no circumstance has yet induced the dolichocephalic Toda to labour.

In such a case as has been described, the marriage is simply cancelled, both parties being competent to marry again. But mark the decision as regards the child; whether son or daughter it remains the property of the father. The mother nurses and cares for it during infancy: but when it can take care of itself; when in fact it requires food from the family stock, it goes to its father's home. Here we recognise the influence of the property law. Some one must feed and clothe the child: but women have no property; hence the father must take charge of it. Such would be the judgment of the kûtacaram.

586 626 684 As regards the national feeling on such an affair[1] it would be looked on as a mishap, an unfortunate occurrence, and the defaulter would lose in public estimation. He might be fined a buffalo or two: but there the matter would end, in sedate quiet. The child born of the union would not suffer in any way; it is the son of so and so: there is the father, whose heir he is, and that, his mother.

562 If the Toda mode of inheriting property should give the impression that women are not of much account in the family, such a view would be quite incorrect. Woman's influence in the mand, through her husbands and children, is real. By the great tolerance and moderation of the men, aided by a very sufficient mental power and mastery of her subject, she maintains a good position in the house. It is not so much that the two sexes are equally balanced, for even if of like mental power, the muscular ability to enforce a requirement must always remain with the man, as that the women have settled into a position which gives ample scope

[1 Lie, failure of the bridegroom to pay the dowry, resulting in termination of the marriage.—Analyst]

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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By
M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [607] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri- [614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The res- 718 triction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty- [361] five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [718] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [716] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure. 614 835

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the tortjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[24] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjatr (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister ezag (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough. 183 831 835 [684] [684] [184]

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[25] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they 174 614 [173]

[24] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's tortjfoj-oil. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Muknir (Makner), wife of tulkirõj of the nots patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tõõfarur (Tevõ), looked like his mother's tortjfoj-oil, nobus of the pirtoil patrilineal sib (Naburs, 64), also called kurtj (he reared the children after tulkirõj died). In a quarrel tõõfarur might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobus-mox "son of nobus" or kurtj-mox "son of kurtj," or as nobus or kurtj. [837] [851] [578]

[25] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇṣa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (Biṭṭiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeveram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

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642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial. Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[684] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of
[648] deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

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of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men, their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

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which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held. 595 851

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to procreate children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas. [842] [684] [616] [848]

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her. 851 848 836

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation 586 [587]

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586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

[837] [684] [623] [115]

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 [114] A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

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had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment. [764]

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *än* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366). 837 764 [301]

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough". 648 837 [834] [684] [143]

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

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648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all:

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[625] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, viraloid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very
828 deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangur, son of Piliar (52), however, was a case

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583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

The Regulation of Marriage

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
588 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions
591 of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
582 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iṣxuuiR]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuuiR]. His sister [sindafuiL] (Sindavul) married [tuaismonguuiR] (59, Tormungudr) [14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuif]. [iṣxuuiR] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough,
[60] Mary was married to [nasoin] (son of [teipax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [nasoin] and [sindafuiL] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasoin] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this mar-
[584] riage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iṣxuuiR], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
797 ried to [pumxuuiR]. When she came of age however, [pumxuuiR],
184 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
686 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to
627 marry [tōumuṣkuLN]. [iṣxuuiR] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuuiR] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tōumuṣkuLN] and [sotjabuif] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peiθoL]
[692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iṣxuuiR]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaismonguuiR] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iṣxuuiR]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.

♂[iṣxuuiR] ♀[sindafuiL] = ♂[tuaismonguuiR]

♂[pumxuuiR] ♀Mary = ♂[nasoin] ♂[tōumuṣkuLN] = ♀[sotjabuif]

[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—*i.e.*, as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo. 782 234

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

Irnörtiti to the Ti

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *tenol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310). 234 782 68 [237]

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become 234 431 782

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234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their atten-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
618 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
623 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
688 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

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the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance. 782 796

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. 678 678 688 At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pôlu* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*.

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tasinörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed :— 284 782 796

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy. 673

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time. 688

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnal* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinal*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*;
234 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
689 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[70] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatsnol*, or day

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 673 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpoli*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

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753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
782 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove
it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed
and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the
offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies
of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the cere-
mony which has been ordered. The following is probably a
typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of
his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*,
who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from
the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madnol* or sacred
days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their
buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there
had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven
them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*.
The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following
Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv)
and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following
vow at each :—

Ir kur	*ulläuk,*	*ptrzh*	*ullikh en,*	*irnörthin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."[1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
782 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
783 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
673 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
796 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners
to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his
fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recover-
ing from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
796 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

618 "*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
688 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
796 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
618 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
621 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*. If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
618 which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
796 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *terersthi* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

[1] According to a later finding of the *tauol*, the death of Tersveli was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure
688 of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. 783
When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to 782
regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as 688
if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it 796
seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo 782
is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most 783
nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in 688
going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded 618
as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of 796
pilinörtiti to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

782 social regulations exist without anything which can clearly
783 be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people
688 whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than that they now possess.

618 If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the
796 religious sanction has been added to the system of social punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the gods.

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law. 527 784 183

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules[1] are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days. 527 784 688 626 787

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*, 527 769 787

1 [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days.--- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer. 773 674 609 754

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another. 674

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual. 673 688

Suicide

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die." 173 762 152

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die." 177 276 762

The Monegar

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below). 622

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθɯt and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tɯt) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiʒ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund no:ʂ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθɯt are not the most important gods to the Todas. 776 114 794 [777] [791] [688]

The töuno:ʈ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoʈ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as a:ʂ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noʈ "sacred place." Within the noʈ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noʈ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noʈ "sacred place" or töunoʈ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which 794 776 234 [361] [782] [783] [562] 776 234 778 794 [192]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At the present time the custom of *tererstbi* has a far wider range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age. It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *tererstbi* should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.[1]

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *tererstbi* custom should be remedied.

DIVORCE

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the transference of wives just considered.

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

[1] For an instance see p. 535.

12:Peter E-5 (1939,1949)1963 AW11 Kerala
Toda AW60

115 him to delve into the intimate details of tribal customs. He was also a very intelligent individual who fully grasped the interest of anthropological research, and was keen to make use of the results in the hope of improving the material condition of the Todas. Without his assistance, it is doubtful whether I would have acquired so penetrating an insight into the Toda way of life, something for which I am extremely grateful to him.

[589] Kanvarsathi's father was a rather notorious character among the Todas called Kiunervan (Table 14 of Rivers' genealogical tables) who had no less than eleven wives, one after the other. Kanvarsathi was the only son of the eleventh wife, and was born in 1905 at the Toda village of Paletkwar (known as Attakoraimand in the language of the Badagas) near Or, on the left-hand side of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. Two months after his birth, his mother died, and his half-sister, Sinkup, later wife of Ujar (48, Rivers' Ushadz, one of my best informants), a daughter of his father's second wife, took him away with her and very grudgingly looked after him.

Six years later, Kiunervan also died, leaving one boy, Kanvarsathi, and two elder girls. The total number of his father's offspring had not been very great, despite the eleven wives. There were, altogether, only three sons and two daughters, of which two boys died before Kanvarsathi was born, and the two girls after, leaving him the sole survivor. Strictly speaking he became the only heir to his father's estate, which [559] consisted, at the time of death, of sixty buffaloes and some gold ornaments – quite a considerable fortune according to Toda standards. But [929] because he was a minor, his father's brothers' sons – his first cousins on his father's side – took the property into their custody until he should come of age. Being, however, most unscrupulous, and believing that Kanvarsathi would never find out, these cousins gradually disposed of the estate to their own advantage, so that when the time came for them to hand it over, all that he got were six buffaloes and two pairs of ear-rings.

115 When he was ten years old, he found out the real state of affairs and 691 how he was being done out of his legitimate inheritance. He appealed against this to the Toda Government Agent, the Monegar, and to the most influential Toda of his day, the famous Kuriolv (52, properly speaking, Kiusharf in Toda, the other name being Badaga), but to no avail. These important people could not be bothered with the complaints of so small a boy, and all he got for his trouble was to be made to look after their buffaloes. This unfairness deeply wounded him, and

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
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continued to smoulder in his heart until, in 1917, he decided to take the matter to Court, as a result of which he did receive the remaining property. 115 [691]

Before this episode, however, his half-sister had died leaving him all alone. It was then that Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission took an interest in him and removed him to the school which she ran close to his native village at the 8th mile of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. As a consequence of this, he was eventually converted to Christianity. After he had received the meagre remnants of his father's estate, Miss Ling sent him away to another school at Palamkottah in the Tinnevely district for further studies, and he passed there through the third form. In 1923 she sent him to Assam, to the Welsh Mission, with the idea that he should learn to be a motor mechanic, I do not quite know to which part of that large and distant province he went, as he was rather vague in his description of it, but he did say that it was wild and underdeveloped in the extreme, with no roads at all, let alone motor traffic. So, instead of being trained as a mechanic, he was made to look after the station missionary's horse as a groom, which enraged him since he had just come into what little there was left of his property and had been persuaded to leave the Nilgiris under what were apparently false pretences. [797]

After only a very few months of this most unsatisfactory situation, he ran away and managed somehow to reach Calcutta in search of work. But because of the language, Bengali, which he did not speak, he found this extremely difficult to obtain, and had to content himself with a hand to mouth exsistence. In the end, he got a job as a junior gardener with a kind missionary, the Rev. H. Kehel. He remained a year with the latter, and when he had saved enough money to pay for the railway fare, he took the train and returned to Madras. In that city he joined the large motor transport company, Addison and Co., where after twelve months' apprenticeship, he eventually got his driver's licence and became one of the firm's mechanics, keeping his position until 1928.

At this time his health deteriorated. He underwent a serious operation for a gastric ulcer and had to give up his work. He returned to the Nilgiris the following year, and began to take a lively interest in the well-being and progress of the community from which he sprang, the Todas. He joined the Collector of the Nilgiris' Toda Amelioration Scheme and was trained as an agriculturalist. He thus became an agricultural consultant for the tribe, advising it on such matters, and using his newly acquired knowledge as a means of livelihood. [792]

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
582 tempts to penalise the person responsible for the failure. [iqxuum:R]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuum:R]. His sister [sindafuiL] (Sindavul) married [tua:smonguum:R] (59, Tormungudr)[14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuif]. [iqxuum:R] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough, Mary was married to [nasom] (son of [tei:pax] 20, Teipakh). (In the [601] tribal system [nasom] and [sindafuiL] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasom] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this mar- [584] riage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iqxuum:R], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, 797 and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
184 ried to [pumxuum:R]. When she came of age however, [pumxuum:R],
686 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
627 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [tõumuqkuLN]. [iqxuum:R] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuum:R] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tõumuqkuLN] and [sotjabuif] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [pei:θoR] [692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iqxuum:R]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tua:smonguum:R] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iqxuum:R]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.

♂[iqxuum:R] ♀[sindafuiL] = ♂[tua:smonguum:R]

♂[pumxuum:R] ♀Mary = ♂[nasom] ♂[tõumuqkuLN] = ♀[sotjabuif]

[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
648 without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a
[614] whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhliud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
623 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
692 of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda
[614] clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
852 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes
302 stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

234 that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I
787 have no information, however, as to the method which the
754 sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any one who has offended him.

124 The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came
754 to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

177 The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than
754 that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrokiti* (*Kurub*= Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied.
[721] If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

221 I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
621 found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

161 The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
563 giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced
651 by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[721] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. X.

The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life. 161 162 621

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study. 161

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate. 162

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye. 732

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health. 165 147

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the 757 164

[1] [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? 847
Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the open- 178
ing of the buffalo-pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were [732]
sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth with a cloth thus—here pantomimic action. It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The
kelachi got a present of four annas for the deed." The [465]
old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance to a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not.* The Missionary Metz † bears out the statement that the Toda babies were killed by suffocation.

At the census, 1901, 453 male and 354 female [162]
Todas were returned. In a note on the proportion of the sexes among the Todas, Mr. R. C. Punnett states ‡ that "all who have studied the Todas are agreed upon the frequency of the practice (of infanticide) in earlier times. Marshall, writing in 1872, refers to the large amount of female infanticide in former years, but expresses his conviction that the practice had by that time died out. Marshall's evidence is that of native assurance only. Dr. Rivers, who received the same assurance, is disinclined to place much confidence in

* Ellis. History of Madagascar.
† Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills. By a German missionary, 1856. [113]
‡ Proc. Cambridge Philosoph. Soc., XII, 1904.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen
[513] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms; A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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(6) Nalsirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pads. She is twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knowns it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife. 159 621

(7) MUTNARSH: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [464]

(8) KUDDHUE: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mad*, in the tribe's *wursulis* for which he is very much sought after. [732] [793]

(9) MUNBOKWUTN: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Erzigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mad* where he apparently likes to stay. [595]

(10) Erzigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda women who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so [842]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 replied, "*Pülmâv tars pògh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin
773 blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Aroth pun pârs Pâlmän*
kwark putvai, nadrtivadr"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to
776 the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wursol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakhudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wursol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk
[762] also strangled themselves with *kakhudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pòni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seizâr zon, Kwoten âr zon, Seizâr zon, Terkosh âr zon.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *âr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Taradr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that
[735] place were sent to him. Very little is related about the third brother, Elnâkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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648 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous
464 success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it
461 beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former
[241] Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda
562 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad
512 or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described
[157] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of
[171] the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans
177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand,
609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām).
[135] Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868,
114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most
177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who,
164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the
621 house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly,
[754] nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children, whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to
[735] me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*;
[123] but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund
[464] Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress
[291] in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that
[124] I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and even to have developed a system of male descent among 234
their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 611

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of 842
the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part 181
played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect.

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is 597
not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies.

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people 736
of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child 611
retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pòlm* of the father.

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom 842
which makes it necessary that a man should have children. 618
The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan.

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743] [648]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of [614]
the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled. 853

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpûl* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye. 952 854 951

The Tersamptpimi Ceremony

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face. 852 553 765

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmän*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised. [442]

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put 852

[1] *Rosa Leschenaultiana.* [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgamol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjánkudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mikuti* (? *meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mikuti*.

SKIN-MARKS

304 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form
751 of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the
755 elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered
304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of a fruit called *ilpom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit called *puthimulpom*[1] is used for the same purpose. The yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks of the Hindus.

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Ornaments

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten.

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The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Breeks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

[1] This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Taradr and Kanòdrs.

CHAP. VI. the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

which are eaten; (iv) those of trees which give pungent substances like chillies and pepper. 755 824

There were various other complaints for which the *utkòren* are consulted, such as:—*elptûksnûdr*, depression in the chest of a child when it breathes (*elp* or *elv* = bone); *tekhpkâdathvüdnûdr*, pain in the side; *kankpudithnûdr*, if anything gets into the eye; *erutûthtinûdr*, if cut or wounded in any way; *pobersnûdr*, if snake bites. 755

Each of these has its appropriate treatment, but the only method of which I obtained an account was the last. Certain men have a special reputation for the treatment of snake-bite. A cord is made of woman's hair and this is bound tightly round the bitten limb in three places. The doctor takes a piece of *pathanmul* and strikes the bitten limb while he utters the appropriate incantation.[1] The ligature is kept on the limb for two or three days and the incantation is repeated three times a day during that period. Anyone whom a snake has bitten must not cross a stream. If it is absolutely necessary that he should cross, he must be carried over it. 752 755

If wild animals attack the buffaloes, a procedure which closely resembles those already described is carried out by the *utkòren*. The procedure is called *kâdrkatinamûdr*—*i.e.*, "wild beast tie mouth if." It is also carried out if a buffalo is lost, and in this case the charm will keep the animal from injury by wild beasts. The *utpol* takes three stones secretly and goes at night to the front either of the dairy or hut and utters the following incantation:— 234 755 789

Pithiotem Ön idith, Teikirsim Tirshtim idith; pef pirzi kât terz nil
big tiger teeth fastened stand

nil nâ; kâkh herman mûn terz nil nâ; pudr kenai amûn terz
may; black bear face crowd red dog other side

nil nâ; pok tenzv terz nil nâ; pef per terz nil nâ; pef po
snake erect head big hill big river

pâ terz nil nâ; pef pôdi mul[2] *terz nil nâ.*
stream big porcupine quills

[1] I did not obtain this formula.

[2] *Mul*, which means bramble and thorn, is here used for the porcupine's quills.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

304 man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had [752] to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pöturers*, is used to hasten the healing.

[755] Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *sunurkudi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

304 Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns
631 consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.[1]

304 I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory
521 information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

304 The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might under-
463 take the business. The following are at present recognised as
465 experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *utkòren*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

304 The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

[1] Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the re-

mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of 173
doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the butter- 753
milk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends small- 773
pox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would 776
no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then 886
Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto 173
sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the 773
buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all 776
went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part 173
is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received 177
several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy 262
myself which was correct.

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur 773
in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with 776
these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 777
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvaznudr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvaznudr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this 755
kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or 756
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incantations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Sinpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkòren* may be spoken of as an *utpol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *utpol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

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at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 302 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing. [234]

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind. [753]

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used. 751

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism. 177 776 751

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi*—*i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo. 755 278 824

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pudrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*â teu sati udâsnûdr, an nòdr nòdr udâsnûdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnûdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct.

The nature of the words used makes it clear that the remedies employed by the Toda *utkòren*, or medicine-men, are of a magical kind. The words are essentially the same as those used by the *pilikòren*, or sorcerers, to remove the evils they have brought about by their previous magical incantations. The same formulæ are used to remove ills supposed to be due to natural causes as are used to remove those due to the workings of magic. It seems clear that the Todas have advanced beyond the stage of human culture in which all misfortunes are produced by magic. They recognise that some ills are not due to human intervention, but yet they employ the same kind of means to remove these ills as are employed to remove those brought about by human agency. The advance of the Todas is shown most clearly by the differentiation of function between *pilikòren* and *utkòren*, between sorcerers and medicine-men, and we seem to have here a clear indication of the differentiation between magic and medicine. The two callings are followed by different men, who are entirely distinct from one another, but both use the same kind of formula to bring about the effect they desire to produce. It seems that the powers of the *utkòren* are less definitely passed on from father to son than in the case of the *pilikòren*. There is no doubt that these powers depend largely on a knowledge of the words to be used, and especially on a knowledge of the names of the four gods, but it

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 673 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
782 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove
it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed
and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the
offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies
of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the cere-
mony which has been ordered. The following is probably a
typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of
his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*,
who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from
the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madnol* or sacred
days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their
buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there
had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven
them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*.
The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following
Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv)
and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following
vow at each :—

Ir kar	*ultûmd,*	*pîrzk*	*ultîkh en,*	*irnörtkin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."[1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
782 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
783 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
673 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
796 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners
to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his
fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recover-
ing from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes,

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
193 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
796 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
618 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of
777 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

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Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness. 123 753 777

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *tererstki* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol, 753 761 688 782 783

[1] According to a later finding of the *tonol*, the death of Teravelli was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
688 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

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kinds of sacred buffaloes. Thus at Kars he takes it from the prints of the *martir*. 234 x 783 796

At Kanòdrs new *pep* has to be made at a place called Kautarmad, which I could not identify. It is a long way from Kanòdrs, but the people have to go there because the god Kwoto used to make *pep* there. There is one feature peculiar to the ceremony for this clan. Earth has to be taken from a certain spot from which it was taken by Kwoto, and this earth is mixed with that taken from the footprints of the buffalo.

Another special feature of the Kanòdrs dairy is connected with the buried *mu* and is probably the result of the fact that this dairy is now only occupied occasionally. When the *pohkartpol* leaves the dairy on vacating office, he takes up the buried *mu*, pours into it a small quantity of *pep*, and reburies the vessel, covering it on the top with a stone. When he resumes office, he takes up the *mu* and purifies it with the two kinds of earth used in the full ceremony, and puts the *pep* which has been buried into his milking-vessel when he goes out to milk for the first time. As in other Tarthar clans, the full ceremony of *pepkaricha* is only carried out when the *mu* is broken or stolen, and after the funeral of a male.

A characteristic feature of Toda dairy procedure is the coagulation of the milk before it is churned. This coagulation occurs in a few hours without the addition of rennet or other special coagulating agent, the milk drawn in the morning being nearly always solid at the time of the afternoon churning. This rapid coagulation of the milk is almost certainly assisted by the added buttermilk or *pep*, the curdling being probably an acid coagulation set up or hastened by the addition of the sour buttermilk. If this were the case, it might be expected that habitual failure of the milk to coagulate might be regarded as a reason for making new *pep*, and I therefore inquired carefully into this point. It was quite clear, however, that delay in the coagulation was not looked upon as a reason for the ceremony. If there was habitual delay, it was customary to consult the diviners, and they always gave one of two reasons for the delay: either that it was due to the action of a sorcerer, or that the dairyman had committed one 234 x 754 ● 787

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234x 754 787

of the offences against the dairy of which a list is given on p. 295.

If delay were said to be due to the first cause, the sorcerer would be invited to the village, entertained with food, and induced to remove his spell; if to the second cause, the dairyman would have to perform the *irnörtiti* or similar ceremony; but there was never any question of making new *pep*, the necessity for this ceremony being entirely dependent on the condition of the buried dairy vessel.

THE IRPALVUSTHI CEREMONY

234x 796 [778]

The ceremony of *irpalvusthi* (buffalo milk he milks) is performed about the fifteenth day after the birth of a calf. It only takes place when one of the sacred buffaloes has calved, and is not performed in ordinary villages for *putiir*, nor at the *ti* for *punir*. It is performed after the birth of both male and female calves. The ceremony is carried out in the same fashion at the *wursuli*, the *kudrpali* and the *tarvali*, but has different features at the *kugvali* of Taradr and at the *ti*.

There are special days for the ceremony. At the *tarvali*, it must be performed on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday; at the *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, on Sunday or Wednesday; at the *kugvali*, on Saturday. The ceremony is performed at the *ti*, but I omitted to obtain any account of the proceedings at this grade of dairy.

When this ceremony is held at the village of Kuudr, a man from Ôdr belonging to the Nodrsol must attend, and similarly a man from Kuudr must be present when the ceremony is performed at Kuudr, this regulation being the result of certain events in the histories of the buffaloes of these places (see p. 647).

At each of the three kinds of dairy which follow the same procedure, the chief part is taken by the dairyman. At the *wursuli*, the *wursol* officiates, and at the *kudrpali* and *tarvali*, the *palikartmokh*.

The first appropriate occasion after the fifteenth day from the birth of the calf is appointed and the dairy is purified with

787 or of any of his family; sickness or death of a buffalo;
791 failure of milk in a buffalo and persistent kicking of its calf; failure to make a buffalo go to the spot at which it is to be killed during a funeral ceremony; failure of milk to coagulate; burning down of a dairy; disappearance of the bells of a dairy; loss of a *tukitthkars* or lifting stone. In this last instance the stone at the village of Nidrsi was carried away some years ago by a party of English people who came to picnic near the village while the people were away. They carried the stone for some miles and then threw it down. The Nidrsi people could not find it, and consulted Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, who were able to reveal where the stone was to be found, and it was restored to the village, where it can now be seen.

[754] The diviners usually work in pairs, though occasionally it would seem that one only may be consulted. If they are asked for an explanation of some misfortune which has befallen a man, the *teuol* usually find either that the sufferer has committed an offence against the dairy or that he is the subject of spells cast on him by a sorcerer. In the former case, they prescribe the ceremony which must be performed in order to expiate the offence. In the latter case, they name the sorcerer so that the sufferer may know with whom to make his peace.

I have already said that towards the close of my visit a number of misfortunes befell the Todas; one man fell ill, the wife of another died, and the dairy of a third was burnt down, and these events kept the diviners busy, but probably because I was implicated I was not allowed the chance of observing the diviners at work.

787 The only occasion on which I saw the process of divining
791 was at a funeral. The buffalo which was to be killed had been caught at some distance from the place appointed
158 for its slaughter. The animal was unusually refractory and at length lay down and all the natural efforts of the Todas failed to make it move. Midjkudr and Mongudrvan were then called upon to discover the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo. Mongudrvan first began to dance slowly to and fro, away from and towards the buffalo. He had

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of this nature, and still less does it follow that the performances of all the *teuol* are of this kind. Nothing struck me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of Midjkudr and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongudrvan, [illegible]ellow diviner. 787 791 158

In the case I have described the necessity for the intervention of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously. [764]

Sorcery

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite certain that there were men called *pilintpol* (sorcery praying people), or *pilikòren*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *pilintvichi* or *pilintiti*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he professed total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *pilintpol*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false. 124 754 791

One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

124 It was not until my last week on the Nilgiris that I was
754 told of some of the magical rites by Teitnir, who had previously
791 denied all knowledge, though he was said by others to be a sorcerer, and he knew that I was aware of his reputation. He was not a trustworthy informant, but his account was consistent in itself and was in agreement with fragments which I had picked up elsewhere, and I believe it is correct, though I cannot guarantee its accuracy with the same degree of confidence which I feel in regard to most of my information.

754 The following men were said by various people to be
791 *pilikòren* :—

Kaners, Kudrievan, and Teikudr (63), Ishkievan (60), Keinkursi (54), Puthion (64), and Teitnir (52), among the Teivaliol ; Keitan (6), Mudrigeidi (1), Kiunervan and Usheidi (14), and Karseidi (8), among the Tartharol. Pushteidi, the elder brother of Keitan, was a noted sorcerer who paid for the belief in his magical powers with his life. It will be noted that magical powers appear to be fairly evenly distributed between the two divisions and do not greatly predominate in one as in the case of divination.

[868] The power of sorcery was said to belong to certain families, and I was told that it was inherited. It seemed probable that a sorcerer only communicated his methods to his sons, and usually only to one of his sons, or if he communicated his knowledge to all, it was often one of them only who obtained the credit for magical powers.

754 We have already seen that when a man sustains a mis-
787 fortune of any kind, he consults the diviners, and they find
791 whether the misfortune is due to a fault committed by the sufferer or whether it is the result of sorcery. In the latter case, they say by whose magic the misfortune has been produced, and the sorcerer is then propitiated and removes the spell, the nature and details of the process varying according to the method of sorcery used and the offence which had led the sorcerer to exert his powers. Thus when Pirsners (9) fell ill, he consulted Midjkudr, who said that Kudrievan had bewitched him. Pirsners went to Kudrievan and gave him food, and asked him to remove the spell, and Pirsners became well soon after.

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There are two chief reasons which induce a sorcerer to work his magic on another. One is when a request by the sorcerer for assistance has been met by deception. If the sorcerer asks a rich man for a buffalo, or for money, and the rich man refuses point-blank, it does not appear that the sorcerer proceeds farther; but if the rich man promises a gift and does not give it, or if he delays giving a positive answer and puts off a decision from day to day, it is a clear case for the application of occult measures. The other chief motive for sorcery is a quarrel with a sorcerer. The methods are different in the two cases. In the first case the sorcerer procures some human hair—it may be the hair of any one, even his own hair. It is not the hair of the man he wishes to injure because it would be impossible to get it. Five small stones are taken and tied together by means of the hair, and both hair and stones are tied up in a piece of cloth. Then, holding the stones and hair in his hand, the sorcerer utters the following incantation:—

Pithioteu Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith; ä teu sati udätnudr;
those gods power if there be;

an ukdr ukdr udätnudr; an kur murkki peu md; an ir ïïrgi pûti
his country country if there be; his calf sleep go may; his buffaloes wings grow

pûr md; ath an ufr ud puk ïthm ufr un md; on ulkh as puk
fly may; he I water drink as he also water drink may; I thirsty am as

ïthm ulkhai md; on eirt puk ïthm eirth md; en makkm
he also thirsty be may; I hungry as he also hunger may; my children

ïdrth puk an makkm ïdr md; en tanmukh hûtm pût puk an
cry as his children cry may; my wife ragged cloth wear as his

tanmukhm ïthm pûr md.
wife ragged cloth wear may.

This incantation was freely rendered by Teitnir as follows: For the sake of Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti; by the power of the gods if there be power; by the gods' country if there be a country;[1] may his calves perish; as birds fly away may his buffaloes go when the calves come to suck; as I drink water, may he have nothing but water to drink; as I am thirsty, may he also be

[1] I am very doubtful whether the meaning of this and the preceding clause is correctly given in these words.

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754 thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my
789 children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears only a ragged
539 cloth.

791 When he has uttered the incantation, the sorcerer takes the hair and stones in their cloth to the village of the man upon whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall, and hides them secretly in the thatch of the roof of the man's hut.

It seemed that this method of sorcery is only justified when the sorcerer is a poor man, and the references in the incantation to the poverty of the sorcerer confirm this.

[787] When a man who has prevaricated with the request of a sorcerer suffers any evil fortune, he consults the diviners, and they may tell him not only who has produced the misfortune, but why the sorcerer has brought the misfortune upon him and they may advise the sufferer to become reconciled with his enemy and to give him what he has asked. The man goes to the sorcerer, who is usually only too ready to take the credit of the affair, and it is arranged that he shall come to the village of the sufferer. Whenever he comes a third person must be present, who is called the *nedrvol*, or intermediate man.[1] The *nedrvol* brings about the reconciliation, and arranges the terms, and then the sufferer bows down before the sorcerer and performs the *kalmzipudithti* salutation. The sorcerer then utters the following formula while his foot is resting on the head of the man:—

ā tim uddrudir, an nādr uddrudir; tanal pen mā; term
Those gods if there be, his country if there be; cold go may; mercy

ai pen mā; in ir kurk ālu ullānā; en mans ālu
become, go may; this buffalo calf to all be well; my mind all

tilutshpini, tan manam tāli mā.
cleared from guilt have I, his mind also clear may.

Teitnir rendered this freely as follows:—

By those gods if there be gods, and by their country if there be a country; as water is cold, so goes my anger; as mercy comes, may my anger go; may his buffaloes and

[1] The middle room of a three-roomed dairy is the *nedrkurā*.

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calves be well; I have now nothing evil in my mind, you must also have no evil in your mind. 754

Food is then given to the sorcerer, who also obtains the object for which he had originally asked. Later the sorcerer goes secretly to the hut of the man and takes out the stones and hair which he had hidden in the thatch. 789 539 791

In removing the spell the sorcerer does not mention the names of the four gods, but speaks of them as "those gods." The object of this is that the names of the four gods whom the sorcerer invokes shall not become generally known.

If any one quarrels with a sorcerer, the method adopted by the latter is different. He obtains a bone of a man, buffalo, or some other animal, or if unable to obtain a bone, he may use a lime. He sits, holding the bone or lime in his right hand, and utters the following incantation:—

Pithiatu Ön idith, Teikirsim Tirshtim idith; a ten sati uklinûdr, an nûdr uklinûdr; ank pudru pirsk pat mâ; ank ud ultâkhâth
to him will destroy disease come may; to him one incurable

pun pâ mâ; an kal nuri umâ; an kai mûri âmâ;
sore come may; his leg broken may be; his hand broken may be;

an kan pudri âmâ; an âri ulrsh an kâdâpal âvâdinâ
his eye destroyed may be; his house into his family to all

zakitam pâ mâ; âth ank zakitam karnai agi ankm
trouble come may; he to me troubles did who accordingly to him also

zakitam ö mâ; an nûdr mâi ed ariken â
troubles occur may; his country there is that we shall know those

âm mâi ed kanken; i elv mulz alain
gods there is that we shall see; this bone into the ground what happens,

ad ölkm alâ mâ.
that man to also happen may.

The only clause of this incantation of which the meaning is not clear is the penultimate, and the free rendering of this was said to be "as there are undoubtedly gods, we shall see all this happen"; it seems that *ariken*, which means literally "we shall know," is often used in the sense "without doubt." If he is using a lime, the sorcerer substitutes *irsimitch* for *elv* in the last clause.

The bone or lime is then buried in a wood near the village of the man who is to suffer the misfortune.

754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *nedrvol* as in
539 the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
791 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer. When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpudithti* to the sorcerer, and the spell is removed with the following words:—

teu udâsnûdr, an nôdr udâsnûdr; taned pen mâ; term ai pen mâ[1]; *molk*
son

madriik an kûdûpel elmk; in mel en mans elm tûlsvinem
children to his family all to; this after my mind all cleared from guilt

in uli agi âmâ; nûv put, nudri put pen mâ.
(as I) this well be may; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
754 removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
578 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide. In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mani kudupel*; "it is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

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portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffer misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death. 124 754 578

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain. 177 754 787

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs (6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account. 177 754

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes 234 787 754

234 that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I
787 have no information, however, as to the method which the
754 sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any one who has offended him.

124 The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came
754 to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

177 The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than
754 that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub* = Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied.
[721] If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 777
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvaznudr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvaznudr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this 755
kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or 756
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incantations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Sinpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkòren* may be spoken of as an *utpol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *utpol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

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234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by
755
789

ith *ivödin* *kati* *vaiumd.*
these all before tie keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 All the remedies so far described resemble one another
789 in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren*. The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *terg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. It was said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrsi and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

302 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described
754 it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

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at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 302 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing. [234]

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind. [753]

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used. 751

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism. 177 776 751

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi—i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo. 755 278 824

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

It will have been noticed that the formulae recorded in this

754 chapter have the same general form as the prayers of the
788 dairy ritual. They consist of sentences ending in *mâ*, which
192 seem to be of the nature of supplications that certain things
771 may come to pass, preceded by the names of certain deities followed by the word *idith*, occasionally with other sentences allied in meaning to these. The two parts of the prayer are represented, but the first part, consisting of the *kwarzam*, does not appear to have acquired the same degree of importance as in the prayer. Thus the magical formulæ of the Todas have precisely the same general form as those used in their religious ritual. In the case of the prayer, I have pointed out that the actual words leave one in doubt as to whether there is anything of the nature of a direct appeal to the gods. In the magical formulæ, on the other hand, the case for an
[776] appeal to the gods is stronger. In all the formulæ, whether used by sorcerers to bring evils on their enemies or by medicine-men to remove sufferings of various kinds, the names of the same four deities are mentioned, and these four deities, Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti, are undoubtedly four of the most ancient and sacred of the Toda gods. It is noteworthy that the sorcerer does not say the names of these gods when he is removing his spells, but simply refers to them as "those gods," and it is clear that he does this because he does not wish his victim to learn the names of the gods by whose power his misfortunes have been brought about and are now to be removed. This procedure leaves little room for doubt that it is through the active intervention of the gods that the sorcerer is believed to work.

There still remains the question whether the words of the magical formula imply anything of the nature of supplication, or whether the sorcerer is not rather using forms of words which will compel the gods to exert their powers in the way the sorcerer wishes. I have no definite information as to the belief of the Toda sorcerer on the point, but the almost contemptuous tone of the two clauses which follow the names of the four gods might perhaps be held to point to the latter conclusion, and to indicate that the sorcerer can use the gods as his instruments of wrath much as seems to have been the case with the magicians of our mediæval times.

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On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*ā teu sati udâsnûdr, an nòdr nòdr udâsnûdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnûdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct.

The nature of the words used makes it clear that the remedies employed by the Toda *utkòren*, or medicine-men, are of a magical kind. The words are essentially the same as those used by the *pilikòren*, or sorcerers, to remove the evils they have brought about by their previous magical incantations. The same formulæ are used to remove ills supposed to be due to natural causes as are used to remove those due to the workings of magic. It seems clear that the Todas have advanced beyond the stage of human culture in which all misfortunes are produced by magic. They recognise that some ills are not due to human intervention, but yet they employ the same kind of means to remove these ills as are employed to remove those brought about by human agency. The advance of the Todas is shown most clearly by the differentiation of function between *pilikòren* and *utkòren*, between sorcerers and medicine-men, and we seem to have here a clear indication of the differentiation between magic and medicine. The two callings are followed by different men, who are entirely distinct from one another, but both use the same kind of formula to bring about the effect they desire to produce. It seems that the powers of the *utkòren* are less definitely passed on from father to son than in the case of the *pilikòren*. There is no doubt that these powers depend largely on a knowledge of the words to be used, and especially on a knowledge of the names of the four gods, but it

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these
234 formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
754 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close
754 relation existing between magic and religion among the Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

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time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions, and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of function, though the means used continue to show a close resemblance. 771 788 754 793

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

Omens

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meeting certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird called *karpûls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus. 787 925 778 177

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The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The
754 sorcerer, who wishes to injure one who has not granted his
801 request, hides five stones tied together with hair in the thatch of his enemy's hut.

788 *Six.*—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial,
801 but it seems to be regarded as an auspicious number in some ways. In Teitnir's lament for his wife, reference is made to the hope that they might have had six children and six buffaloes, and in the prayer on the occasion of the ear-piercing ceremony, one clause runs "may he have six sons."

Six sticks are used to make the artificial dairy of the hand-burning ceremony, but this is an obvious result of the fact that the dairy has to have two rooms.

Seven.—This number is especially prominent in the ordination ceremonies. The purificatory drinking out of leaf-cups is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, the *palikartmokh* drinking seven times only, the *wursol* seven times seven, and the *palol* three times seven, seven times seven and nine times seven at different periods of his prolonged ordination ceremonies. At the dairies of Taradr and Kanòdrs, the number occurs in a different form, seven different kinds of leaf being used in the purificatory ceremonies.

The number occurs again in connexion with the lamp. At the Nòdrs *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and possibly at other dairies, there used to be lamps, each of which had seven cavities and seven wicks. Some of these lamps have been lost, but two remain at the dairies mentioned. I have already referred to the fact that some of the ancient lamps were said to have had five wicks, but it seems clear that in the only two examples which survive there are seven wicks, and it is possible that this was the number in all.

Another occurrence of the number seven is in the old dairies of the Nòdrs clan which had seven rooms. The funeral dairies, which are undoubtedly very ancient institutions, have three rooms, and the Nòdrs dairies, also undoubtedly ancient, had seven, but I heard of no case in which a dairy had four, five, or six rooms.

Outside the dairy ceremonial, the only occurrence of this number is in the lament of Teitnir for his wife, in which he speaks of their visiting seven courts and seven ships.

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities
782 whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
788 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

●754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual. In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are
787 believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed
791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teuol*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

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In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer. 773 674 609 754

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another. 674

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual. 673 688

Suicide

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die." 173 762 152

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die." 177 276 762

The Monegar

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below). 622

FOOD

262 The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and
272 sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

252 In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice,
262 and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

262 A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is
437 given by Mr. Thurston.[1] There is very little doubt that at one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

252 A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from
262 *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkhartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkhartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*iôdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey,
261 are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.[2] A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four.

264 The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if
754 this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are produced by the evil eye.

[1] *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

[2] *Ash* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

177 The contribution of grain from the Badagas has usually
651 been regarded as given in return for the use of the land, the Todas being supposed to be the original owners of the soil. That this is not the whole explanation is shown by the fact that the Badagas also give a tribute of grain to two other Nilgiri tribes, the Kotas and Kurumbas. Harkness[1] was told by the Badagas that the portion given to the *ti* was in return for the prayers of the *palol*, and that they did not believe that "their crops or their cattle, themselves or their children, would prosper without his blessing." The Badagas also stated that they generally desisted from cultivating their fields when the *ti* was left without a *palol*. They looked on the tribute of grain to the Todas as given of their own good will, while a similar tribute to the Kurumbas was dictated by fear of the consequences of sorcery which might be employed if the duty were neglected.

[754] It has been supposed that the fear of Toda sorcery is one reason for the maintenance of the tribute, and, since the Badagas undoubtedly fear the power of the Toda sorcerers, it is probable that this factor plays a part, though one less important than in the case of the Kurumbas.

[234] Another view which has been taken is that the Todas maintain rights over old dairies in the middle of the Badaga fields, and that any recalcitrance on the part of the Badagas might be followed by the taking up of these old rights. It is possible that the Todas have at some time threatened to resume their rights over disused dairies, but, in the case of the more sacred dairies, the fear of defilement of the sacred buffaloes by approaching a Badaga village would prevent the Todas from putting such a threat into practice.

The grain is probably given, partly because it is an immemorial custom, partly because the Badagas believe that they receive benefits and avoid evils in consequence of the custom.

177 At the present time, the amount of grain supplied by the
437 Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* must, however, be that supplied by

[1] P. 136.

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at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common. 762

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas. 177 754 787

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the Nilgiri Hills. Breeks[1] states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes. 177 174

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

TODAS AND KOTAS

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kav*. The relation between the two people is very different from that between Toda and [101] 177

[1] P. 4.

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TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *ár kárthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them. 101 609

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood. 177 437

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge. 177 754

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *tinal*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners. 177 787

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf; 177 773

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177 according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were
773 deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

174 In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the
177 Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and
773 this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

TODAS AND IRULAS

101 The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and
177 have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by
609 the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among
● 754 the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

177 The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection
773 of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tîn* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 9).

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tirièri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tirièri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tirièri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tirièri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

427 648 an offering or tribute, called gudu or basket, of grain, partly in compensation for the land taken up by the latter for cultivation, and so rendered unfit for grazing purposes, but chiefly as an offering to secure the favour, or avert the displeasure of the Todas, who, like the Kurumbas (*q.v.*), are believed by the Badagas to have [754] necromantic powers over their health and that of their herds. The European settlers also bought land in 648 Ootacamund from them, and to this day the Government 423 pays them the sum of Rs. 150 per mensem, as compensation for interference with the enjoyment of their pastoral rights in and about Ootacamund. Their position was, however, always a matter of dispute, until it was finally laid down in the despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 21st January, 1843. It was then decided that the Todas possessed nothing more than a prescriptive right to enjoy the privilege of pasturing their herds, on payment of a small tax, on the State lands. The Court desired that they should be secured from interference by settlers in the enjoyment of their mands, and of their spots appropriated to religious rites. Accordingly pattas were issued, granting to each mand three bullahs (11·46 acres) of land. In 1863 Mr. Grant obtained permission to make a fresh allotment of nine bullahs (34·38 acres) to each mand on the express condition that the land should be used for pasturage only, and that no right to sell the land or the wood on it should be thereby conveyed. It may be added that the so-called Toda lands are now regarded as the inalienable common property of the Toda community, and unauthorised alienation is checked by the imposition of a penal rate of assessment (G.O., 18th April 1882). Up to the date of this order, however, alienations by sale or lease were of frequent occurrence. It remains to be seen whether

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalisation of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [682] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured [648] method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 682 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away [754] with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of [115] the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [123] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his [757] case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the
621 house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly,
[754] nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children,
[735] whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to
[123] me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund
[464] Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress
[291] in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that
[124] I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 777
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvasnudr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvasnudr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this 755
kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or 756
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incantations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Sinpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkòren* may be spoken of as an *uspol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *uspol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

755 177 *pathanmul*.[1] The thorn and some of the salt are then put into the fire, and the *utpol* utters the following incantation :—

Pithioten Ön idith, Teikirsim Tirshtim idith, tan âv kan pudrs kan
his mother eye perish eye

pudri ûmâ; tan in kan pudrs kan pudri ûmâ;
be destroyed may; father

and this formula is repeated, substituting for *av* or *in* the names of the following relatives :—*an, akkan, nòdrved, mun, mimi, pian, piav*.[2] Then follows the same formula repeated, in which the names of various tribes are substituted for those of the relatives, as "*mav kan pudrs kan pudri uma*"—Badaga eye perish, may his eye be destroyed." The people mentioned are *mav* (Badaga), *pedr* (Tamil), *suti* (? chetties), *kurub* (Kurumbas), *erl* (Irulas), *panin* (Panyas).[3] The last clause is *möditi kan pudrs kan pudri uma*, extending the imprecation to the women of all the people already mentioned. When the incantation is finished, the remainder of the salt is eaten by the sick man.

755 The Toda *utkòren* may practise 'absent treatment.' If a man wishes to treat a sufferer from the evil eye, and is unable to visit his patient, he puts the salt on the ground and strokes it with the thorn of *pathanmul*, repeating the above incantation as he strokes. He then sends the salt to the sick man, by whom it is eaten.

The treatment in any case is repeated till it has been done three times.

[234] If it is a buffalo which is suffering from the evil effects of *kanarvasnudr*, the *utkòren* use the same method, and the salt is eaten by the buffalo.

278 755 In the special case in which the evil is produced by saying that a man is looking well or is well dressed, the *utkòren* have a different method. They take a piece of the root called *kabudri*,[4] and a plant called *kwagal*, and squeeze the juice of both into a vessel.

[1] The leaves of this plant, *Solanum indicum*, are used in the ordination of the *kwatlikartmokh*.

[2] For the meaning of these kinship-terms, see Chap. XXI.

[3] It is noteworthy that the Kotas are not included.

[4] This is the plant, *Euphorbia Rothiana*, used at the purification of the *ti* dairy (p. 136).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

both into a vessel. An incantation is said, the same as, or similar to, that already given, while the *utkòren* strokes the sick man with the corner of his cloak. After the incantation the sufferer drinks the juice. 755

Various Magical Remedies

The *utkòren* also practise various other methods of treatment. 755

Headache. This is called *madersnûdr*, "if head aches." For this the *utpol* places his hand on the head of the sufferer, and says the following incantation in a low voice, so that the patient may not distinguish what is being said.[1] After the names of the four gods, as in previous formulæ, it runs:— 825 [195]

ndkkerow	*mad*	*tathi*	*kan*	*tath mâ ;*	*ker*	*mad tathi*
cobra	head	broken into pieces		not break may ;	a snake	&c.

kan tath mâ ;

and the same formula is repeated, substituting first the names of other kinds of snake and then of other animals. The following are the animals mentioned: *kûrûpatz*, a black poisonous snake; *putpob*, a variegated snake, which is called the foolish snake, because it will not get out of the way; *taverhni*, a green snake; *pâlipob*, another green snake; *uitch*, a kind of lizard reputed to suck blood; *antli*, a squirrel; *kapan*, a frog; *tugûli*, a crayfish (?); *kadrmad*, a water animal of some kind; *mtu*, a fish; *tgal*, an earthworm; *nelnpüf*, an insect found under stones; *dpipüf*, an insect found in buffalo dung. After all these animals have been mentioned with the same formula, the names of Pithioteu and Ön are again uttered, followed by the words *tathkkma*. The *utpol* flicks the corner of his cloak first against the ground, and then against the forehead of the sufferer, and then, if the man is sitting, he says, "*ateuk ir*," "sit there off!" and the man moves a little way from the place where he had been sitting. If the man is unable to sit, and is lying down, the words will be "*ateuk pudr*," "lie there off!" or "lie a little way off!"

[1] I think it is probable that all the incantations are said in this manner, but I only had it specifically mentioned in this case.

755 825 I could not obtain a satisfactory account of the exact meaning of the incantation; it was said to mean "may the snake's head be broken in pieces, and so may your head be broken"—*i.e.*, so may the pain go; another rendering was "may the pain go to the snake's head," the latter being by far the more probable meaning. Three divisions of the incantation are recognised: in the first, snakes only are mentioned; in the second, things which live in the water; and in the third, things which live in the earth. The treatment is repeated on one or two days, if necessary, but it is never done more than three times, "because the ailment is always cured in that time."

755 924 Another condition treated by the *utkòren* is stomach-ache, which is called *piifkwatnûdr*, "if worms bite." The *utpol* places his hand on the belly of the sufferer, and after reciting the names of the four gods, he continues:—

kêrs	*pûv*	*kâdkanm*	*kâl*	*mâ;*
kêrs tree	flower	fallen as fall	down	may;

and this formula is repeated, substituting the names of various trees and other plants for the name of the *kêrs* tree. The trees and plants mentioned are *pirzkh* and *kûrêrs*, trees having edible fruit; *pül*, *ktl*, *kwadriki*, *kid*, trees from which bees get honey; *kab*, sugarcane; *teg*, coco-nut; *patm*, samai; *ners*, rice; *eri*, ragi; *ktj*, potato; *perigi*, chillies; *melkh*, pepper; *kwatimeli*, Coriandum sativum; *kadrkh*, mustard; and *ktri* or *ktrsi*, red amaranth.

Thus the last clause would run: *ktri pûv kâdkanm kâl mâ*, and this would be followed by the names of Pithioteu and Ön. Then the *utpol* flicks his cloak three times, first against the ground and then against the belly of the sufferer, and says, "*ateuk ir*," or "*ateuk padr*," according as the man is sitting or lying down, and the sufferer moves a little from his place.

The names of flowers are used because the Todas believe that worms come from eating honey, and the honey has come from flowers. The flowers mentioned belong to four groups;[1] (i) those of trees which bear edible fruits; (ii) those from which bees get honey; (iii) those of trees or plants part of

[1] This distinction was pointed out to me by my informant.

which are eaten; (iv) those of trees which give pungent substances like chillies and pepper. 755 824

There were various other complaints for which the *utkòren* are consulted, such as:—*elptûksnûdr*, depression in the chest of a child when it breathes (*elp* or *elv* = bone); *tekhpkûdathvûdnûdr*, pain in the side; *kankpudithnûdr*, if anything gets into the eye; *erutûhtinûdr*, if cut or wounded in any way; *pobersnûdr*, if snake bites. 755

Each of these has its appropriate treatment, but the only method of which I obtained an account was the last. Certain men have a special reputation for the treatment of snake-bite. A cord is made of woman's hair and this is bound tightly round the bitten limb in three places. The doctor takes a piece of *pathanmul* and strikes the bitten limb while he utters the appropriate incantation.[1] The ligature is kept on the limb for two or three days and the incantation is repeated three times a day during that period. Anyone whom a snake has bitten must not cross a stream. If it is absolutely necessary that he should cross, he must be carried over it. 752 755

If wild animals attack the buffaloes, a procedure which closely resembles those already described is carried out by the *utkòren*. The procedure is called *kûdrkatinamûdr*—*i.e.*, "wild beast tie mouth if." It is also carried out if a buffalo is lost, and in this case the charm will keep the animal from injury by wild beasts. The *utpol* takes three stones secretly and goes at night to the front either of the dairy or hut and utters the following incantation:— 234 755 789

Pitkòtsu Ön idith, Teikirsim Tirshtim idith; pef pirsi hit ters nil
big tiger teeth fastened stand

nil; kûkk hermam mûs ters nil nil; pnir kemai amûn ters
any; black bear face crowd red dog other side

nil nil; pok tsuv ters nil nil; pef per ters nil nil; pef po
snake erect head big hill big river

pk ters nil nil; pef phli mul[2] ters nil nil.
stream big porcupine quills

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[1] I did not obtain this formula.

[2] *Mul*, which means bramble and thorn, is here used for the porcupine's quills.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by
755
789

ôth *ivödin* *kati* *vaiumd.*
these all before tie keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 All the remedies so far described resemble one another
789 in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren.* The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *terg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. It was said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrsi and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

302 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described
754 it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, 302
and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done [234]
in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing.

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done [753]
with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind.

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* 751
ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used.

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which 177
they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was 776
able to obtain very little information about them, and I 751
suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism.

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should 755
suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are 278
adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi*—*i.e.*, "*kavkal* 824
(a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo.

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pudrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*ā teu sati udāsnūdr, an nōdr nōdr udāsnūdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnūdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

bell, and there is no doubt that it is a number regarded as especially sacred. Whenever the sacred syllable *Om* is used, it is nearly always uttered thrice, and there seems to be a special association between the number three and this word. 788 801

In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony three branches of *tudr* leaves are used, and they and the log with which the calf is killed are passed round the body of the animal thrice. Later in the ceremony three pieces of wood are thrown over the fire.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth, the woman drinks thrice on various occasions, in the *pursütpimi* ceremony the name of the bow is asked and the answer given three times, and in the ceremony of name-giving three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the child and three into his hair.

At the funeral ceremonies, earth is thrown three times on the corpse and three times into the pen, the body is swung on the fire three times, and at the final scene of the *asaramkedr* the man who rings the bell goes round the burial place of the ashes thrice. Three *ovibnikdrs* are thrown by the man who crosses the pathway of the dead. The number three is not limited to the dairy ritual, but is of frequent occurrence in the whole of Toda ceremonial.

The number three also appears in connexion with magical or semi-magical practices. The various methods of treatment used by the *utkòren* are carried out three times and never more frequently than this, and the sufferer who drinks hot water to allay the effects of fright also does this thrice. A remedy is probably held to be more potent if repeated the same number of times as in the case of so many sacred acts. [755]

Five.—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial except in certain ceremonies at the Nòdrs *ti* which are repeated five times because there are five groups of buffaloes belonging to this dairy. The number in this case has, however, no ceremonial significance, and is merely a consequence of the fact that one *palol* at this *ti* has three groups and the other two groups of buffaloes. The only other occurrence of the number is at the Kars *ti*, where the ancient lamp probably had five cavities, but even this is doubtful.

The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The 000

302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgamol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjánkudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mikuti* (*? meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mikuti*.

SKIN-MARKS

304 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form
751 of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the
755 elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered
304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

304 man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had [752] to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pituvers*, is used to hasten the healing.

[755] Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *suvarkadi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

304 Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they 631 are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.[1]

304 I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory 521 information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

304 The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might under- 463 take the business. The following are at present recognised as 465 experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *athiers*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

304 The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

[1] Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

553 of the boy was changed to Meilitars (44). A boy of Pām was called Kudeners, but it was found that there was another Kudeners at Taradr (25), so the name of the former was changed to Arparners, often shortened to Arpar (38).

When Kainir (3) married, his wife's name was Kanir, but she changed it since it was so like that of her husband. It was said to have been changed to Singub, but she was always known as Udz at the time of my visit.

Change of name of this kind is not obligatory, and there are several cases in which two people now living have the same name. When a change is made because two people have the same name or similar names, it is the younger of the two who changes. In most of the cases in which two people bear the same name it will be found that one belongs to the Tartharol and the other to the Teivaliol, and I am doubtful whether in this case names are changed except as the result of death.

553 A third reason for changing names is illness or other misfortune. When a man is ill, change of name is sometimes
● 755 recommended by a diviner, but this is not often done. One of my guides, Kutadri (7), had changed his name twice. His original name had been Okeithi or Okvan, but as there was another Okvan of Keadr (68), he became Tagarsvan. Later he fell ill, and, on the recommendation of a diviner, Tagarsvan changed his name to Kutadri, and I never heard him spoken of or addressed by any but this name during my visit.

Taboos on Names

551 The only definite restrictions on the utterance of the names of living people are those connected with kinship which have already been considered in Chapter XXI. A man may not utter the names of his mother's brother, his grandfather and grandmother, his wife's mother, and of the man from whom he has received his wife, who is usually the wife's father. The names of the above are tabooed in life, while after death the restrictions are still wider, and it is forbidden to utter the name of any dead elder relative, while the names of the dead are in any case only said reluctantly.

These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[155] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XII

DIVINATION AND MAGIC

THIS chapter will furnish a very good example of specialisation of religious and magical functions among the Todas. We shall find that certain Todas have the power of divination, others are sorcerers, and others again have the power of curing disease by means of spells and rites, while all three functions are quite separate from those of the priest or dairyman. The Todas have advanced some way towards specialisation of function in this respect, and have as separate members of the community their prophets, their magicians and their medicine-men in addition to their priests.

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DIVINATION

Certain men among the Todas are reputed to have special powers as diviners, and are known as *teuòdipol*, "god-gesticulating men," or more commonly as *teuol*. Samuel, my interpreter, always spoke of their performances as devil-dancing and evidently regarded the *teuol* as like those whom he called the devil-dancers of his own people.

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In several cases these men are said to have inherited their powers from some near relative, often a grandfather, but it seems that anyone who showed evidence of the necessary powers might become a *teuol*. All but one of the present diviners are Teivaliol, but the divining power is not limited to this division. There is no relation between the various offices of the dairy and the power of divination, and, in

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 177
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvaznudr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvaznudr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this 755
kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or 756
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incantations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Sinpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkòren* may be spoken of as an *utpol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *utpol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left-hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*ê teu sati udâsnûdr, an nòdr nòdr udâsnûdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnûdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct.

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754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these
192 formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. X.

The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life. 161 162 621

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study. 161

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate. 162

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye. 732

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health. 165 147

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the 757 164

[1] [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [682] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured [648] method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 682 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for [754] the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of [115] the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was committed by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some [761] milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [123] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his [757] case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die.

578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed.

595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above).

[115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursütpimi* was, however, performed for

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins. 845 123 [847]

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine. [743] [648] [757]

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind. 845 763 [614] [847]

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 764 588 614 775

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, 123
I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other 124
people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice 761
as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I
witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I 782
had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some 796
doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumptthpimi* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and 782
at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is 796
performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy
in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to 621
some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village 234
in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *ataimod*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *teverstki* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

[1] According to a later finding of the *tsuol*, the death of Teeveli was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
688 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *ishnidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them. 562 621 778 784 788

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kalolmad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die. 621 627 761 778

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

CHAP. XVIII.

[761] 775

often beneficent than the contrary. Hence their beliefs are pleasant rather than otherwise, and death is free from horrors.

Even when a man's breath has left his body, and the corpse yet remains with them—forming the most eventful episode in their experience—yet no power of generalising or abstract reasoning seems to come to their aid, to assist them in this their day of agony, to frame any sort of *link between* the expired spirit, and the Spirit which rules the darkness, in whose bosom it has been lost to sight. Their practical experience forms the fuel, which their strong sense of *perpetuity*, fanned by the visible evidences of power in all nature, kindles into flame; dictating that the curious something which has just left that body—lying so senseless without it—must have gone somewhere. And where could it have gone, but to another place just like this? Other *Todas are there*: and they could not live without milk; *therefore* buffalos are there too!

000 'A high degree of education must be attained,' writes Mr. Baring-Gould, 'before the notion of annihilation can be apprehended.' Again: 'Let anyone try to imagine himself extinguished—his powers of thought, his feelings, his volitions, his perceptions broken short off—and he will see how extremely difficult is the task, and how incomplete his success.'[1]

I incline greatly to the belief that the firm faith in a future state, owes its *origin* more to the domestic feelings, strengthened by the strong conservative sense provided by the organ of Concentrativeness, than to Hope, which is ordinarily considered to be its stronghold. The first combination is that which eminently distinguishes the most primitive races, whilst Hope is a religious organ whose development betokens an advance from the primæval state. A very pretty illustration of my theory is contained in the following quotation from 'Guy Mannering,' taken from Mr. Baring-Gould's work: 'Whiles I think my puir bairn's dead,'

[1] Baring-Gould. 'The Origin of Religious Belief.'

said Madge Wildfire, 'ye ken[1] very weel it's buried—but that signifies nacthing. I have had it on my knee a hundred times and a hundred times till that, since it was buried; and how could that be were it dead, ye ken? it's merely impossible.' CHAP. XVIII. 100

It is somewhat remarkable that the Todas should not only feel so confident in their immortality, but be without apprehension as to the future state; in the possibility that individually they may not attain to it. No such doubts arise to perplex their simple minds. Death is not a leap in the dark, but the contrary. The mode of thought—if thinking, it may be termed—by which they seem to set at rest this difficulty of more advanced and religious races, is too curious to be lost. 761 725

Their belief appears to be based on two considerations; one, what they know; the other, a sort of self-consciousness. 181 775

As regards the first, they *know* that they and their cattle were raised from the earth by the Great Unseen. This with them is a faith assured, as if the true story had been handed down from incontrovertible sources. They find themselves living, existing, breathing: they note the breath-life to leave the clay which returns to earth. But where does this breath-life go? The reply is contained in their *knowledge*. 'Tis a little sophistical perhaps, but an illogical jump is nothing with such people. They know that Todas and cattle live in amnôr; hence they are certain, with an absolute certainty, that this departed breath has gone there to join their forefathers. In this there is nothing more wonderful than that they rose from the soil! The subject is not worth thinking about! it has long been known! Thinking is difficult to the primitive mind. Best not to think! [773]

If with all our accumulated stores of information, we find the subject of a future state but little further advanced than it was ages ago, we can sympathise with a very simple people who have so few facts to work upon, and with whom the

[1] I would invite a comparison between this word ken, and the Toda words for I see, I dream, I smell, *et cetera*, in Chapter XXIX.

they walk to another stone near the *Kédmane* in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki with the bow in the middle, and the *Varshdi* in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting

Amundéga Sérumé
Karma dharma tilumé.

which may be rendered, "May he enter heaven, may *it be well with his good deeds* "and his sins."

The Peikis and Pekkans do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kédmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Ãvâram*.

The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes. It is curious that the Todas, to whose relatives the dead animals are consecrated, make no objection to this disgusting operation, though carried on at the very door of the *Kédmane*. I asked a Toda once about it, and he replied, "*When the buffaloes are* "*alive they are ours; when dead they belong to the Kotas.*"

The *Kôd* is burnt about four o'clock on the following morning (they say the burning must be completed before dawn) at the *Ãvâram*,* a single circle of large stones fixed in the ground not far from the Kédmane. They first light a fire outside the *Ãvâram*, and then spread the *pôlkuli* with the *kôd* in the middle of the circle, and pile burning sticks on it until, with the help of ghee, they make a great blaze. They put on the inside fire the following articles:—

A *Kôf Kotti*, a sort of large knife or sickle wrapped round with cloth.
An axe.
Twenty-one bamboo measures ornamented with cowries, two anna bits, and coloured threads, and containing barley, kîre, and sâme grain.
Four or five cakes of jaggery.
A winnowing basket.
A basket for holding rice.
Three or four Toda walking sticks.
A straight pole (*Tarsh*) 20 feet long, ornamented with tassels and rosettes of cowries, and sometimes with a small silver umbrella. (*Plate* XI., *fig.* 3.)
A palm-leaf umbrella.
A miniature bow and three arrows.† (*Plate* XI., *fig.* 6.)
A pure.

* I could not ascertain with any certainty whether these stone circles, which are always to be found near the funeral mound, had been constructed in recent years or were of considerable antiquity. Their appearance, however, did not suggest any great age. From the Todas whom I questioned on the subject, it was very difficult to elicit any definite information; but the impression which their answers conveyed, was, that now and then they construct new circles, when they consider that the old ones have been used long enough.

† I am told that these are buried at the green funeral when the Kotas have time to make them, but they must not be visible beforehand, or the man for whom they were intended would die; and as the Kotas will only work, and the Todas only have on certain days, it most frequently happens that the two do not coincide.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

578 674 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.

When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among [754] the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more [682] usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured [648] method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was 682 greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for [754] the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away [115] with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the [662] head of the *ejan*. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this [683] crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house [623] would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 551–2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual [648] Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhem of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was com- [761] mitted by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some [123] milk to Tödhem at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the [757] ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die. 578 682 123 757 761

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed. 595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above). [115]

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Purstitpini* was, however, performed for 595 614 595 587 595

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 replied, "*Pülmův tars pògh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin
773 blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Aroth pun pârs Pâlmän*
776 *kwark putvai, nadrtivadr*"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wursol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakhudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wursol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk
[762] also strangled themselves with *kakhudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pòni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seizâr zon, Kwoten âr zon, Seizâr zon, Terkosh âr zon.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *âr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Taradr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that
[735] place were sent to him. Very little is related about the third brother, Elnâkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the legend of Kwoten this hero kills Parden, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

SUICIDE

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

THE MONEGAR

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
621 huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas
437 seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special
278 reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *u'kĕren* (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
● 762 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common. 762

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas. 177 754 787

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the Nilgiri Hills. Breeks[1] states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes. 177 174

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

Todas and Kotas

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kuv*. The relation between the two people is very different from that between Toda and [101] 177

[1] P. 4.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 621 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elaborated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Ürshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was [587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Ürshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn [846] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror. [587] When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which 159 621 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it. 845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its [762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again [842] expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in [777] olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus- 159 621 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur- [837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

because her funeral was being held at the *kertnòdr* of her father and not at that of her husband. 766

At every funeral place there should be a second circle of stones forming a *tu*, or buffalo-pen. These pens are now rarely, if ever, used, and are a relic of the time when the ceremonies of the *marvainolkedr* were prolonged over two days, the buffaloes being caught and penned on the first day, and killed on the second. A third ring of stones is the *azaram*, at the opening of which the ashes are buried at the final scene of the funeral rites. 764

There are specially appointed days for the funeral ceremonies. These days differ to some extent for different clans and for the two sexes. Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday are the most general days for the funerals of males, only two clans having Saturday as a funeral day for men. For females Thursday and Saturday are most frequently chosen, two clans only holding the funerals of women on Tuesdays. In no case could I find that funerals are performed on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. These days are, on the other hand, the most usual days set apart as *madnol* or *palinol*,[1] and villages which have their *madnol* or *palinol* on Sunday or Tuesday do not appear to have their funerals on these days. The general rule is that a funeral must not take place on a *madnol* or *palinol*. In several cases I was told that if the *mani*, or sacred bell, were used, the funeral must be on one day of the week; thus for the Karsol, it must take place on Sunday; for the Kwòdrdoni people, on Tuesday. These obligatory days of the funeral ceremonies often involve the necessity of keeping the corpse for several days.

I did not make special inquiries into ceremonies of the deathbed, but Marshall states (p. 171) that a man who is not expected to recover is dressed in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, which he will wear till he dies or recovers; and Marshall mentions an instance of a man who had revived from what was thought to be his deathbed who paraded about, wearing the finery with which he had 763

[1] The *madnol* and the *palinol* are sacred days on which certain activities are prohibited (see Chap. XVII).

763 been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

764 After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *än*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn 437 by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *än* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *än* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukurupütkuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

764 The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nòdrs, his body is taken into the three roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitün*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmekh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy. [234] It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women [562] are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitün*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *menkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Taradr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panipikârs, nor do they cross Püvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

Origin of Funeral Customs

773 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly
763 ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrûvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

764 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

192 [1] *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad. 124

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life. 763 292

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way. 763

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man. 593 764 842

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into 764

724 Each clan has its own appropriate* days of the week for the green funeral, "according to the *Shastras*."

The body is not removed from the place of death till it is carried to the burning place,† which the Todas call *Methgúdi* (*lit. Marriage temple*).

All green funerals are alike. I will describe one I saw near Kartêri, at the old burning ground of the neighbouring mands, an open space near a stream. The body was brought on a stretcher preceded by Kota musicians. It is not necessarily carried by the relatives, or even by men of the same clan. A rough hut (called *Nôlpali* for a man, and *Nirzhêrzh* for a woman,) was built of boughs and grass, in which the body was placed. The women of the mand sat by it, and moaned in their peculiar manner, one of them meanwhile embroidering a strip of cloth for a purse. Four walking-sticks and several skeins of cotton-thread, each with a bunch of cowries at the end, were laid upon the body, which was wrapped in a new *pútkuli*,‡ the feet being tied together by the great toes with a piece of blue thread.

A rude circle§ about a yard in diameter was then made of single stones, leaving an entrance gap at one side. Outside this circle the body was laid, with the head opposite the entrance, and the nearest male relatives in turn, drawing their *pútkulis* over their heads,‖ took a wand (*Pett*), round which was tied a small rag, obtained from the *Pálál*, dug up the earth at the entrance of the circle, and muttering "*Purzhutukamá*," "May I throw earth?" threw three handfuls into the centre of the circle, and three on the body. After this the body was carried back to the hut and placed on the ground outside, and the women sat round it as before. A large silver necklace (*Kévilth*, *Plate* XI., *Fig. b*), belonging to the widow, was laid on the breast of the corpse.

The funeral pile¶ was made of large logs on a space cleared for the purpose near the hut. The dead man's herd was driven up, and some fifteen or twenty Todas went to it, one of them carrying wreaths of leaves to throw at the doomed buffaloes. Two of the animals were seized by four or five men hanging to their necks, separated from the herd, and dragged to the hut, followed by the Kota musicians. A bell was then

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* *For men.*

Peiki -	- Thursday, Saturday, Sunday.
Todi -	- Sunday, Tuesday.
Kattan -	- Saturday, Sunday.
Kenna -	- Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday.
Pekkan -	- Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.
For women.	
All clans -	- Thursday and Saturday.

766 † Each clan has several *Methgúdis*, separate ones for men and for women. In this case, however, as the deceased was a poor man who had died while on a visit to relatives at a distance, his body was not carried back to the usual burning ground of his Mand.

763 ‡ When death is imminent the patient is dressed in a new *Pútkuli* and other cloths.

§ The circle is called *Tool* (*Kraal*), and is made in imitation of a buffalo kraal. If there is a kraal near the *Methgúdi*, the body is taken there, and the stone circle is not made. It is never made for a woman.

‖ Compare 2 *Sam.* xv. 30; *Esther* vi. 12; and *Jer.* xiv. 3, 4.

824 ¶ The wood of the *Eugenia Arnottiana* is always used at the green funeral, that of the *Olea robusta* at the dry.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf [648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded, the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter- [765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over [775] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that "it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed, and are available for use another time. This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas them- [173] selves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man [763] supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

of this, the rule was made that the body should always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

764 [763] [73] 764 786 [196] [191]

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near 766

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warshutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, [614]
and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
614
775

184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

● [764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*perzin* and *tìrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alag*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. 234 The churn or *kìgklag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kuwi*, *idrkuwi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of this nature, and still less does it follow that the performances of all the *tesol* are of this kind. Nothing struck me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of Midjkudr and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongudrvan, his fellow diviner. 787 791 158

In the case I have described the necessity for the intervention of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously. [764]

Sorcery

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite certain that there were men called *pilintpol* (sorcery praying people), or *pilikòren*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *pilintvichi* or *pilintiti*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he professed total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *pilintpol*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false. 124 754 791

One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [625] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first
843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood
851 of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage
585 ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XV

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

THE funeral ceremonies of a Toda may be prolonged over many months. Soon after death the body is burnt and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is *etvainolkedr*, the first day funeral (literally, "first which day funeral"). After an interval which may vary greatly in length, a second ceremony is performed connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The rites on this occasion are more elaborate than at the *etvainolkedr*. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is *marvainolkedr*, the second day funeral, or "again which day funeral." The final scene, in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried, takes place before daybreak on the morning following the *marvainolkedr*, and this part of the ceremony is known as *asaramkedr*, the name being derived from the *asaram*, or circle of stones within which the final cremation takes place. 764 765

The funeral ceremonies are open to all and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institution of the Todas, however, they have become known to Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas *hase hedu*, the fresh or green funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills, but has been widely 192 764

192 adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral
764 is called by the Badagas *bara kedu*, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted. I never heard these terms used by the Todas themselves, who always spoke of the *etvainolkedr* and the *marvainolkedr*, though it seemed that the first funeral might sometimes be called *karchokedr*, which probably means fresh or green funeral.

177 The funeral ceremonies have undergone some modifica-
764 tion in recent times owing to the intervention of the Government. Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person. This has had most influence on the second funeral ceremonies, which, largely owing to this prohibition, are now much less elaborate and prolonged than in former times.

764 The funeral ceremonies are held at certain appointed places called *kertnòdr*, different for each clan. Sometimes these places are at, or close to, villages where the people are now living; sometimes they are at places which were formerly inhabited; while in other cases, again, there is no evidence that the funeral places have ever been inhabited. In every case, whether inhabited or not, the place where a funeral is held is called a *mad*, the same name as is used for a village.

Each clan has at least two funeral places, one for males and the other for females, and in several cases a clan has more than one funeral place for each sex. Some clans have different places for the two funeral ceremonies, and the Piedrol, who have one outlying branch of their clan at Kavidi in the Wainad, have special funeral places for the first funeral of members of this branch, the second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, being held at the chief funeral place of the clan. Others, again, have a special place for boys who have not passed through the ear-piercing ceremony.

349 In general, a funeral hut (see Fig. 48) is specially built for
764 the reception of the dead body, this hut being usually erected within a stone circle found at the funeral place. At the funeral of a male, this hut is called *kertnòdrpali* or *neilpali*. It is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

left standing after the funeral and may be used on a second occasion if it has not fallen into too great disorder. 349

Five clans of the Tartharol possess special dairies, each with three rooms which are used as funeral huts. These buildings are habitually or occasionally used as dairies; but when a man of the clan dies his body is laid in the outermost of the three rooms, either on the day of the funeral or for two or 764 343 234

FIG. 48.—FUNERAL HUT ROUND WHICH WOMEN ARE LAMENTING. SEVERAL PAIRS ARE PRESSING THEIR FOREHEADS TOGETHER. THE HUT IS NOT WITHIN A STONE CIRCLE, SHOWING THAT THE FUNERAL IS NOT BEING HELD AT AN OLD FUNERAL PLACE.

three days before it. While a dead body is lying in the dairy, women are allowed to enter the outermost room just as they may go into any other funeral hut, but they may not pass beyond. Men are allowed to enter the middle room, but the innermost room is only entered by the dairyman, who carries on his dairy work as usual.

349 The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now
343 exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and
Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with
764 three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the vil-
234 lage. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

349 At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for
the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after
764 each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *nersars* for the first funeral, and *kursars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

766 If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

because her funeral was being held at the *kertnòdr* of her father and not at that of her husband. 766

At every funeral place there should be a second circle of stones forming a *tu*, or buffalo-pen. These pens are now rarely, if ever, used, and are a relic of the time when the ceremonies of the *marvainolkedr* were prolonged over two days, the buffaloes being caught and penned on the first day, and killed on the second. A third ring of stones is the *asaram*, at the opening of which the ashes are buried at the final scene of the funeral rites. 764

There are specially appointed days for the funeral ceremonies. These days differ to some extent for different clans and for the two sexes. Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday are the most general days for the funerals of males, only two clans having Saturday as a funeral day for men. For females Thursday and Saturday are most frequently chosen, two clans only holding the funerals of women on Tuesdays. In no case could I find that funerals are performed on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. These days are, on the other hand, the most usual days set apart as *madnol* or *palinol*,[1] and villages which have their *madnol* or *palinol* on Sunday or Tuesday do not appear to have their funerals on these days. The general rule is that a funeral must not take place on a *madnol* or *palinol*. In several cases I was told that if the *mani*, or sacred bell, were used, the funeral must be on one day of the week; thus for the Karsol, it must take place on Sunday; for the Kwòdrdoni people, on Tuesday. These obligatory days of the funeral ceremonies often involve the necessity of keeping the corpse for several days.

I did not make special inquiries into ceremonies of the deathbed, but Marshall states (p. 171) that a man who is not expected to recover is dressed in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, which he will wear till he dies or recovers; and Marshall mentions an instance of a man who had revived from what was thought to be his deathbed who paraded about, wearing the finery with which he had 763

[1] The *madnol* and the *palinol* are sacred days on which certain activities are prohibited (see Chap. XVII).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

763 been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

764 After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *än*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn 437 by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *än* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *än* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukurupntkuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

764 The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nòdrs, his body is taken into the three roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitün*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmokh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy. [234] It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women [562] are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitün*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *menkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

from this cup milk is poured three times into the mouth of the dead man. 764

In other villages at which there is no *imudrikars*, the body is laid in front of the dairy and fed with milk in the same way.

The body is borne from the village to the funeral place on a wooden bier, called *mänpedrkudr* (wood bier). It is taken by a specially appointed route, and in some cases certain ceremonies are performed by the way. Thus, when the body of a man is taken from Kars to Taradrkirsi, earth is thrown at two places. We shall see shortly that one of the most important features of the funeral of a man is that earth is dug at the entrance of a buffalo pen at the funeral place and thrown on the corpse and into the pen. On the way to Taradrkirsi this is also done at two places, which are probably the situations of the old buffalo pens of villages which have now disappeared. I did not hear of any similar practices for any other clan, but Kars is probably not exceptional in this respect.

Before the body arrives at the funeral place the people will have begun to assemble, and when the funeral procession reaches its destination all those present go one by one to the corpse, bow down by the side of the bier, and touch the body with their foreheads. Those older than the deceased and those related in certain ways (see Chap. XXI) bow down at the head of the corpse. Those younger and those related in certain other ways bow down at the foot. When all those present have saluted, the body is placed in the funeral hut, or in the dairy if the funeral is being held at one of the places where funeral dairies still exist, and late-comers enter the hut or dairy to perform their salutations. As soon as the body is placed in the hut or dairy, the female relatives and friends of the dead person collect round the hut and lament together in the characteristic Toda manner, arranging themselves in pairs and pressing their foreheads together while they wail and weep (Fig. 48).

While this is going on the men are busied in making preparations for the cremation. A place is cleared in a wood near the funeral place—the *methkudi*—and here a pyre is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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764 built of wood, some of which has been brought by the funeral party, while the rest is found near the burning ground. The wood used on this occasion must be of the kind called *kers*[1] and the pyre is built of an oblong shape, rising about three feet above the ground.

The first of the funeral ceremonies is different for the two sexes. At the funeral of a male the ceremony of *puzhutpimi*, "earth we throw," or *kedrpuzhutpimi*, "funeral earth we throw," is performed, while the corresponding ceremony for a woman is to place certain leaves in the armlet on the right arm of the corpse.

THE PUZHUTPIMI CEREMONY

616 764 602 In the *puzhutpimi* ceremony a man digs up a little earth in front of the entrance to the buffalo pen. The digger must belong to the Tartharol, if the dead man is one of the Teivaliol, and *vice versâ*; thus, at the funeral of Pursevan (53)[2] of Kuudr, the earth was dug by Kedjeri (6) of Nòdrs. In this case the Tartharol were told to send someone to dig, and they selected Kedjeri.

At the funeral of a Tarthar man the earth is first thrown by the *wursol*, who must be, on this occasion, one of the Teivaliol. A Melgars *wursol* may not perform this office. After the *wursol* has thrown earth, it is thrown by certain relatives of the deceased who are present. At a Teivali funeral only the relatives perform this ceremony, no one corresponding to the *wursol* taking part.

Before the people begin to throw earth, one of the dead man's division asks "*Pushutkina?*"—"Shall I throw earth?" and a man of the other division replies, "*Pushut!*"—"Throw earth!" At the funeral of Pursevan a Teivali man asked the Tartharol in this way, and the Tartharol responded. At this funeral earth was thrown by the following: Punatvan (53), a younger brother of the dead man; Kuriolv and Piliar (52), Pöteners (54); Targners, Pungusivan and Tevò, the sons of the

[1] *Eugenia Arnottiana*. This is the tree in which the hole is cut at the *purtütpimi* ceremony.

[2] This was a *marvaiuelhadr*, but the rules for the earth-throwing are the same at the first funeral.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

dead man, and Pòl, the son of Punatvan. In this case all 616
who threw earth were not only Kuudrol—*i.e.*, of the same 764
clan as the dead man—but were also of the same family, so
that their relation to one another can be traced in the 602
genealogies. Kuriolv, Piliar and Pöteners would all have called Pursevan "*aia*," or father, and were first cousins once removed according to our system of kinship. I do not know whether the earth-throwing is usually limited to the nearer relatives in the same clan. The family to which Pursevan belonged was unusually numerous, and it is probable that in most cases other families of the clan are called upon to take a part.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse[1] the earth was thrown 113
into a circle made of rough stones laid upon the grass with 764
an opening on one side, and Mr. Thurston[2] records a similar case in which the earth was thrown into a circle of stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been constructed for the occasion. This is probably done when the funeral is held at a place where there is no *tu*, and it is possible that these funerals were not being held at regular funeral places of the clan, and that the circles of stones were intended to represent buffalo pens. At the funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse the 'priest' handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to the stick with which they turned up the earth.

Each man, as he throws, kneels down, facing the opening of 764
the pen, and then bows down so that he touches the earth with his forehead, many saying "*Swami*" as they do this. Three handfuls of earth are thrown into the pen, and then three handfuls are thrown backwards on the corpse, the man standing up as soon as he has done this. Each man covers his head with his cloak before he throws, as shown in Figs. 49 and 50.[3]

[1] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 274.

[2] *Bull.*, 1902, iv., p. 72.

[3] These photographs were obtained from Messrs. Wiele and Klein, and I do not know the place or nature of the funeral which they illustrate, but there is no indication of a pen in the picture; they probably represent throwing earth at the entrance of a former pen. There is such a place at Tarodrkirsi, the male funeral place of the Kars clan. Here earth is thrown by the side of a wood where the forest has grown over the site of an old *tu*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

764 Fig. 50 shows the special action employed in throwing backwards, the hand being turned inward.

616 The earth-throwing ceremony is one of several funeral rites, in which men of one division take part in funerals
764 belonging to the other division. Thus, at a Tarthar funeral

FIG. 49.—THE 'PUZHUTTIMI' CEREMONY. IN THE CENTRE IS THE CORPSE. THE FOREMOST MAN ON THE LEFT IS KNEELING DOWN PREPARATORY TO THROWING EARTH.

the earth is dug by one of the Teivaliol; the Tartharol then ask for permission to throw the earth, and the permission (or order) is given by the Teivaliol—*i.e.*, those who have dug the earth have to give the word that the earth may be thrown.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

THE TIVERI TÛR CEREMONY

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At the funeral of a woman no earth is thrown, but a ceremony is performed which is said to correspond to it. A woman goes in search of the leaves of the *tiveri* plant,[1] the leaves being called *tiveri tûr*. The woman who plucks the leaves must be the *motvilth* (daughter-in-law) of the dead

FIG. 50.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. THROWING EARTH BACKWARDS ON THE CORPSE.

woman, but if it is a child who is dead the leaves are plucked by the mother-in-law or potential mother-in-law. If a dead woman has no daughter-in-law, it was said that her daughter might pluck the leaves, but at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), a childless woman, the leaves were sought and plucked by Naburveli, the wife of Mushkers (28), who would have called the husband of Kiuneimi "brother," being of the same family and generation, although only his second cousin according to

[1] *Atylosia Candollei.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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our system of kinship. In this case, therefore, the leaves were plucked by a sister-in-law, or, more strictly, by the wife of the 'brother' of the dead woman's husband. In this case both Kiuneimi and Naburveli were daughters of Nòdrs men, but this was probably only a coincidence.

At the funeral of Kiuneimi, Naburveli was accompanied by a man and by another woman, but it was quite clear that they would on no account be allowed to touch the leaves, which must be plucked by the daughter-in-law or other relative who is performing the ceremony. When found, the *tiveri* leaves are put by the woman in the armlet on the right arm of the dead woman. Then the men present say to the woman :—

"*Parthâl*	*âtchka,*	*tiveri*	*thr*	*parch*	*pudthka?*"
In the armlet	is it put,	*tiveri*	leaves	plucking	have you come?

and the woman replies :—

"*Tiveri*	*thr*	*parch*	*pudthpimi,*	*parthâl*	*âtchpimi,*
Tiveri	leaves	plucking	we have come,	in the armlet	we have put,

ir	*pats!*"
the buffalo	catch!

The woman thus announces that this ceremony has been completed, and that they may proceed to the next event of the funeral rites, that of catching the buffalo.

The *tiveri thr* ceremony of a woman's funeral was said to correspond to the earth-throwing ceremony of a man's funeral, but this correspondence may only mean that each is the first of the actual funeral ceremonies. Since, however, a woman belongs to the clan of her husband, the leaves are always put into the armlet by a woman of the same clan as the deceased. In this respect the ceremony resembles that of earth-throwing, but my informants laid stress on the fact that the ceremony should be performed by a *motvilth* or other relative-in-law, and no reference was made to the fact that they would be of the same clan. This makes it probable that there is no real correspondence between the two ceremonies.

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THE SLAUGHTER OF THE BUFFALOES.

The next stage in the proceedings is the catching and killing of the buffalo or buffaloes. At the present time the Todas are only permitted by the Government to kill two of these animals, and if the family of the dead person is poor only one may be killed. At the funeral of a man it is customary that one of the animals killed shall be an ordinary buffalo (*putiir*) and the other a sacred buffalo; one of the *pasthir* in the case of the Teivaliol, and usually one of the *wursulir* in the case of the Tartharol. At least one sacred buffalo must be killed at one or other funeral ceremony for every man, but this may be done either at the *etvainol-* or the *marvainolkadr*. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, never at those of women.

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When it was the custom to slaughter more than two buffaloes, there was often a rule that these should be of certain kinds; thus, at Nòdrs, it was once the custom to kill seven buffaloes at a man's funeral—viz., two *wursulir*, two *putiir*, and one each of the following kinds: *naskperthir*, *pinaipir*, and *persasir*.

If the family possess no sacred buffalo, they must procure one by exchange, and it is customary to give two ordinary buffaloes for one of the sacred kind.

There is a definite spot appointed for the slaughter of each kind of buffalo. The ordinary buffalo is usually killed near the funeral hut, and sometimes there is a stone marking the spot at which the animal is to die. The *wursulir* are killed at a place usually marked by a stone called *teikz*. In cases where there is no stone the spot is marked by a wooden post (see Fig. 51), which has the same name, and I was told that it should be made of teak.[1]

In some cases there are other appointed stones or unmarked spots where buffaloes of other kinds are slaughtered; thus, at Nòdrs there are seven stones, at each of which a

[1] If the word *teikz* is the same as that of teak wood it would make it probable that the buffalo was formerly killed by the side of a wooden post and that the use of a stone is secondary.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 764 buffalo used to be killed, and the people of Pan have two stones called *teiks*, one for each division of the clan.

The catching of the buffalo is one of the most exciting incidents of a Toda funeral. When only one or two buffaloes are to be killed it is usual to take about four buffaloes from the village of the dead person to the neighbourhood of the funeral place. When the preliminary ceremonies are over, all those who are attending the funeral move towards the place

FIG. 51.—THE WOODEN 'TEIKS' AT INIKITI.

at which the buffaloes are standing, while several of their number are chosen to catch the appointed animal or animals. At the same time, the buffaloes, which are usually standing in some hollow so that they cannot be seen from the funeral place, are driven towards the people. As soon as they appear the appointed men drop their cloaks and race to meet the buffaloes. The buffaloes are driven on from behind in a more vigorous manner than that to which they are accustomed, are more or less infuriated, and often rush wildly about in their efforts to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences. 234 764

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among the younger and more agile of the community, but at an important funeral the older and more experienced men may undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for the adroitness with which they perform the feat. 555 616 764 541

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is not satisfactory. 234 764

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 764 may return to the dairy of its own accord at the proper time.

At one funeral at which I was present the buffalo was so alarmed or so infuriated by the proceedings that it lay down and absolutely refused to move, and the efforts of all present were insufficient to drag the animal to the slaughtering place. This incident will be described more fully later, but I mention it here to show that it may often be difficult to drive the buffalo, and that the unaccustomed vigour with which the animal is beaten may have a natural and not a ceremonial reason.

234 764 778 Before the buffalo is killed two things have still to be done. A bell or its substitute has to be hung on the neck of the buffalo, and butter rubbed on its back, head and horns.

If one of the *wursulir* is to be killed there is hung on its neck the sacred bell called *mani*, while the ordinary buffalo or *putiir* is given only the *kurungg* or household bell. A *mani* may also be used for the varieties of sacred buffalo called *nashperthir*, *perzasir*, &c. Probably at one time there was a *mani* for each kind, but some of the sacred bells have been lost, and it is only in some clans that a bell can now be used. Those clans which have no *mani* do not use an ordinary bell, but they tie the sacred buffalo to the *teiks* by means of a piece of the creeper called *kakkudri*, about two yards in length. This is the case with all the Teivaliol except the people of Piedr and with the Melgarsol among the Tartharol. The *kakkudri* is said to be used in place of the *mani*.

The details as to the use of the *mani* differ somewhat in different clans. The Nòdrs people have two *mani*, called Kòdj and Kagur, which are now kept at Òdr. When a Nòdrs man dies these bells are fetched from Òdr by the *wursol* and one is hung on the neck of one of the *mersgursir* and the other on the neck of one of the *nashperthir*.[1] After the *etwainolhedr* these bells are kept outside the conical dairy at Nòdrs in a special hole in a stone called *karsalb*. The people of Kars similarly take their *mani* to Taradrkirsi for the

[1] Owing to the fact that the Nòdrs people do not kill both of these kinds of buffalo at one funeral at the present time, they now only bring one of the two bells from Òdr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

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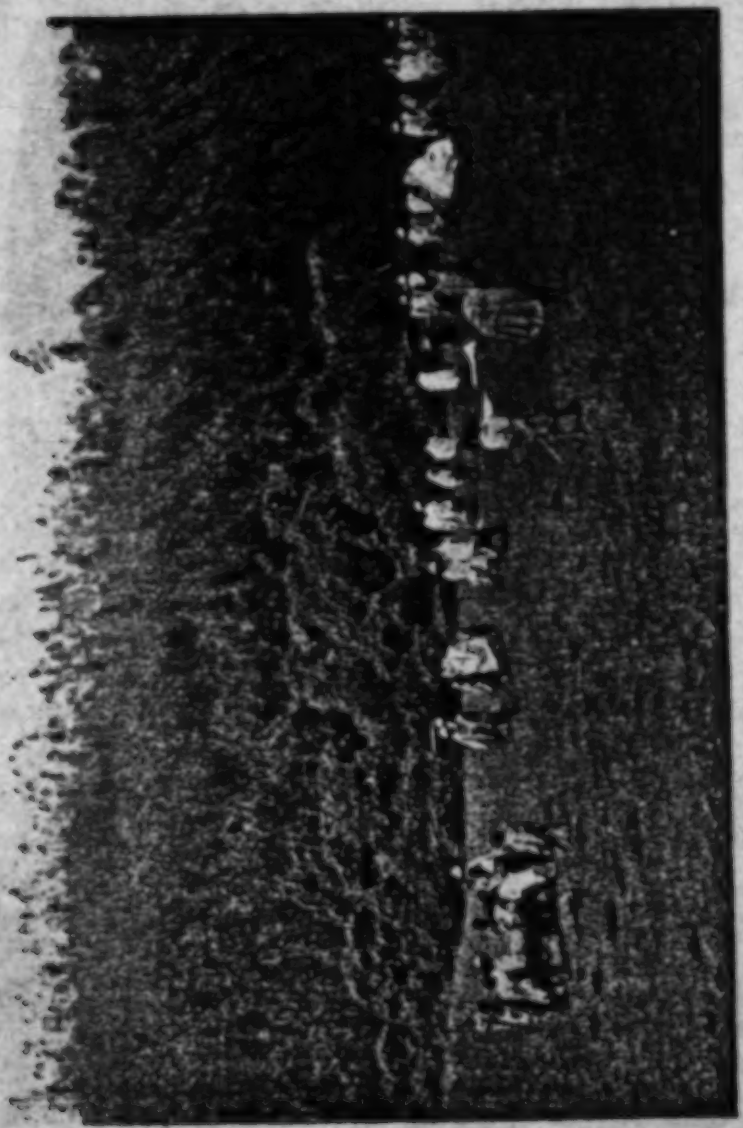

PL. 53.—LEADING THE BUFFALO TO BE KILLED.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are completed.

764 778 Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthenware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to the *kudeipir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan). It is dug up by the Teivali *palikartpol* and given by him to a Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

234 764 618 Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head between the horns. This should be done by a man of the same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *trkipti*. It is done by striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe (*masti*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in some cases more are necessary. The *warsalir* are killed by the *warsol* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same division as the deceased, but of a different clan. Certain clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo; thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr man a member of one of the other clans performs this function. Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol. At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing might also be done by a man of Pam or Nidrni. Each buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiki* at which the *warsalir* are killed is at some distance from the funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot lest she should see the sacred bell.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 764 Though there is no definite landmark for the killing of the *putiir*, each buffalo is killed at an appointed spot; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 392), the buffalo at the *etvainolkedr* was killed on the left-hand side of the funeral hut.

As soon as the buffalo is felled the corpse is brought up and placed by the head of the dying animal (Fig. 53). At the funeral of a man, the covering of the body is unfolded and the right hand of the dead man is made to clasp one of the horns. At the funeral of a woman, the body is laid with its feet by the

FIG. 53.—THE CORPSE BY THE HEAD OF THE DYING BUFFALO.

mouth of the buffalo.[1] At the funeral of a Pan man, Kwoten's ring is placed on the finger of the deceased before his hand is made to clasp the horn. Then the men present come to the buffalo and salute it by bowing down and placing their foreheads on the horns and on the head between the horns.

234 764 765 The people then group themselves round the buffalo and corpse and cry together by placing forehead to forehead so that their tears and cries mingle. In the case of the sacred

[1] Some observers have stated that the feet of the corpse are placed within the mouth of the buffalo, but I could not confirm this.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 buffalo, wearing the *mani*, this circle is composed of men only.
764 The lament[1] usually consists in calling first the name of the
765 buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name, but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry:

> "*Pundrsia, en potch aia ivanersia, en potch aia*
> O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia*, except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination '*ia*.'

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, "*en mokh ápa*"; for an elder brother, "*en potch anna*"; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry "*ina kughia*," and for a husband a woman cries "*ina mokhia*" (*ina* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

764 Within the group of mourners there is much going hither
765 and thither. After two people have mourned together for a while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom
576 to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

[1] More elaborate laments are given on pp. 383-8.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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FIG. 54.—SALUTING THE DEAD BUFFALO.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachütthti*[1] (*kach*, cloth, *ütthti* or *ütiti*, he
618

FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

[1] This ceremony is also called *kachtoltrkpimi*.
[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Toda funerals. It takes place in the middle of a crowd, who gather round the corpse possibly while the lamentation is still going on or while other ceremonies are in progress. In the first funeral I witnessed the ceremony took place while dancing was going on, and I missed it entirely, though I was told afterwards that it had taken place as usual, and was able to obtain the names of the chief actors. 764 602 618

In the ceremony of *kachütthi*, a man belonging to the clan of the deceased gives a cloth to one of his *paial*, or brothers-in-law. The latter gives the cloth to his wife or wife's sister, or to some woman whom he would be allowed to marry, and the woman places the cloth on the corpse. The man who originally gave the cloth then takes it from the body and gives it to another *paial*, and the ceremony is repeated till the cloth has been given to all the *paial* present.

The man who gives the cloth should belong to the same clan as the dead person. At the funeral of a male, the proper person is the father of the deceased, if he is alive, or some other elder of the clan. At the funeral of a woman, a man of the clan of the woman's husband is chosen. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3 and 28), a widow of Kanòdrs, the cloth was given by Neratkutan (28), who was of the same family as the husbands of the dead woman and the eldest representative of their generation. At the funeral of Sinerani (52), the cloth was given by Tebkudr (68), who was the younger brother of the father of Keinba, the husband of the dead child.

The men called *paial*, to whom the cloth is given, seem to include all those who have married women of the same clan as the giver of the cloth. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi the cloth was given to Pepob (44) of Melgars, and to Nelkush and Tevò (3) of Nòdrs, who had all married women of Kanòdrs.

At the funeral of Sinerani, the cloth was given to Kuriolv (52), who was the father of the dead child, not, however, for this reason, but because he was the husband of Sintharap, Tebkudr's sister. At this funeral the only other man to whom the cloth was given was Piliag (52), who received it in the place of his brother, Piliar (52), who was not present. The latter, like Kuriolv, was the brother-in-law of Tebkudr (68).

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764 If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,[1]
602 and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present.
618 Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-kedr* of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52) to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife, if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife, who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the dead body.

764 The father of each woman who places the cloth on the
767 body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth-rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended
437 twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, the men who have married into the family of the dead person have to perform this ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth-
764 giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

[1] The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister (see Chapter XXI).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man of certain fees from those members of other clans who have married into the family. 764

The cloth used is a red loincloth of a kind which is never worn by the Todas, but, so far as I could ascertain, it is only an ordinary cloth procured in the bazaar.

The Cremation

After the *kuchütthṭi* ceremony the body is replaced on the wooden bier and borne to the *methkudi*, where the funeral pyre has been erected within the wood, usually at no great distance from the funeral hut.

The bier is laid by the side of the pyre, and the dead person is then supplied with the various necessaries for the other world. Many of the things are placed in the large pocket, or *kudsh*, between the two folds of the cloak in which the body is enclosed.

The things supplied are chiefly food, ornaments, and money. The food includes grain, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey. Some of the food is put directly into the *kudsh*, while some of the grain, rice, and honey are mixed together and put in a metal bowl. Tobacco, coconuts, ghi, or articles of food from the bazaar may be added.

A number of square boxes made of rattan and called *pettei*[1] are also placed on the bier. They are procured from Mitur in the Wainad, and are often called *miturpettei* or *mitudpettei*. Jaggery and other things are put into each of the boxes, and they are covered with cloth, tied with thread, and adorned with cowries. [439]

The ornaments placed on the corpse included rings for the fingers, armlets, necklaces, and earrings.

The money is collected from all present and put in rolls into long purses, called *tinkani*. Most of the money used for this occasion is old with Arabic inscriptions and is known by the Todas as *irajkars*, the more recent coinage being called *englishkars*. In one collection of coins which 764 436 177

[1] At the *aarmudsh* (see p. 381) these boxes are only burnt at a woman's funeral, their place at a man's funeral being taken by bamboo vessels called *wat*. This is probably also true of the *ayuinolladi*.

764 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and
436 among the more recent coins were included two Japanese
177 yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral
372 of a man this must be done by means of fire made by friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood
766 (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three
775 times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"*Kadr*	*tütth*	*tûadr*	*mud*	*tirk*	*tûkitth*	*tûthi.*"
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tûadr tûkitth kûrs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

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were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed 764
and redistributed to those who had given them. The people 775
told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body 178
over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the 764
objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is 178
now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face down- 764
wards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall[1] and 775
Walhouse[2] thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston and myself the body was put on the fire with the face upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that if this were not done, the dead person would have to make [772]
the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set towards his future abode.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.
[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.

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177 764 [533] At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived, some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instruments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine, and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and drum. The musicians become especially active while the body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the

FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

764 765 Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

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husband. According to Breeks,[1] one of the nails should also be removed, but I could not hear of this being done at the present time, and similarly I heard nothing of the practice of keeping the knee-cap bone, which is said by Hough[2] to have been preserved. When the burning is over, a piece of the skull is sought from among the ashes, and this, together with the hair, is put within two pieces of bark and wrapped in a cloak to be kept for the *marvainolkedr*.

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The remainder of the ashes are left on the burning-ground till they are dispersed by wind and rain.

Some Special Funeral Ceremonies

In the previous account certain ceremonies which may be performed by special individuals have been omitted. In general, at the funeral of a man, the part of chief mourner and director of the ceremonies is taken by a brother or son of the deceased. At the funeral of a woman the husband takes the chief place.

While the mourning is going on, a ceremony will have been performed if the dead person should be a man or woman whose spouse is still alive. The husband of a dead woman goes to one of his *paiol*, most commonly to his father-in-law, if he is living, and the *paiol* draws up the cloak of the widower so that it covers his head. The man who has his head covered in this way is called *mad dr mitch midvai*, "head on covered who stands" (see Fig. 61). The widower keeps his head covered in this way as a sign of mourning and does not take off the cloak till the end of the second funeral. When the *paiol* has arranged the cloak of the mourner, the two men cry together with forehead to forehead.

Similarly the wife of a dead man has her cloak drawn over her head as a sign of mourning, and this is done for her by her own father or someone of his clan who takes his place. This ceremony is performed by a relative of the woman, whether it is husband or wife who is dead.

It is the duty of the widower or widow to mix the grain and honey which is put into a bowl on the bier.

1 P. 21. Letters on the Nilgiris, 1869, p. 81.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 Other special ceremonies fall to the lot of the *mokhthodvaiol* or *sedvaitazmokh* of the dead person if there should be such. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman is the recognised lover whom she may have in addition to her husband or husbands. The *sedvaitazmokh* is the name of the woman in this Toda institution. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a dead woman goes to the funeral wearing his ring on the ring finger of the left hand. Before the buffalo is caught he pays the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father of the woman; bows down before him and raises each foot to his head. He then puts into the pocket of the cloak of the woman some limes, three handfuls (*mudteir*) of *patcherski* and one large piece of jaggery. He also puts a piece of the dark cloth called *än* into the pocket of the cloak, this act being called *än kudshk it pudithti*. The *mokhthodvaiol* asks the husband of the woman three times "*än kudsh idukina?*" ("Shall I put *än* into the *kudsh?*") and the husband answers each time "*idu!*" In putting the various things into the pocket, the *mokhthodvaiol* has to use his left hand throughout.

765 837

When a man dies his *sedvaitazmokh*, if there be one, goes to the funeral ceremony wearing a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, and similarly puts limes, grain, jaggery, and a piece of *än* into the pocket of the dead man's mantle. Before doing this the brothers of the dead man do *kalmelpudithti* to the father of the woman, and this was said to be done in order to obtain permission from him for his daughter to put things into the cloak.

766 At the funeral of a girl, or of a childless woman, there are performed the ceremonies of *urvatpimi* and *pursütpimi* which are usually performed during pregnancy. In life the *urvatpimi*, or hand-burning ceremony, is performed before that of *pursütpimi*, but after death the order may be reversed. These ceremonies are most frequently performed at the funerals of children, and a full description may be reserved till a later section (see p. 391).

In the case of an adult the ceremony is only performed if it has not been performed in life. If a woman dies in the later months of pregnancy after these ceremonies have taken place, they would not be performed at the funeral.

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 616 618 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *pushut*, and incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *pushut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

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765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsnol*.

234 764 793 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

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marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Silkidz also lighted the pyre. 766 588

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kuriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainolkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *asaramkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidzeimi (21), the ceremony of *pursitpimi* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matchuni*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidzeimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*pursadikina?*"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Pursad!*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidzeimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

Funeral Contributions

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainolkedr*, it was the rule that every *mammakh*, or sister's son, should 764 431 602

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764 supply a buffalo, while in the case of a child it seemed that
431 buffaloes were sometimes given by the *mun*, or mother's brother.

602 Buffaloes were also given by the husbands of the daughters of a man, whether they were the *manmokh* of the man or not. They might be given by other relatives, but it seemed that the gift was especially a duty of the *manmokh* and *paiol*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should also contribute a buffalo for her second funeral.

At the present time the limitation of the number of buffaloes which may be slaughtered has removed the necessity for these gifts, but it still remains the custom for one of the buffaloes to be supplied by the *manmokh* or some corresponding relative, or, at any rate, it seems to be usual for one buffalo to be supplied by relatives of a man on the male side, and the other by relatives on the female side; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (52) one buffalo was given by Kuriolv, the father of the dead child, and the other by Perner (68), the father of the child's mother, and also the grandfather of her husband.

Contributions in money may be made by any relative, and all those who have married into the family of the deceased, even if only boys, should contribute eight annas or a rupee towards the general expenses, this custom being called *tinkanik panm ûtpimi*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should contribute at least five rupees to the expenses of the second funeral.

The ceremony of *kachûtthti* (see p. 358) also involves a payment from his sons-in-law to a man of the same clan as the dead man. The money is not paid, however, till the woman who places the cloths on the body has attended twenty funerals and is, therefore, probably not paid at all in many cases, but it may be regarded as tribute from those who have married into a family at each death in the family.

The contributions of buffaloes and money from a man to the relatives of his wife are called *pâdri*.

Contributions of food are received from various relatives, who also contribute certain of the objects used for the

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adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *mavmokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle. 764 431 602

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kuz*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased. 177 764

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world, 772 775

[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amnòdr.

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775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Taradr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Kûlvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panipikârs, nor do they cross Pûvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

Origin of Funeral Customs

773 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly
783 ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Môditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrâvòra, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

784 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

192 [1] *Môditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

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There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnódr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1]

764 234 782 775

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *wurzal* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *koitin* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wurzal* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present.

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Among the Teivalilol, the *palitartmokó* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palitartmokó*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nódrs clan.

The facts that the *wurzal* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always

764 234 793

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognized custom to use such animals. Pidwan's funeral hymns begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the verses, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," probably refer to Pidwan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

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764 called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring
234 the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the reli-
793 gious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *pok*, the *wurzol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

764 The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because
171 it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown
174 three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

764 It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that
174 the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *asarsu* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *asarsu* may be

[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1891, vol. ii., p. 146.

a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen. 764 174

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kasaw* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kasaw*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.[1] That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies. 764 775 765 783

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tarampapini*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainokhadr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 339). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be 765 775

[1] In Tolmie's lament for Pidrwen (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kaw Arrow, which suggests that each clan has its own *kasaw*.

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527 Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and
769 the *t:nol* found that the desecration of the *arpatsnol* was one of
787 the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday, the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may
764 not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days.
796 There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *wurzalinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *wurzalinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

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for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was chosen. 527 764 796

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans; thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be performed. 527 796 621 618

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòdrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

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The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to
764 the salutation of the dead. When the body first reaches
602 the funeral place it is saluted by all present, and in the case of kin, the mode of salutation varies with the bond of
601 kinship. Those related to the deceased as *in*, *av*, *pian*, *piav*, *mun*, *mumi*, *an*, or *akkan*, bow down at the head of the corpse and touch the body with their foreheads, while all those whom the deceased would have called *enda* or *ena* bow down at the feet. The place saluted by those who are not kin is determined by age, but in the case of kin, the bond of kinship is more important than the age, so that the former condition determines the mode of salutation. Thus at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), Kòdrner (7) saluted at the head of the dead woman. He was the younger, but was her *mun* owing to the fact that Kiuneimi's step-mother Kureimi, was a Kars woman whom Kòdrner called sister.

The Duties of Kin

602 The funeral ceremonies provide the greatest number of
764 examples of kinship duties, the parts taken by many of the mourners being determined largely by their bonds of kinship to the deceased. The place of chief mourner is taken by the brother or son of a dead man, by the husband of a dead woman, and by the father of a dead child, though, at the funeral of a girl, the husband plays the most important *rôle*.

Various duties fall to relatives of the same clan or of the same family of the clan. The earth-throwing at the funeral of a male, the smearing of butter on the buffalo, lighting the pyre at the first funeral and the two fires at the *azaramkedr*, and ringing the bell at the final scene, are all performed by near relatives of the same clan and family as the deceased.

Cutting off a lock of hair and mixing food are acts performed by the chief mourner, who is of the same clan as the deceased, whether brother, son, husband, or father.

The *manmokh*, or sister's son (who may be also son-in-law), has certain definite duties. Formerly, when many buffaloes were killed, one was always given by the sister's son, and he still gives a thread cord, called *pennar*. Many other relatives give these cords, but that given by the *manmokh* is especially

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honoured in that it is put round the body of the dead man inside his cloak, and not merely laid on the covering of the body as are the others.

The *mun* does not appear to have any duties at a funeral, though in old days he contributed a buffalo, and, at the present time, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered may be given by the *mun* or other representative of the mother's family.

The *matchuni* (child of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt) has several duties, of which the most important are those at the *irsaṇkati* ceremony of the *azaramkedr*. The other duties are the secondary result of the marriage regulation which makes the *matchuni* the natural bridegroom or bride, and, in consequence, it is the *matchuni* who performs the *pursūlpimi* ceremony at the funeral of an unmarried girl. Similarly, the *matchuni* may take the place of a *paiol* at the cloth-giving ceremony.

The duties which have, however, the greatest social interest are those performed by the relatives by marriage. At the funeral of a woman certain ceremonies, such as that in which leaves of the *iveri* plant are put in the dead woman's armlet, the *urvatpimi* ceremony for an unmarried girl, rubbing the relics, lighting the fire at the *azaramkedr*, and burning the funeral hut, should be performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman or the mother-in-law of a girl. These relatives are, however, of the same clan as the deceased, owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of the same clan as her husband; and I am therefore doubtful how far these relatives perform the duties in question as members of the same clan, and how far as relatives by marriage. Some of the duties, such as lighting the funeral fires, are done by men of the same clan at the funeral of men; and I am therefore inclined to believe that they are performed by a woman for this reason and not because she is mother-in-law or daughter-in-law, but this point is one which must remain indefinite with our present information.

Similarly the duty of covering the head is a little difficult to understand. The head of a widower is covered (see p. 365) by one of his *paiol*—his father-in-law or his brother-in-law—and in this case it is clearly a duty which falls to a relative by

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602 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own
764 father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's
604 brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tersampt-pimi* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

602 Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When
605 two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

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588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
616 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give
837 the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *muni*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[773] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage.
837 A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.
[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

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153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[391] While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands 618 had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she 766 should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

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764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
776 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmarn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives
796 its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
174 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
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[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even
517 little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all thes mes are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

Kurguli (B. Padagula or Kuruvoje), near the Badaga village of Sholur. 101 177

In the Mekanad district :—

Kalmal (B. Kolamala or Kollimalai), not far from Kateri. 437

In the Peranganad district :—

Meilkukal (B. Melkotagiri or Perangada) in Kotagiri, one of the three chief European stations on the hills. Kikukal (B. Kilkotagiri or Kinnada), north-east of Kotagiri.

In the Kundanad district :—

Medrkukal (B. Menada).

The seventh is Kulgadi (B. Kalagasa) at Gudalur in the Wainad.

The village of Tirgudr is connected with the Toda clans of Kars, Melgars, Kanòdrs, and sometimes with the people of Kulhem. Kurguli supplies the clans of Nòdrs, Taradr, Kuudr, Piedr, and Kusharf, and occasionally Kulhem. Kalmal supplies Keradr, Nidrsi, Pàm, Kidmad, and Keadr. Meilkukal and Kikukal are both connected with Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, and Medrkukal is the Kota village of the Panol. Kulgadi is connected only with the village of Kavidi, near Gudalur, which belongs to the Piedrol. When there were several Toda villages in the Wainad, it probably served them all.

The connexion between clans and villages seems to depend almost wholly on geographical distribution. The clans are supplied by the Kota villages which are nearest to their headquarters. An outlying village such as Kavidi has not the same Kota village as the rest of its clan. The Kidmadol, who are a branch of the Melgarsol, have not the same Kota village as the parent stock ; but, on the other hand, the Panol, who now live chiefly among other Todas near Governor Shola, are still connected with the Kundah Kotas.

Each Kota village is responsible for the supply of the clan or clans with which it is connected. Its inhabitants make the various utensils used in the household and in the less sacred dairy work of the Todas. At the funeral of any member of a clan with which they are connected, they provide the music and the following objects :— 177 437 764

At the *etvainolkedr*, a cloak in which the corpse is wrapped,

177 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*),
437 and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the
764 grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudzhmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given
437 clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given
609 food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten
796 on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk, buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day
609 to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified
796 butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

234 618 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 764 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday, and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*manu*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Òdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Külthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

621 361 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh. 621 234

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Natars (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place. 621 764

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members. 618 621 234

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amòdr) near Perithi. 775

618 The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has
234 three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

The following are the chief villages:—

621 *Taradr* (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most char-
234 acteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the
764 Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *püdrshtihars* after the name of the buffaloes (*püdrshtipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalihartmokh* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

621 *Kudrmas* (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.

618 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen
621 females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Pummud*.

PÃM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234 The original *atudmud* of the clan was *Pirsparr*, the site of which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Pãm* was then
621 adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Pãm was called *Palikòdrbods* and the buffalo-pen, *Tãgòdrm*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palibartmokk*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Pavi*, and the female, *Kuuthash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

618 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of
159 this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol. 184 234 616

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*. 616 764

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *koötiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said 616 765 184

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
184 and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teiyali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tâudr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XX.

THE GREEN FUNERAL.

The two Funerals described—Last office to a dying Toda—The corpse journeys to the K'ôdu Mand—The K'ôdu Mand described—Obsequies—'Dust to dust'—Slaughter of Cattle—The ashes of the dead—Kotas remove the Carcasses of Cattle.

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THE ceremonies observed on the death of a Toda may be divided into two groups; the first of which, appertaining to the funeral proper, and termed the green funeral or hase[1] kêdu,[2] is performed within a day or two after death. The second, styled the dry funeral or bara[3] kêdu, which will be described in full in the next Chapter, and is more of a commemorative nature, was formerly celebrated in the course of two or three months after the first. It was, as I understand, delayed mainly by local circumstances affecting the general interests of the community. Of late years, however, certain restrictions which the Government of Madras placed on the slaughter of cattle at the ceremonies, have caused the people to postpone these final obsequies until the death of several Todas should enable them, by combining sundry funerals, to make one great show. Hence the bara kêdu is often not effected until the lapse of a twelvemonth after death.

[1] Hase or pach or pache. Root in Drâvidian is paç = *tender, soft, raw, green.* Perhaps allied to Sansk. vaçanta = *spring.* Gaelic fas = *spring.* [POPE.]

[2] Kêdu. Tamil. Kanarese = *destruction, death.*
Telugu. Chedu = *perish.*
Compare Sanskrit kshi (ṇu) = *perish.* [POPE.]

[3] Bara. Tamil var. Kanarese and Telugu bar = *dry, parched, sterile, famine.* Compare Eng. bare. [POPE.]

In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad. 124

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life. 763 292

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way. 763

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man. 593 764 842

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into 764

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the pockets of which, food, such as roast grain, sugar, *et cetera*, and small pieces of wood are put. He is now ready for his journey to amnôr: he has food for the road.

It is a fact of interest and worth noting in connection with this narrative, that the Badagas—who have been already described as believed to be cognate to the Todas—preserve the custom common to the Greeks, of placing an *obolus* in the mouth of the dying man. So important do the Badagas consider the due performance of this last rite to the living, that they will keep a supply of this metal disc about the person in order that one may always be at hand for use on occasion. But to continue:—

The body is brought out from the little house and laid with care on the rough bier, formed with branches from the village grove.

The nearest kêdu Mand is out on a spur of that hill we see on the horizon, full six miles off. So there is no time to be lost. Good bye, dear old crone—his grandmother, and the young aunt with the new-born babe, and that sad little assembly of children, all brothers, sisters, uncles, nieces, of the dead man; some too old, others too young, all too weak, to trudge to the horizon over hill and dale.

Now his house is shut up: the little door is closed. Twigs and leaves lying scattered on the ground: a neglected grindstone leaning against the wall: a piece of forgotten matting: the cat rubbing its ill-fed body on the door panel: the pertinacious flies about the house—all conspire to tell the tale of the savage's deserted dwelling, and the drama just enacted.

The corpse is rested for a few moments on the low surrounding wall, whilst its tall bearers step into the village pathway. The little family group which is to remain, crouches weeping close by. The others are busy with their adjustments preparatory to the long walk. The whole picture is before us; primitive, simple, or savage, yet these people have a thorough human appreciation of the moment.

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Raise the stretcher into the path: carry in your hands through the soft bit, pitted with buffalo hoof marks: past the slushy pound: across the little trickling burn with its fern-brake and flower-studded margin, made by Nature so unconstrained and graceful, as though she hoped, even against all hope, with untiring persistency, that the day might come when some might turn to admire her, and from contemplating the power that made those silent but appealing beauties, glean a moral lesson.

Up with the burden on your shoulders. The primitive cortège has left the Mand; the man's ancestral home, its greenwood and the rippling stream, behind. It has passed the ragged cattle pen, and the group of calves nibbling herbage in the moist lea. The well-worn village path has opened out and divided into numerous narrow cattle tracks, up some of which our small party of mourners winds from the secluded village site, to the open high ground ahead.

Strange and rarely primitive is this be-mantled, bareheaded company of men and women, boys and girls. The corpse 'wobbles' on the unequal shoulders of its four bearers, striding along so direct: pursued closely by the train of quick-stepping women, suckling infants under their mantles as they go: and by a prolonged concourse of lightly laden men, carrying fuel for the pyre or little bundles and vessels containing food: flanked by sanguine youths, who, unburdened and without a care, straggle alongside, regardless of all paths. The pace has grown too fast for sobs.

The fresh wind, through the brilliant sunshine, now blows over the wold, without moving the crisp primeval grass which crackles as they pass, but tossing about the women's curls with wanton freedom, and leading to a general rearrangement of togas.

Airily along the gentle slope of the spur extending its unbroken length gradually down to the boggy tarn ahead. We pass the half-wild herd belonging to a neighbouring Mand,

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grazing under supervision of the lank boys who now approach to view the procession. A timid cow, scenting something unwonted, looks up alarmed, wheels round suddenly and bolts: wheels again, stops, and stares from a distance. A dozen others imitate her conduct exactly. Then the whole herd advances step by step, in circling line. A word or two from the boys, and all resume grazing except one inquisitive daughter of her mother, who singly follows the procession with nose uplifted, smelling, till she finds herself isolated from her comrades—then stops and gazes. Onwards proceeds the cortège.

Across the bog by the well-known track. Up again to the high land. Along the winding crests of the smooth continuous hills. Past another Mand nestling in a sleepy hollow; its cattle-pen looking in the bird's-eye view more important than the little human habitations.

Obviously we near the kêdu Mand, for, converging towards one focus, twos and threes of invited friends are seen tracing their different courses from out secluded valleys; now seemingly close at hand as they crest the rising ground, now lost to view—till suddenly we come on them all, quietly waiting to salute the corpse as it arrives on the ground.

Here, too, a compact little body of cows, *still belonging to the deceased*, which, snorting and scrubbing against one another, hot and fly-worried, with every tail in motion, come pushing along from the dead man's village, whence they have been driven through pasture and through bog land, to perform their part in the approaching obsequies.

The kêdu Mand consists of a stone cattle-pen, and a hut of the ordinary village dairy type, which when erected for a man's rites is styled kêd nâr pâlthchi or funeral district dairy, but when for a woman is termed kêd nâr ârsh, or funeral district house.[4] Also the customary rivulet of water, the little wood

[4] Mr. Metz is my authority. The nicety of the distinction is not understood.

—somewhat shabby I notice, as if, when fuel ran short, a supply was often cut from it—and an open spot termed the âthârê.[5]

Arrived at the Mand afte: their hot and depressing trudge, the party deposit their various burdens; the food supply in the hut, and the bier on the ground, either inside or outside the little house, according to the state of the weather. Amidst the exchange of salutations going on all around between the different new arrivals, some engage themselves in building the pyre on the âthârê; and some of the women prepare meals inside the hut, for the large concourse of visitors, many of whom have been hurriedly summoned from long distances over the hills, and will be hungry. Others of the relatives most nearly interested, remain a lamenting group around the body.

When the funeral pile has been constructed and the last of the expected guests has arrived, a little bell—getti, not konku[6]—is hung round the necks of each of the cattle, accompanied by the words 'avan od atvo, go with him.' They are then driven in a group near to the corpse. A little hole is dug through the turf conveniently close by; from which the mourners, male and female, approaching one by one, take thrice, a handful of soil and throw it towards the buffaloes: then three times more on to the prostrate body, saying 'purzh ulgama, purzh ulgama, purzh ulgama,'[7] meaning 'Let him go into the soil.' Each baby of the family had the fingers of its small hand unfurled and guided to perform this

[5] Âthârê. Âthârb. Âthârm. Perhaps from the Sanskrit ad'hâra, which is used as = *fundamental.*

The meaning would be, *the place where the final rites are performed.* [POPE.]

[6] In Chapter XVI. it was explained that getti is the ordinary existing cattle-bell of the district. I never saw a konku except as a tiriêri relic.

[7] Purzh ulgama. In Tamil puruthi is *dust, soil, fine earth.* This Ṟ is a strong lingual, and sounds like rlz.

Ul is a Drâvidian root for *in, within.* In Kanarese, olagê = *within.* The termination A forms the optative. [POPE.]

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last rite; smiling the while, in infant wonder and approval at this new game.

The meaning of the words as, voluntarily and entirely without suggestion, explained by a Toda, is 'as we were born of the earth, we return to it.' The recumbent corpse is now raised a little in the arms of his relatives, as if to give it an air of authority. Then the cows, each with two men clinging round her horns and neck, having been dragged in succession up to their master, his dead arm is raised, and the hand made to touch the horns.

A *sacred fire* is now made by *igniting sticks by friction.*[8] The pyre is lighted. Now the corpse still in the arms of these punctilious relatives is raised over the pyre, swung lengthwise three times from side to side, then deposited—in its mantle and ornaments—on the wood, with its *face downwards*: the people crying, 'We shall kill buffalos for you.' 'You are going to amnôr.' 'May you have milk to drink.' 'May it be well with you.' 'May all thy sins go,' and so on. A lock of hair is cut off at this time.

I was careful to ascertain that the placing the body with its face downwards had not been an accidental circumstance. The people could give no reason for the act beyond their usual answer, 'It is our custom.' Nor had satirical objections to the practice of turning their friends' bodies upside down at the moment of starting for amnôr, the effect of drawing from them any excuse for, or vindication of, the apparently senseless act.

One or two cow buffalos are now despatched. The 'happy release' is performed by a single blow made on the poll of the creature's crouched head with the butt end of an axe, whilst it is held by a couple of strong men interlacing their arms over its neck and horns. As each animal falls, men, women, and children group themselves round its head, and fondle, caress,

[8] Probably by the Vorshâl. See Chapter VIII.

and kiss its face: then sitting in groups of pairs—both sexes indiscriminately—with the tops of their foreheads joined, give way to wailing and lamentation. A most singular and interesting spectacle, rendered more piquant and real, by the aspect of a small boy who, not finding his pair, was running about from one crying group to another, blubbering till his face was distorted and swollen, looking amongst the mantles for a spare head to rest his own against. CHAP. XX. 764

Thus they remain till the body has been consumed: when the lock of hair that had been cut off, together with portions of the half-burnt skull—nirrzh[9]—are collected in a piece of cloth, to be deposited in a corner of his house,[10] henceforth kept shut up, till the bara kêdu. [765]

The silver and gold of the burnt jewellery are sought for from the ashes, but little valueless odds and ends—as knives, iron rings and other ornaments, the rings off the ends of wooden pestles—together with the ashes of the dead, are buried in the ground. The hole which contains these remains is then filled up with earth, on which water is poured. Over all a stone. The earthen vessel which held the water is broken.

Having saluted the spot where the ashes have been buried, by touching it with their foreheads, they leave the place, avoiding it henceforward, but merely on account of the painful associations connected with it. A person once dead is never *named*, though he may be made the subject of conversation. 769 551

It is a mistake to suppose these people have a feast—a jollification—after this funeral. Indeed they are as little disposed for anything of the sort as we should be in the same position. But a number of friends from a distance have to be fed, and as all are not real *mourners*, and have many of them brought excellent appetites, they eat. 765

[9] Nirrzh. Nirru = *sacred ashes, ashes.* This is at the root of it. [Pope.]

[10] Some such custom would be the origin of the Manes and Penates.

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764 The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in other respects they are identical.

The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the [171] ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of this meat.

765 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign 302 of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut their hair off.

764 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of 824 certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know. On showing samples of them, which had been collected for me by a young man, to a pâlâl, he swept them aside with his hand, implying that, compared with the tûde, which he treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DRY FUNERAL.

The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.

CHAP. XXI.

If the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of the bara kêdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance. 764 765

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable numbers at the kêdu Mand, and display their ornaments on these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1] 765 177 533

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' 000

[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.' [192]

CHAP. XXI.

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.)

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the *ex*-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.'

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless.

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara-kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] The bara Kêdu, or second funeral -- Analyst

943 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[593] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The [322] husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhvdkham.*
„ Muttinâd „ *Pirzhirzhk.*
„ Kodanâd „ *Kurrkduvirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgâräff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmūl* and *Shāstra.* One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow† we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

796 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, 551 in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordzai Kédu*), which takes place soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvenâli Kédu*), a sort of commemorative 765 festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

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* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognized practice in India from ancient times is evident from Menu, iii. 33.

[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 8:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not wooed but endeared to her husband."

764 Each clan has its own appropriate* days of the week for the green funeral, "according to the *Shastras*."

The body is not removed from the place of death till it is carried to the burning place,† which the Todas call *Methgódi* (*lit. Marriage temple*).

All green funerals are alike. I will describe one I saw near Kartêri, at the old burning ground of the neighbouring mands, an open space near a stream. The body was brought on a stretcher preceded by Kota musicians. It is not necessarily carried by the relatives, or even by men of the same clan. A rough hut (called *Nólpali* for a man, and *Nirzhêrzh* for a woman,) was built of boughs and grass, in which the body was placed. The women of the mand sat by it, and moaned in their peculiar manner, one of them meanwhile embroidering a strip of cloth for a purse. Four walking-sticks and several skeins of cotton-thread, each with a bunch of cowries at the end, were laid upon the body, which was wrapped in a new *pútkuli*,‡ the feet being tied together by the great toes with a piece of blue thread.

A rude circle§ about a yard in diameter was then made of single stones, leaving an entrance gap at one side. Outside this circle the body was laid, with the head opposite the entrance, and the nearest male relatives in turn, drawing their *pútkulis* over their heads,‖ took a wand (*Pett*), round which was tied a small rag, obtained from the *Pálál*, dug up the earth at the entrance of the circle, and muttering "*Purzhutukamá*," "May I throw earth?" threw three handfuls into the centre of the circle, and three on the body. After this the body was carried back to the hut and placed on the ground outside, and the women sat round it as before. A large silver necklace (*Kévilth*, *Plate* XL., *Fig. b*), belonging to the widow, was laid on the breast of the corpse.

The funeral pile¶ was made of large logs on a space cleared for the purpose near the hut. The dead man's herd was driven up, and some fifteen or twenty Todas went to it, one of them carrying wreaths of leaves to throw at the doomed buffaloes. Two of the animals were seized by four or five men hanging to their necks, separated from the herd, and dragged to the hut, followed by the Kota musicians. A bell was then

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* *For men.*

Peiki -	- Thursday, Saturday, Sunday.
Todi -	- Sunday, Tuesday.
Kottan -	- Saturday, Sunday.
Kenna -	- Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday.
Pekkan -	- Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.
	For women.
All clans -	- Thursday and Saturday.

766 † Each clan has several *Methgódis*, separate ones for men and for women. In this case, however, as the deceased was a poor man who had died while on a visit to relatives at a distance, his body was not carried back to the usual burning ground of his Mand.

763 ‡ When death is imminent the patient is dressed in a new *Pútkuli* and other cloths.

§ The circle is called *Tsal* (*Kraal*), and is made in imitation of a buffalo kraal. If there is a kraal near the *Methgódi*, the body is taken there, and the stone circle is not made. It is never made for a woman.

‖ Compare 2 *Sam.* xv. 30; *Esther* vi. 12; and *Jer.* xiv. 3, 4.

824 ¶ The wood of the *Eugenia Arnottiana* is always used at the green funeral, that of the *Olea robusta* at the dry.

764 tied round the first buffalo's neck, and the corpse was lifted and made to touch three times the side of the animal, which was killed by one blow from the back of an axe, and its body dragged up, so that its head lay close to that of the dead man, the hand of the latter being made to clasp the buffalo's horn (*Plate* XIV.) The bell was then
765 transferred to the other buffalo, and the same process repeated. All the relatives seated themselves by the three bodies to mourn in couples, a man and woman putting their heads together and sobbing and moaning. After a little while each couple would separate, the woman saluting the man by raising his foot to her forehead (except in the case of the old women, when the process was reversed), and fresh pairs would be formed. As with other Eastern people, their sorrow is woeful to behold, the tears literally streaming down their faces and over their cloths. Their grief, however, is marvellously transient.

After this the widow sat alone mourning at the head of the deceased, and put three handfuls of grain into the pocket of his cloth. Then the body was placed on the bier, and laid on the ground beside the pile, which was lighted by the relatives, who, again covering their heads, made fire with two sticks.*

764 One side of the bier was cut into three and laid on the pile. *Sāmē* grain (*Panicum miliare*) and jaggery, the two great Toda luxuries, were then put into the pocket of the dead man's *pūtkuli*, with two cheroots, some tobacco wrapped in red cloth, and the purse, embroidered by one of the mourners, containing five or six rupees in silver and a little gold coin.† A ring was put on the finger, and earrings in the ears. A bit of the skull with hair and one of the finger nails‡ were cut off by the relatives; these, I was told, would be kept till the dry funeral in a little hut built near the mand for that purpose, and a buffalo bell hung over them for the relatives to ring night and morning. The bell is not hung over the remains of a woman. After this, ghee was thrown on the pile; the body was swung three times over the flame and laid on the pile *face downwards*, a sort of imitation bier or hurdle, which had previously been placed under the body, being laid above it.

When the fire has burnt out, any coin or metal that may have been actually given to the flames, is recovered; usually they merely pass such articles through the flame by way of an offering.

No care is taken of the ashes, they "are left to the winds," as a Toda told me.

765 The dry funeral takes place within a twelvemonth or so after death, according to
[346] the pleasure of the relatives. Each clan has its own *kēdmanes*§ or funeral houses, different ones for men and women. They are sometimes near a mund, sometimes not, but always have a kraal at hand. They are like the ordinary Toda huts, but are sometimes decorated at the time of the funeral with silver coins. These are mostly rupees,

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372 * A dry stick of the *Calirodophus Wightianus*, about as thick as a man's thumb, is laid on the ground and held firm by the feet, a second stick is held upright between the two hands, the point resting on the horizontal stick: by twirling the upright with great rapidity between the palms of the hands fire is produced at the point of contact.

† Called by Todas *Birāu pānām*. I think it is the same as the *Birianhanu* given to a dying Badaga. This is a *Vir-raya* or Coorg-fanam.

‡ These appear to be specially sacred relics among the Buddhists also. Stupas covering a lock of hair, crown of skull, or finger-nail of Buddhist saints seem to have been common in the palmy days of Buddhism.

§ *Kēd* is the name given to the skull, hair, and finger-nail saved from the green funeral, which are tied between two pieces of bark.

The pouch of the *pûtkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kūtēr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pett*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Āmuddga serumē,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tilimā.**

Courtesy requires that [illegible] attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display [illegible]tigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Toli funeral near Tirnēt Mund the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzāramu* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the cairns.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 290. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhût, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhûts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes
765 of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
174 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āsārams*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bêtikhân,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
411 are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pútkuli*, *tharp*, *kónu*, *&c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tôr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

174 mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the 411 cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

224 The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilisation: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by samber* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

174 It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

764 The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their 765 ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkvur* probably represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

784 The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

000 It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Samber, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilization and primitive condition of Man*, page 331:—

"The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet "would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!

Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 451:—

"Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful, "and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly "improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page* 37.

He says that among the *Hos* and *Moondahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections so if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of coins at the end of this volume.

Sq. Brooks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

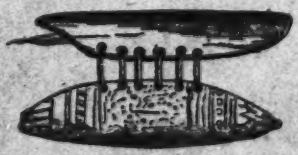
293 No. XI.—Toda club (ornamented as used at a funeral ceremony). *See* Plate XI. Made by the Todas of the Hali tree. Rupee 1.

764

322

301 No. XII.—Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

293 No. XIII.—Silver box, end opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the *thorp* with a string, or sometimes a silver chain. Silver, got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.



301 No. XIV.—*Tiladdi*. Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2½ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 12, 8 annas.

301 No. XV.—Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women. Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklaces called *Kashwad*. Red beaded necklaces called *Nerballi*. Annas 4.

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445 No. XXII.—*Tharig* (ϕϑϰ). Dish of bell metal made in the low country, used by Todas to eat out of. Four or five sizes will be found in each house. Rupees 3, 12 annas.

No. XXIII.—"Pûtkuli." Same as No. I, but worn by women so as to hang down to the feet, and not thrown so much over the left shoulder. Rupees 3.

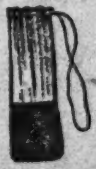
No. XXIV.—*Tharp* (ϕϰϱ) Waistcloth worn by women high up over the breasts. The female "tharp" is larger than the man's "tharp." Procured from Serumuge. 10 annas.

No. XXV.—*Bilthagôr*. Necklace, made by Kotas. The chain of silver, the tassels of cowries. When worn, the tassels hang down behind. Rupees 3.

286 No. XXVI.—*Tinnigôni* (תינגונם). Purse made by Toda women. At funerals it is put into the pouch of the Pûtkuli and burnt with the corpse. Made of coloured cotton thread. *Gratis.*

764

No. XXVII.—*Kâttshirum*. Ordinary purse worn by Todas. Made in the low country and bought by Todas from traders who came to the Hills. *Gratis.*



No. XXVIII.—*Pûnûr* (פונור.) Made of black and white cotton by Toda women. Tied round the waist of the corpse and burnt at funerals. Ends done up with cowries. Sometimes eight or ten are burnt at one time. *Gratis.*

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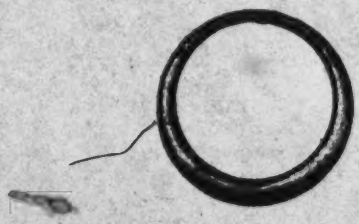
301 No. XXIX.—*Kévilth* (ಕೆವಿಳ್ತ್). Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; burnt with the body at funerals. 30 rupees.

No. XXX.—*Billeall* (ಬಿಳ್ಳಲ್). Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.



No. XXXI.—*Thaggér* (ತಗ್ಗರ್). Brass chain worn by women round their waist next to the skin. Made at Kota village. Rupees 1, 4 annas.

No. XXXII.—*Módara* (ಮೊದರ). Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.

No. XXXIII.—*Pittek*. Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

372 No. XXXIV.—*Kwelth* (ಕ್ವೆಳ್ತ್). Bamboo for blowing up fires. Made by Todas.

No. XXXV.—*Puffi*. A square basket covered with cloth and cotton, and ornamented with cowries; at dry funeral for a female, 15 or 16 will be burnt, each containing a piece of jaggery, garlic, safron, sandalwood, and some nár (fibre) for sewing thread, the latter prepared by Toda women; the basket is made by the Kurumbas.

• 74 [G]

No. XXXVI.—*Kuttheelth* (ಕುತ್ತೀಳ್ತ್). Burnt at the dry funeral of a female. Made by Kotas.

534 No. XXXVII.—*Buguri* (ಬುಗುರಿ). Musical instrument; a sort of flute. Made by the Todas, and played by them and by Badagas.

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582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

843 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
851 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

582 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
563 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

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764 lucky and unlucky days. Each night and morning of the interval between the death and the funeral, a lament or coronach is sung over the body by the family and relatives of the deceased. In this they are often joined by passing friends, or by those who have come for the purpose of thus testifying their respect for the dead, and sympathy with the survivors—a trait in the character of this people exhibited in many other ways, and more remarkably than with even many civilised nations.

765 The day of a death is observed by the immediate relatives, as it was among the ancient Jews, as a solemn fast. Their necklaces and ear-rings are also taken off, and the hair is cut short, as a sign of grief and mourning. Both sexes are obliged to conform to this custom on the death of a near male relation, though when a female dies the men do not do so. The sacred class, or *Terralees*, are exempt in either case.

764 On an appointed day, the relatives from a distance having duly arrived in obedience to the summons, the body covered over with a mantle, but having the face exposed, is carried in procession on a sort of bier to the *Terraree*, or sacred ground belonging to the family, and, under the superintendence of the high priest attached thereto, assisted by his subordinate, is burned with certain solemnities and much wailing; the relatives, prior to the corpse being placed on the funeral pile, cutting off a few locks from the head.

766 The above are, however, only the preliminary honours paid to the dead, the principal rites being deferred to a subsequent period, which may be a few weeks, or as many months later.

With a view to the coming rites, portions of the deceased's ashes are saved from the pyre, and, together with the locks of hair, his ear-rings and other ornaments, are carefully folded in his own mantle, and laid by until the proper time arrives.

The concluding ceremonies are, perhaps, the most singular and interesting of all the Toda customs, and I was fortunate in having an unusually favourable opportunity of witnessing them. For, familiar as some of their practices have latterly become in the neighbourhood of our new Hill-stations, their funeral obsequies are only celebrated in the more remote parts of the mountains, and are consequently seldom seen by any European. 000 Indeed, I do not know that the presence of Captain J. and myself would have been tolerated on the occasion to which I

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346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sigūr ghāt, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [184] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 178 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [164] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which, taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

[113]

* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

•764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

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funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri hills, but has been widely adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas bara kedu, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted." The various forms of the funeral ceremonies are discussed in detail by Dr. Rivers, and it must suffice to describe those at which we have been present as eye-witnesses.

764 192 [765]

I had the opportunity of witnessing the second funeral of a woman who had died from smallpox two months previously. On arrival at a mand on the open downs about five miles from Ootacamund, we were conducted by a Toda guide to the margin of a dense shola, where we found two groups seated apart, consisting of (*a*) women, girls, and brown-haired female babies, round a camp fire; (*b*) men, boys, and male babies, carried, with marked signs of paternal affection, by their fathers. In a few minutes a murmuring sound commenced in the centre of the female group. Working themselves up to the necessary pitch, some of the women (near relatives of the deceased) commenced to cry freely, and the wailing and lachrymation gradually spread round the circle, until all, except little girls and babies who were too young to be affected, were weeping and mourning, some for fashion, others from genuine grief. In carrying out the orthodox form of mourning, the women first had a good cry to themselves, and then, as their emotions became more intense, went round the circle, selecting partners with whom to share companionship in grief. Gradually the group resolved itself into couplets of mourners, each pair with their heads in contact, and giving expression to their emotions in unison. Before

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the beast. But Colonel Ross-King narrates how he saw 765
a man receive a dangerous wound in the neck from a 782
thrust of the horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. With the death of the buffalo, the last scene, which terminated the strange rites, commenced; men, women, and children pressing forward and jostling one another in their eagerness to salute the dead beast by placing their hands between its horns, and weeping and mourning in pairs; the facial expression of grief being mimicked when tears refused to flow spontaneously.

The ceremonial connected with the final burning of the relics and burial of the ashes at the stone circle (azaram) are described in detail by Dr. Rivers.

A few days after the ceremony just described, I was 764
invited to be present at the funeral of a young girl who had died of smallpox five days previously. I proceeded accordingly to the scene of the recent ceremony, and there, in company with a small gathering of Todas from the neighbouring mands, awaited the arrival of the funeral cortége, the approach of which was announced by the advancing strains of Kota music. Slowly the procession came over the brow of the hill; the corpse, covered by a cloth, on a rude ladder-like bier, borne on the shoulders of four men, followed by two Kota musicians; the mother carried hidden within a sack; relatives and men carrying bags of rice and jaggery, and bundles of wood of the
kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*) for the funeral pyre. [824]
Arrived opposite a small hut, which had been specially built for the ceremonial, the corpse was removed from the bier, laid on the ground, face upwards, outside the hut, and saluted by men, women, and children, with the same manifestations of grief as on the previous occasion. Soon the men moved away to a short distance, and engaged

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764 in quiet conversation, leaving the females to continue mourning round the corpse, interrupted from time to time by the arrival of detachments from distant mands, whose first duty was to salute the dead body. Meanwhile a near female relative of the dead child was busily engaged inside the hut, collecting together in a basket small measures of rice, jaggery, sago, honey-comb, and the girl's simple toys, which were subsequently to be burned with the corpse. The mourning ceasing after a time, the corpse was placed inside the hut, and followed by the near relatives, who there continued to weep over it. 764 782 A detachment of men and boys, who had set out in search of the buffaloes which were to be sacrificed, now returned driving before them three cows, which escaped from their pursuers to rejoin the main herd. A long pause ensued, and, after a very prolonged drive, three more cows were guided into a marshy swamp, where one of them was caught by the horns, and dragged reluctantly, but with little show of fight, to the strains of Kota drum and flute, in front of the hut, where it was promptly despatched by a blow on the poll. The corpse was now brought from within the hut, and placed, face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of the buffalo, whose neck was decorated with a silver [301] chain, such as is worn by Todas round the loins, as no bell was available, and the horns were smeared with butter. Then followed frantic manifestations of grief, amid which the unhappy mother fainted. Mourning 764 over, the corpse was made to go through a form of 588 ceremony, resembling that which is performed during pregnancy with the first child. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a certain grass [824] (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*) and a twig of a shrub

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(*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkûli, and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb, and butter in the pocket of the putkûli, which was then stitched with needle and thread in a circular pattern. The boy's father then took off his son's putkûli, and replaced it so as to cover him from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. [On the occasion of the funeral of an unmarried lad, a girl is in like manner selected, covered with her putkûli from head to foot, and a metal vessel filled with jaggery, rice, etc., to be subsequently burnt on the funeral pyre, placed for a short time within the folds of the putkûli. Thus covered, the girl remains till next morning, watched through the dreary hours of the night by relatives. The same ceremony is performed over the corpse of a married woman who has not borne children, the husband acting as such for the last time, in the vain hope that the woman may produce issue in heaven.] The corpse was borne away to the burning-ground within the shola, and, after removal of some of the hair by the mother of the newly wedded boy, burned, with face upwards, amid the music of the Kota band, the groans of the assembled crowd squatting on the ground, and the genuine grief of the nearest relatives. The burning concluded, a portion of the skull was removed from the ashes, and handed over to the recently made mother-in-law of the dead girl, and wrapped up with the hair in the bark of the tôd tree (*Meliosma pungens*). A second buffalo, which, properly speaking, should have been slain before

764 588 [824] 764 [765] [765] [588] [824] [782]

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764 the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and
[782] jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother
[765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of
[293] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife. On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-
[576] elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkūli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candollesna*) in the putkūli of the corpse;

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(2) Tying balls of thread and cowry shells on the arm of the corpse, just above the elbow; 764

(3) Setting fire to the funeral pyre, which was, on the present occasion, done by lighting a rag fed with ghi with a match.

The buffalo capture took place amid the usual excitement, and with freedom from accident; and, later in the day, the stalwart buffalo catchers turned up at the travellers' bungalow for a *pourboire* in return, as they said, for treating us to a good fight. The beasts selected for sacrifice were a full-grown cow and a young calf. As they were dragged near to the corpse, now removed from the arbour, butter was smeared over the horns, and a bell tied round the neck. The bell was subsequently removed by Kotas, in whose custody, it was said, it was to remain till the next day funeral. The death-blow, or rather series of blows, having been delivered with the butt end of an axe, the feet of the corpse were placed at the mouth of the buffalo. In the case of a male corpse, the right hand is made to clasp the horns. [It is recorded by Dr. Rivers that, at the funeral of a male, men dance after the buffalo is killed. In the dancing a tall pole, called tadri or tadrsi, decorated with cowry shells, is used.] The customary mourning in couples concluded, the corpse, clad in four cloths, was carried on the stretcher to a clear space in the neighbouring shola, and placed by the side of the funeral pyre, which had been rapidly piled up. The innermost cloth was black in colour, and similar to that worn by a palol. Next to it came a putkûli decorated with blue and red embroidery, outside which again was a plain white cloth covered over by a red cotton cloth of European manufacture. Seated by the side of the pyre, near to which I was courteously invited to take a seat on the stump of a rhododendron,

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764 [535]

[531]

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764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf [648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded, the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter- [765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over [775] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that "it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed, and are available for use another time. This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas them- [173] selves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man [763] supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

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of this, the rule was made that the body should always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

764 [763] [73] 764 786 [796] [191]

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near 766

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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 769 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhuthina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

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We did our work according to his orders, and this excellent order was an ample one. Now this ———, a chief of the Todas, son of———, a deceased Toda, the above man joined with the moniagar of ——— village, joined together, and, dealing with bribes, now they arose against us, and doing this great troubles on us, and also, by this great trouble, one day Mr. ——— came for shooting snapes (snipe) by that side. By chance one grazing buffalo came to him, push him by his horns very forcely, and wounded him on his leg. By the help of another gentleman who came with him he escaped, or he would have die at the moment. Now the said moniagar and ——— joined together, want to finish the funeral to his late father on the 18th instant. For this purpose they are going to shut the buffaloes without food in the kraal on the 18th instant at 10 o'clock. They are going to kill the buffaloes on the 19th instant at 4 o'clock in the evening. But this is a great sin against god. But we beg your honour this way. That is, let them leave the buffaloes in the grazing place, and ask them to catch and kill them at the same moment. And also your honour cannot ordered them to keep them in the kraal without food. And, if they will desire to kill the buffaloes in this way, these buffaloes will come on us, and also on the other peoples one who, coming to see funs on those day, will kill them all by his anxious. And so we the Todas begs your honour to enquire them before the 18th, the said funeral ceremony commencing, and not to grant the above orders to them." 648 764 782

A Whit Monday at Paikāra was given up to an exhibition of sports and games, whereof the most exciting and interesting was a burlesque representation of a Toda funeral by boys and girls. A Toda, who was 52 536 764

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fond of his little joke, applied the term pacchai kĕdu (green funeral) to the corpses of the flies entrapped by a viscous catch'em-alive-oh on the bungalow table. To the mock funeral rites arrived a party of youths, as from a distant mand, and crying out U, hah, in shrill mimicry of their elders. The lad who was to play the leading part of sacrificial buffalo, stripping off his putkûli, disappeared from sight over the brow of a low hillock. Above this eminence his bent and uplifted upper extremities shortly appeared as representatives of the buffalo horns. At sight thereof, there was a wild rush of small boys to catch him, and a mimic struggle took place, while the buffalo was dragged, amid good-tempered scuffling, kicks, and shouting, to the spot where the corpse should have been. This spot was, in the absence of a pseudo-dead body or stage dummy, indicated by a group of little girls, who had sat chatting together till the boy-beast arrived, when they touched foreheads, and went, with due solemnity, through the orthodox observance of mourning in couples. The buffalo was slain by a smart tap on the back of the head with a cloth, which did duty for an axe. As soon as the convulsive movements and twitchings of the death struggle were over, the buffalo, without waiting for an encore, retired behind the hillock once more, in order that the rough and tumble fight, which was evidently the chief charm of the game, might be repeated. The buffalo boy later on came in second in a flat race, and he was last seen protecting us from a mischievous-looking member of his herd, which was grazing on the main-road. Toda buffaloes, it may be noted, are not at all popular with members of the Ootacamund Hunt, as both horses and riders from time to time receive injuries from their horns, when they come in collision.

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Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɪsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaɪsmonguɪɪʀ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuɪf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuɪʟ] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piɪʟjiɪʒfuɪf] "silver-flower" and [tyɪʟjiɪʒfuɪf] (the first member [tyɪʟj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaʀoɪn] has a son called [asojxuɪrɪn] from [asojuɪr], the buffaloes of the [tiɪ]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuɪɪʀ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɪɪʀ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuɪɪʀ] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iɪʒxuɪɪʀ] (21, Idrahkwôdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 26–8, for the formation.

[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iɪʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.

[11] *Ib.* § 9.

[12] *Ib.* § 8.

[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

797 has been baptised, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ults), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuuːr] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanuus] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfuusodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiškeːn] (14, Küshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnus] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paːuiːʒfiɭj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfuusodj]. Her brother [noːnmurj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfuusodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnus] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noːnmurj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfuusodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoːn] (20, son of [teːpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfuusodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noːnmurj] should pay to [kanfuusodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
585 and five rupees; these are the [kökuulj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [arpun] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

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have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ʂ- 588
jaɬ's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kum:ʂjaɬ, who was a man of great force and influence, was able
to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon
as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the
buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man
who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor
also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when
they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to
be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess
in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 887
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while
the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the tɔufiʃ moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the tɔ:rθaʂ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the tɔ:rθaʂ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti :- dairies, which now belong to the tɔ:rθaʂ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

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887 764 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumṇjaḷf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kenods (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period. 841 778 234 [793]

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poly). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoly, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper. 764 841 778 [614]

One mund, kuu:sy of the sib called mö:r was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti:-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti:-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund. 778 183 562 [841]

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle). [113]
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-ot|jt), the rethatching of a dairy (po|j-ful-fæ ıst), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojo1|, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojo1|, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojo1| relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

[616] [837]

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the ŋkitj, nirj, and puŋŋoıŋ sibs of the tərθas moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the tərθiij moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [851] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pus-ŋıt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[621] [17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ıs-ŋod-mod) as opposed to other munds (ŋus-mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–17.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoɪ/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work nɔɪlkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrassing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɪr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɔrlɪɪg had married pɪʃkɔr (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mɔ̄ɪg patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kɔɪ(k)-kɔtpoi/ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pus-ɔɪt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative age. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

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539 614 [775] [114]

pɯmɛrθɯr,[*] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kajniɯ asked what it was he was told: il-θon-ɯji pɯɯrotj-noɪj yet "It is just here that the pɯɯrotj-noɪj [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'ɛɛd' ud fintjn. 'poljoɪ̯-zuɪɪjfojoɪ̯ ɯnd-morθ-fɛɛ̯dfoj-zuɪɪjfojoɪ̯ɲ pɯɯrotj-noɪj yɛti; poljoɪ̯ ɲoɪɲjti; oɪɪoɪ̯ zorsti' udɪg. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The pɯɯrotj-noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poljoɪ̯ feel shame; the oɪɪoɪ̯ laugh.' " The word poljoɪ̯ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪɪoɪ̯ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poljoɪ̯ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪɪoɪ̯, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poljoɪ̯ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poljoɪ̯ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪlkj (cf. the verb ɲoɪɲjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪɪ patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kuɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

[764] [578]

pɯlkɯɯrθoɪr	poljoɪ̯-ɲoɪlkj	oɪjxɯɯθɯn
pɛrθoɪr	oɪɪoɪ̯-ɲoɪɲ	oɪjxɯɯθɯn
ɲoɪɲjoɪ̯k-noɪlkj	oɪjxɯɯθɯn	
ɯɯmjoɪ̯k-ɯg	oɪjxɯɯθɯn	

"The toɪroɪɪ patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poljoɪ̯, the oɪɪoɪ̯, the people of the country (ɲoɪɲjoɪ̯), the people of the district (ɯɯmjoɪ̯; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poljoɪ̯ and the oɪɪoɪ̯ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poljoɪ̯ and oɪɪoɪ̯ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[*] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Todas, pp. 398-400); his account is in general incomplete.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment. [764]

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *än* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366). 837 764 [301]

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough". 648 837 [834] [684] [143]

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

[Melgarsh Village]

still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, [614]
and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
614
775

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

764 588 614 775

a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground, with a further display of grief and lamentation.

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance, 123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me 855 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex- 159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con- 857 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Nārshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

TODA AW 60

222a

To 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any more jealous than the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually he is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 586 848 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on. 171 582 601 602

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use. 171 177 [602] [585] [764]

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community. 171 [192]

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN 000

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the *warspoh*.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the buffaloes called *arzaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karkûln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arzaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled. 653

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpül* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye. 852 854 751

The Tersamptpimi Ceremony

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face. 852 553 765

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmän*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised. [412]

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put 852

[1] *Rosa Leschenaultiana.* [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
337

CHAPTER XV

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

THE funeral ceremonies of a Toda may be prolonged over many months. Soon after death the body is burnt and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is *etvainolkedr*, the first day funeral (literally, "first which day funeral"). After an interval which may vary greatly in length, a second ceremony is performed connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The rites on this occasion are more elaborate than at the *etvainolkedr*. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is *marvainolkedr*, the second day funeral, or "again which day funeral." The final scene, in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried, takes place before daybreak on the morning following the *marvainolkedr*, and this part of the ceremony is known as *azaramkedr*, the name being derived from the *azaram*, or circle of stones within which the final cremation takes place.

The funeral ceremonies are open to all and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institution of the Todas, however, they have become known to Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas *hase kedu*, the fresh or green funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills, but has been widely

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 764 Though there is no definite landmark for the killing of the *putiir*, each buffalo is killed at an appointed spot; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 392), the buffalo at the *etvainolkedr* was killed on the left-hand side of the funeral hut.

As soon as the buffalo is felled, the corpse is brought up and placed by the head of the dying animal (Fig. 53). At the funeral of a man, the covering of the body is unfolded and the right hand of the dead man is made to clasp one of the horns. At the funeral of a woman, the body is laid with its feet by the

FIG. 53.—THE CORPSE BY THE HEAD OF THE DYING BUFFALO.

mouth of the buffalo.[1] At the funeral of a Pan man, Kwoten's ring is placed on the finger of the deceased before his hand is made to clasp the horn. Then the men present come to the buffalo and salute it by bowing down and placing their foreheads on the horns and on the head between the horns.

234 764 765 The people then group themselves round the buffalo and corpse and cry together by placing forehead to forehead so that their tears and cries mingle. In the case of the sacred

[1] Some observers have stated that the feet of the corpse are placed within the mouth of the buffalo, but I could not confirm this.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 buffalo, wearing the *mani*, this circle is composed of men only.
764 The lament[1] usually consists in calling first the name of the
buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name,
765 but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the
lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry:

> "*Pundrsia, en potch aia ivanersia, en potch aia*
> O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia*, except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination '*ia*.'

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, "*en mokh ipa*"; for an elder brother, "*en potch anna*"; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry "*iza kughia*," and for a husband a woman cries "*iza mokhia*" (*iza* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

764 Within the group of mourners there is much going hither
and thither. After two people have mourned together for a
765 while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom
576 to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

[1] More elaborate laments are given on pp. 385-8.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachütthti*[1] (*kach*, cloth, *ütthti* or *ütiti*, he
618

FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

[1] This ceremony is also called *kachpaltchpimi*.
[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived,
764 some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of
[533] the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instruments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine, and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and drum. The musicians become especially active while the body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the

FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

764 Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair
765 is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

husband. According to Breeks,[1] one of the nails should also be removed, but I could not hear of this being done at the present time, and similarly I heard nothing of the practice of keeping the knee-cap bone, which is said by Hough[2] to have been preserved. When the burning is over, a piece of the skull is sought from among the ashes, and this, together with the hair, is put within two pieces of bark and wrapped in a cloak to be kept for the *marvainolhedr*. 764 765

The remainder of the ashes are left on the burning-ground till they are dispersed by wind and rain.

Some Special Funeral Ceremonies

In the previous account certain ceremonies which may be performed by special individuals have been omitted. In general, at the funeral of a man, the part of chief mourner and director of the ceremonies is taken by a brother or son of the deceased. At the funeral of a woman the husband takes the chief place.

While the mourning is going on, a ceremony will have been performed if the dead person should be a man or woman whose spouse is still alive. The husband of a dead woman goes to one of his *paiol*, most commonly to his father-in-law, if he is living, and the *paiol* draws up the cloak of the widower so that it covers his head. The man who has his head covered in this way is called *mad ár mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands" (see Fig. 61). The widower keeps his head covered in this way as a sign of mourning and does not take off the cloak till the end of the second funeral. When the *paiol* has arranged the cloak of the mourner, the two men cry together with forehead to forehead.

Similarly the wife of a dead man has her cloak drawn over her head as a sign of mourning, and this is done for her by her own father or someone of his clan who takes his place. This ceremony is performed by a relative of the woman, whether it is husband or wife who is dead.

It is the duty of the widower or widow to mix the grain and honey which is put into a bowl on the bier.

[1] P. 21. [illegible] on the Nilgheries, 1873, p. 81.

764 Other special ceremonies fall to the lot of the *mokhthodvaiol* or *sedvaitazmokh* of the dead person if there should be such. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman is the recognised lover whom she may have in addition to her husband or husbands. The *sedvaitazmokh* is the name of the woman in this Toda institution. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a dead woman goes to the funeral wearing his ring on the ring finger of the left hand. Before the buffalo is caught he pays the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father of the woman; bows down before him and raises each foot to his head. He then puts into the pocket of the cloak of the woman some limes, three handfuls (*mudteir*) of *patcherski* and one large piece of jaggery. He also puts a piece of the dark cloth called *än* into the pocket of the cloak, this act being called *än kudshk it pudithti*. The *mokhthodvaiol* asks the husband of the woman three times "*än kudsh idukina?*" ("Shall I put *än* into the *kudsh*?") and the husband answers each time "*idu!*" In putting the various things into the pocket, the *mokhthodvaiol* has to use his left hand throughout.

765 837

When a man dies his *sedvaitazmokh*, if there be one, goes to the funeral ceremony wearing a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, and similarly puts limes, grain, jaggery, and a piece of *än* into the pocket of the dead man's mantle. Before doing this the brothers of the dead man do *kalmelpudithti* to the father of the woman, and this was said to be done in order to obtain permission from him for his daughter to put things into the cloak.

766 At the funeral of a girl, or of a childless woman, there are performed the ceremonies of *urvatpimi* and *pursütpimi* which are usually performed during pregnancy. In life the *urvatpimi*, or hand-burning ceremony, is performed before that of *pursütpimi*, but after death the order may be reversed. These ceremonies are most frequently performed at the funerals of children, and a full description may be reserved till a later section (see p. 391).

In the case of an adult the ceremony is only performed if it has not been performed in life. If a woman dies in the later months of pregnancy after these ceremonies have taken place, they would not be performed at the funeral.

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If an unmarried boy dies, a girl who should be the *matchuni* of the dead boy, is chosen to act as his wife. It seemed that the girl might be of any age, but she must be unmarried, and therefore must nearly always be young. One of the elder brothers of the dead boy performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to the girl's father, or if there are no brothers this will be done by the boy's father. The head of the girl is then covered with her mantle by her father and the girl puts food into the pocket of the mantle of the dead boy. Thus, there is no *pursütpimi* ceremony in the case of an unmarried boy, but a girl is chosen to act as his widow would have done if he had been married. 766

At the funeral of a Teivali or Melgars male who has not held any dairy office, a piece of *tudr* bark is placed in the right hand of the deceased by a man of the Tartharol. Every male of the Teivaliol or Melgarsol who has been a dairyman of any grade will have been purified with *tudr* bark during the ordination ceremonies, and the piece of bark is only given after death to those who have not been so purified.

The Interval between the two Funerals

As soon as the body is consumed at the *etvaiyolkedr*, the people go home, the near relatives taking with them the relics of the deceased. These relics are enclosed in two pieces of bark called *pitüdri*, taken from the tree called *mätmän*. I was once told that *tudr* bark was used, but this is unlikely. The relics and bark are covered with plain cloth, and the whole is enclosed in a mantle of the kind ordinarily worn. 765

The relics, which are known as the *kedr*, are not taken to the chief village (*etudmad*) of the clan, but to other villages, usually to a definitely appointed village for each clan. If the clan should only have one village, or if the appointed village should be inconveniently distant, a small hut may be especially built in which to keep the relics till the second funeral. The near relatives of the dead person may not go to the chief village in the interval between the first and second funerals. If they are living at the chief village at the time of the death,

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw 616 earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *pushut*, and 618 incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *pushut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

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clan in which the death has occurred must tie their hair in a knot in front, as is shown in the case of the second man in Fig. 61.[1] This method of wearing the hair is called *mad tutvai*, or "head (or hair) who rolls." When the people of a clan are in this condition they must not hold any of the feasts in which the food called *ashkkarthpimi* is used, but they may attend as guests at feasts held in the villages of other clans.

A person who is keeping the funeral ceremonies should not traverse the path by which the *ti* buffaloes go from one grazing ground to another. The ostensible reason why the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* did not journey to Anto at their usual time in 1902 (see p. 131) was that Teitnir, whose wife had died, had passed over the road. The *ti* buffaloes, also, may not pass a place where the relics of a dead person are being kept between the two funerals. In 1902 the relics of the dead wife of Teitnir were removed from the village of Karia in order that they should not be in the way of the buffaloes. On this occasion the relics were followed by a procession of people and Teitnir gave a feast. This was said to be very unorthodox, and on cross-examination it was found that the procession and the feast were not connected with one another, the latter being part of another ceremony which was being performed on the same day.[1]

There are special regulations for widowers and widows—*i.e.*, for those who have their heads covered at the *etvainolkedr*. While they wear the mantle over the head they must never put out their hand or arm from above the mantle, but always from below. When they salute by raising the hand to the forehead (*kainukhti*), they must do so by putting out their hand below the cloak, and in eating and all other acts they must do the same. When the mantle is over the head, it is probably most convenient to put the hand out of the mantle from below rather than from above, but it was quite clear that it was now regarded as wrong to do the latter.

[1] This experience gave me a very striking object-lesson, showing how easy it is to make mistakes in anthropological investigation. The first account given to me seemed to make it absolutely clear that the removal of the relics was made the occasion of a feast.

[1] [See p. 573 -- Analyst]

765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuwi* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsnol*.

234 764 793 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

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hills, Tersveli, the wife of Teitnir, died while Sintagars was in the seclusion hut after the birth of her first child, and on the morning on which Sintagars went from the *pushars* to the *aliars* (see p. 327), she visited Karia to salute the *hedr* of Tersveli. Her first act after her period of seclusion was to show her respect to the remains of her dead relative. If anyone is too ill or feeble to visit the village the remains may be taken to them for salutation.

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CHAPTER XVI

FUNERAL CEREMONIES—*continued*

THE MARVAINOLKEDR

765 THE second funeral may be held little more than a month
766 after the *etvainolkedr*, or there may be an interval of a year
177 or more, and in the case of a child both funeral ceremonies may be performed on one day. In the old days the *marvainolkedr* was a great occasion. The proceedings lasted for two whole days, and were prolonged till daybreak of the third. Many buffaloes were slaughtered; they were caught on the first day, when they were shut up in the circular pen and bells put on their necks. On the second day they were taken from the pen to the slaughtering place, and various ceremonies took place in connexion with and after their deaths. This kind of funeral was called *tuütthkedr*, meaning "the putting in buffalo-pen funeral." In the old days this putting into the pen was sometimes omitted, especially in the case of poor or unimportant people, and the catching and killing of the buffaloes were both carried out on one day, and this kind of funeral was known as *marppitkedr*. At the present time the Todas only have the *marppitkedr*, owing to the restrictions on the number of buffaloes killed. The Todas seem now to believe that the Government have actually prohibited them from putting the buffaloes into the pen at the funerals, but I could not find that this was the case.

765 It is now the custom, and seems long to have been so, to
177 hold the *marvainolkedr* of several people at the same time. The Government allows two buffaloes to be killed for each

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

person, and if two or more funerals are held simultaneously it gives an appearance of the olden times. So far as I could ascertain, however, the funerals of two or more people only take place together when they belong to the same clan. 765 177

In some cases, however, the funeral places of two or more clans are very near one another. In such a case there might be a certain amount of combination of the different ceremonies, but some of the rites would be carried out at different spots for each clan. Something of this kind appears to have happened at the funeral ceremonies recorded by Mr. Thurston (*Bull.* i., p. 176). Similarly the *marvainolkedr* of a man or woman of the same clan may be held simultaneously owing to the fact that the funeral places for the two sexes are usually close to one another. The buffaloes would, however, be killed at different places, and the remains would not be burnt and buried at the same *azaram*. 765 618

Owing to the custom of having the *marvainolkedr* of several people simultaneously, it has often been supposed that the Todas have a kind of anniversary ceremony for all those who have died during the year, but there is no doubt that this is wrong. There was a large *marvainolkedr* soon after I left the hills (in January, 1903), but it was a ceremony for two women only, Narskuti (63 and 56), and Tersveli (63 and 52), both belonging to the Kuudrol, and it was held at Kurkalmut, the proper funeral place for the women of Kuudr. It is quite possible that owing to the restrictions on the slaughter of buffaloes it may become more and more the custom to hold several *marvainolkedr* simultaneously, and that this custom may develop into an anniversary ceremony. This could only come about, however, by throwing over the custom that the funerals of each clan should be held at a definitely appointed place, and there is no doubt that this has not yet happened. 765

At the second funeral ceremony the relics are placed in a special hut, and at a man's funeral the hut has the same name as at the *etvainolkedr*, and apparently it may sometimes happen that the same hut is used at both ceremonies. The second funeral is not always held, however, at the same place 349 765

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765 as the first, and the interval between the two ceremonies may
349 be so great that it may have become necessary to rebuild the hut. At the only *marvainolkedr* at which I was present a new hut had been built for the occasion.

The hut at the second funeral of a woman differs in name from that of the first funeral, being called *kursars* instead of *nersars*. After the second funeral the *kursars* is burnt down, but my notes do not make it clear whether the *nersars* is always burnt down after the first funeral, or whether it may not sometimes be kept for the second ceremony. The difference of name, however, makes this improbable.

If the *marvainolkedr* of two or more people are held simultaneously, a hut is built for the remains of each; thus, at the ceremony in January, 1903, there were two huts, one for Narskuti and the other for Tersveli.

765 The relics, now called the *narskedr*, are brought to the funeral place on a bier made of bamboo, and called *kail-pedrkudr* instead of *mänpedrkudr* (wood bier) as at the first funeral. The *narskedr* is wrapped in an embroidered mantle (*pukurnputkuli*) and placed in the hut, and then all the women of the dead person's division who are present cry together, forehead to forehead, in the usual manner. The chief things to be burnt with the remains are also placed within the hut.

At a funeral witnessed by Mr. Thurston the relics were taken from a hole cut at the base of a tree, and the hair was unwrapped from off the skull, burnt in an iron ladle, and anointed with clarified butter before being placed in its cloth. This was probably a ceremony which should have been performed on the following morning at the *azaramkedr* (see p. 379).

As on the former occasion, a man's funeral begins with the ceremony of earth-throwing, which is carried out in the same way as at the *etvainolkedr*. The *narskedr* is laid at the entrance of the buffalo pen, and earth is thrown into the pen and on the remains in the manner already described. There is nothing corresponding to the *tiveri tur* ceremony of the woman's first funeral.

At the present time the driving, catching, and killing of the buffaloes are carried out in very much the same way as at the

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etvainolkedr. At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind. 765

As the buffalo dies, the *narskedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakhudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakhudri erspimi*, or *kudri erspimi*,[1] "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartmokh* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

The Kodiiti Ceremony

Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male which is called *kodiiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this purpose. 234 765 177 783

[1] *Kudri* is the generic word for creeper.

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765 234 177 783 According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes. It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol* made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called *kegampkwñdr* (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of *tudr* leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the name *kootiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments, including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain (*tagars*), necklace (*keiveli*), earrings (*kevthveli*), and bracelet (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only, are carried by two women to the place where the calf is standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the former throwing before and behind him as he walks the mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol* comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs adikina?*"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to move all present, Tartharol and Teivaiiol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*" and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads. The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed, but is allowed to go free.

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but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for another funeral. 177 765 783

The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *drthrverutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—*i.e.*, funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narskedr*.

One of the most important features of this *kodtiti* ceremony [778] is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*.

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnòdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi pona*," "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.[1] It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

[1] See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii. p. 4.

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765 After the buffalo is killed dancing takes place at the funeral
535 of a male. The men only dance and they may begin soon after the killing of the buffalo, while other ceremonies are still in progress. In the dancing the same tall pole (*tadri* or *tadrsi*) is used as is carried by the Teivali man who wears the cloak of the *narskedr*. It is a tall pole which, it was said, might sometimes be as much as 39 feet in length. I only saw a *tadri* at one funeral, when it was much smaller. It is decorated with rings of cowries, which are called *nirpul*, the ornaments in general being called *tadri asteram* (see Fig. 67).

[439] The pole is procured from Malabar through the Kurumbas. It is used at the funeral of males only of both the Teivaliol and Tartharol, and is burnt at the end of the *azaramkedr*.

In the only dance which I had the opportunity of seeing the men danced within the circular wall surrounding the funeral hut. In this case the floor of the enclosure was below the general level of the ground. The men formed a circle and danced round in slow step; one man said the name of the slaughtered buffalo—in this case, Purkirsi—and another repeated this name; then the first man said "*hau! hau!*" which was repeated by the second man.

After a time one of the men took the *tadri* and they danced round in a similar way, taking the pole with them as they danced (*i.e.*, they did not dance round the pole).

After the dancing is over, food is distributed to all the people present and most return to their homes, while the remainder wait at the funeral place till the following morning, when are held the final ceremonies, which are known as the *azaramkedr*.

The Azaramkedr

765 This is the name applied to the ceremonies connected with the final burning of the remains and burial of the ashes. After food has been distributed at the *marvainolkedr*, many of those attending the funeral return home. The remainder stay at the spot during the evening, those nearly related to the deceased lamenting in the usual fashion almost continuously. At a funeral attended by Samuel, the people took

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the setting of Kadsht and the appearance of Keirt[1] as the indications that the final ceremonies were to begin, and this was about two o'clock on the following morning. 765

At every funeral place used for the *marvainolkedr*, there is a circle of stones, smaller than that in which the hut is built, with an opening which in some cases faces the east. This circle of stones is the *asaram*, and before the ceremonies begin, a man digs a hole by the opening in its side. The various objects to be burnt with the remains are now brought from the hut in which they had been placed on the previous day, and are laid outside the *asaram* and the *narskedr* is laid by their side. As the remains are removed from the hut, the wailing becomes louder and the people cry bitterly. Outside the stone circle a fire is made of the wood called *kidmän*,[2] upon which clarified butter is poured. This fire, which is known as the *puntüt*, is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased. At the funeral of a male, there is burnt on this fire the dairy vessel called *ertatpun* which had belonged to the dead man, and the imitation buffalo horns called *petkuter*, about ten in number for a man and five for a boy. At the funeral of a woman, I think that a *majpatitthpun* is burnt, viz., a vessel used for fetching buttermilk from the dairy, but I am not certain of this.

There now follows the ceremony called *narsatipimi*, *i.e.*, "the *nars* we rub," in which the leading part is taken by a person of the same sex as the deceased. I only have a full record of this ceremony at a woman's funeral, and in this case a woman took the relics out of their covering, and threw away the pieces of bark in which they had been enclosed. She rubbed butter on the pieces of skull and the hair, put the hair between two pieces of skull, tied them together with thread, and replaced them in the ornamented cloak (*pukurupukuli*). She then bowed down and touched the remains with her forehead, and then this salutation was performed by all those present. 602 605 765

At a funeral seen by Mr. Thurston,[3] this ceremony was performed on the previous day at the *marvainolkedr*, and in

[1] See Chap. XXV. [2] Probably *Olea robusta*.

[3] *Bull.*, i. 176.

602 this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified
605 butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-
765 in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

765 The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the
177 *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male:—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain
439 called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

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bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus. 765

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi tavai*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*. 177 439

(*c*) A *naumakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *kodtiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trktpmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place. 765

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankâti*. At the funeral of a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *asaram*, where they 602 605 765

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

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602 remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that
605 the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased,
765 the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *azaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

177 The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water
765 (*kédr tüt ârs kudrchi*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out[1] and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

765 The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwungg*) and goes round the

[1] This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

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burial-place three times ringing the bell, while another man goes with him holding him by the waist. The man who rings the bell then takes a new pot, ordinarily used for carrying water, and, raising it over his head, brings it down and breaks it on the stone covering the ashes. He bows down and touches the stone with his forehead, gets up, and goes away to the funeral hut without looking back toward the *azaram*. All the others present bow down to the stone in the same way and go away from the spot without looking back. The ceremony of bell-ringing and stone-saluting is called *kwungg tûki kârs ṇersatiti*, "bell lift, stone he salutes." 765

At the funeral of a woman, the bell is rung and the pot broken by her husband or by one of his brothers if he be dead. If it is the husband, he will have been wearing the cloak over his head[1] up to this time, and he takes it off just before he bows down to salute the stone. At the funeral of her husband, a widow will similarly remove the cloak from her head before she salutes the stone.

After saluting at the *azaram*, all go to the funeral hut, where they take food, having fasted during the night. Each person cuts a lock of hair from the head as a sign of mourning and then all return home.

At the funeral of a woman, the funeral hut is burnt before the people leave, this being called *ars pon atipimi*, "house up we send." It is the duty of the woman who first lighted the *azaramtüt* to set fire to the hut.

The foregoing account of the second funeral ceremonies is that of the proceedings at the present time. When the *marvainolkedr* was prolonged over two days, the proceedings of the first day opened with the capture of the buffaloes, which were put in the pen, and then followed a scene in which the Todas entered the pen, flourishing heavy clubs. The animals were belaboured and driven round and round the pen, and at intervals several men would catch and hold down a buffalo. According to some accounts the bells were hung round the necks of the buffaloes during this performance, but at a funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse[2] this was not done, and he believed that the 234 541 765

[1] See p. 365. [2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii. p 35

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234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their
541 agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
765 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the
787 second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner, and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
627 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or
765 her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

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other was also composed by Teitnir for the first funeral ceremony of Pidrvan (9) of Kars. 533 539

The Toda name for these laments is *kunedstkin* or *kunedsti*, and certain men have great reputations as composers both for funerals and on other occasions, and Teitnir was one of these. The following is the lament for Tersveli :— 765

Isa	*kûgh*	*ia,*[1]	*iza*	*kutei,*	*atâth*
O	woman	oh !	O	woman,	not born before
atia,	*pervath*	*perpia,*	*pův*	*trsimitch*	*ia*
you were born,	renowned	you were born,	flower	lime	oh !
pův	*elet*	*ia,*	*kavath*	*kud*	*katethik,*
flower	(a bush)	oh !	proper husband (?)	found	you married,
pattth	*kud*	*patiathenk,*	*tevukkh*		*nurs*
proper wife	found	I married,	(*kwarsam* of Piedr) to		beautiful
tr	*notei*	*kudrthenk,*	*âtthkark*	*nurs*	*mokh*
buffalo	looked	I gave,	(*kwarsam* of Kuudr) to	beautiful	woman
notei	*patiathenk,*	*kutcia*	*mun*	*kutenothuk,*	*kokiji*[2]
looked	I married,	built	house	we built,	imitation bracelets
kis	*narsiathûk*	*kûter*		*kis*	*narsiathûk,*
made	we played,	imitation buffalo horns		made	we played,
ôr	*mokh*	*puckiathûk,*	*ôr*	*ir*	*tû*
six	children	we would produce,	six	buffalo	pen
odethûk,	*orppasan* (?)	*oithîk*	*pudrkwadr*		*ners*
we would enjoy,	liberal	you were,	umbrella tree		shade
oithîk,	*irom*	*od*	*ithethûk,*	*pukhom*	
you were,	we will live	that	we thought,	we will go together	
ed	*peithûk,*	*kalav*	*tr*	*kadathûk,*	*pûa* *tadri*
that	we went,	strong	buffalo	we bought,	? pole
pusiathûk	*tudm*	*athi*	*od*	*kudrtethûk,*	*udi* *athi* *ed*
we beat,	fine	it is	that	we gave,	have it is that
kudrt thûk,	*kutei ath*	*kotei*	*peithûk,*	*keirtith*	*keir*
we gave,	built	bungalow	we went,	running waters	reservoir
peithûk,	*ô*	*katcheri*	*peithûk,*	*ô*	*kapel*
we went,	seven	courts (law)	we went,	seven	ships
peithûk	*pudrk*	*nuri*	*ituthûk,*	*pash*	*it*
we went,	Tamil to	complaints	we spoke,	words	spoke

[1] This is also the usual vocative termination.

[2] *Kokiji* is the Kota name for a toe-ring worn on the second toe of the right foot by Kota women (see Breeks, p. 123). A similar word is used for bracelets of vine made by the Todas as a game.

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533 *pudth* *kisthûk* *pudth* *it* *pudth* *kisthûk*,
539 prize we won (made), prize spoke prize we won,

765 *ûkudrem* *ed* *thûk*, *kan* *udjim*
we will not be shaken that we said, eye we will not fear

ed *thûk*, *mûn* *ûnem* *ed* *thûk*, *en* *it*
that we said, face ? that we said, me here

puckvluia, *en* *it* *ptshvlnia*, *purs* *kan* *ulr*
keep you went, me here leave you went, right eye water

ptrevinen, *purs* *metûvi* *kurseivlnen*, *patnenk* *kanûnen*,
I shed, right nostril I smart, I bewailed I could not find,

pesodthenk *kanûnen*, *enk* *ud* *swûmi* *aivlnen*.[1]
I called out I could not find, to me one god I have.

The free translation of this is as follows :—

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower, lime, O flower, tree. Having found a proper husband you married ; having found a prope. wife I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuudr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate ; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

This translation is based partly on the literal meanings of the *kurzam*, partly on explanations and renderings given to Samuel by Teitnir. The dead wife was a Piedr woman and the husband a Kuudr man. The mention of injustice refers

[1] In some cases Samuel could not give the literal meanings, and has only given the general sense of the *kurzam*.

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to trouble which arose when other men wished to take his wife from Teitnir. The visits to bungalows, &c., probably refers to a time when Teitnir and his wife lived in Ootacamund under the protection of the Zenana Mission. The ships must be purely imaginary on Teitnir's part, unless he is referring to boats on the lake at Ootacamund. The numbers six and seven are those generally used for 'many' under ordinary conditions, and there is a clause towards the end which probably refers to the evil eye. Teitnir was under, or pretended to be under, missionary influence, and his reference to "one God" at the end is certainly due to this.

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The following is the lament composed by Teitnir for Pidrvan :—

Epukers		*ia!*	*alipukers*		*ia!*	*Pudth*	*tubkk*
Kwarzam of malir		oh!	*kwarzam of malir*		oh!	rattan	ring
ir	*ia!*	*Pikk*	*kudeik*	*hinim*	*ia!*	*peivalei*	*wuk*	*ia!*
buffalo	oh!	?	?	plate	oh!	?	?	oh!
keiveli	*mikir*	*ia!*	*kapatth*	*kal*	*ia!*	*kkukatith*	*kkdr*	*ia!*
necklace	neck	oh!	trousers	leg	oh!	car	horn	oh!
ana	*mutu*	*ia!*	*arzhan*	*wudr*	*ia!*	*atawdv*	*ia!*
elephant	foot	oh!	European	walk	oh!	sambhar	oh!
wurs	*frk*		*kan*	*ikkikank,*	*kalochikum*		*ed*
beautiful	buffalo to		eye	I kept,	old woman to (?)		that
tkkuk,	*kalikum*		*ed*	*tkkuk*	*indrvikkti*	*kwarzam,*	
they said,	old man to (?)		that	they said,	*kwarzam* of	Kars clan,	
ius	*kdra*	*ii*	*vdr*	*kada,*	*pirvenkdra!*		
O	chief	seven	village	chief,	conqueror oh!		
pudrmanid[1]	*ia!*	*kwatkdra!*	*Kavanadi*	*pali*	*put*		
peace-loving man	oh!	strong man oh!	Kavanadi	dairy	carried		
aia!	*ik*	*wut*	*tkk*	*ia!*	*atkk*	*ed*	
oh!	you	carried	posts	oh!	not born before	one	
arikkk,	*parvatk*	*ed*	*partikkk,*	*pka*	*kdra*		
you were born,	renowned	one	you were born,	?	council		
panatikk	*sanur*	*kkikk,*	*kr*	*ed*	*kk*		
you held,	money fine	you imposed,	buffalo fine	one	man to		
ankatikk	*mukk*	*ed*	*kk*	*kiatikk,*	*mulr*		
you told,	girl	one	to man	you made,	barren buffaloes		
kudk	*pukkk,*	*pkur*	*ukkk*	*pukkk*			
in the night	you went,	buffalo	to the neck	you went,			

[1] A play on Pidrvan's name.

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pudr *kdichi* *pokkth,* *pun* *ortodkth,*
chosen number beat you went, chosen number you ran before,
kal *ir* *kdthth* *pokoth pikkth* *ninth* *ud* *kabu*
leg dance you danced ? ? your one new things
kisthth, *ninth* *ud* *kak* *kisthth,* *id* *kan*
you made, your one invention you made, to-day eye
mkn *dvini,* *Kars* *kasun* *podtha?* *parmers*
face I saw, Kars *kasun* has it come? *kwarzam* of *kasun*
podtha? *mathkddis* *mai* *kodzkini* *dzOrutrs* *kargh*
has it come? burning-place at ashes heaped, *asaruw* at grass
putevini.[1]
grew up.

The first part of this lament begins with the *kwarzam* of the *maiir*, or barren buffalo, slaughtered at the funeral. It is not quite clear which of the clauses at the beginning refer to the buffalo and which to the man. I do not know the meaning of the second clause. The free rendering of the third and fourth was said to be, "Your horns crept so well; your horns crept well to the front." The general sense of the other clauses was said to be as follows: "O, your leg like trousers, your horns like a car, your foot is like that of an elephant, you walk with a step like a European soldier, your appearance is like that of a sambhar. I saw you were the most beautiful buffalo of all." It seems probable that the lament so far refers altogether to the buffalo. Then follows, "They said that you would be the parent of the dead, but now you are dead yourself"; or, "When old people are yet alive, why are young ones taken?" Then follows the *kwarzam* of the Kars clan, and the rest obviously refers to Pidrvan himself: "O chief of many villages, conqueror, peace-loving and yet strong man. You were like Kavanadi, who carried the posts of the buffalo-pen.[2] O man of wonderful birth, renowned you were born; you held councils; you fined some by money and some by buffaloes; you settled who should marry the women. In

[1] As both these funeral laments were obtained from Samuel, I cannot guarantee that the method of spelling adopted is the same as that used elsewhere in the book; this is especially the case with the sign 'th,' which, in agreement with the practice customary in South India, was used by Samuel for the English 't,' and sometimes for a sound for which I have used the letter d.

[2] For the story to which this refers, see Chapter XXVIII.

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the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the 533
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the 539
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the 765
last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to
you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In
your *ararw* place I see nothing but grass growing."

Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of 234
the first new moon after the *marwainolkedr*. 782

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred 793
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral 765
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion 778
the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following
the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown
away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through
the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to
repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday
after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed
as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts
the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not
re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the
old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies,
takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it
all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes
the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on
which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper
place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified
and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol,
and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral
ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between
the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken
back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

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second funeral, and it is at Ôdr that the purification takes place.

Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *asaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnôdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnôdr-vusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *asaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *asaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nôdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

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After a funeral, the members of the Tarthar clans, except the Melgarsol, shave their heads, but this is not done either by the Melgarsol or Teivaliol. I did not inquire fully into this matter, and do not know what regulations there are in connexion with the practice, or whether it is regarded as purificatory. 765 783

The Funerals of Children

The body of a still-born child is buried at the same time as, and together with, the afterbirth, without any ceremonial. In one case which occurred during my visit, this was done by the woman who assisted at the delivery. The body was buried in the early morning on the day on which the mother underwent the ceremonies attending removal to the seclusion-hut. 766

If a child less than two years of age dies, both funerals are held on one day. The *atvainolkedr* takes place in the morning, the *marvainolkedr* in the afternoon; a buffalo is killed at each, and the *asaramkedr* is held on the following morning as usual. If the child is very young, less than a month old, a male buffalo only may be killed, but if the father chooses, two buffaloes may be killed as at the funeral of an adult.

Thus, the child of Piliag and Sintagars (52) died while the mother was in the seclusion-hut, and two ordinary buffaloes were killed. On this occasion, the two funerals were held on the same day as that on which the child died, owing to the death having taken place on one of the appointed days for a funeral of the clan. When the youngest child of Podners (47) died, only one male buffalo was killed for both ceremonies.

When a male child dies who has not cut his teeth nor been through the ear-piercing ceremony, the funeral is not held at the usual funeral place for males, but at another. Thus the Karsol do not take the body of such a child to Taradrkirsi but to a place called Punpali.

When I attended the funeral of a girl named Sinerani (52), the daughter of Kuriolv of Kuudr, both ceremonies were performed on the same day, and a number of incidents occurred which were very interesting as illustrations of many of the practices which have been described throughout this chapter. The child was about two years 766 588

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen. 764 174

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kasun* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kasun*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.[1] That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies. 764 775 765 783

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tarsamptpini*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolkedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be 765 775

[1] In Teikir's lament for Pidrvan (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kars *kasun*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kasun*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

765 775 furnished if we supposed that the spirits of the dead are malignant and that the ceremony was postponed till after the spirit had set out on his journey to Amnòdr, but there are two objections to this explanation. If the Todas had had this in their minds, they would have said that the ceremony might not be performed while there was *kedr* among the Tartharol, *i.e.*, while the funeral ceremonies of a Tarthar man were still incomplete. For the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, however, it seems that a child has to wait till after a *marvainolkedr* even if there has been no recent death among the Tartharol. Further, if the proposed explanation had been correct, there is no reason why the *karvnol*, or day immediately after the funeral, should have been appointed for the ceremony. The fact that this day is prescribed points rather to some beneficial influence which it is hoped may emanate from the dead.

601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this restriction only applies to near relatives.

551 A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,
576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

between the two versions. I think it probable that it has 178
become less frequent for several brothers to have only one 182
wife in common, but I am very doubtful whether this indicates
any real decrease in the prevalence of polyandry. 595

It seems to me that the correct way of describing the present condition of Toda society is to say that polyandry is as prevalent as ever, but that, owing to the greater number of women, it is becoming associated with polygyny. When there are two brothers it does not seem that each takes a wife for himself, but rather that they take two wives in common.

It is probable that this will lead in time to a state of society in which each brother will come to regard one wife as his own; and in a few cases it seemed to me that there was already a tendency in this direction. If this forecast should be fulfilled, the custom of monogamy among the Todas will have been developed out of polyandry through a stage of combined polyandry and polygyny.

One case happened during my visit which seemed to indicate 595
that though several brothers might be regarded as husbands 765
of a woman, the part of husband for ceremonial purposes
might be taken only by one or two of them. In this case I was told that four brothers had one wife, but when the wife died only two of the brothers acted as widowers and performed the ceremonies associated with that condition. When I asked for an explanation of this, I was then told that the other two brothers were not husbands, but I strongly suspected that this was a mere device to enable two of the brothers to avoid the disabilities attendant on the condition of widowerhood. I have very little doubt that while the woman was alive, all the four brothers were her husbands, but after her death it became convenient to assume that only two had been husbands, leaving the others free from the restrictions of widowerhood.

Many writers have believed that the widely spread custom 587
of the Levirate is a relic of polyandry. If it were true that 595
the custom of polyandry is dying out among the Todas, this people might have provided material for the study of the relations of polyandry and the Levirate. It will be obvious,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

CLOTHING

The clothing of the men consists of a large cloak called the *putkuli*, a loincloth called *tadrp*, and a small perineal cloth called *kuvn*, kept in its place by a string round the waist called *pennar*. 291

The *putkuli* is made of a large piece of double cloth, which is usually worn by placing one side over the left shoulder and then throwing the whole garment round the back and over the right shoulder and across to the left shoulder, so that it completely envelops the body. This method of wearing the cloak, which is shown by the third man of Fig. 61, is called *kai ulk üt nidvai*, "hand into laid who stands," or "who stands with hand placed within the cloak."

The double layer of cloth of which the cloak is made is sewn together at the edges except at the upper part of one side, leaving the opening of a large pocket which is bounded by lines where the two layers of the cloak are again sewn together. This pocket is called *kudsh* and is very capacious, so that a Toda may produce a surprising number of articles from it. As we have seen, many of the articles given to the dead are placed in this pocket.

There are two methods of wearing the cloak adopted on special occasions. One of these is that called *kevenarut* (adopted by the second man in Fig. 61), with which we have already often met. The right arm is put out of the cloak, so that the arm and shoulder are bare whenever a Toda approaches certain sacred personages or objects. The cloak is worn *kevenarut* whenever the wearer is engaged in prayer or employed in any way at the dairy. It is also worn in this way when approaching a *palol*, when performing the *kaimukhti* salutation, and when crossing either of the sacred streams.

The other method is that shown by the fourth man in Fig. 61 and is called *mad ār mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands." The cloak is worn in this fashion by a widower between the middle of the first funeral ceremony and the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. It is also worn in 291 765

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony of each funeral.

291 The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus,
291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago,
437 according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers
531 who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present
463 time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar. When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*,
177 made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is
437 probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *ön* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

ocl The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordination of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the
292 *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvu* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is
292 an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kòdrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

Methods of Wearing the Hair

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

302 rolls," and the second man in Fig. 61 is wearing his hair in
765 this fashion, a girl of his clan having died not long before, whose second funeral ceremonies had not yet taken place.

302 Another method of wearing the hair is shown by the third man in Fig. 61. This method is called *mad nadrk vai*,
782 "head (or hair) long to who." It is adopted by anyone who

FIG. 62.—TILIPA (12) WEARING HIS HAIR LONG ON ACCOUNT OF A VOW MADE AT A HINDU TEMPLE.

has made a vow. In Fig. 62 another man is shown in the same condition, but his head has a different appearance owing to the fact that he has tied two locks behind in order to keep the long hair away from his face. This tying back has no other significance.

302 Women wear their hair as shown in Figs. 3 and 11, in long ringlets, and there do not appear to be any differences in

1: Rivers E-S (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgarsol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjánkudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mîkuti* (? *meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mîkuti*.

SKIN-MARKS

304 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form
751 of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the
755 elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered
304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol. 184 234 616

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*. 616 764

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral, which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *kootiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said 616 765 184

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
184 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two
796 divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tdzÀr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other. 616

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali. 796 852 765 769

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division. 184 846 616

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another [272]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XX.

THE GREEN FUNERAL.

The two Funerals described—Last office to a dying Toda—The corpse journeys to the Kêdu Mand—The Kêdu Mand described—Obsequies—'Dust to dust'—Slaughter of Cattle—The ashes of the dead—Kotas remove the Carcasses of Cattle.

CHAP. XX.

764

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THE ceremonies observed on the death of a Toda may be divided into two groups; the first of which, appertaining to the funeral proper, and termed the green funeral or hase[1] kêdu,[2] is performed within a day or two after death. The second, styled the dry funeral or bara[3] kêdu, which will be described in full in the next Chapter, and is more of a commemorative nature, was formerly celebrated in the course of two or three months after the first. It was, as I understand, delayed mainly by local circumstances affecting the general interests of the community. Of late years, however, certain restrictions which the Government of Madras placed on the slaughter of cattle at the ceremonies, have caused the people to postpone these final obsequies until the death of several Todas should enable them, by combining sundry funerals, to make one great show. Hence the bara kêdu is often not effected until the lapse of a twelvemonth after death.

[1] Hase or pach or pache. Root in Drâvidian is paç = *tender, soft, raw, green.* Perhaps allied to Sansk. vaçanta = *spring.* Gaelic fas = *spring.* [POPE.]

[2] Kêdu. Tamil. Kanarese = *destruction, death.*
Telugu. Chedu = *perish.*
Compare Sanskrit kshi (ṇu) = *perish.* [POPE.]

[3] Bara. Tamil var. Kanarese and Telugu bar = *dry, parched, sterile, famine.* Compare Eng. bare. [POPE.]

and kiss its face: then sitting in groups of pairs—both sexes indiscriminately—with the tops of their foreheads joined, give way to wailing and lamentation. A most singular and interesting spectacle, rendered more piquant and real, by the aspect of a small boy who, not finding his pair, was running about from one crying group to another, blubbering till his face was distorted and swollen, looking amongst the mantles for a spare head to rest his own against. CHAP. XX. 764

Thus they remain till the body has been consumed: when the lock of hair that had been cut off, together with portions of the half-burnt skull—nirrzh[9]—are collected in a piece of cloth, to be deposited in a corner of his house,[10] henceforth kept shut up, till the bara kêdu. [765]

The silver and gold of the burnt jewellery are sought for from the ashes, but little valueless odds and ends—as knives, iron rings and other ornaments, the rings off the ends of wooden pestles—together with the ashes of the dead, are buried in the ground. The hole which contains these remains is then filled up with earth, on which water is poured. Over all a stone. The earthen vessel which held the water is broken.

Having saluted the spot where the ashes have been buried, by touching it with their foreheads, they leave the place, avoiding it henceforward, but merely on account of the painful associations connected with it. A person once dead is never *named*, though he may be made the subject of conversation. 769 551

It is a mistake to suppose these people have a feast—a jollification—after this funeral. Indeed they are as little disposed for anything of the sort as we should be in the same position. But a number of friends from a distance have to be fed, and as all are not real *mourners*, and have many of them brought excellent appetites, they eat. 765

[9] Nirrh. Nîrru.—*sacred ashes, ashes.* This is at the root of it. [Pope.]

[10] Some such custom would be the origin of the Manes and Penates.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 177

765

Nº 22

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

MOURNING.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XX.

764 The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in other respects they are identical.

The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the [177] ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of this meat.

765 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign 302 of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut their hair off.

764 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of 824 certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know. On showing samples of them, which had been collected for me by a young man, to a pâlâl, he swept them aside with his hand, implying that, compared with the tôde, which he treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DRY FUNERAL.

The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.

CHAP. XXI.

If the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of the bara kēdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance. 764 765

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable numbers at the kēdu Mand, and display their ornaments on these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1] 765 177 533

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' 000

[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.' [192]

 In the very early morning of the first of a two days'

CHAP. XXI.

765 768 177

ceremonial, and long before these guests have begun to arrive, the family of the deceased have a little private ordinance of their own; in burning all his personal property, such as his stick or staff, the honnu or milk vessel, and clothes: also a *flute* or flageolet, and a model of *a bow with bamboo 'strings,' and arrows.*[1] I could not ascertain any reason whatever for this musical instrument and these spurious weapons being burnt. Be it particularly borne in mind that the Todas have no sense of music and do not possess a flute in the whole tribe: that they never hunt, and have no weapons of the chase. These toys are made by the Kotas entirely for the occasion. Thus it was, I experienced some difficulty in buying the bow, which will be found in photograph No. 15. The first question asked of the man who purchased it for me from the Kota, was 'Who is dead?'

765 535 801

The opening public ceremony of the day, is a kind of dance performed by from twenty to fifty men. The dance I witnessed was monotonous enough. It consisted of the body of men, keeping step whilst striding round and round like the spokes of a wheel; each spoke having three men arm in arm: and all exclaiming, rather than shouting, 'A! U! A! U!'[2] in time with their steps. I could trace nothing symbolic in the exhibition except that strange number three, which I notice in all religious matters, to be constantly appearing. It may be that the dance and shout are both merely a Toda mode of giving vent and expression to a festive state of mind.

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Whilst this dance is being carried on by the men, the women prepare food in the hut described in the last Chapter, which has been repaired or renewed for this occasion. Here all the guests assemble, the two sexes sitting apart. The women of the family serve out the supplies from the diminutive door to

[1] Captain Forsyth, in his 'Highlands of Central India,' writes of the Dygas, 'their bows are made entirely of the bamboo, "string" and all.'

[2] The Toda word for *I shout*, is 'A! U! bisharthim,' or *I call out* A! U! Cie, the bare Kâdu, or Second funeral --Analyst]

the men, who hand them round to all impartially. The repast over, dancing is resumed by some, whilst the younger or more active proceed to collect the cow-buffaloes that will be wanted for the morrow, and to shut them up in the pound. Meanwhile, as might be anticipated, the daughters of Eve air their finery and keep their bright eyes and teeth in practice.

765

The proceedings of the second day are very striking. Scene ;—The circular pen, of about thirty feet diameter, with surrounding wall, of unusual strength and neatness, about five feet high and three and a half or four feet broad, on which a dense crowd of people—Todas, Kotas, Badagas, and others—are seated, each man with staff and toga. Sun hot. Smell strong. Buzz of many voices. Squeak of many instruments. A group of buffaloes within the pound, of which, one for each dead man, wears a bell—getti, not konku—scared and desperate from the excitement of the festivity, and the alarming presence of the noisy multitude on the wall, hedging them in on every side. They make frequent timorous dashes at the wall: are as often repulsed with shouts and stick gesticulations. They crowd again, tails together, horns outwards—a habit of defence they have acquired on their hill sides to keep off wild animals: then charge the wall again, and are again repulsed. These little feints and attitudes of defence, keep up the animation of the ring till the moment has come; when the remains of the dead, the insignificant manes—the bit of skull and lock of hair, some handfuls of ashes, a knuckle-bone or two—which have been preserved in a corner of the dwelling since the day of cremation, and now enclosed in the neat plaits of a new mantle, are laid at the gateway of the cattle pen: the ashes of the several dead whose obsequies are this day being observed, lying in the different folds of one single toga. The relatives collect around. No priest—pâlâl or kâvilâl—is present. A little hole is dug in the turf at the very opening of the pound; to which, as before described, each interested kinsman and woman, each adult and child, approaching

[417]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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in succession, takes from it three handfuls of earth, and throws toward the group of buffaloes, who now facing the barred opening with heads down and eyes distended, stand, in the sudden and unwonted silence of this rite, apprehensive of the worst. Three more handfuls are thrown on to the mantle.

A small body of young and active men now clamber over the wall, dropping nimbly into the fold full of these scared animals. With much dexterity they seize them, singling out one at a time; two men approaching from behind either side of the head, grapple the creature's horns, and interlace their arms over its neck, so as to bring their whole weight and strength to bear, until they have the animal under control: in which work they are assisted by a third man who keeps a purchase on the extended tail, whilst others, with what appeared to me insufficient motive, belaboured its back with their sticks.

I am induced to the belief that the motive was insufficient, because these cattle would no doubt have permitted themselves to be caught far more readily without any beating. Hence I conclude that the object in maltreating the animal which is habitually used with consideration, and that knows and obeys their voice so well, must have some hidden meaning. But what that meaning may be I cannot suggest, for the people are singularly free from superstition.

It has been stated that, in former times, when less subject to the police, the animals were on these occasions, clubbed, 'not to death, but to inability to move, by a broken spine; and then left to die in agony.'[4] But, in my opinion, this account needs confirmation. Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a buffalo killed by the club which is depicted on photograph No. 15, and which they often carry at these festivals; but the deed was accidental. The fact still remains that on the occasion of funerals the Todas treat their cattle with unusual violence.

[4] Letter from the Collector of Coimbatore to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue Department, dated 1856.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

When all the animals have thus been seized, and stand grouped in the pen, in separate knots, each consisting of a snorting buffalo, hard held, head and tail, by a few perspiring and breathless men, the bars of the gateway are withdrawn. One struggle more on the part of the cattle, as they pass through the gateway, to get free. Then the plunging, scuffling masses are brought down to the âthârê, where, one by one, as narrated in the last chapter, these milch cows are killed. As each is felled, and comes down on its knees, the mantle containing the ashes of the dead is laid on the ground, so that the nose of the prostrate creature may rest on the cloth, giving out its life in contact with her master's remains. 765

The mourners, at this time fondle the animal's face, as in the first funeral, giving way to tears with every appearance of deep and poignant grief. In their wailing, 'the expressions of sorrow,' writes Mr. Metz, 'to which they give utterance, are generally in the form of questions to (the spirit of?) the deceased; such as "Are you suffering from fever?" "Are your buffaloes thriving?" "Why did you leave us so soon?"[1] "Have you gone to amnôr?"'

Mr. Metz found that in the midst of this crying they would hold out their hands to him for a present; from which circumstance he concludes that the lamentations are uttered, not from grief, but simply pursuant to established custom. I conceive that formerly, when the obsequies took place very shortly after the green funeral, these cries were probably genuine, but that the postponement of the ceremonies of the dry funeral for the period of about a year, has no doubt injured the reality of the scene.

I have said that one buffalo for each person whose funeral is being celebrated, wears a bell—getti. This bell is not holy, but purchased in the bazaar. I could not find a reason for the practice, receiving the usual answers to my enquiry: 'It is shastr,' or 'It is our custom,' or 'Dêr or Swâmi made it so.' 234 765

[1] Often said, 'You have been but three days with us.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.) 234 765 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the *ex*-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.' 764

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless. 183 764 765 775 178

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara-kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of 765 775

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] The bara Kêdu, or second funeral --Analyst]

765 the other three clans—and blood having been taken from the
775 artery of one of the fore legs, at the point of junction with the body, it is sprinkled on the piece of skull preserved from cremation. Nothing is said at the time, and the Todas have no name for the ceremony beyond describing it as, bâkh nirrzhk idu, or 'put the blood to the ashes.' The mantle and its contents are now completely burnt.[8]

In none of the ceremonies described, have I seen any active acknowledgment of the existence of a God.

The main object of the festivities appears to be to gratify a pious desire to further the material welfare of their friend in amnôr, and to bow him out of this world with ceremony and honour. The whole is a grave, practical affair, in which their natural fondness for a prolonged sensation, their domestic and also their wasteful dispositions are all thoroughly gratified. He has gone to amnôr. Send one or two cows at once, at time of death—with more, with plenty, to follow. They are as realistic in this matter as the ancient Britons, who used to give *post-obits* payable in the next world. When asked what became of infants who died, they said, 'Those who have gone before, take care of them.' Their little programme is cut and dry, and the people, harmless race, are quite comfortable in their belief.

If the hut erected for these obsequies was made for a woman, it is now burnt. If for a man, it is not touched.[9]

The Kotas remove the carcases.

[8] Mr. Metz very kindly gave me the information contained in this paragraph. I believe it likely that the personal property; flute, bow and arrows, are also burnt at this time, and not prior to the festivities. The circumstances narrated are correct, though perhaps their sequence is not so. It is not easy to obtain absolutely reliable information from these untutored people: and I did not witness either of the two ceremonies myself.

[9] Mr. Metz authorises this statement.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

843 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[543] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The [322] husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhedkham.*
„ Muttinâd „ *Pirzhirzhk.*
„ Kodanâd „ *Kurrkduvirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgôrôff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nāga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Mānāl* and *Shāstra.* One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow† we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

776 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, 551 in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordesi Kēdu*), which takes place soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvendli Kēdu*), a sort of commemorative 765 festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

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* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Manu, iii. 33.

[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock; *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 8:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of man generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

764 tied round the first buffalo's neck, and the corpse was lifted and made to touch three times the side of the animal, which was killed by one blow from the back of an axe, and its body dragged up, so that its head lay close to that of the dead man, the hand of the latter being made to clasp the buffalo's horn (*Plate* XIV.) The bell was then
765 transferred to the other buffalo, and the same process repeated. All the relatives seated themselves by the three bodies to mourn in couples, a man and woman putting their heads together and sobbing and moaning. After a little while each couple would separate, the woman saluting the man by raising his foot to her forehead (except in the case of the old women, when the process was reversed), and fresh pairs would be formed. As with other Eastern people, their sorrow is woeful to behold, the tears literally streaming down their faces and over their cloths. Their grief, however, is marvellously transient.

After this the widow sat alone mourning at the head of the deceased, and put three handfuls of grain into the pocket of his cloth. Then the body was placed on the bier, and laid on the ground beside the pile, which was lighted by the relatives, who, again covering their heads, made fire with two sticks.*

764 One side of the bier was cut into three and laid on the pile. *Sāmē* grain (*Panicum miliare*) and jaggery, the two great Toda luxuries, were then put into the pocket of the dead man's *pūtkuli*, with two cheroots, some tobacco wrapped in red cloth, and the purse, embroidered by one of the mourners, containing five or six rupees in silver and a little gold coin.† A ring was put on the finger, and earrings in the ears. A bit of the skull with hair and one of the finger nails‡ were cut off by the relatives; these, I was told, would be kept till the dry funeral in a little hut built near the mand for that purpose, and a buffalo bell hung over them for the relatives to ring night and morning. The bell is not hung over the remains of a woman. After this, ghee was thrown on the pile; the body was swung three times over the flame and laid on the pile *face downwards*, a sort of imitation bier or hurdle, which had previously been placed under the body, being laid above it.

When the fire has burnt out, any coin or metal that may have been actually given to the flames, is recovered; usually they merely pass such articles through the flame by way of an offering.

No care is taken of the ashes, they "are left to the winds," as a Toda told me.

765 The dry funeral takes place within a twelvemonth or so after death, according to
[345] the pleasure of the relatives. Each clan has its own *kōdmanes*§ or funeral houses, different ones for men and women. They are sometimes near a mund, sometimes not, but always have a kraal at hand. They are like the ordinary Toda huts, but are sometimes decorated at the time of the funeral with silver coins. These are mostly rupees,

372 * A dry stick of the *Calicodephne Wightiana*, about as thick as a man's thumb, is laid on the ground and held firm by the feet, a second stick is held upright between the two hands, the point resting on the horizontal stick: by twirling the upright with great rapidity between the palms of the hands fire is produced at the point of contact.

† Called by Todas *Birda pūdu*. I think it is the same as the *Birlanbana* given to a dying Badaga. This is a *Vīr-roya* or Coorg-fanam.

‡ These appear to be specially sacred relics among the Buddhists also. Stupas covering a lock of hair, crown of skull, or finger-nail of Buddhist saints seem to have been common in the palmy days of Buddhism.

§ *Kōd* is the name given to the skull, hair, and finger-nail saved from the green funeral, which are tied between two pieces of bark.

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is [77] devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and [535] sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other [60] guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws [767] off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bëti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's [578] dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peïkis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

[535] The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now [536] and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kéd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kédmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! ër kar ultamá*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kéd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kéd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *manigakāran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchāyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1/1 [of the second or "dry" funeral — Analyst]

725 friends of the deceased in turn, covering their heads with their cloths, scratch up the earth with a stick (*Petti*), to which is tied a rag given by the *Pálál*, and throw three handfuls of earth into the kraal, and three on the *pútkuli*, as in the green funeral; each before throwing mutters "*Purzhutukamā*" ("May I throw earth") to a man of the Peiki class standing by the entrance, who replies "*Purzhut*" ("Throw earth.") At the funeral of a Peiki, one of the Tarserzhâl performs this office.

When each of the relatives has thrown his handfuls, the *pujāri* approaches with some garlands of creepers, which he throws at the buffaloes. At this signal, a crowd of young men leap into the kraal, the gate is opened, and, with a rush, men and buffaloes pour out in a cloud of dust, four or five men clinging to each animal's neck, while others urge it on with their clubs. The excitement and confusion are great, and the danger not small; as the buffaloes, blinded and terrified, tear wildly round the kraal and against its walls before they can be dragged out to the place of slaughter. This differs in different cases. At a Peiki funeral, where nine buffaloes were slaughtered, one was killed near a couple of posts about a hundred yards from the kraal, and the rest near the *kédmane*, their bodies being laid in two rows with the heads together. At a Todi funeral near Tūrnāt Mand, commemorative of a single death, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered was killed near the *kédmane*, the other at the mand *Pālthchi*. Death is inflicted by one blow between the horns from the back of an axe. The *pútkuli* and *kéd* are then laid beside the carcases, and men and women sit down by them and mourn in couples, changing places from time to time as at the green funeral.

The next ceremony at a Todi funeral is most striking, and vividly recalls Mosaic sacrifices.

The Peiki *Varzhâl* carries a small urn-shaped vessel of leaves, stitched together, and filled with pieces of bark of the *Melioama pungens*, to the mand herd, and sits a little way off, while the young men run in and seize a female buffalo and a calf. The latter is decorated with an iron bell, and held by two or three men, while the buffalo is dragged to a stone, to which the *pútkuli* and *kéd*, the deceased's stick, and a miniature bow and three arrows are brought. The *kéd* is untied, and the hair, &c. laid on a mimic stretcher (*Berrkvur*) about 1½ foot long, roughly made of green sticks. The buffalo is half stunned by a blow between the horns from a big stone, and a clansman of the deceased, with an axe, makes a gash under its right foreleg. Into this wound the *Varzhâl* dips a few of the pieces of bark from the leaf vessel, and gives some of them to the kinsman, who smears the blood on the *kéd*, with some words which are differently reported by different Todas. The clearest sentence given is "*Karma odi ponā*," "May "the sin run away." Another man repeated an unintelligible sentence, which, however, contained the words *Karma*, sin, and *Amunâd*, heaven, so that the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice underlies the ceremony.

(They make rather a secret of this part of the proceedings, fearing, not unreasonably, that it may be objected to on the score of humanity, and I had to promise not to report the matter, or induce Government interference, before they would let me see what was done.) A Peiki man then puts on the *pútkuli*, in which the *kéd* had been wrapped, and a silver necklace, and taking the bow and arrows, the latter laid across the bow, as though in readiness for shooting, dips the points of the arrows into the blood on the *kéd*, saying "*Birzhutukamā*," "Shall I give the bow." After this

765 they walk to another stone near the Kêdmane in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki with the bow in the middle, and the *Varzhâl* in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting

Amnuddga Sérumâ
Karma dharma tilimâ.

which may be rendered, "May He enter heaven, may it be well with his good deeds "and his sins."

The Peikis and Pekkans do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kêdmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Âzâram*.

765 The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases
177 of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and
609 squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes. It is curious that the Todas, to whose relatives the dead animals are consecrated, make no objection to this disgusting operation, though carried on at the very door of the *Kêdmane*. I asked a Toda once about it, and he replied, "*When the buffaloes are* "*alive they are ours; when dead they belong to the Kotas.*"

765 The *Kêd* is burnt about four o'clock on the following morning (they say the burning must be completed before dawn) at the *Âzâram*,* a single circle of large stones fixed in the ground not far from the Kêdmane. They first light a fire outside the *Âzâram*, and then spread the *pûtkuli* with the *kêd* in the middle of the circle, and pile burning sticks on it until, with the help of ghee, they make a great blaze. They put on the inside fire the following articles:—

A *Kâf Kutti*, a sort of large knife or sickle wrapped round with cloth.
An axe.
Twenty-one bamboo measures ornamented with cowries, two anna bits, and coloured threads, and containing barley, kîre, and sâme grain.
Four or five cakes of jaggery.
A winnowing basket.
A basket for holding rice.
Three or four Toda walking sticks.
A straight pole (*Tarzh*) 20 feet long, ornamented with tassels and rosettes of cowries, and sometimes with a small silver umbrella. (*Plate* XI., *fig. b.*)
A palm-leaf umbrella.
A miniature bow and three arrows.† (*Plate* XI., *fig. a.*)
A purse.

* I could not ascertain with any certainty whether these stone circles, which are always to be found near the funeral mand, had been constructed in recent years or were of considerable antiquity. Their appearance, however, did not suggest any great age. From the Todas whom I questioned on the subject, it was very difficult to elicit any definite information; but the impression which their answers conveyed, was, that now and then they construct new circles, when they consider that the old ones have been used long enough.

† I am told that these are burned at the green funeral when the Kotas have time to make them, but they
177 must not be made beforehand, or the man for whom they were intended would die; and as the Kotas will only
765 work, and the Todas only burn on certain days, it must frequently happen that the two do not coincide.

The pouch of the *pûthkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kūtēr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pett*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Anundāpu eruna,*
Karma dharma (pronounced *Karrm Dharrm*) *tilimā.**

Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *Kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains here, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *Kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Thrakt Mund the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzāramu* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the circle.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 200. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhût, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhûts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
● 765 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that
174 of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āsārams*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bêtikhân,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
441 are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pútkuli, tharp, kôun, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tôr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

174 mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then
411 expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

224 The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilisation: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by samber* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

174 It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

764 The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their
765 ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkeur* probably represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

784 The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

000 It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Samber, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilisation and primitive condition of Man*, page 331:—
"The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet "would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!

Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 451:—
"Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful, "and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly "improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page* 37.
He says that among the *Hos* and *Mundahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections as if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of coins at the end of this volume.

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764 lucky and unlucky days. Each night and morning of the interval between the death and the funeral, a lament or coronach is sung over the body by the family and relatives of the deceased. In this they are often joined by passing friends, or by those who have come for the purpose of thus testifying their respect for the dead, and sympathy with the survivors—a trait in the character of this people exhibited in many other ways, and more remarkably than with even many civilised nations.

765 The day of a death is observed by the immediate relatives, as it was among the ancient Jews, as a solemn fast. Their necklaces and ear-rings are also taken off, and the hair is cut short, as a sign of grief and mourning. Both sexes are obliged to conform to this custom on the death of a near male relation, though when a female dies the men do not do so. The sacred class, or *Terralees*, are exempt in either case.

764 On an appointed day, the relatives from a distance having duly arrived in obedience to the summons, the body covered over with a mantle, but having the face exposed, is carried in procession on a sort of bier to the *Terraree*, or sacred ground belonging to the family, and, under the superintendence of the high priest attached thereto, assisted by his subordinate, is burned with certain solemnities and much wailing; the relatives, prior to the corpse being placed on the funeral pile, cutting off a few locks from the head.

766 The above are, however, only the preliminary honours paid to the dead, the principal rites being deferred to a subsequent period, which may be a few weeks, or as many months later.

With a view to the coming rites, portions of the deceased's ashes are saved from the pyre, and, together with the locks of hair, his ear-rings and other ornaments, are carefully folded in his own mantle, and laid by until the proper time arrives.

The concluding ceremonies are, perhaps, the most singular and interesting of all the Toda customs, and I was fortunate in having an unusually favourable opportunity of witnessing them. For, familiar as some of their practices have latterly become in the neighbourhood of our new Hill-stations, their funeral obsequies are only celebrated in the more remote parts of the mountains, and are consequently seldom seen by any European. Indeed, I do not know that the presence of Captain J. and myself would have been tolerated on the occasion to which I

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a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda
elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-
gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr.
Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their
appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the
absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the
ground that they were too poor to afford the expense
of the operation, or that they were always suckling or
pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation
would not be free from danger. The dots and circles,
of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked
out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the
spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and
decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in
the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells
on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with
cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger;
silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes
of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

* See Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

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595 851 842 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram). [765]

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nilgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 178 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulikot bungalow.
† *Op. cit.*

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847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

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funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri hills, but has been widely adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas bara kedu, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted." The various forms of the funeral ceremonies are discussed in detail by Dr. Rivers, and it must suffice to describe those at which we have been present as eye-witnesses.

764 192 [765]

I had the opportunity of witnessing the second funeral of a woman who had died from smallpox two months previously. On arrival at a mand on the open downs about five miles from Ootacamund, we were conducted by a Toda guide to the margin of a dense shola, where we found two groups seated apart, consisting of (*a*) women, girls, and brown-haired female babies, round a camp fire; (*b*) men, boys, and male babies, carried, with marked signs of paternal affection, by their fathers. In a few minutes a murmuring sound commenced in the centre of the female group. Working themselves up to the necessary pitch, some of the women (near relatives of the deceased) commenced to cry freely, and the wailing and lachrymation gradually spread round the circle, until all, except little girls and babies who were too young to be affected, were weeping and mourning, some for fashion, others from genuine grief. In carrying out the orthodox form of mourning, the women first had a good cry to themselves, and then, as their emotions became more intense, went round the circle, selecting partners with whom to share companionship in grief. Gradually the group resolved itself into couplets of mourners, each pair with their heads in contact, and giving expression to their emotions in unison. Before

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765 separating to select a new partner, each couple saluted by bowing the head, and raising thereto the feet of the other, covered by the putkûli. [I have seen women rapidly recover from the outward manifestations of grief, and clamour for money.] From time to time the company of mourners was reinforced by late arrivals from distant mands, and, as each detachment, now of men and now of women, came in view across the open downs, one could not fail to be reminded of the gathering of the clans on some Highland moor. The resemblance was heightened by the distant sound as of pipers, [648] produced by the Kota band (with two police constables [533] in attendance), composed of four Kotas, who made a weird noise with drums and flutes as they drew near the scene of action. The band, on arrival, took up a position close to the mourning women. As each detachment arrived, the women, recognising their relatives, came forward and saluted them in the manner customary among Todas by falling at their feet, and placing first the right and then the left foot on their [576] head. Shortly after the arrival of the band, signals were exchanged, by waving of putkûlis, between the assembled throng and a small detachment of men some distance off. A general move was made, and an *impromptu* procession formed, with men in front, band in the middle, and women bringing up the rear. A halt was made opposite a narrow gap leading into the shola; men and women sat apart as before; and the band walked round, discoursing unsweet music. A party of girls went off to bring fire from the spot just vacated for use in the coming ceremonial, but recourse was finally had to a box of matches lent by one of our party. At this stage we noticed a woman go up to the eldest son of the deceased, who was seated apart from the

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other men, and would not be comforted in spite of her efforts to console him. On receipt of a summons from within the shola, the assembled Toda men and ourselves swarmed into it by a narrow track leading to a small clear space round a big tree, from a hole cut at the base of which an elderly Toda produced a piece of the skull of the dead woman, wrapped round with long tresses of her hair. It now became the men's turn to exhibit active signs of grief, and all of one accord commenced to weep and mourn. Amid the scene of lamentation, the hair was slowly unwrapt from off the skull, and burned in an iron ladle, from which a smell as of incense arose. A bamboo pot of ghi was produced, with which the skull was reverently anointed, and placed in a cloth spread on the ground. To this relic of the deceased the throng of men, amid a scene of wild excitement, made obeisance by kneeling down before it, and touching it with their foreheads. The females were not permitted to witness this stage of the proceedings, with the exception of one or two near relatives of the departed one, who supported themselves sobbing against the tree. The ceremonial concluded, the fragment of skull, wrapt in the cloth, was carried into the open, where, as men and boys had previously done, women and girls made obeisance to it. A procession was then again formed, and marched on until a place was reached, where were two stone-walled kraals, large and small. Around the former the men, and within the latter the women, took up their position, the men engaging in chit-chat, and the women in mourning, which after a time ceased, and they too engaged in conversation. A party of men, carrying the skull, still in the cloth, set out for a neighbouring shola, where a kēdu of several other dead Todas was being celebrated; and a long

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765 pause ensued, broken eventually by the arrival of the other funeral party, the men advancing in several lines, with arms linked, and crying out U, hah! U, hah, hah! in regular time. This party brought with it pieces of the skulls of a woman and two men, which were placed, wrapt in cloths, on the ground, saluted, and mourned over by the assembled multitude. At this [648] stage a small party of Kotas arrived, and took up their position on a neighbouring hill, waiting, vulture-like, for the carcase of the buffalo which was shortly to be slain. Several young men now went off across the 765 787 hill in search of buffaloes, and speedily re-appeared, driving five buffaloes before them with sticks. As soon as the beasts approached a swampy marsh at the foot of the hill on which the expectant crowd of men was gathered together, two young men of athletic build, throwing off their putkûlis, made a rush down the hill, and tried to seize one of the buffaloes by the horns, with the result that one of them was promptly thrown. The buffalo escaping, one of the remaining four was quickly caught by the horns, and, with arms interlocked, the men brought it down on its knees, amid a general scuffle. In spite of marked objection and strenuous resistance on the part of the animal—a barren cow—it was, by means of sticks freely applied, slowly dragged up the hill, preceded by the Kota band, and with a Toda youth pulling at its tail. Arrived at the open space between the kraals, the buffalo, by this time thoroughly exasperated, and with blood pouring from its nostrils, had a cloth put on its back, and was despatched by a blow on the poll with an axe deftly wielded by a young and muscular man. On this occasion no one was badly hurt by the sacrificial cow, though one man was seen washing his legs in the swamp after the preliminary struggle with

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the beast. But Colonel Ross-King narrates how he saw 765
a man receive a dangerous wound in the neck from a 782
thrust of the horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. With the death of the buffalo, the last scene, which terminated the strange rites, commenced; men, women, and children pressing forward and jostling one another in their eagerness to salute the dead beast by placing their hands between its horns, and weeping and mourning in pairs; the facial expression of grief being mimicked when tears refused to flow spontaneously.

The ceremonial connected with the final burning of the relics and burial of the ashes at the stone circle (azaram) are described in detail by Dr. Rivers.

A few days after the ceremony just described, I was 764
invited to be present at the funeral of a young girl who had died of smallpox five days previously. I proceeded accordingly to the scene of the recent ceremony, and there, in company with a small gathering of Todas from the neighbouring mands, awaited the arrival of the funeral cortége, the approach of which was announced by the advancing strains of Kota music. Slowly the procession came over the brow of the hill; the corpse, covered by a cloth, on a rude ladder-like bier, borne on the shoulders of four men, followed by two Kota musicians; the mother carried hidden within a sack; relatives and men carrying bags of rice and jaggery, and bundles of wood of the kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*) for the funeral pyre. [824]
Arrived opposite a small hut, which had been specially built for the ceremonial, the corpse was removed from the bier, laid on the ground, face upwards, outside the hut, and saluted by men, women, and children, with the same manifestations of grief as on the previous occasion. Soon the men moved away to a short distance, and engaged

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(*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkûli, and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb, and butter in the pocket of the putkûli, which was then stitched with needle and thread in a circular pattern. The boy's father then took off his son's putkûli, and replaced it so as to cover him from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. [On the occasion of the funeral of an unmarried lad, a girl is in like manner selected, covered with her putkûli from head to foot, and a metal vessel filled with jaggery, rice, etc., to be subsequently burnt on the funeral pyre, placed for a short time within the folds of the putkûli. Thus covered, the girl remains till next morning, watched through the dreary hours of the night by relatives. The same ceremony is performed over the corpse of a married woman who has not borne children, the husband acting as such for the last time, in the vain hope that the woman may produce issue in heaven.] The corpse was borne away to the burning-ground within the shola, and, after removal of some of the hair by the mother of the newly wedded boy, burned, with face upwards, amid the music of the Kota band, the groans of the assembled crowd squatting on the ground, and the genuine grief of the nearest relatives. The burning concluded, a portion of the skull was removed from the ashes, and handed over to the recently made mother-in-law of the dead girl, and wrapped up with the hair in the bark of the tûd tree (*Melissma pungens*). A second buffalo, which, properly speaking, should have been slain before

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764 the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and
[782] jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother
[765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of
[393] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife. On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-
[576] elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkūli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candolleana*) in the putkūli of the corpse;

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764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf [648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded, the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter- [765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over [775] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that "it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed, and are available for use another time. This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas them- [173] selves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man [763] supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

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[177] etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
[177] "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
302 A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[182] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[188] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

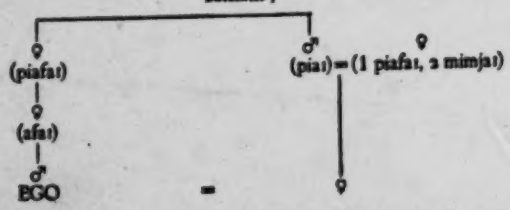
(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[165] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

Piɨldjnuɪ (Püldenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to panuɪ (Paners, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumuɪ. The wives of these men were sinmiɪr (Sinmir) married to piɨldjnuɪ, and pæɪrgɨlj (Pergveli) married to panuɪ. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmiɪr would have called pæɪrgɨlj grandmother (piafuɪ). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmiɪr should have called pæɪrgɨlj mimjuɪ (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmiɪr's mother ocɨlj (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pæɪrgɨlj, both being daughters of the same mother panbuɪf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmiɪr called pæɪrgɨlj mother (afuɪ). 601 614

DIAGRAM 7



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piuɪ) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumuɪ). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piafuɪ), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjuɪ) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[14] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[15] an account of the rules regulating 535 614 765

[14] Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.

[15] Pp. 367-71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight. [114 302]

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (ɯp-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy (poj-ful-fæ:st), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojoɪ/, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoɪ/, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojoɪ/ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

[616] [837]

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the ɯŋkitj, nirj, and puŋgoɪŋ sibs of the toɪrθas moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the töörθ/j moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [851] [621]

[16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pus-ɯt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ɯt-ɑɯj-mod) as opposed to other munds (mus-mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (*Annals*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojot/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work nolkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrassing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnir (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter orliţ had married pilkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mõţr patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kõr(k)-korpol "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 11 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pata-ort or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative age. See current Rivers, p. 320.

349 The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now
343 exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and
Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with
764 three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the vil-
234 lage. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

349 At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for
the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after
764 each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *nersars* for the first funeral, and *kursars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

766 If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

because her funeral was being held at the *kertnòdr* of her father and not at that of her husband. 766

At every funeral place there should be a second circle of stones forming a *tu*, or buffalo-pen. These pens are now rarely, if ever, used, and are a relic of the time when the ceremonies of the *marvainolkedr* were prolonged over two days, the buffaloes being caught and penned on the first day, and killed on the second. A third ring of stones is the *asaram*, at the opening of which the ashes are buried at the final scene of the funeral rites. 764

There are specially appointed days for the funeral ceremonies. These days differ to some extent for different clans and for the two sexes. Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday are the most general days for the funerals of males, only two clans having Saturday as a funeral day for men. For females Thursday and Saturday are most frequently chosen, two clans only holding the funerals of women on Tuesdays. In no case could I find that funerals are performed on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. These days are, on the other hand, the most usual days set apart as *madnol* or *palinol*,[1] and villages which have their *madnol* or *palinol* on Sunday or Tuesday do not appear to have their funerals on these days. The general rule is that a funeral must not take place on a *madnol* or *palinol*. In several cases I was told that if the *mani*, or sacred bell, were used, the funeral must be on one day of the week; thus for the Karsol, it must take place on Sunday; for the Kwòdrdoni people, on Tuesday. These obligatory days of the funeral ceremonies often involve the necessity of keeping the corpse for several days.

I did not make special inquiries into ceremonies of the deathbed, but Marshall states (p. 171) that a man who is not expected to recover is dressed in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, which he will wear till he dies or recovers; and Marshall mentions an instance of a man who had revived from what was thought to be his deathbed who paraded about, wearing the finery with which he had 763

[1] The *madnol* and the *palinol* are sacred days on which certain activities are prohibited (see Chap. XVII).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and
436 among the more recent coins were included two Japanese
177 yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral
372 of a man this must be done by means of fire made by friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood
(*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and
766 burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three
775 times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"*Kedr*	*tütth*	*tüzdr*	*mud*	*tirk*	*tükitth*	*ütki.*"
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tüzdr tükitth kürs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

764 Other special ceremonies fall to the lot of the *mokhthodvaiol*
765 or *sedvaitazmokh* of the dead person if there should be such.
837 The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman is the recognised lover whom she may have in addition to her husband or husbands. The *sedvaitazmokh* is the name of the woman in this Toda institution. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a dead woman goes to the funeral wearing his ring on the ring finger of the left hand. Before the buffalo is caught he pays the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father of the woman; bows down before him and raises each foot to his head. He then puts into the pocket of the cloak of the woman some limes, three handfuls (*mudteir*) of *patcherski* and one large piece of jaggery. He also puts a piece of the dark cloth called *än* into the pocket of the cloak, this act being called *än kudshk it pudithti*. The *mokhthodvaiol* asks the husband of the woman three times "*än kudsh idukina?*" ("Shall I put *än* into the *kudsh*?") and the husband answers each time "*idu!*" In putting the various things into the pocket, the *mokhthodvaiol* has to use his left hand throughout.

When a man dies his *sedvaitazmokh*, if there be one, goes to the funeral ceremony wearing a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, and similarly puts limes, grain, jaggery, and a piece of *än* into the pocket of the dead man's mantle. Before doing this the brothers of the dead man do *kalmelpudithti* to the father of the woman, and this was said to be done in order to obtain permission from him for his daughter to put things into the cloak.

766 At the funeral of a girl, or of a childless woman, there are performed the ceremonies of *urvatpimi* and *pursütpimi* which are usually performed during pregnancy. In life the *urvatpimi*, or hand-burning ceremony, is performed before that of *pursütpimi*, but after death the order may be reversed. These ceremonies are most frequently performed at the funerals of children, and a full description may be reserved till a later section (see p. 391).

In the case of an adult the ceremony is only performed if it has not been performed in life. If a woman dies in the later months of pregnancy after these ceremonies have taken place, they would not be performed at the funeral.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

If an unmarried boy dies, a girl who should be the *matchuni* of the dead boy, is chosen to act as his wife. It seemed that the girl might be of any age, but she must be unmarried, and therefore must nearly always be young. One of the elder brothers of the dead boy performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to the girl's father, or if there are no brothers this will be done by the boy's father. The head of the girl is then covered with her mantle by her father and the girl puts food into the pocket of the mantle of the dead boy. Thus, there is no *pursiitpini* ceremony in the case of an unmarried boy, but a girl is chosen to act as his widow would have done if he had been married. 766

At the funeral of a Teivali or Melgars male who has not held any dairy office, a piece of *tudr* bark is placed in the right hand of the deceased by a man of the Tartharol. Every male of the Teivaliol or Melgarsol who has been a dairyman of any grade will have been purified with *tudr* bark during the ordination ceremonies, and the piece of bark is only given after death to those who have not been so purified.

The Interval between the two Funerals

As soon as the body is consumed at the *etvainolkedr*, the people go home, the near relatives taking with them the relics of the deceased. These relics are enclosed in two pieces of bark called *pitûdri*, taken from the tree called *mûtmûn*. I was once told that *tudr* bark was used, but this is unlikely. The relics and bark are covered with plain cloth, and the whole is enclosed in a mantle of the kind ordinarily worn. 765

The relics, which are known as the *hedr*, are not taken to the chief village (*etudmod*) of the clan, but to other villages, usually to a definitely appointed village for each clan. If the clan should only have one village, or if the appointed village should be inconveniently distant, a small hut may be especially built in which to keep the relics till the second funeral. The near relatives of the dead person may not go to the chief village in the interval between the first and second funerals. If they are living at the chief village at the time of the death,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XVI

FUNERAL CEREMONIES—*continued*

THE MARVAINOLKEDR

765 THE second funeral may be held little more than a month
766 after the *etvainolkedr*, or there may be an interval of a year
177 or more, and in the case of a child both funeral ceremonies may be performed on one day. In the old days the *marvainolkedr* was a great occasion. The proceedings lasted for two whole days, and were prolonged till daybreak of the third. Many buffaloes were slaughtered; they were caught on the first day, when they were shut up in the circular pen and bells put on their necks. On the second day, they were taken from the pen to the slaughtering place, and various ceremonies took place in connexion with and after their deaths. This kind of funeral was called *tuütthkedr*, meaning "the putting in buffalo-pen funeral." In the old days this putting into the pen was sometimes omitted, especially in the case of poor or unimportant people, and the catching and killing of the buffaloes were both carried out on one day, and this kind of funeral was known as *marppitkedr*. At the present time the Todas only have the *marppitkedr*, owing to the restrictions on the number of buffaloes killed. The Todas seem now to believe that the Government have actually prohibited them from putting the buffaloes into the pen at the funerals, but I could not find that this was the case.

765 It is now the custom, and seems long to have been so, to
177 hold the *marvainolkedr* of several people at the same time. The Government allows two buffaloes to be killed for each

h Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

After a funeral, the members of the Tarthar clans, except the Melgarsol, shave their heads, but this is not done either by the Melgarsol or Teivaliol. I did not inquire fully into this matter, and do not know what regulations there are in connexion with the practice, or whether it is regarded as purificatory. 765 783

The Funerals of Children

The body of a still-born child is buried at the same time as, and together with, the afterbirth, without any ceremonial. In one case which occurred during my visit, this was done by the woman who assisted at the delivery. The body was buried in the early morning on the day on which the mother underwent the ceremonies attending removal to the seclusion-hut. 766

If a child less than two years of age dies, both funerals are held on one day. The *etvainolkedr* takes place in the morning, the *marvainolkedr* in the afternoon; a buffalo is killed at each, and the *asarawkedr* is held on the following morning as usual. If the child is very young, less than a month old, a male buffalo only may be killed, but if the father chooses, two buffaloes may be killed as at the funeral of an adult.

Thus, the child of Piliag and Sintagars (52) died while the mother was in the seclusion-hut, and two ordinary buffaloes were killed. On this occasion, the two funerals were held on the same day as that on which the child died, owing to the death having taken place on one of the appointed days for a funeral of the clan. When the youngest child of Podners (47) died, only one male buffalo was killed for both ceremonies.

When a male child dies who has not cut his teeth nor been through the ear-piercing ceremony, the funeral is not held at the usual funeral place for males, but at another. Thus the Karsol do not take the body of such a child to Taradrkirsi but to a place called Punpali.

When I attended the funeral of a girl named Sinerani (52), the daughter of Kuriolv of Kuudr, both ceremonies were performed on the same day, and a number of incidents occurred which were very interesting as illustrations of many of the practices which have been described throughout this chapter. The child was about two years 766 588

766 old and had not yet been betrothed, but as soon as she
588 was dead it was arranged that she should marry her *matchuni*, Keinba (68), a little boy about four years of age, the son of her mother's brother, and this boy occupied a prominent position among those taking part in the funeral rites. Owing to the marriage of the dead child to this boy, the dead child would come to be one of his clan, the Keadrol, and there seemed to be no doubt that, according to strict custom, the funeral should have been held at the funeral place of this clan. Kuriolv, however, arranged that the funeral should take place at Kurkalmut, the funeral place for women of the Kuudrol, but as the girl did not properly belong to this clan the funeral hut was not erected within the circle of stones at this place, but outside it.

The beginning of the funeral ceremonies was delayed for some time because the little boy, Keinba (Fig. 57), had to be taken by his father, Perpakh, in search of the wood and grass out of which to make the bow and arrow to be used in the *pursuipimi* ceremony, and they had to go far to find the proper plants for the manufacture of the mimic weapon.

766 After this delay the ceremonial[1] took its natural course till
787 the buffalo which had been caught by the Taradr men was being taken to the place appointed for its slaughter by the
791 side of the funeral hut. The people had great difficulty in making the buffalo move, and at last it lay down on a boggy piece of ground, and the efforts of all failed to make it go further. The diviners, Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, were then called upon to ascertain the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo, and then followed the performance which I have already described (see p. 252).

The reasons given by Midjkudr were not very clear, and there seemed to be a good deal of doubt as to what he had really said, but the following appeared to be the chief reasons given:—

The buffalo, Kursi, which had delayed the proceedings, was the property of Kuriolv and was descended from a buffalo which had belonged to Teitchi, Kuriolv's grandfather. Since this buffalo was thus family property, it should go to the sons, and ought not to be killed for a daughter, and especially for

1 [i.e. funeral rites for a two-year old girl -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

766 one who now belonged to another clan. Kuriolv ought to
787 have used a buffalo which he had acquired in his own life-
791 time. Midjkudr went on to say that Kuriolv, having done wrong, must pay compensation to the dead, and told him to give the buffalo named Perov. As a sign that he would do

FIG. 57.—KEINBA AND PERPARN; THE FORMER IS HOLDING IN HIS HAND THE IMITATION BOW AND ARROW AND HAS HIS CLOAK OVER HIS HEAD.

so, Kuriolv performed the *kalmalpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of Keinba and also through Sintharap, of the dead girl.

Another reason given was that the buffalo had been caught at the wrong place—viz., at the place where it ought to be

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

766 caught at the funeral of a male. I only heard of this reason
787 a few days later, and I do not know whether it was one of
791 the reasons given by Midjkudr or whether it was a later surmise. A third reason was that Perner and Tebner, his brother, had been on bad terms; and to put this right Tebner, the younger, performed the *kalmeipudithti* salutation to Perner.

766 The next special feature of the ceremony took place after
588 the buffalo had been killed and before the *kachütthti* ceremony. Keinba knelt down before Kuriolv and Piliag and the two men touched the head of the boy with their feet, thus accepting him as the husband of Sinerani. Then followed the *parsüttpini* ceremony. The mantle covering the dead child was opened, her right hand unclenched, and Keinba placed the little bow and arrow in the hand, and the fingers of the dead child were closed over the bow so that they held it as they would have done in life. Then the bow was taken out of the hand, placed on the breast of the child, and the mantle was again folded over her. Teitnir, the half-brother of Kuriolv, who had now become the *paisl* of Keinba, came up and covered the head of the boy with his *putkuli* as a sign that he was a widower, and then Teitnir and Keinba put their foreheads together and cried. After crying together for a while, Teitnir touched Keinba's head with his foot. Then Sintharap, the mother of Sinerani, gave grain and jaggery and limes to Keinba, who put them in the pocket of the mantle of the dead child. Sintharap and Keinba then cried together, and Sintharap touched Keinba's head with her foot.

After the cloth-giving ceremony, the body was taken to the burning place, and Keinba mixed honey and grain in a metal bowl; when Keinba began to stir the grain and honey he put his right arm out from above his cloak as usual, but was speedily corrected and made to put out his hand from below the cloak in the manner proper for a widower.

The wrists of the girl were burnt as in the *arretpini* ceremony, the burning being done by Silkida (55), the wife of a younger brother of Perpakh, Keinba's father, and, before her

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Silkidz also lighted the pyre. 766 ● 581

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kuriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainalkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *anarunkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidseimi (21), the ceremony of *parnitpimi* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matrimai*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidseimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*parnadikina?*"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Parnad!*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidseimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

Funeral Contributions

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainalkedr*, it was the rule that every *mamanedi*, or sister's son, should 764 431 602

582 Kagerikutan (25), the son of her mother's brother. In this case the orthodox marriage was resorted to when the woman had failed to obtain a husband in any other way, although it involved marriage with a baby.

In another case, the marriage of Keitkarg (38) and Pötoveli (49), in which the woman is considerably older than her husband, the husband and wife are *matchuni*.

588 There is one ceremonial marriage in which the husband always stands in the relation of *matchuni* to the wife. This 766 is in the performance of the *pursitpini* ceremony at the funeral of a girl unmarried at the time of her death. The boy who is chosen to give the bow and arrow and to act as the husband is always, so far as I could discover, the *matchuni* of the dead girl.

Similarly, if an unmarried boy dies, the girl who is chosen to act as his widow should be his *matchuni*. In one case of which I have a record, the son of Tütners (58) died and Sotidz (66) was chosen to act as widow. None of the brothers of Puvizveli (65), the mother of the dead boy, had at that time a son, so the duty was undertaken by the daughter of Pangudr, of the same clan as Puvizveli, but belonging to a different family. In this case the *matchuni* was the daughter of a clan-brother because there was no nearer *matchuni* available.

Keinba, who acted as husband at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 394), was the *matchuni* of the dead girl in two ways, as the son of her mother's brother and as the son of her father's half-sister.

582 A *matchuni* may be either the child of a mother's brother or of a father's sister, and I have examined the genealogies to see if a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister the more frequently, and find that there is no great difference, though the former marriage is somewhat the more frequent. There are among the Tartharol twenty cases in which a man has married the daughter of his mother's brother, two of marriage with the daughter of a stepmother's brother, and one with the daughter of a stepmother's half-brother, making twenty-three cases in all. On the other hand, a man married the daughter of his father's sister in fourteen cases, twice he married the daughter of his father's

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in 764 connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[591] While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuncimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands 618 had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, 766 however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

1; Rivers E-5 (ca, 1901-02) 1906 Toda

dependent on the transference of a young girl to the clan of a boy who acts as husband to the corpse. By her marriage to Keinba, the dead girl became a member of the Keadrol, and her funeral should have been held at the burning-ground of this clan. Many of the features of the ceremonies were in accordance with this change of clan, and since all were not so, the various mishaps which occurred at the funeral were ascribed by the Todas to the departure from prescribed custom.

618
766

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Each clan has its own appropriate* days of the week for the green funeral, "according to the *Shastras*."

The body is not removed from the place of death till it is carried to the burning place,† which the Todas call *Methgúdi* (*lit. Marriage temple*).

All green funerals are alike. I will describe one I saw near Kartêri, at the old burning ground of the neighbouring mands, an open space near a stream. The body was brought on a stretcher preceded by Kota musicians. It is not necessarily carried by the relatives, or even by men of the same clan. A rough hut (called *Nôlpali* for a man, and *Nirzhârzh* for a woman,) was built of boughs and grass, in which the body was placed. The women of the mand sat by it, and moaned in their peculiar manner, one of them meanwhile embroidering a strip of cloth for a purse. Four walking-sticks and several skeins of cotton-thread, each with a bunch of cowries at the end, were laid upon the body, which was wrapped in a new *pûthuli*,‡ the feet being tied together by the great toes with a piece of blue thread.

A rude circle§ about a yard in diameter was then made of single stones, leaving an entrance gap at one side. Outside this circle the body was laid, with the head opposite the entrance, and the nearest male relatives in turn, drawing their *pûthulis* over their heads,‖ took a wand (*Pett*), round which was tied a small rag, obtained from the *Pâlâl*, dug up the earth at the entrance of the circle, and muttering "*Purzhutukamâ*," "May I throw earth?" threw three handfuls into the centre of the circle, and three on the body. After this the body was carried back to the hut and placed on the ground outside, and the women sat round it as before. A large silver necklace (*Kôlâth*, *Plate* XI., *Fig. 5*), belonging to the widow, was laid on the breast of the corpse.

The funeral pile¶ was made of large logs on a space cleared for the purpose near the hut. The dead man's herd was driven up, and some fifteen or twenty Todas went to it, one of them carrying wreaths of leaves to throw at the doomed buffaloes. Two of the animals were seized by four or five men hanging to their necks, separated from the herd, and dragged to the hut, followed by the Kota musicians. A bell was then

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* *For men.*

Pûthi	-	Thursday, Saturday, Sunday.
Todi	-	Sunday, Tuesday.
Kuttan	-	Saturday, Sunday.
Kenna	-	Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday.
Pekkan	-	Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.

For women.

All clans	-	Thursday and Saturday.

† Each clan has several *Methgúdis*, separate ones for men and for women. In this case, however, as the deceased was a poor man who had died while on a visit to relatives at a distance, his body was not carried back to the usual burning ground of his Mand.

‡ When death is imminent the patient is dressed in a new *Pûthuli* and other cloths.

§ The circle is called *Tuel* (*Kraal*), and is made in imitation of a buffalo kraal. If there is a kraal near the *Methgúdi*, the body is taken there, and the stone circle is not made. It is never made for a woman.

‖ Compare 2 *Sam.* xv. 30; *Esther* vi. 12; and *Jer.* xiv. 3, 4.

¶ The wood of the *Eugenia Arnottiana* is always used at the green funeral, that of the *Olea robusta* at the dry.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

764 lucky and unlucky days. Each night and morning of the interval between the death and the funeral, a lament or coronach is sung over the body by the family and relatives of the deceased. In this they are often joined by passing friends, or by those who have come for the purpose of thus testifying their respect for the dead, and sympathy with the survivors—a trait in the character of this people exhibited in many other ways, and more remarkably than with even many civilised nations.

765 The day of a death is observed by the immediate relatives, as it was among the ancient Jews, as a solemn fast. Their necklaces and ear-rings are also taken off, and the hair is cut short, as a sign of grief and mourning. Both sexes are obliged to conform to this custom on the death of a near male relation, though when a female dies the men do not do so. The sacred class, or *Terralees*, are exempt in either case.

764 On an appointed day, the relatives from a distance having duly arrived in obedience to the summons, the body covered over with a mantle, but having the face exposed, is carried in procession on a sort of bier to the *Terraree*, or sacred ground belonging to the family, and, under the superintendence of the high priest attached thereto, assisted by his subordinate, is burned with certain solemnities and much wailing; the relatives, prior to the corpse being placed on the funeral pile, cutting off a few locks from the head.

766 The above are, however, only the preliminary honours paid to the dead, the principal rites being deferred to a subsequent period, which may be a few weeks, or as many months later.

With a view to the coming rites, portions of the deceased's ashes are saved from the pyre, and, together with the locks of hair, his ear-rings and other ornaments, are carefully folded in his own mantle, and laid by until the proper time arrives.

The concluding ceremonies are, perhaps, the most singular and interesting of all the Toda customs, and I was fortunate in having an unusually favourable opportunity of witnessing them. For, familiar as some of their practices have latterly become in the neighbourhood of our new Hill-stations, their funeral obsequies are only celebrated in the more remote parts of the mountains, and are consequently seldom seen by any European. 000 Indeed, I do not know that the presence of Captain J. and myself would have been tolerated on the occasion to which I

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

refer, had we not been accompanied, or rather introduced, by the Moravian missionary, Mr. Metz, whom I have already mentioned as being so much esteemed by the tribe. 000

Our ride to Kapilla, the scene of these interesting rites, lay for some miles over a fine open undulating table-land dotted with enormous rhododendrons, which were loaded with clusters of dark crimson flowers. Gradually we got into higher ground, now pressing our hill-ponies up steep acclivities, now skirting the edge of great forest belts stretching downwards for many a mile into the sultry valleys at our feet, till, guided by the appearance of a few distant natives wending their way towards an isolated wood on one of the surrounding mist-covered peaks, we at length came within hearing of the shrill and very peculiar sound of Khota hautboys. 7660 137

Leaving our ponies, we entered a deep shadowy wood of moss-grown trees, whose gnarled and twisted stems and branches were also completely covered overhead and down to the ground with ferns, orchids, long pendent tufts of grey lichen, and parasitical plants, one with dark glossy leaves and an orange flower being especially beautiful.

In an open space, near the centre of this shady grove, and lit up by the bright rays of the midday sun, was a surging crowd of white-robed Todas, and half-naked Khotas with wild and excited looks, whose unmusical pipes drowned all other sounds. Outside the wood, on an open green space, stood a Toda temple, having its gable-ends of polished wood thickly studded over with silver coins of various sizes, fixed in perpendicular rows on each alternate plank. Near at hand was a small temporary shed, or ridge-shaped tent, made of pieces of native cloth, whilst at a little distance off was a large circular *tooel*, or cattle kraal, with a wall both higher and thicker and altogether much more substantial than usual. It was constructed of stones and sun-baked clay, the entrance being barred with stout poles. 766 346

Within this enclosure stood ten splendid buffaloes, their clean bright skins and polished horns indicating that some pains had been taken to improve their naturally fine appearance. 766

Crowds of women and children stood or sat about the temple, in which a party of the former had just placed the deceased's robe and ornaments, together with two bags containing his ashes. With the exception of the younger children, who were naked

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

766 the whole were clad in clean, white, soft-looking mantles, and wore ear-rings and necklaces of gold and silver. A plaintive monotonous wail was sustained while each man arriving passed before and bowed towards the dead man's ashes.

766 All the males, except one or two grey-headed old patriarchs
541 who sat with great dignity a little aside, now danced together in
231 a circle holding hands, the Khota musicians accompanying them
782 with tom-toms and pipes. ⁄

When this was concluded half-a-dozen young men, evidently selected for their strength and activity, came forward, each carrying a long heavy club made of dark wood and pointed at the thicker end. Having thrown off the usual mantle, they stood in a kind of kilt of thick white cloth, having a red border round the lower edge, or skirt, the upper part of their bodies, as well as the legs, being bare. In this picturesque and most becoming costume they looked exceedingly handsome fellows, models as they were of muscular symmetry. At once advancing towards the cattle enclosure, with all the women and children running after them in the greatest excitement, these combatants leaped in among the buffaloes, the crowd instantly closing round and completely covering the wall, each endeavouring to get as good a view as possible of the coming spectacle.

The buffaloes were, as may be supposed, alarmed by these unusual proceedings, and their alarm became all the greater when the clubmen dancing wildly in their midst commenced striking them with their clubs. When their panic was at its height the men, watching their opportunity, sprang two together on the necks of three of the largest animals simultaneously, seizing them by the horns and nostrils and endeavouring to bear them to the ground, and affix a collar and bell round their necks. This bell is of the kind usually worn by one or more animals in every herd when grazing, and is of the ancient four-sided form, made of a single plate of metal and roughly riveted.

Marvellous was the agility displayed by these gladiators, as we may term them, in avoiding the savage thrusts of the huge sharp-pointed horns and in getting in behind them on to the animal's neck, wrestling in desperate strife as they were borne here and there among the trampling feet, now dashed against the wall, now on the ground.

To escape unhurt in such a combat was impossible, and it was

⁄ [Second funeral rites -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AL60 Toda AL60

not long before we saw one of the men receive a dangerous wound in the neck from the thrust of a horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. He at once became an object of the greatest solicitude among the women, and was led away as a hero to the small tent, where he received every care and attention at their gentle hands. 766 541 231 782

As, one after another, fresh animals were attacked and borne to the ground with terrific struggles, those already belled and liberated turned on the common enemy, angrily tossing their formidable horns and butting so savagely that, had it not been for the extreme quickness and coolness of these men, some of them must have been killed. Their clubs now swung round and aloft with greater rapidity, and the heavy blows fell thicker and faster, the loud shouts and excited gestures of the male spectators, the exulting *Hau, hau* of the combatants, the weeping and occasional shrieks of the women, the stamping and rushing in the arena, the bellowing of the buffaloes, whose nostrils were covered with blood and foam, and the circling clouds of dust half-hiding the writhing mass, formed a whole more easily pictured in the mind than in words. A bag of the deceased's ashes was now laid at the entrance to the kraal, and the high priest, taking a handful or two of earth, threw some of it on the ashes, and some into the kraal amongst the buffaloes. One of these lay dead in the enclosure, and the rest were one by one led, or rather dragged out to their final doom, struggling violently, and plunging right and left in vain endeavours to escape from their brawny captors, who still clung to their necks. Forced up to a post fixed in the ground, at the foot of which lay the robe, ornaments, and ashes brought from the temple, the battered, bleeding animals were at length despatched there by the high priest's sacrificial axe as an offering to the dead.

Though the women had beheld with interest and excitement the torture of these unfortunate brutes, they now exhibited the greatest grief at their death, sitting and kneeling round the carcases with clasped hands and streaming eyes, addressing them in the most affectionate terms, as "Are you happy?" "Is it well with you?"

The mourners, male and female, next drew near to each other in couples, the man putting out first the right foot and then the left towards the woman he approached, who, dropping on one 766

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

766 knee, touched it with her forehead. Both parties then seated themselves on the ground close to and facing each other, and bringing their foreheads together remained in that attitude, with their hands placed either on each other's knees or shoulders, the woman weeping aloud, and having her mantle drawn closely over the head. In a few minutes the man would rise, and with a plaintive ejaculation, go to another to perform again the same ceremony, invariably offering first his foot, which was always saluted with the forehead.

[152] All this weeping and wailing, divided as it was between the buffaloes and the dead man, had a most striking effect. So unfeigned did their grief appear that I could not but feel that our presence was an intrusion. This scene continued until the mourners, who formed only a portion of those present, had all gone through the ceremony one with the other, when the priest, standing by the deceased's ashes and robe, laid on them a handful of what appeared to me, as far as I could see, to be some kind of seed or grain, and then, accompanied by the under priest, bore it back again with great reverence to the temple, the crowd falling back to permit the passage of the priests and their charge.

With this seemed to terminate the first part of the obsequies, and a sudden change came over the whole scene. The dead buffaloes were removed by noisy parties of Khotas, who had either bought them, or earned them by their services just concluded; and the crowd of Todas again assumed their every-day deportment, as they prepared for a general meal or feast.

We found that the rites would not be resumed till dark, when the robe and ornaments were to be burned; but, as we had no shelter to go to for the intervening seven hours, and no food for either ourselves or our ponies, which were, moreover, shivering from the cold of this elevated position, we were obliged to forego the gratification of witnessing the conclusion, but were shown the spot where it was to take place. This was within a circle of stones, exhibiting signs of many former burnings, and occupying a retired situation at the edge of the grove.

In the centre of this ring, on a pile of dry wood, the priests place the mantle, bags of ashes, ornaments, and wand of the deceased, together with gourds and grass-baskets of grain, for his sustenance in the other world, and the whole are ignited as the mourners stand round, the women with their heads still covered

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Toda Kota

T 766 by the mantle, and the men joining in a monotonous cry of *heh-hey, heh-hah.* Every vestige of the remains is on this occasion destroyed by fire, and the metal ornaments having been carefully searched for, the ashes are buried under a large flat stone in the centre of the circle. This done, the ornaments are taken home by the family with every sign of respect and affection for the lost one.

K 181 *The Khotas.*—Next to the Todas in point of interest, and probably also in antiquity of race, as well as of settlement on the Hills, stand the Khotas, though the two races have nothing in common either as regards physical development, countenance, usages, or dwellings.

K 142 A party of Khotas seated, as I have often seen them, in the 302 evening, outside their dingy huts, presents an exceedingly wild and [297] weird appearance. Thin and spare in form, and very black, the men wear only a dirty cloth round the loins, and the uncomely women the common wrapper of the country. The bare heads of both sexes are shaggy, with matted locks of dusty hair, sometimes tied in a knot behind, and invariably uncombed from the day of their birth. This is very different in nature from that of the Toda, and could it by any possibility be disentangled would be found naturally long and straight, instead of curly and clustering; the bushy beard is also absent, and every feature is of an opposite character to those of the tribe with which they are so closely in contact; the countenance being entirely destitute of that intelligent and pleasing expression so noticeable in the other.

K 262 Dirty in their dwellings and persons, they are also unclean 515 feeders, devouring dead cattle, putrid flesh, birds of prey, or vermin, with as much apparent relish as fresh buffalo-meat, for which, unlike the Todas, they have a great predilection. I have myself seen a Khota carry home for food a dead rat thrown out of the stable a day or two previously by my *ghorawallah.* Practising such habits, it is not to be wondered at that the Todas consider them an unclean people.

K 157 On the other hand, they are a peaceful and industrious race, 463 ingenious artisans, and indispensable to the other tribes, for whom 436 they manufacture gold and silver ornaments, pottery, agricultural implements, wood-work, and baskets, besides acting, as already described, in the capacity of musicians at the funeral and other ceremonies of their less skilled neighbours. For these varied services they receive payment from the Todas in coin or buffaloes, and from the Vadacas in grain and other produce.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

234 372 *Wightiana.* Of these one, terminating in a blunt convex extremity, is about 2′ 3″ long; the other, with a hemispherical cavity scooped out close to one end, about 2½″ in length. A little nick or slot is cut on the edge of the shorter stick, and connected with the hole in which the spindle stick is made to revolve. "In this slot the dust collects, and, remaining in an undisturbed heap, seemingly acts as a muffle to retain the friction-heat until it reaches a sufficiently high temperature, when the wood-powder becomes incandescent."* Into the cavity in the short stick the end of the longer stick fits, so as to allow of easy play. The smaller stick is placed on the ground, and held tight by firm pressure of the great toe, applied to the end furthest from the cavity, into which a little finely powdered charcoal is inserted. The larger stick is then twisted vigorously, "like a chocolate muller" (Tylor) between the palms of the hands by two men, turn and turn about, until the charcoal begins to glow. Fire, thus made, is said to be used at the sacred dairy (ti), the dairy houses of ordinary mands, and at the cremation of males. In an account [766] of a Toda green funeral,† Mr. Walhouse notes that "when the pile was completed, fire was obtained by rubbing two dry sticks together. This was done mysteriously and apart, for such a mode of obtaining fire is looked upon as something secret and sacred." At the funeral of a female, I provided a box of tändstickors for lighting the pyre. A fire-stick, which was in current use in a dairy, was polluted and rendered useless by the touch of my Brähman assistant! It is recorded by Harkness‡ that a Brähman was not only refused

[113] * R. Roche. Royal Magazine, August 1901. † Ind. Ant., III, 1874.
‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, 1832.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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of this, the rule was made that the body should always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

764 [763] [73] 764 786 [796] [191]

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near 766

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764. 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhuthina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

764 If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,[1]
602 and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present.
618 Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-kedr* of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52) to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife, if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife, who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the dead body.

764 The father of each woman who places the cloth on the
● 767 body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth-
437 rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachütthti*, the men who have married into the family of the dead person have to perform this ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth-
764 giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

[1] The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister (see Chapter XXI).

CHAP. VI.

the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IX. 764

the pockets of which, food, such as roast grain, sugar, *et cetera*, and small pieces of wood are put. He is now ready for his journey to amnôr: he has food for the road.

It is a fact of interest and worth noting in connection with this narrative, that the Badagas—who have been already described as believed to be cognate to the Todas—preserve the custom common to the Greeks, of placing an *obolus* in the mouth of the dying man. So important do the Badagas consider the due performance of this last rite to the living, that they will keep a supply of this metal disc about the person in order that one may always be at hand for use on occasion. But to continue:—

The body is brought out from the little house and laid with care on the rough bier, formed with branches from the village grove.

The nearest kêdu Mand is out on a spur of that hill we see on the horizon, full six miles off. So there is no time to be lost. Good bye, dear old crone—his grandmother, and the young aunt with the new-born babe, and that sad little assembly of children, all brothers, sisters, uncles, nieces, of the dead man; some too old, others too young, all too weak, to trudge to the horizon over hill and dale.

[765] Now his house is shut up: the little door is closed. Twigs and leaves lying scattered on the ground: a neglected grindstone leaning against the wall: a piece of forgotten matting: the cat rubbing its ill-fed body on the door panel: the pertinacious flies about the house—all conspire to tell the tale of the savage's deserted dwelling, and the drama just enacted.

The corpse is rested for a few moments on the low surrounding wall, whilst its tall bearers step into the village pathway. The little family group which is to remain, crouches weeping close by. The others are busy with their adjustments preparatory to the long walk. The whole picture is before us; primitive, simple, or savage, yet these people have a thorough human appreciation of the moment.

 In the very early morning of the first of a two days'

765 ceremonial and long before these guests have begun to arrive, the family of the deceased have a little private ordinance of
768 their own; in burning all his personal property, such as his stick
177 or staff, the honnu or milk vessel, and clothes: also a *flute* or flageolet, and a model of *a bow with bamboo 'strings,' and arrows.*[8] I could not ascertain any reason whatever for this musical instrument and these spurious weapons being burnt. Be it particularly borne in mind that the Todas have no sense of music and do not possess a flute in the whole tribe: that they never hunt, and have no weapons of the chase. These toys are made by the Kotas entirely for the occasion. Thus it was, I experienced some difficulty in buying the bow, which will be found in photograph No. 15. The first question asked of the man who purchased it for me from the Kota, was 'Who is dead?'

765 The opening public ceremony of the day, is a kind of dance
535 performed by from twenty to fifty men. The dance I witnessed
801 was monotonous enough. It consisted of the body of men, keeping step whilst striding round and round like the spokes of a wheel; each spoke having three men arm in arm: and all exclaiming, rather than shouting, 'A! U! A! U!'[9] in time with their steps. I could trace nothing symbolic in the exhibition except that strange number three, which I notice in all religious matters, to be constantly appearing. It may be that the dance and shout are both merely a Toda mode of giving vent and expression to a festive state of mind.

765 Whilst this dance is being carried on by the men, the women prepare food in the hut described in the last Chapter, which has been repaired or renewed for this occasion. Here all the guests assemble, the two sexes sitting apart. The women of the family serve out the supplies from the diminutive door to

[8] Captain Forsyth, in his 'Highlands of Central India,' writes of the Bygas, 'their bows are made entirely of the bamboo, "string" and all.'

[9] The Toda word for *I shout*, is 'A! U! bisharthken,' or *I call out* A! U!

[Cie, the bara kedu, or second funeral--Analyst]

765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsnol*.

234 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his
764 office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*,
wursol, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he
793 can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law. 527 784 183

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules[1] are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days. 527 784 688 626 787

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*, 527 769 787

[1] [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days. -- Analyst]

527 Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and
769 the *tenol* found that the desecration of the *arpatsnol* was one of
787 the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday, the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may
764 not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that
796 funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days. There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *wursulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *wursulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

172 interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference
183 which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.[1]

776 Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

769 There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as
771 heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of
776 the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

[1] I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grandfathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence. 769 771 776

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men. [775]

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personifications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence whatever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces. 771 776

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neurzülnkars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual 776 778

[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other. 616

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali. 796 852 765 769

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division. 184 846 616

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another [272]

and kiss its face: then sitting in groups of pairs—both sexes indiscriminately—with the tops of their foreheads joined, give way to wailing and lamentation. A most singular and interesting spectacle, rendered more piquant and real, by the aspect of a small boy who, not finding his pair, was running about from one crying group to another, blubbering till his face was distorted and swollen, looking amongst the mantles for a spare head to rest his own against. CHAP. XX. 764

Thus they remain till the body has been consumed: when the lock of hair that had been cut off, together with portions of the half-burnt skull—nirrzh[9]—are collected in a piece of cloth, to be deposited in a corner of his house,[10] henceforth kept shut up, till the bara kêdu. [765]

The silver and gold of the burnt jewellery are sought for from the ashes, but little valueless odds and ends—as knives, iron rings and other ornaments, the rings off the ends of wooden pestles—together with the ashes of the dead, are buried in the ground. The hole which contains these remains is then filled up with earth, on which water is poured. Over all a stone. The earthen vessel which held the water is broken.

Having saluted the spot where the ashes have been buried, by touching it with their foreheads, they leave the place, avoiding it henceforward, but merely on account of the painful associations connected with it. A person once dead is never *named*, though he may be made the subject of conversation. 769 551

It is a mistake to suppose these people have a feast—a jollification—after this funeral. Indeed they are as little disposed for anything of the sort as we should be in the same position. But a number of friends from a distance have to be fed, and as all are not real *mourners*, and have many of them brought excellent appetites, they eat. 765

[9] Nirrzh. Nirru = *sacred ashes, ashes.* This is at the root of it. [POPE.]

[10] Some such custom would be the origin of the Manes and Penates.

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration, into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 234 771 778 793 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial. The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed. 181 234 771 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life. 793

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. 825 234

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*. 234 621 463 778 192

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *paḷli* and was usually pronounced *paḷhḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER X

PRAYER

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In the chapters in which the ritual of the dairies has been described, one of the most important features of the ceremonial has been passed over which must now be fully described. This feature is the prayer which is always offered at certain stages of the dairy operations. In the village dairies, of whatever kind they may be, no prayer is offered at the morning ceremonial. In the evening the prayer of the dairy is recited twice—once when lighting the lamp, and once when shutting the buffaloes in their enclosure for the night, the prayer on this occasion being said in front of the entrance to the pen.

At the *ti* dairy the *palol* prays both morning and evening. In the morning he prays when lighting the lamp and after he has finished milking; in the evening prayer is offered on both these occasions, and also when shutting up the buffaloes for the night. The *palol* also repeats a few clauses when going out to milk. Prayers are said on certain other ceremonial occasions, and clauses from the prayers are frequently uttered during the many ceremonies of the dairy.

At the evening ceremonial of the village dairy the prayer is said when the lamp is lighted, while during the morning ceremonial, at which the lamp is usually not lighted, there is no prayer. This suggests that the prayer is especially related to the lamp-lighting, and that some idea of worship of the light is involved, but occasionally for some special reason, such as unusual darkness, the lamp may be lighted in the morning, and on these occasions the prayer is not used. Nevertheless, the relation between lamp-lighting and prayer

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x 373 771 782 788

both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

23 782 788

The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195]

In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x 184 788 782 621

Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XI

THE DAIRY RITUAL

In the preceding chapters I have given an account of an elaborate ritual wholly connected with the buffalo and with the dairy. This ritual is certainly of a religious character, and, though there is much in the nature of the dairy formulæ which is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Toda deities. 182 771 783 788 796

It seems most probable that the general idea underlying the dairy ritual is that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance, the milk of the buffaloes. This sacred substance is to be converted into other substances, butter and buttermilk, which are to be used by the profane. At the present time much of the butter goes to those who are not even Todas and are regarded by the Todas as inferior beings.

It seems most probable that the elaborate ritual has grown up as a means of counteracting the dangers likely to be incurred by this profanation of the sacred substance, or, in other words, as a means of removing a taboo which prohibits the general use of the substance.

Similarly the migration ceremonies have the general underlying idea of counteracting any possible evil influence which may accompany the passage of the buffaloes through the profane world from one sacred place to another. During the migration, objects may be seen by the multitude which under ordinary circumstances are strictly screened from the general gaze, and objects may be touched, or be in danger of being touched, by people who ordinarily may not even see them.

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182 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
783 him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
796 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

Comparison of the Procedure of Different Dairies

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
788 the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this

754 chapter have the same general form as the prayers of the
788 dairy ritual. They consist of sentences ending in *mâ*, which
192 seem to be of the nature of supplications that certain things
●771 may come to pass, preceded by the names of certain deities
followed by the word *idith*, occasionally with other sentences allied in meaning to these. The two parts of the prayer are represented, but the first part, consisting of the *kwarzam*, does not appear to have acquired the same degree of importance as in the prayer. Thus the magical formulæ of the Todas have precisely the same general form as those used in their religious ritual. In the case of the prayer, I have pointed out that the actual words leave one in doubt as to whether there is anything of the nature of a direct appeal to the gods. In the magical formulæ, on the other hand, the case for an
[776] appeal to the gods is stronger. In all the formulæ, whether used by sorcerers to bring evils on their enemies or by medicine-men to remove sufferings of various kinds, the names of the same four deities are mentioned, and these four deities, Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti, are undoubtedly four of the most ancient and sacred of the Toda gods. It is noteworthy that the sorcerer does not say the names of these gods when he is removing his spells, but simply refers to them as "those gods," and it is clear that he does this because he does not wish his victim to learn the names of the gods by whose power his misfortunes have been brought about and are now to be removed. This procedure leaves little room for doubt that it is through the active intervention of the gods that the sorcerer is believed to work.

There still remains the question whether the words of the magical formula imply anything of the nature of supplication, or whether the sorcerer is not rather using forms of words which will compel the gods to exert their powers in the way the sorcerer wishes. I have no definite information as to the belief of the Toda sorcerer on the point, but the almost contemptuous tone of the two clauses which follow the names of the four gods might perhaps be held to point to the latter conclusion, and to indicate that the sorcerer can use the gods as his instruments of wrath much as seems to have been the case with the magicians of our mediæval times.

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754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

●771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

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time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also 771
possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell 788
points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer 754
were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which 793
hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it
became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions,
and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of
function, though the means used continue to show a close
resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

OMENS

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meet- 787
ing certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The 825
most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird 778
called *karpüls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If 177
a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the
left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the
right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice
in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the
last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left
to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting
the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who
is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole
incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legend,
and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the
Badagas or other Hindus.

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778 534 Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind, and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

778 788 234 534 Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

771 778 534 Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent, regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

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Possibly the Todas may have some clear ideas about the connexion between their bells, gods, and dairies, but I could not discover them, and am inclined to believe that the people are now very hazy about the exact place of the bell and the god in their theology. 771 778 534

It was quite clear that they believed an offence against the dairy was punished by the gods, and I cannot say definitely that in this case the bell may not have been personified as a god, but I do not think that this was so.

It seems to me probable that the present sanctity of the bell has come about by a process of transference[1] from the buffalo to the object worn by it. Probably at one time the buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be at present. There is evidence that even in recent times the bell-cow or buffalo which carried the bell was an object of especial veneration. In such books as those of Harkness and Marshall, the bell-cow seems to occupy a more prominent position than, so far as I could tell, it occupies at present. 234 778 534 174 771

In the present day the *mani* of the *ti* is only hung on the neck of a buffalo at the migration from one *ti mad* to another and at the Nòdrs *ti*, only for a few minutes even then. At the village dairy, the *mani* is never, so far as I could tell, put on the neck of a buffalo except at the funeral ceremonies. The idea in the latter case seems to be that a sacred buffalo should wear its bell, and in order that the buffalo slaughtered at a funeral should go to Amnòdr with its bell, the *mani* is hung on its neck while it is being killed. The legend of Kwoto and Punatvan shows that the bells are believed to travel to Amnòdr with the buffaloes.

The following may be suggested as a sketch of the probable evolution of the sanctity of the bell. At one time the buffaloes were the chief sacred objects of the Todas. Then this sanctity was concentrated in the persons of the bell-buffaloes, and later became partially attached to the bells, and the Todas then probably reached a stage in which it was doubtful how far the sanctity of the bell-buffalo was due to its position

[1] As we have already seen (p. 243) there is some reason to think that there has been example of such transference of sanctity to an object in the case of the *ma* or buried dairy vessel.

234 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is
778 possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas.
534 We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more
174 and more attached to the bell, less and less to its
771 possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

Relics

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

The Buffalo and its Milk

234 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies
778 we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

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CHAPTER XIX

THE TODA RELIGION

771 THE last seventeen chapters have been almost entirely devoted to the religious institutions and ceremonies of the Todas. In the earlier chapters I have described the ritual of the dairy and have discussed some of the problems of general interest which this ritual suggests. In later chapters I have described the ceremonies which are associated with the chief incidents of life: birth, growth, and death. In these and in the chapter dealing with sacrifice I have described many details of Toda ceremonial which clearly establish its religious character, and Chapter X is especially devoted to the formulæ which bring the ceremonial into definite relation with the Toda gods. In Chapter XI I have described practices and beliefs all of which stand in some relation to religion, though most of them must be regarded as belonging to a different category. In the last two chapters I have collected a number of special features of the Toda religion, the existence of sacred days and the part played by numbers, places and material objects in the various religious observances, and I have discussed how far the attitude of the Todas towards these objects can be described as one of worship.

There remains the general nexus which binds all these beliefs and practices into a whole so that they constitute the Toda religion. I have given in Chapter IX the stories of the Toda gods, giving them in this place because they were necessary for the proper understanding of the dairy formulæ, and I can now discuss more fully than was then possible the essential nature of these deities.

172 interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference
183 which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.[1]

776 Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

769 There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as
771 heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of
776 the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

[1] I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grandfathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence. 769 771 776

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men. [775]

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personifications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence whatever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces. 771 776

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neurzülnkars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual 776 778

[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

776 very vague. On the other hand, certain gods of obviously more recent origin seem to be replacing, to some extent, the older gods. The lives of Kwoten and Meilitars can be related by many in great detail, but though they seem to inspire more interest among the Todas I cannot say that I observed anything to show that they receive any special worship or reverence. [773] Meilitars is especially mentioned in the Kanòdrs prayer, but this would only put him on a level with many objects of no great amount of sanctity. The attitude of the Todas towards these two beings seemed to me to be rather that of people towards heroes than towards gods, though the mythology has raised them to the level of the gods.

● 771 776 Nevertheless, the idea of "god" is highly developed among the Todas and I am inclined to believe that the most satisfactory explanation of the Tòda deities is that the people came to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes have been raised to the ranks of the gods and that the lives of these heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the progress towards complete obliviscence; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods.

The Todas, then, show us a stage of religious belief in which gods once believed to be real, living among men and intervening actively in their affairs, have become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible and intervening in the affairs of men in a mysterious manner and chiefly in the case of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given.

771 788 The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated

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by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this 771
domination has taken a form in which ritual has become 788
all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarzam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degener- 771
ated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason 778
to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly 782
present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the 788
gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of 182
the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

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771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of
182 old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and
784 several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

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them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *wursol* goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. Probably the behaviour of the *kaltmokh* in the sleeping hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous custom. 183 771 784

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them, may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration of religion. 771 182 788

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were 182 771 174

174 absent in the new country. At the same time, it is perhaps
182 not without significance that the Todas are allowed to eat the
771 flesh of the sambhar. In their former home, in the low country, it is almost certain that this animal would not have been a totem, and therefore it would be natural that on their reaching the Nilgiris they might be permitted to eat it.[1]

771 It is doubtful how far the Todas have an idea of a supreme
776 god. At the present time they speak of and constantly appeal to Swami, and they will say that Swami is above all the gods, but I have very little doubt that this is a recent idea. Swami was chiefly spoken of and reverenced by the younger men, and it is quite clear that the name should not properly occur in the formulæ of any Toda ritual. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that the idea is old. It is probable that at one time there existed direct appeal to gods in the Toda prayer, and this direct appeal may have been to some supreme being who was addressed as Swami.

Apart from this question of the meaning of Swami, two deities stand out from the remainder of the Toda gods. One of these is Meilitars, whose cunning was able to deceive the gods, and who was able to perform miracles which were regarded as beyond the powers of the other gods. His story seems to show one way in which a god might rise above his fellows, and might become a supreme god, but this has certainly not happened in his case. There is not the slightest evidence to show that Meilitars is in any way worshipped as a supreme god. There is a much stronger case for the supremacy of the goddess Teikirzi. Teikirzi is said to be the foundress of many of the Toda institutions; the final explanation of all things in the Toda mind is that "it is the will of Teikirzi." She is said to be all-pervading, and

[1] I do not wish to lay any stress on this argument, for, as I have already indicated, it is possible that the eating of sambhar is a recent innovation, which has arisen since the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiris. Also I do not wish to indicate by the above that I commit myself to a belief in the universality of totemism as a stage in religious development. I only wish to point out that if this has been so, the Todas furnish a good case in which we might expect all traces of this descent to have disappeared or to have become so blurred and scanty as to be of little value.

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is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional *kwarzam* uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti. 771 776

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Ön who rules the world of the dead.

Influence of other Religious Systems

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,[1] whose temple is near Mettapollayam. 177 771 776

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At the present time there is no doubt that their temples are visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas from 40 to 100 rupees. 776 782 842

[1] These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

776 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however
782 much money they take away with them from their villages, all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been
776 worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the
782 Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums
771 were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The
797 Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one
771 of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

know that, three centuries ago, priests visited the Todas and preached to them, and it is stated (see p. 720) that one chose the Hebrew story of the creation for his lesson, and it may be that the incident, striking the fancy of the people, was incorporated into their own tradition of the origin of man. The resemblance between the Toda *madnol* and the Sabbath may also excite the suspicion that the former institution is founded on ideas borrowed from Christians or Jews. I think we may be confident that, if this has been the case, the borrowing took place very long ago. I hope to show in the last chapter that it is probable the Todas came from Malabar, and it is possible that their migration to the hills took place after the settlement of Christians or Jews in that district. If Christianity has affected the religious beliefs or practices of the general body of the Todas, I think it is certain that this influence has not been recent.

Magic and Religion

A word may be added, at the end of this chapter, on the relation between the magic and the religion of the Todas. I have already pointed out reasons for believing that the Toda religion is one in process of degeneration, and we must not therefore expect to find among this people material for the study of the evolution of religion from magic or for the method of divergence of the two from some original stem which was neither magic nor religion.

The chief interest of the Todas from this point of view is that they show how side by side with a relatively high form of religion there may exist a body of beliefs crystallised in magical formulæ which bear a very close resemblance to the formulæ of the religious ritual. Their aim and their general nature leave no doubt that the formulæ given in the later part of Chap. XII are magical in nature, and yet they show more distinct evidence of appeal to deities than is to be found in the definitely religious formulæ of the dairy. These magical formulæ of the Todas seem to show us a stage of magic in which religion has been called

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

771 to its aid. The sorcerer does not endeavour to effect his
789 purpose merely by the belief in the efficiency of like producing like, or other ideas which dominate the lower forms of magic, but has called to his aid the power of the gods and uses a form of words almost identical with that used in the religious ritual. Magic and religion are here closely allied, but it is possible that this alliance is but one of the products of the degeneration to which I believe the Toda religion is subject. It is possible that we have here evidence that during the process of degeneration of religion, religion and magic may approach one another—an approach which recalls their common origin from those low beliefs and ideas of the savage to which the name of neither magic nor religion should perhaps be properly applied.

551 another *kwarzam* of this prayer. In one of these cases the name is taken from the *kwarzam* with so much modification that I should not have guessed its derivation if I had not been told; and if this extensive modification is frequent, there may be many more names derived from *kwarzam* than appears to be the case at first sight.

The names of deities are not uncommonly adopted as personal names; the chief examples being Nòtirzi (47), Meilitars (44), Teipakh (20), Etepi (26), Karzo (12), Pòrzo (4), and Pakhwar (16). Two people are also called Tevò (3 and 53), which is a corruption of Teipakh, and a boy is called Kòdrthokutan (43). In many cases men are named after hills, of which Drugevan (40), Kòdrner (7), and Mopuvan[1] (16) are examples, and it is not improbable that these hills are also provided with deities. Two of the instances given above are the names of river-gods, and there is also a man, Palpa (16), named after the stream by which Kwoten met the goddess Terkosh. Punatvan (53) is named after one of the personages in the story of Kwoto. Among these names it is noteworthy that Nòtirzi, the name of a female deity, is borne by a man, and that there is no instance in which a man is named after one of the three ancient and important deities, Pithi, Ön, and Teikirzi.

551 This use of the names of deities as personal names seems to point to the absence of any high degree of reverence 771 for the divine beings. The Todas are by no means free from the ideas of danger and disrespect connected with the utterance of names; and if their gods still received any great degree of veneration, I think it is improbable that their names would be allowed to be in everyone's mouth, as must be the case when used as personal names. It is possible that this use of the names of deities is recent; it is certainly more frequent at the present time than in the older generations recorded in the genealogies, and I strongly suspect that the practice adds another indication to those already given of the decay of the religious sentiment of the Todas.

551 It seems to be extremely rare for persons to have the same

[1] Mopuvan is named after the hill Mopuvthut, which is mentioned in the legend of Ituzi (193).

172 From the amount of rust on the iron implements, however, Breeks concluded that there was a long interval of time between the most recent of the cairns and the oldest *azaram*, but he points out that if the latter are really *azaram*, they show that the Todas used at one time to bury such objects as iron spears.[1]

As regards the cairns, Breeks points out that though the figures of many animals occur in addition to that of the buffalo, most of the animals are so badly imitated that it is difficult to identify them, while the figures of the buffaloes are singularly characteristic and often very spirited.

The only implements found by Breeks which might be agricultural were shears and sickles (Fig. 76, 12, 5), and he recalls the *kafkati* burnt by the Todas with their dead, which is a curved knife, different, however, in shape from the sickles often found in the cairns.

On the other hand, very few of the human figures found in the cairns resemble the Todas in any way; the women have the low-country top-knot instead of the Toda curls, and they carry chatties on their heads, which would never be done by a Toda woman at the present time, whatever she may have done in the past.

Breeks himself inclined to the view that the cairns are Toda monuments. One objection which has been made to this view is that the Todas exhibit little or no interest in the cairns, and offer no objection to their excavation. I have already given reasons[2] why this cannot be regarded as a conclusive argument against the Toda origin of the monuments. The Todas certainly identify the hills which possess stone circles with the abodes of their gods, and the absence of objections to the excavation may merely be due to the fact that they have no traditional injunctions against interference with these circles.

174 In dealing with the religion of the Todas, I have advanced
771 the view that the ritual and beliefs of the people furnish us with an example of a religion in a state of decadence. It seems probable that the Todas once had a religious cult of a

[1] It will be remembered that the Todas claim to have once possessed a spear which had belonged to their god, Kwoten.

[2] See p. 445.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture. 174 171

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great. 172 174 182 [517 53]

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.[1] Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show. [461]

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

[1] The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

172 furnishes us with another example of material objects which
174 have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and
here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken
182 place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas have had no enemies, either human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded by all.

174 In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration
the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with
182 an example of a people who once have possessed a higher
● 771 culture of which some features have undergone degeneration.
788 If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district, and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have been on much the same general level as that of the dominant castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because in their very simple environment this was the most accessible object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris; and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most probable that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect of their religion.

171 If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of
one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have
174 in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation,
the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGION.

Prayers to Sun and Moon—The Mysterious confused with Godhead—No clear conception of a Supreme Being—The use of a God—Toda Belief—Amnôr—Where situated—Sin, Punishment, little Gods, Spirits, Witchcraft—Toda Religious Belief, whence derived.

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If by the word religion, we mean to imply devotion, piety, duty, as applied to the worship of God, Creator and Ruler; then the Todas are most certainly an irreligious people, judging of them, as we can alone judge, by their actions; whether we compare them by our own standard or through the rites and performances of simple races more in keeping with themselves. 771

They salaam to the rising and setting sun—bîrsh—and the moon—tiggalu [1]—at night, reciting the one formula of prayer which they use on all devout occasions; danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama, the meaning of which has already been translated in note 5 of Chapter VII. To see a man amongst his family, stand out on a moonlight night with hand to forehead, asking most gravely this blessing on his house, from one of the givers of light, is an impressive spectacle, though the address may have been made only to the moon. 788

We see from this formula what they acknowledge to be the fact; that they look on these luminaries as Gods, Lords—Dêr, Swâmi—not that they are, in the least degree, clear on the subject of their power, or the mode or limits of their 771 776

[1] See note No. 3 of Chapter VII.

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action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see, confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to any personal God, of whose attributes or power they entertain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[2] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

I am not prepared to say that these people have actually no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[3] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

[2] See Chapter VIII.

[3] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

me, that the Pekkans are poor and have few herds, therefore *they have no occasion for a God* to protect them. I see the man now before me shaking his grave head, 'Aha, they don't want a God.' CHAP. XII. 771 776

'First divest your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson. The Toda anticipated that sage advice long years ago. What is the *use* of a God if not to protect life and property? And no property, no God! I dwell on this phase of the primitive mind, for it will liberate us much from the necessity for searching for evidences of religious worship in the customs, whose description I am entering upon.

The sum of real Toda belief is, that they were born, they and their cattle, somehow—rose out of the earth. When they die they go to amnôr,[4] which is a world exactly like this; whither their buffalos join them, to supply milk as in this state—*voilà tout.* They look on this migration from the nomad point of view: but do not appear to be quite clear whether they and their cattle go to amnôr in the body or the spirit. Some practical difficulties appear to present themselves, to whichever belief they bend. The abstruseness of the question is acknowledged. They are satisfied that they *do* get there, and don't care to speculate and reopen a matter which has so long and so satisfactorily been settled! 771 775

A good opportunity presenting itself, in a visit with which I was favoured by an important religious character, I asked him where amnôr was situate. He did not appear surprised at the question, or in a moment's doubt as to the locality. Looking about him in the sky as if to ascertain the cardinal points of the compass; as all Orientals do; who living without clocks or barometers, read the signs in the heavens for guidance 772 775 821

[4] Amnôr, amnâr, ômunâr = *the next world.*
Nâr or nâḍu = *district, country.* This is Tamil.
Ôma is a difficulty. Yaman is the '*God of death.*'
It seems to be = avap, which in Tamil = *there*, and is sometimes used for *the other world.* In Tamil, ammai = *the next state* or *stage in transmigration.* [POPE.]

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and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[8] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[8] See note 2 of Chapter V.

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the Hindu Badagas, with whom they have for several generations been on intimate terms: whose mode of worship they have had opportunities of noticing: and with whom they have often conversed on elementary religious topics. Thus, as I have noted, they have seized on a few words, and the names of a score of small Gods connected with maladies and diseases, of whom they know nothing but their names; but without having adopted a religion.

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000 think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'[1]

322 532 Our friends appear to *dream* buffalo. Sitting, apparently 'thinking of nothing at all,' a man will pick up a bit of cane or forked twig from the ground, and like the typical Yankee is supposed to whittle a stick while he speculates, so the Toda will employ himself for an hour at a time, splitting his bit of cane or rounding the little branches of his twig into the likeness of buffalo horns, as he muses. Children may be seen coming in from cattle-driving, with strings of these small horns. And these treasures are found lying about their houses and haunts. Two of them are shown in Photograph No. 15.

182 771 234 In the history of most, if not of all nations, savage and civilised alike, we may trace the alliance, more or less intimate, of religion, in its various rites and performances, with food; in its nature, source, or care, or in the occasions or symbols of its use. This correlation is certainly a marked feature in Toda customs. Though the Todas have no actual religion or system of faith leading to the performance of duties to a God, yet they hold to certain practices and certain habits in daily life, which are to them in the place of a religion; being performed with all the strictness and certainty that should be bestowed on sacred observances.

234 778 These performances or habits are intimately allied with the care and distribution of the *divine fluid*—milk. The buffalo is to a certain degree held sacred, as being the

[1] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 21.

776 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and
793 not Gods of my tirièri only. I have never seen them. They are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk.
793 After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tirièri. He
442 said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in
793 none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tirièri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in
372 saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tirièri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

778 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by
793 anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his
234 priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tôde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FUTURE STATE.

Todas have no just sense of a Ruling Almighty Power—Belief in Eternity—The Natural Causes of the belief in a Future State—Future Punishment.

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THE Todas appear not to have formed even an approximately just conception of an All-mighty, All-wise, All-good Being. Though perhaps of these attributes of a Ruling Power, they appreciate the evidences of might, with most absolute certainty, for the probable reason that they cannot avoid observing the existence somewhere of a Power which influences their destinies; that has sent them buffalos to supply food, gives them children, and that kills and cures. They see also the mysterious sun and moon in daily movement over the earth, shedding their benign rays over all, as they traverse the sky. These evidences of useful and mighty *living* Power about and above them, are manifest, equally to their mental as to their ocular vision.

So far as they may be said to have a religion at all, it seems to be a growth from some confused contemplation of all these and other visible conditions. There is very little of the abstract or the unseen involved in their beliefs.

Nature has never presented to the Todas, her awful side, in visions of ice, frost, or savage storms. They are the dolichocephalic children of sunny regions,[1] to whom nature is more

[1] See Chapter IX., on the dispositions, and the natural home of the dolichocephali.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XXII.

RELIGIOUS CULTURE.

Toda Religion, a development from a Material Nucleus—The Milk-giver an object of Deep Reverence—Milkmen are Priests, then Gods—Todas have a bias in favour of Light as the Manifestation of Divinity—Not Idolatrous—Do not make offerings to a God—Believe in Transmigration—Callous on Demonolatry—Influenced in religious matters by other Races—Todas of Turanian stage of culture.

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WHAT we have seen in Toda rites and ceremonies, is little else than the arrangements which a pastoral and communistic people have made for the provision and care of an article of food, doubtless at one time essential, not merely for due sustenance, but to their very existence in the land. These customs having through the course of ages so mellowed as to have acquired all the effect and influence of sanctity, we find ourselves now in the interesting position of actual witnesses to the growth of the earliest germs of religious belief and observance, as they develop in the mind of primitive man from the material nucleus whence they originated.

We note that stage, when the cow, the milk-giver and support on which the people have depended almost from all time, has grown from an object of the greatest solicitude, to become one of deep reverence, and—so far as they have yet learnt to express themselves—of worship. The flesh is not eaten. Its milk is almost sacred. The chattels of early herds—the cow-bell in particular—have matured into Gods, and dairies bear the conception of temples.

We find that common milkmen have, by virtue of the

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

sacred nature of such office, advanced in popular estimation until they are viewed in the aspect of priests. The high priest, from being a servant of certain Gods, has become confused with Godhead itself. A family styling itself 'sons of the Gods,' has developed—though without arrogation to caste pretensions—into a Levitical clan, inheritors of the highest priestly office; its males being prepared and chastened thereto in sacred groves, by the use of a plant set apart for the purpose, and by abstinence from sensual pleasures; the females of the entire tribe, being not only excluded from participation in such duties, but debarred approach to all holy precincts.

These points appear to me to embrace the whole of what may be held to be Toda—performed—religion unadulterated.

They acknowledge the existence of Gods, *perhaps* even of a Supreme God—Ûsuru[1] Swâmi—but their ideas on the subject are quite undeveloped. I think I trace in them a partiality to the regard of *light*—apart from fire—as *par excellence*, the manifestation of divinity. Their beliefs, whatever they may be, are so little attended with formal signs of adoration, that we cannot, with any degree of confidence, assert this or that to be their creed. Still I believe I have grounds for the opinion that these people have a strong bias in favour of *light*;[2] the natural bent of their mind being such, that if any other race would work out for them the idea, connecting Ûsuru Swâmi with some such attribute of divinity as light, they could soon be brought to exalt Bêl into 'a king above all gods:' the more readily if deference to the cow was inculcated with such a teaching.

I submit the suggestion as one having a possible value in determining the ethnic affinities of the Toda race: and as

[1] See note 3 of Chapter XII.

[2] Note the Toda words in Chapter XXIX., showing how frequently the word 'bel' occurs, even in my small vocabulary; see *dawn*, *light*, *silver*, *bird*, *white*. Also, the names of men, and of Gods, given in previous Chapters.

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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I incline to the belief that in any matters of religion beyond what I have described, they have been influenced through the proximity of cognate races, who themselves, again, have at different periods, been variously Hinduized or inoculated with the strange customs of other tribes in India, cognate or otherwise. Thus, through the Âryas, the Toda sense of adoration has been educated; more Gods have been introduced than he knows what to do with: and his natural love of relics has been intensified and improved. From being at first memorials of cattle herds, the relics have grown to be venerated souvenirs of ancestors. On the other hand, the mildness and contentedness of the tribe, have—so I think—led them to drop or to avoid much of the demonolatrous habit of other members of that Drâvidian race to which they belong. Certainly any superior ideas; any notions of the soul, or of sin, and all forms of invocation in prayer, small as even collectively they may appear to be, bear the appearance of their having come to them through the instrumentality of the Âryas; partly, no doubt, from Brahmanical sources: in part perhaps, in course of some very early contiguity, antecedent to the migration of either race, from a common cradle land, into India. Even the waste of good meat is to my mind suggestive of similar influences.

I will conclude this chapter in the words of Mr. Baring-Gould, which, applied to the Turanian state of progress, are equally descriptive of Toda culture. 'Impressed with a vague and child-like sense of the mysterious, it has not advanced into the idealising stage. God to the nomads of Northern Asia, is awful, undefined. They feel His presence about them, above them, and, with dazzled and bewildered mind, seek to know nothing more.'[3]

[3] Baring-Gould, 'The Origin and Development of Religious Belief.'

CHAP. XXVIII.

Long looked for dinner appears to be ready; for the heated woman now emerges into the open air, and the men and boys enter the hut, leaving the females to prolong the talk. When each member of the community has in turn, eaten, and the offerings to bhumi tai have been swept out of doors, the whole family in the village join grouped about in primitive dinginess, and quiet unconspicuous attitude; some under the veranda eaves, others on the tûar, or under its quiet shelter: and there rehearse the day's events. The naked pâlkarpâl also, having completed his separate cooking, squats apart upon the wall, whence he can hear the news and add his distant note to the conversation.

And thus the shades of evening close in upon them. The air grows chill, and the careful mother of the smallest, rises to take the infant she has kept under her dress, into the well baked house. She stops a moment: looks round to the sky where the Blushing moon, ascending vertically through the trees in hot pursuit of the now vanished sun, illumines her womanly face. 'Swâmi, Swâmi!' she mutters, with hands to forehead, supporting the while, her young one in the bend of her arm, 'Mokh ultama, ellam ultama:' and stoops in at the little doorway. Two or three sleepy-headed children soon stagger in after her. Note the pretty daughter in her teens, plump and white teethed, with hair tightly curled, and eyes that brilliantly catch the sparkle of the moon. She has been taught to say her prayers: but unmarried and without a care, the sense of responsibility is not strong upon her; she has no child to shiver for. She gives a rather hurried salute, bringing her head down to her hands, rather than take the young arms out of their envelope in the chill: a quick 'Êyan, appn!' and in she ducks, shutting the door after her. A prolonged rustle may be heard as the brood settle themselves in the dark, to rest on the warm hearth; with a mantle on the floor and another covering all their nakedness. The healthy baby, with eyes wide open, trying in vain to penetrate the gloom, disturbs the mother on the raised bed, who is now

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Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Músdshyáld	Kérshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tírzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nirzh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârzhtith	Kátĕtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângŭar. / Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérkŏärzh	Musdshyáldf.	
6. Kúramárzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor / Tĕkva / Pĕahhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	MÂnboa. / Ârialdf.	
10. Kúĕrsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Párzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

776 Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bĕtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

771 In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Bed. Târnât. *Pl.* VIII.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 771

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pūjāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pūjāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Vorshdl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tār* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tār*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *nerula*, *mathe*, or *hem* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 996 621 173

The institution is *Mānāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting. 944

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Parshōrsh*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pekkan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*boo*), the *Parshōrsh* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālthchi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and 553 551

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 8.

† *Mānāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmins is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriaris*. They themselves became *Pâldls*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āzāram*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnâd Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Âmunâd*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Âmunâd*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Âmunâd*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of
771 which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
● 771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

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* *Pūjā*, worship.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

174 discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may 771 be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their 797 desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars. I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nilagiris, nor can I find, in the customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of Christianity. Mr. Metz derives Peranganâd (Toda *Pirgâr*) from Feringhi; but we have no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

771 If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic; while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

171 Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mûndah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed; the Larkâ Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the Peikis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawâni; and they break a pot at funerals, their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

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114 * While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.) has been published. In this work, page 123, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever "to believe that the Todas of the Nilagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or "Manichean settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of "Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Papuans applies word for word to the Todas:—

"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Uebungen welche, mit einigen anderen Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, "mit ihrem jetzigen Culturzustande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher "höhern Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem "quite irreconcilable with their present state of civilisation, unless we recognise in them the traces of a formerly "higher culture."—*Trench's Study of Words, page 22, note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilisation. The cases of the Todas and Kurumbas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primeval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay exist can hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be seen, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, to ascertain facts about the tribes in question seemed more germane to the matter than to discuss theories of civilisation.—*Editor.*

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWG Toda AWG

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and supreme Spirit, and in a future state, though this they seem to regard as one of a somewhat mundane character, inasmuch as buffaloes and abundance of milk are to be the portion of the faithful. They also pay reverence to, though they do not worship, inferior objects, such as hills and forests and the rising sun, precisely as did the ancient Celts. In connection with the adoration of light, they also make an obeisance to their evening lamps on lighting them. The observance of this custom in Europe is mentioned by Edward Spencer, who, writing in 1596, states that, "at the kindling of fire and lighting of candles, the Scots and Irish use superstitious rites."* 771

The presence in their temples of large stones, which have, by superficial observers, been regarded as gods, has led to the belief that these people are idolaters; but this is certainly not the case. There is no doubt that the shapeless symbols are merely representatives of an unseen power, and not in themselves actual objects of worship; though with other races, preserving less strictly their primitive character, this original use has degenerated into idolatry. The fact, therefore, that this tribe has so preserved to the present day, in the midst of a heathen country, the primary object and intention of such symbols, is one worthy of notice; and leads to the supposition that the Todas may be equally unchanged in all other respects since the earliest days of their corporate existence as a people. 771 778

It would be a most interesting point to determine satisfactorily whether or not the early progenitors of the Todas were the erectors of the numerous Druidical circles and remains found on their hills, and which crown the summit of almost every peak throughout the Nilgiri range. Several of the cromlechs have, rather against the wishes of the hill-tribes, been examined at different times, and found to contain urns of clay filled with black earth, charred fragments of human bones, and roughly made clay figures of buffaloes, and in some instances bells; the whole lying under large flat stones within the circle. It is to be noted, too, that these urns, as well as the bells, very closely resemble those that have been found in Great Britain. 772

Within the last few months, "a set of iron implements" has been found in a cromlech on the southern side of the Nilgiri

* *Early Races of Scotland.*

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539

At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.

At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793

He lights the lamp.

At eight he milks his buffaloes.

He puts on no cloth.

He places butter and ghi before the god.

Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.

Then he puts on his cloth.

At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.

He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.

He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.

He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.

He alone may sleep in the temple.

At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.

At seven he milks them.

The woman's house is down the hill.

The priest must not go in unto the woman.

He may not marry.

When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.

Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, etc. 771 114 771 177 788

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

[791] etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
[197] "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
302 A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[782] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[788] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[765] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

551 patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions
[614] the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondoriidz. One of these is the daughter of iimuixfuun (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxüuiɪ (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sonduiɪ to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary
771 to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of
234 munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and
[192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as tõõ "god" or ɪõiɪ "sacred place" or by the compound tõõnoiɪ, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and
776 noiɪ when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some
778 extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the
[179] gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god õm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the tõõnoiɪ, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619-37.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343-60, 1937).

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with Rivers's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθaŋ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the nirjoɨ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumŋ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new poɨm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 194

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷol, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the tiṛ. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the tōuθut and the tōunoṛ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the mṛfalfmat, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e.g. kaṛθum, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hṛ̃ at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as no t-n, after it as ṛy.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

771 776 798 234 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs" he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiŋ and the rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθut. Since they are distinct from the töunoŋ, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθut. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may probably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualised dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kiŋ and the other töuθut for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiŋ and the gods associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods, the töuθut, stories are still told in the vague way of which Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

771 774 794 797 778 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-9 worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nōrumṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son airjaṛ; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a tōu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief already mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is sōmṇ (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmṇ (Rivers' genealogical table 36; one

3 [Annotation, R. G. R. L.]

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative *somi* as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress. [177] [178] [191]

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies : the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution. [782] [1 4] [124] [262] [564] [197]

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known; [197] [901]

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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177 the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief
[177] in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage
[178] customs attempted by kum:ɡjalf and recorded by Rivers, which
[582] would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of
[425] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long
[426] before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made
[657] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

161 There remains the important question of the effect of outside
177 influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems
[114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women
[831] by the polyandrous system combined with the monogamic institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
Toda AW60

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[2]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[2] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

4: Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
[611] uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed 764
and redistributed to those who had given them. The people 775
told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body 178
over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the 764
objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is 178
now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face down- 764
wards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall[1] and 775
Walhouse[2] thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston and myself the body was put on the fire with the face upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that if this were not done, the dead person would have to make [772] the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set towards his future abode.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.
[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *manmokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle. 764 431 602

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased. 177 764

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world, 772 775

[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

772 and this was given as the reason why the dead used to be
775 burnt face downwards. It will be remembered also that Ön was looking downwards when he saw his son Püv in Amnòdr (see p. 185).

775 Amnòdr is presided over by the god Ön, who went there after the death of his son Püv, and it is often called Önnòdr after him, while this world, presided over by the goddess Teikirzi, is known as Inanòdr or Eikirzinòdr.[1] The people of Amnòdr or Önnòdr are known as the Amatol. Formerly the Todas used to go freely to and fro between Amnòdr and Eikirzinòdr, but this was stopped owing to the behaviour of Kwoto, and since his time only the dead go to Amnòdr and they do not return.

The Amatol live in much the same way as the inhabitants of this world. They have their buffaloes and their dairies, and the daily life of the people appears to be much like that of the living Todas. As the people walk about, however, they wear down their legs. They have to walk every day, and when a man has worn down his legs as far as the knees Ön sends him back to this world as another man.

Ön will not allow any pigs or rats to enter Amnòdr, as they would root up and spoil the country.

[616] Dead people travel to Amnòdr by well-defined routes, which are different for Tartharol and Teivaliol, while the Taradrol have a separate Amnòdr for their clan.

The dead do not set out for Amnòdr till after the second funeral, taking with them the things burnt at the *azaramkedr*. Both Tartharol and Teivaliol journey westwards towards the Kundahs and cross the Pakhwar or Avalanche river at the same spot.

The paths for the two divisions then diverge. The Tartharol go by a place called Katchâr, while the Teivaliol go by Kusheigûdr, situated by the bridle path now leading from Avalanche Bungalow to Avalanche Top. Whenever a Teivali man passes this spot for the first time he throws three stones called *ovidnikârz*. Similarly, a Tarthar man passing Katchâr for the first time throws three stones in

[1] This is one of several instances in which the initial *t* of a word is omitted in compound forms.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Astronomical Ideas

772 We have already seen that the Todas reverence the sun, and that the period of the moon is of the greatest importance 821 in the regulation of the times for their ceremonies. In this chapter we have to deal with their views as to the nature of these bodies and of the stars.

The Sun

The Todas believe that when the sun goes down in the west, it goes to Amnòdr. The same sun illuminates both worlds, and this is shown very well in the story of Kwoto; when this demi-god tied down the sun, there was darkness both in this world and in the other, and the people of Amnòdr joined with those of this world in imploring that the sun should be restored to its proper place.

When the Todas know that there is going to be an eclipse of the sun, they abstain from food, but they do not shout out during the eclipse as we shall see they do in the case of the moon. When the eclipse is over, they have a feast with *ashkkartpimi*.

The Moon

The new moon is called *mut* and the full moon *nêrv*. We have already seen the enormous influence of the period of the moon in Toda ceremonial and I have given above the method of counting between the periods of new and full moon so as to know the correct day of the new moon if for any reason it should not be visible.

772 The Todas see a figure in the moon which they call *mûrs*, 773 the hare.[1] The following story not only shows how the hare comes to be there, but also furnishes the explanation of 821 eclipses of the moon and the origin of the Paikara river.[2]

Two men who were *matchuni* (see p. 501) went out one day to fetch honey. After a time they separated, and one

[1] In India the marks on the moon are frequently supposed to represent a hare.

[2] For another version of this story obtained by Mr. Thurston, see *Bulletin*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

found honey, while the other found none. The man who found the honey put it into a dairy vessel called *pun*, which he hid in a tree, and when he met the other did not tell him of his good fortune. After a time the *pun* containing honey which had been put in the tree suddenly broke, and the vessel became a snake, while the honey became the Paikara river. The snake ran after the man who had hidden the honey, and when the man saw the snake coming after him, he ran away. As he was being pursued, a hare came between the man and the snake. Then the man threw his cloak over the hare and hid himself, and the snake ran after the hare. The hare ran to the sky followed by the snake, and they came near the sun, which said, "Don't come near me because I am very hot. Go to the moon!" So the hare went to the moon, and the moon said, "Do not be afraid; I will protect you till the end of the world." The snake still goes sometimes to catch the hare in the moon, and when he goes the moon becomes dark and some people fire guns and send up rockets and the Todas shout. When it is known that there is going to be an eclipse the Todas abstain from food, and when they see the moon being eclipsed they shout out. 772● 773 821

I was told that there was another incident of the story connected with shooting stars, but I was unable to obtain an account of it.

Planets

The Todas know Venus, which they call *Pili*, and they also speak of the "morning star." 772 821

Constellations and Stars

The Todas have names for several stars or constellations. The Pleiades are called *Kadsht* and the constellation is believed to be composed of six stars.

Another heavenly body which I could not identify is called *Keirt*. *Keirt* has already been mentioned in Chap. XIV., and it is the evil influence of this body which is chiefly feared after

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

772 821 childbirth. It is said to be a star which is never present in the same part of the sky as *Kadsht*. The reason for this is that once *Keirt* and *Kadsht* fought together. *Kadsht* had six men and *Keirt* only one. *Keirt* broke the leg of one of the six men, so that now there are five stars close together in the Pleiades and one lags behind. On account of this quarrel Swami ruled that *Kadsht* and *Keirt* must never be together, but that when *Kadsht* is on one side of the sky, *Keirt* must always be on the other.

When talking about *Keirt* in connexion with the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut, it was said that *Keirt* was near the sun and that the sun was dangerous because *Keirt* was near it. It seemed that *Keirt* was always near the sun, which led me to suspect at first that it was Venus. It was quite clear, however, that this was not so. No one could show me *Keirt*, nor was anyone clear as to the part of the sky in which it was to be seen at any time in the night, and I think it most probable that this mysterious inhabitant of the sky is not a star at all, but a being allied to the Hindu *Ketu*. On the other hand, at a funeral attended by Samuel, the setting of *Kadsht* and the appearance of *Keirt* was taken as the sign that the proceedings of the *asaramkedr* might begin, [177] which looks as if *Keirt* was a real heavenly body. I think it is most probable that the whole idea of the injurious influence of *Keirt* is borrowed from the Badagas, and, if this is the case, the Toda word is probably merely an altered form of *Ketu*. I was told that *Keirt* was a Badaga word and that the Badagas feared its influence on women after childbirth.

A group of stars called *Pòdimin*, or porcupine star, corresponds to the stars in the sword of Orion. They are regarded as a porcupine from which the three stars of the belt are trying to escape.

A constellation of seven stars is called *Katikâlmin*. From the description it appeared to be the Great Bear. This constellation was not visible, but when I made a drawing of its seven chief stars, it was at once recognised as *Katikâlmin*.

A single star called *Ishtkati* is almost certainly Sirius.

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A Single Star called Ishtkati is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishtkati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishtkati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*." 177 772 821

A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tûdrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably γ and ϵ Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky. 773 821 171

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tûdrval*, and so one star is called *tûdrvalmokh*. The *tûdrval* still sings "*Kudursami trrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tûdrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas. 177 772 773 821

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

me, that the Pekkans are poor and have few herds, therefore *they have no occasion for a God* to protect them. I see the man now before me shaking his grave head, 'Aha, they don't want a God.' CHAP. XII. 771 776

'First divest your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson. The Toda anticipated that sage advice long years ago. What is the *use* of a God if not to protect life and property? And no property, no God! I dwell on this phase of the primitive mind, for it will liberate us much from the necessity for searching for evidences of religious worship in the customs, whose description I am entering upon.

The sum of real Toda belief is, that they were born, they and their cattle, somehow—rose out of the earth. When they die they go to amnôr,[4] which is a world exactly like this; whither their buffalos join them, to supply milk as in this state—*voilà tout.* They look on this migration from the nomad point of view: but do not appear to be quite clear whether they and their cattle go to amnôr in the body or the spirit. Some practical difficulties appear to present themselves, to whichever belief they bend. The abstruseness of the question is acknowledged. They are satisfied that they *do* get there, and don't care to speculate and reopen a matter which has so long and so satisfactorily been settled! 771 775

A good opportunity presenting itself, in a visit with which I was favoured by an important religious character, I asked him where amnôr was situate. He did not appear surprised at the question, or in a moment's doubt as to the locality. Looking about him in the sky as if to ascertain the cardinal points of the compass; as all Orientals do; who living without clocks or barometers, read the signs in the heavens for guidance 772 775 821

[4] Amnôr, amnâr, ômunâr = *the next world.*
Nîr or nâdu = *district, country.* This is Tamil.
Ôma is a difficulty. Yaman is the '*God of death.*'
It seems to be = avan, which in Tamil = *there*, and is sometimes used for *the other world.* In Tamil, ammai = *the next state* or *stage in transmigration.* [POPE.]

CHAP. XII.

and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[8] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[8] See note 2 of Chapter V.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the *ši*, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place. 114 234

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by males, and males only are allowed to take any part either in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed. 173 234 462

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, On, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putsir* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan. 234 773

Dairy Procedure

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the procedure. 234 512

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuva*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pölmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/4 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 412 415 778 783

The *kuvi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kuvi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

The Five Ti

173 234 621 773

At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tikfrs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

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THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Pův died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr. 173 234 773

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpův*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpův*. [415]

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the *ti* buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu. When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *tòrzum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti poh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other 173 234 773 778

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[774] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh*
173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.
234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr,
●773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given
221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the
234 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to
621 the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil,
773 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tìdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tìdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *nnir*, the *atir*, and the *tsirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tìdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

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are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *teirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurzh. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

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234 343 352 which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

173 234 618 773 793 The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vĕdrmâ, kârs wadrth vĕdrmâ, mân mas vĕdrinâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 130.)

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followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf. 173 234 618

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55). 773 793

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.' 234 552 778

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Ônâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost. 234 354 552

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Telgun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Koratcu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.) 773 778

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not

234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *mars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *mars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

The Kars Ti

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I
621 could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
● 773 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs. The story runs that Anto created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kultmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

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at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit. 173 234 621 773

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarzam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri. 234 793

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Kobollers told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and [552] 234 778

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234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûzthenis ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

THE PAN TI

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

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place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Tarzhva. Its special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

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The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Nerâdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirsiol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

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173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the
618 *warspoh*.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
778 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the
463 ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
198 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,
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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

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THE NIDRSI TI

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This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi*. When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti*. The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti*. There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

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At the present time most of the gods are believed to inhabit the summits of the hills, but they are not seen by mortals. Before the Todas were created, the gods lived on the Nilgiri Hills alone, and then it is believed that there followed a period during which gods and men inhabited the hills together. The gods ruled the men, ordained how they should live and originated the various customs of the people. The Todas can now give no definite account of their beliefs about the transition from this state of things to that which now exists.

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Each clan of the Todas has a deity especially connected with it. This deity is called the *nòdrodchi* of the clan, and is believed to have been the ruler of the clan when gods and men lived together. I am doubtful whether there is at the present time any belief that the *nòdrodchi* exerts an influence over the clan with which he is connected.

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There was no department of Toda lore which gave me greater difficulty than the study of the beliefs about the gods. There was no doubt that two gods stood out pre-eminent among the rest. One was a male deity whose name was Ön, and the other a female deity, Teikirzi. A simple question which I had the greatest difficulty in settling was the relation of these deities to one another. According to one account they were brother and sister; according to another, father and daughter. It seemed quite certain they were not husband and wife, and most probable that they were brother and sister. Others of the gods were believed to be related to one another, but on such points as this I found it almost impossible to obtain trustworthy information. It may have been reticence which made the difficulty, but I do not think so, and am inclined to think that the Todas have now only vague ideas about the histories of their more ancient gods, and have nothing like the definite traditions which they possess about deities of obviously more recent origin.

Sometimes there were discrepancies between different accounts which I could not clear up, and in such cases I give the account which seems to me to be the most trustworthy.

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PITHI

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This god is the earliest of whom any tradition is preserved. His name is Pithi or Pūthi, and he is often called Pithioteu. He was born near the sacred dairy of Anto in a cave which had the same shape as the ordinary Toda hut. According to one account, Pithi created Todas and buffaloes, but there seemed to be little doubt that this is not the correct tradition, which assigns the act of creation to his son Ön. There is a suggestive resemblance between the name of this god and the Sanscrit word for earth, Prithivi, which is in common use in Southern India.

ÖN

Ön was the son of Pithi. He created the buffaloes and the Todas and became the ruler of Amnòdr, the world of the dead, where he now lives.

One day Ön went with his wife Pinârkûrs to Mêdrpem (the top of the Kundahs). There he put up an iron bar which stretched from one end of the *pem* to the other. Ön stood at one end of the bar and brought forth buffaloes from the earth, 1,600 in number. Then Pinarkurs tried to produce buffaloes and she stood at the other end of the bar and produced 1,800 buffaloes.

Behind Ön's buffaloes there came out of the earth a man, holding the tail of the last buffalo, and this was the first Toda. Ön took one of the man's ribs (*parikatelv* or *magalelv*) from the right side of his body and made a woman, who was the first Toda woman. The Todas then increased in number very rapidly so that at the end of the first week there were about a hundred.[1]

The descendants of the buffaloes created by Ön became sacred buffaloes, while the descendants of those created by his wife are the ordinary buffaloes.

[1] This account of the creation of men and buffaloes was obtained from Arsolv (27) of Kanòdrs, one of the oldest living Todas. It agrees very closely with the story as related to Mr. Breeks.

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Ön had a son called Püv. One day when Püv was acting as *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, he was churning in the dairy with a ring on the little finger of his right hand. When the dairyman goes to fetch water he should always take the churning stick out of the *patat* or vessel in which the milk is churned. On this occasion Püv left it in the *patat* and went out to fetch water. As he was going a black bird called *karpüls* tried to check him, saying "*tls, tls, tls,*" meaning "Don't go to the water," but Püv paid no attention and went on. When he was taking the water the ring dropped from his little finger into the spring. Püv saw the ring in the water, but could not reach it, and so he got into the spring. The water was not deep, and yet as soon as he stepped into the spring it completely covered him and he was drowned. When Ön found that his son was lost he cried very bitterly and covered himself with his cloak (*tuni*). (Ön is said to have been a *palol* at this time.) When Ön covered himself he looked downwards and saw, as through a veil, his son in Amnòdr playing with the ring, putting it on and off his finger.[1]

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When Ön saw that his son was in Amnòdr he did not like to leave him there alone and decided to go away to the same place. So he called together all the people and the buffaloes and the trees to come and bid him farewell. All the people came except a man of Kwòdrdoni named Arsankutan. He and his family did not come. All the buffaloes came except the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Some trees also failed to come. Ön blessed all the people, buffaloes and trees present, but said that because Arsankutan had not come he and his people should die by sorcery at the hands of the Kurumbas, and that because the *arsaiir* had not come they should be killed by tigers, and that the trees which had not come should bear bitter fruit. Since that time the Todas have feared the Kurumbas, and buffaloes have been killed by tigers. All the Todas and all the buffaloes appear to have suffered for the evil deeds of Arsankutan and the *arsaiir*.

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Then Ön went away to Amnòdr, taking the buffaloes

[1] According to another account, Püv died from trying to catch the image of a white calf in the water. At that time, it was the custom to kill and bury any calf of a white colour, and one had been buried close to the spring.

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773 and the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* with him, and since that time
776 Ön has ruled over Amnòdr, which is sometimes called Önnòdr after him.

TEIKIRZI

This goddess is perhaps the most important of the Toda deities. She is said to have been the sister, and probably the elder sister, of Ön. I could learn very little about the story of her life, but nearly all the customs of the Todas were referred to her, and it seemed clear that when Ön left this world Teikirzi became the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of the Todas. Whenever I tried to obtain from the Todas an explanation of any ceremony or custom I nearly always received the reply, which was regarded as final, that it had been so ordained by Teikirzi.

It seems doubtful whether Teikirzi dwells in any special hill like other Toda deities, though there is a hill near Nòdrs especially connected with her. I was told that she lives everywhere in this world, and in answer to a question it was said even that her influence extends to London, where she dwells as she dwells everywhere else.

She is regarded as the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of all the Todas, and this world is often spoken of as Eikirzinòdr. At the same time Teikirzi is especially connected with Nòdrs, and she is the special *nòdrodchi* of this clan.

Five customs, or sets of customs, are ascribed especially to Teikirzi. These are:—

(i) *Madol pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave *madol* (clans)." Teikirzi is also said to have divided the Todas into their two chief divisions.

(ii) *Ir pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave buffaloes."

Below Nòdrs, near a swamp called Keikudr, there is a small stream which at the present time Todas will not cross at a certain spot, and Teikirzi stood in this stream. According to one account she beat the water with a wand, saying "*Ir padri ma*" ("May buffaloes spring"), and buffaloes sprang out of the stream; but it seemed to be more generally accepted that she only divided the buffaloes on this spot by touching each animal on the back with a wand and saying

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the name of the clan to which it was to belong. The first portion went to Nòdrs, the second to Kuudr, the third to Kars, and the fourth to Taradr. Up to this point she used a wand of *kid* wood (*kidkurs*). For the next clan, that of Keadr, the *kidkurs* was put away and she used a wand of *tavat* wood, and several other kinds of wand were used. Teikirzi was also said to have ordained at the same time that *warnulir* should be milked by Teivaliol and to have settled the general regulations concerning the different kinds of buffalo.

(iii) *Püliol pikht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave *püliol*."

Teikirzi is said to have ordained that certain people should be the *püliol* of a man, and that *püliol* should not marry one another (see Chap. XXI).

(iv) *Ir patz id vai*, "Buffalo catch who said" Teikirzi ordained that buffaloes should be caught at the funeral ceremonies (see Chap. XV).

(v) *Kwarzam pep ostht ad vai*, "Who told the *kwarzam* and gave *pep*."

Teikirzi gave to each village its *kwarzam*, or sacred name, and settled the method of making new *pep*.

The name of Teikirzi occurs frequently in other legends. One story not mentioned elsewhere is the following:—

When Teikirzi was living at Nòdrs the people of Mysore came to fight her, but as they approached, the woods made a great noise. When the Mysore people heard the noise they stopped, and then Teikirzi cursed them and said, "Let them become stones," and they were turned into stones, which are still to be seen below Nòdrs.

Teipakh, or Tirshti

I know very little about the life-history of this deity, but he is very widely mentioned in the prayers and incantations of the Todas, and is one of their most important gods. He was the brother of Teikirzi, and differs from most other Toda deities in being a river god, Teipakh being the Toda name of the Paikara river.

Teipakh is the *nidrodchi* of the Piedr and Kusharf clans.

Although there was considerable agreement that Teipakh

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and Tirshti were one and the same god, there was some doubt about it, and, according to one account, Tirshti was only another name for Teikirzi.

Anto.

I am very doubtful about the name and identity of this god. There seemed to be little doubt that he had the same name as the chief dairy of the Nòdrs *ti* and was the chief deity connected with this dairy. According to one account he was the son of Ön, but it is possible that the two deities were identical, Anto being Önteu. His name was sometimes pronounced Anteu or perhaps more correctly Änto or Änteu.

I have only a few incidents from the life of Anto. He once rolled a huge stone with the hair of his head from Nelkòdr in the Wainad to the top of a hill called Katthvai near the dairy of Anto. The god now lives near this dairy, resting his head on a spot called Ködrs, and stretching his legs on a spot called Tudrs. These places are about two furlongs apart so that Anto is evidently a god of a large size.

Anto is said to have made buffaloes, and the buffalo which founded the *ti mand* of Makars (see p. 116) was one of his creation. The fact that Anto created buffaloes increases the probability of his identity with Ön, but this is far from conclusive for there were undoubtedly several independent creations of these animals.

Kulinkars.

This deity is the *nàdrodòi* of the Kars clan. His original name appears to have been Kulin, and this was changed to Kulinkars. He is also called Teikhars. He inhabits a hill near Makurti Peak, which is so steep and rocky that "no man has ever climbed it."

The following story is told of Kulinkars or Teikhars:—He once knocked on the ground and so made two buffaloes. He then told the monsoon (*kunadr*) to drive the buffaloes to the place to which they were to go, saying, "you must push them on." As the buffaloes were being driven on by the monsoon,

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a tiger went after them. When they reached a certain hill, the hill divided into two and the buffaloes went between the two parts, but still the tiger followed them. Then the buffaloes came to Kwaradr and went into the pen, and the tiger also went into the pen. When the buffaloes saw that the tiger had come into the pen, they kicked it and it died. Then one of the buffaloes said to the other, "You stay here in the pen; I am going to Tarsòdr." Then the monsoon drove on this buffalo to Tarsòdr, which is one of the dairies of the Pan *ti*. The descendants of the buffalo which stayed in the pen are the *parthir* of Kwaradr and the descendants of the other are among the buffaloes of the Pan *ti*.

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Kulinkars was connected with the *erkumpttlpimi* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) and was the *mokkthodvaiol* or paramour of Nòtirzi. His relation to Nòtirzi is said to have been the origin of the *mokkthoditi* custom (see Chap. XXII), but I was not able to obtain any detailed account of this part of the history of the god.

Kulinkars has a son called Teikhidap, who lives on Makurti Peak, and the proper Toda name for this hill is Teikhidap.

NÒTIRZI

I have no details of the history of this female deity. She is the *nivrodchi* of the two important clans of Melgars and Kuudr, and lives on the hill now known as Snowdon, the Toda name of the hill being the same as that of the goddess. This hill is especially sacred, and any Toda who visits it has to salute with hand to forehead (*kaimukhti*) in all directions. Like her *mokkthodvaiol*, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi is connected with the *erkumpttlpimi* ceremony. She is said to have had a son called Tikuteithi or Tenkuteithi. It is possible that this is the same as Teikuteidi, who appears in the story of Kwoten (see p. 193), but they are more probably two different deities.

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A stone which is said to have been thrown by this goddess from her hill is shown close to the village of Pòln, under the tree known to English visitors to the Nilgiris as the 'umbrella tree.'

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KORATEU OR KUZKARV

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Korateu was the son of Teikirzi. One day when Teikirzi was going from one village to another she went into a cave called Teivelkursh, by the side of a stream called Kathipa, near Kakhudri, and there gave birth to a son, who was called Azo-mazo. The afterbirth dropped into the stream and was carried down to Teipakh (the Paikara river). It travelled down the river as far as a place called Marsnavai, where there were growing two plants called *tib* and *purs* in which it became entangled. The afterbirth then slowly arose and became a boy, and the boy was Korateu. When Azo-mazo became a man he went to live at Pernòdr in the Kundaba, but Korateu lived in the river till he was eight years old. The river Teipakh was the brother of Teikirzi. As he sat in the lap of his uncle Korateu used often to play at making the buffalo horns called *tebhster* (Fig. 35).[1] When he was eight years old he founded a *ti* and created a male and a female buffalo, making both out of earth. He also built a dairy and a buffalo pen and made the garment called *tawi*. As soon as the buffaloes had a calf, he went to fetch a churning-stick from Kalera, beyond Makurti Peak, and took it to Nerva, near Mòdr, where his buffaloes were standing. He then went to Kurkòdr, a bamboo grove near Melpadi in the Wainad, and made a *kwei* or milking vessel. He next made the *persin* and the

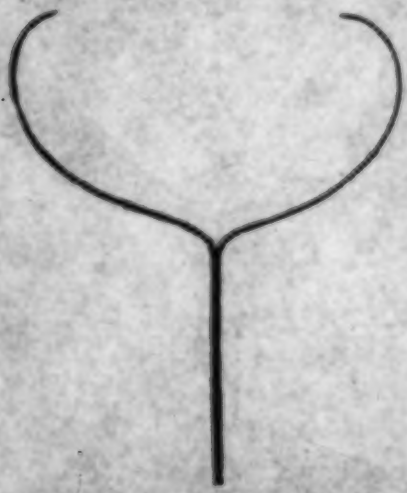

FIG. 35.—IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

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[1] Usually called *pebster*.

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mani and all the other things of a *ti* and became *palol* of the buffaloes at Ödrtho. There was a buffalo here of the kind called *kaghir*, with the horns growing downwards. Koratcu cut off these horns and gave them to the *kaltmakh* at Ödrtho and they are now the horns of the Nödrs *ti*. Koratcu then made a law that the people of Piedr should fill the office of *palol* and that the *kaltmakh* should be taken from the Melgarsol. He appointed a *palol* and a *kaltmakh* from these clans, handed over the charge of the *ti* to them, and went away to the hill Koratcu, where he lived in an iron cave which he called a *pak*. He used to bathe in a pool near the hill.

At this time Koratcu was not recognised as a *ten*, and when the gods held council he was not summoned as a member. This made him very angry.

Near Koratcu there was a wood in which there stood a tree of the kind called *mörs* (*Michelia nilagirica*) which was about 80 feet high. Koratcu ordered that honey bees (*pesktain*) should come to the tree, and after a time there were about 300 nests, which made the tree bend down with their weight. One day about twenty men came to collect honey, Todas, Irulas, and Kurumbas. The Todas made a fire under the tree, while the Irulas and Kurumbas climbed and collected honey from the nests. When they had collected the honey from all except three or four nests, the tree became so light that it sprang back and killed the Irulas and Kurumbas, and the Todas went home.

At this time Koratcu was unmarried and he carried a stick of iron. One day a Kurumba woman came to the *mörs* tree in search of honey. Koratcu knocked her on the head with the iron stick and at once she became pregnant. That evening she gave birth to a daughter, who was very beautiful, and Koratcu decided to marry the child and sent away the mother that night. (According to another version, the child was so beautiful that the mother was frightened and went away to her own village, and Koratcu fed the child with milk and fruit and honey, and when she grew up he married her.)

Soon after the death of the Irulas and Kurumbas a sambhar calf came to Koratcu, who caught it, tamed it, and

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kept it for a month. Then certain Todas went to Korateu and asked him for a place. Korateu gave them a place and said that it should be called Keradr. The people of Keradr then asked for buffaloes. So Korateu gave them the sambhar calf and said that it should become buffaloes for them, and he ordered that the buffaloes should be called *miniapir*, and that the calves should be called *sâvelkar*—*i.e.*, calf from a sambhar. This was the origin of Keradr and of its *wursulir*, which are still called *miniapir*, and they are the only buffaloes of the Todas which were made from sambhar.

After these things had happened the gods recognised that Korateu was a *tos*, and calling him asked him who he was. He answered that he was the son of Teikirzi, and the *manmokh* or sister's son of Teipakh. He was then admitted as one of the gods and now lives on the hill Korateu, but still sometimes sits in the lap of Teipakh. He is the *nòdrodchi* of the Keradr and Keadr clans, and the chief villages of these clans are near his hill. He is called Kuzkarv when mentioned in prayer.

Another god, called Etepi, is said to be the same god as Korateu. It appeared, however, that Korateu lived on one hill and Etepi on another, and I could not ascertain the true relation of the deities to one another.

Azo-mazo is mentioned in the prayer of the Kars *ti* as two deities, Azo and Mazo.

Puzi and Kurindo

I am very doubtful as to the identity of Puzi. According to some accounts Puzi or Purzi was merely another name for Teikirzi; according to other accounts Puzi was a male deity and the husband of Teikirzi. In the following story Puzi is a female deity, inhabiting a hill near Nòdrs. She gave birth to a son called Kurindo. As soon as Kurindo was born he became fire. Puzi did not approve of this, as it seemed to show that the boy was too powerful, so she took a leaf of the kind called *kuagal*, pounded it and mixed it with water and sprinkled it on the fire. The fire then turned back again into a boy who was bent to one side.

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Puzi said, "I will put you on a hill opposite to me." So she put him on the hill called Mopuvthut, near the village of Naters, and in order to make the hill higher she put three baskets of earth on the top, so that her son might be seen by everybody. 773 776

When Kurindo was on his hill he thought to himself, "My mother has treated me badly; she sprinkled me with water and quenched my power, and she has made me bent to one side; I do not like to be opposite to her." So he went away to a hill near Kanòdrs. This was before the time of Kwoten and before the Kamasòdrolam had run away (see p. 195). While Kurindo was living on this hill a strange tribe came to the hills, so Kurindo again moved and went away to the hill of Arsnur on the Mysore side, where he still lives.

There is a hill called Puthi on which a fire is lighted at certain times (see p. 291) and the god inhabiting this hill was, according to one account, the husband of Teikirzi. It is possible that Puthi and Puzi are the same, but I think it more probable that they are two separate gods, each having his own hill, Puthi being the husband of Teikirzi, and Puzi being the deity of this legend.

The following legends differ from the preceding in that they appear almost certainly to record the lives of deified men. The first legend deals with three men of different clans, but the sons of three sisters. The second deals with the life of Kwoto, and professes to be the history of a being of miraculous birth who came to be accepted by the gods, not only as one of their number, but as superior to themselves. These two legends were known far more thoroughly and universally than any of the preceding. It seems most probable that they are records of men who really lived, and that the life of each has become a nucleus round which have grown various miraculous and portentous incidents. 173 773 776

Kwoten, Teikuteidi, and Elnâkhum

There were once three men, the children of three sisters. The eldest was Kwoten, who belonged to Pan, the second was Teikuteidi, who belonged to Taradr, and the youngest

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was Elnâkhum of Nòdrs. (According to one account the father of Kwoten was Purten, and his mother was Tiköni of Keradr. They lived at Pan and Kiursi, and Kwoten was born at Pan. Purten died when Kwoten was thirty years old and Tiköni died six years later.)

Kwoten had a wife called Kwoterpani. She did not like her husband, but preferred a man of Kanòdrs called Parden. One day Kwoten took his wife to a place called Timukhtar (near the spot where Sandy Nullah toll-bar now stands). He gave her only the loin-cloth called *tadrp* to wear, hoping that she would be cold and uncomfortable and would sleep with him, but she refused. Kwoten then took her to Kûdrîdjpül near Mulòrs, where there was a large wood. In this wood there was a tree of the kind called *külmän*, into which Kwoten climbed and made a bed. Below him, about three feet above the ground, he made a small bed for his wife, and under the tree, close to his wife's bed, he tied a big male buffalo. He did this because he thought a tiger might come to take the buffalo during the night when his wife would be frightened and would climb up the tree to his bed. During the night a tiger came and took away the buffalo, but even this did not induce the woman to go to her husband. Next morning Kwoten took his wife to Pòlâdri, which belonged to the Panol. This village was near Miuni, and there Kwoten became a *pâlikartmokh*. One day Kwoten was in the dairy and his wife in the hut when Parden came from Kanòdrs. Kwoten's wife knew that her husband was in the dairy, and endeavoured to prevent Parden from going into the hut by giving him buttermilk. Kwoten found that Parden had come, and sharpened a big knife to kill him, and when he came out of the dairy, Parden ran away towards Kanòdrs and Kwoten followed with the knife.

Kwoten's sister had married a Kars man and was living with him at Nasmiòdr, and at this time Kwoten's mother was staying at this place. As Parden ran away, pursued by Kwoten, they had to pass Nasmiòdr, and Kwoten's mother saw them, and said, "How is it that my son does not catch Parden?" Then she cursed Parden, saying "*On sati udairnûdr, Kârkadith mul udith pâtmâ*"—viz., "If I have reverence

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to the village, may he be checked by the tree with thorns in the Kark wood." When Parden reached a stone now called Pardenkars, Kwoten caught him up and tried to kill him, but the knife struck the stone instead and split it into two pieces. Then Parden ran on to the wood called Kark, where he was caught by a tree with thorns (brambles) so that Kwoten was able to kill him.

When the news of the death of Parden reached Kanòdrs all the people were very much afraid, and all ran away except one old man and his wife. As the people were going, they sent a message to the Kotas at Tizgudr. Two Kotas took a grain pounder (*wask*) and went to Pòladri. When Kwoten was told that the Kotas were coming he went and hid himself. The Kotas came and stood near the village and were told that Kwoten had gone away. Then they told Kwoten's wife, who at this time was pregnant by Parden, to come out of the hut. She came out and went to the Kotas, who asked her where Kwoten was. She said she did not know, whereupon the Kotas were vexed, and pierced her belly with the pounder, so that she died. Her funeral took place at Tadendari, and that of Parden at Arâdr.

The people of Kanòdrs ran away to a place called Penasmalpet, near Malmathapenpet, and are known as the Kamasòdrolam. They have never been seen since, but the Todas have heard from various wandering tribes that they still exist and that they live on a hill from which they can see Kanòdrs, and that when the Kamasòdrolam see a fire at Kanòdrs they shave their heads and make a special kind of food called *ashkkarthpimi*.

When the Kanòdrs people ran away there remained behind one old man called Muturojen and his wife Muturach,[1] who were living in a village near Kanòdrs called Mitâhârzi. When the people left, the old man went to the Kanòdrs dairy to churn the milk left there by those who had run away, and he stayed there, sleeping in the *kwotars* or calves' hut, as the dairyman should do at Kanòdrs. His wife used to come every day as far as a place called

[1] These are quite unlike Toda names, nor is the name of the village, Mitâhârzi, like a Toda name.

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173 Pitipem, where she rubbed a place with buffalo-dung and sat down.

773 While sitting there one day an eagle (*kashk*) sat on
776 her head, and she became pregnant, and went back to the village and gave birth to a son. When Kwoten heard of this he wished to kill the child and set out to do so. The old woman's daughter, who had married a Kars man, sent her husband to warn her parents that Kwoten was coming to kill them. The Kars man met Kwoten and ran away from him towards Kanòdrs, followed by Kwoten's dog. When he came to a hill above the village he called out that Kwoten was coming. When the old man heard him, he cursed Kwoten and those with him; the latter became stones and Kwoten himself (according to the story as told by the Kanòdrs people) was stung by honey bees and died. The people of Kanòdrs are descended from the son born to the old woman. If this old woman was not a Toda, as her name and that of her village suggest, this would seem to point to a tradition that the people of Kanòdrs are descended from an ancestor of a different race from the other Todas (see p. 640).

[578] Owing to the behaviour of Kwoten to the Kanòdrs people there has ever since been *karaivichi* (trouble) between the people of Pan and Kanòdrs. They do not intermarry and no Kanòdrs man may go to one of the chief villages (*etudmad*) of the Pan people nor may a Pan man go to an *etudmad* of Kanòdrs.

According to the above account Kwoten died after being cursed by the old man, but this is only a feature of the story as told by the Kanòdrs people, and in the account given by others Kwoten had many other adventures and finished his life in this world in a very different manner. He married a second wife, who, like the first, objected to her husband and preferred a man of Keradr, whose name was Keradrkutan. Kwoten lived with this wife at Kazhuradr, near Isharadr. At
[292] that time women wore the garment called *ān*, which is dark grey like the *tuni* of the *palol*, and is now only used as a funeral garment.

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Keradrkutan used frequently to come to Kazhuradr, and this vexed Kwoten, who told his wife to have nothing to do with the man. She encouraged Keradrkutan, however, and this vexed Kwoten so much that he took off her *än* and brought a thorny bush called *peshteinmul* and beat her all over with the bush, so that she became covered with blood. Kwoten at this time wore the garment called *tuni*, which he then took off, dipped it in water, and rubbed it all over his wife so that she became the colour of *tuni*, and then he gave her back her *än* and went to his dairy. While he was in the dairy Keradrkutan came stealthily to the village. When the woman saw Keradrkutan she cried very bitterly and said, "Kwoten has beaten me very severely so that I shall die; come and see me." When Keradrkutan went into the hut, the woman died.

Before this time, when Kwoten was one day beating his wife, she abused him, saying, "*Talrs ti oditha vai, Kòlrs klîv oditha vai; en puspad*"—"You have no *ti*, you have no Kotas: why do you beat me?" This was to reproach Kwoten because the Pan people had no *ti* buffaloes and had no Kotas to make things for them. So Kwoten went and complained to his brother Teikuteidi. Teikuteidi was very sorry, and in order to remove the reproach he persuaded Elnâkhum of Nòdrs to give certain buffaloes of the kind called *unir* from the Nòdrs *ti*. Elnâkhum gave a two-year-old calf (*pòl*) and a one-year-old calf (*kar*), and also two bells (*mani*) to put on their necks. The two bells were called Tarskingg and Takhingg. The calves were then standing at Kuladrtho and were taken by Kwoten to the *tars poh* of Pan. He tied the two bells to one of the calves called Kazhi. These bells ought properly to have been tied to the buffalo called Enmars which remained behind at Kuladrtho. Then Enmars went to Anto and complained as follows:—

"*kî mâdr,*	*kî kevi,*	*ninkâtth*	*pòrâni*"[1]
"inferior neck,	inferior ear,	to your council	I will not come"

i.e., "I will not come to your presence with naked neck and

[1] ? *Pòdrâni* or *pudrâni*.

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ear." Anto told him not to grieve because he had lost the *mani*, and that instead

Melgarsöl	*teirpülk*	*mudâ mâ*	*nî pud*
Melgars man	pül of Anto to	in front go may	you come

Antosh	*pep in*
at Anto	*pep* drink

i.e., "When you go to Anto, a Melgars man shall go in front of you to the *pül* of Anto; when you come to Anto you shall drink *pep*." To this day, when the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* go in procession to Anto a Melgars man goes in front and the buffalo called Enmars drinks *pep* at Anto. At the same time Anto prophesied to Enmars that a misfortune would befall Teikuteidi, saying

"*wûrâdr*	*nols*	*Teikuteidi tan*	*ennâth*	*piriudkin,*	*at vokh!*"
"whole year	day	himself	without numbering	I will divide,	go away!"

When Teikuteidi heard of this prophecy he was much grieved, and was very careful to do all the following ceremonies:—*erkumptthiti*, *upatiti*, *punkudrtiti*, *tatmadthkudrtiti*, *petkudrtiti* *mukudrtiti*, *adikudrtiti*, *parivkudrtiti*, *tatòtiti*, *mudtiti*, *ponkastiti* and *irpalvusthi*—viz., sacrifice of calf, salt-giving, purification of *pun*, *tat* and *madth*, *pet*, *mu*, *adi* and *pariv*, etc.,[1] He performed all these ceremonies to escape the prophesied evil, for if he had succeeded in doing them all for the whole twelve months the prophecy would not have been fulfilled. On the very last day he forgot the prophecy and did not perform the ceremonies, but went to a place called Kirspem, where he sat under the shade of a *pülmän*. There is a flower which blossoms on this tree in the rainy season only, and then the bees come. When Teikuteidi was sitting under the tree it was not the rainy reason and he was very much surprised to hear the humming of honey bees in the tree. The noise was being made by a *kasun*[2] which had taken the form of a

[1] I do not know exactly to which ceremonies *tatòtiti* and *mudtiti* refer. The words mean "he takes the *tat*" and "he takes the *mu*," and evidently refer to some dairy ceremonial. *Ponkastiti* probably means that he kept *pon* throughout the year- *i.e.*, gave or sold nothing from his dairy during the year.

[2] A spirit which brings death (see p. 403).

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bee. He looked up to see if there were any flowers to attract the bees and could not see them, neither could he see any bees. Then he thought for a little while and remembered Anto's prophecy, so he did not remain under the tree, but went away to Kirsgòrs to attend the funeral of a *wursol* of Nòdrs (see p. 439). When the funeral was over Teikuteidi set out with companions to go to Kerkars (a place near Paikara). On the way they passed Kwongudrpem (near Kuudi). There he stopped and began to count his companions; he counted them, but forgot to include himself, saying that there were twenty when they started and now only nineteen, and he thought for a long time who the lost person could be. When he was looking in the direction of the funeral-place for the lost companion, he saw a lame man named Keikarskutan, who had a *purs* and *ab* (bow and arrow). Keikarskutan lay down and shot the arrow [1] and it came towards Teikuteidi with a sound like a bird's voice. Teikuteidi was looking to see what sort of bird it was when the arrow pierced both his eyes [2] and he died. When his companions found that he was dead, they held the funeral at Kerâs, and at the place where he died they made a mark with four stones like a cross, one for his head, one for his legs and one for each hand.

Kwoten was responsible for various features of the organisation of the Pan people. He divided them into two parts, the Panol and Kuirsiol, and also divided the *ti* into two parts, the *wars ti*, which was to belong to the Panol, and the *tars ti* to the Kuirsiol. He settled that the *palol* of the *ti* should be chosen from the people of Keadr. When there is a funeral in any clan a *palol* belonging to that clan must give up his office; hence, in order that his *ti* should never be without a *palol*, Kwoten separated the people of Keadr into two divisions, the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol, so that a member of one division might be *palol* if a member of the other division died.

[1] When Keikarskutan shot the bow and arrow he lay down. According to my informants, Keikarskutan lay down to shoot the bow and arrow because he was lame, but shot it in the ordinary way and did not use his legs in doing so. Breeks, who gives a brief version of this legend, was told that the arrow was shot by means of the legs and refers to this method as the ancient Indian custom.

[2] I give this as it was told.

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This was the origin of the division of the Keadr people into the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol.

One day Kwoten went to the *wars ti* of Pan and took buttermilk and slept there, and he did the same at the *arsaiir ti* of Kwòdrdoni, and since that day the people of Pan have had the privilege of taking buttermilk and sleeping at the places of each *ti*.

Kwoten also made two *teiks* (stones or wooden posts at which buffaloes are killed at the funerals), the *parsteiks* for the Panol and the *kirshteiks* for the Kuirsiol.

[177] It is owing to the example of Kwoten that the Todas now take meals in Kurumba villages. Before his time they had never done so, but Kwoten one day went to a Kurumba village and took food, and since that time all Todas have done so.

Kwoten was also the first Toda to go to a Kota village. He wanted one day to go to Mitur in the Wainad, and as it was getting dark and he was still on his way, he went to the Kota village of Kulgadi (Gudalur). He sat on their *tiin*, or bed, got new pots and food from them, and, taking both to the stream called Marspa or Marsva, he cooked and ate the food there, and then, returning to the village, slept on a Kota *tiin*. Since that time Todas have gone to that village, and have done as Kwoten did, but they will not go to any other Kota village,

One day Kwoten went with Erten of Keadr, who was spoken of as his servant, to Pòni, in the direction of Polkat (Calicut). At Pòni there is a stream called Palpa, the commencement of which may be seen on the Kundahs. Kwoten and Erten went to drink water out of the stream at a place where a goddess (*teu*) named Terkosh had been bathing. When Kwoten was about to drink from his hands, he found in the water a long golden hair; he measured the length of the hair and found it was greater than his height; he had a long stick in his hand called *pirs*, and found that the hair was longer than this stick. Then he asked Erten about it. Erten knew it was the hair of a *teu*, but thought it best not to tell Kwoten, and tried to persuade him that it was of no importance, and proposed that they should return home.

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Kwoten, however, insisted on finding out from whom the hair came, so they went along the stream. Kwoten went first and Erten had to follow him. As they went they met the bird called *karpùls* going from the right side to the left,[1] uttering its cry. Kwoten asked Erten why they met the bird, why it went from right to left, and why it made a cry. Erten replied as follows:—

"*Nòdr udoi*	*kwudrpedrshai; Naraian tami kaipedrshai.*"
"Country (God) if there is	you will die; Naraian will kill you."

In spite of this warning, Kwoten persisted in going on, and finally they came to Terkosh, who said to Kwoten, "Do not come near me, I am a *teu*." Kwoten paid no heed to this, but said; "You are a beautiful woman," and went and lay with her. Then Terkosh went away to her hill at Pòni, where she is now, and to this day the Kurumbas go there once a year and offer plantains to her and light lamps in her honour.

Kwoten and Erten returned home. Kwoten went to Kepurs, a village now in ruins, close to Nanjanad, and Erten went to a village called Kapthòri belonging to the Keadrol. Kwoten had about five hundred buffaloes grazing at Pazhmokh, near Kepurs. That night Kwoten slept on the *idrtul* over which he had spread a sambhar skin. He had on his finger a thick silver ring, which may still be seen at Naters and is used in the funeral ceremonies of men of the Pan clan. When the people awoke next morning they found that Kwoten had disappeared and that there only remained, lying on the sambhar skin, the silver ring and some *pug*.[2] Kwoten had been carried away by Terkosh and it was found that his five hundred buffaloes had also disappeared.

When Erten got up next morning he went to Kepurs and called out to the *wursol* of that place, "*Wursolia, tar tûrzhodthrska*"[3]—"O *wursol*, is the man up yet?" The *wursol*

[1] To meet this bird going from right to left is a bad omen; if going from left to right, it is a good omen.

[2] I could not find out the exact meaning of this word, but it appeared to be a name for the blood-stained froth which may come from the mouth of a dying man. In a sentence which occurs later the word appears as *pògh* (blood), but my informants were certain that *pug* itself is not blood.

[3] See p. 616.

173 replied, "*Piilmâv tars pògh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin
773 blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Aroth pun pârs Pâlmän*
776 *kwark putvai, nadrtivadr*"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wursol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakhudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wursol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk [762] also strangled themselves with *kakhudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pòni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seizâr zon, Kwoten âr zon, Seizâr zon, Terkosh âr zon.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *âr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Taradr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that [735] place were sent to him. Very little is related about the third brother, Elnâkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

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Elnâkhum is said to have built the long wall which still exists at the village of Nòdrs. 173

The story of Kwoten reads very much like that of a man who really lived and was deified after his death. The minute detail with which several of the natural incidents of his life are known might be held to point in this direction, but perhaps more important is the fact that his ring can still be seen, and that his spear was, according to Breeks, in existence not long ago. It looks as if Kwoten was a man who raised Pan from a comparatively insignificant position among the Todas to be one of their chief clans, and was the means of introducing several innovations in Toda custom. It is probable that he was deified after his death, and that some of the incidents of his life have acquired miraculous characters. 773 776 [618]

Kwoto or Meilitars

There was once a man belonging to Melgars who married a woman of Kanòdrs and took her to Melgars. When she became pregnant, the woman was taken by her husband to Kanòdrs. On the way back to Melgars they passed Ushadr, the place where the funeral ceremonies of Melgars men took place. They were standing in front of the funeral hut at that place when the man found a good *twadri* tree,[1] and, cutting three or four sticks from it, brought them to his wife, who stripped the bark from the sticks. While she was doing this, the pains of labour came on, and soon after she gave birth to a gourd (*kem*). Both husband and wife were very much ashamed, and they decided to say that a child had been born and had died, and the man went round to all the villages to say that this had happened and that the funeral would be held at Ushadr. Accordingly they had the *etvainolkedr* (first funeral ceremony) at Ushadr, the gourd being covered with a *putkuli* (cloak), so that it was taken to be the body of a child.

First the buffaloes were caught and killed, and then the supposed corpse was taken to the burning-place, where a fire

[1] Probably the tree or bush from which the material called *twadrinar* is manufactured by the Todas.

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173 was made and the gourd in its mantle was put on the fire.
773 The fire first burnt the cloak, and when it reached the gourd,
776 this broke into two pieces. One piece became a little baby, a boy, which took a piece of the burnt cloak and went away in the air to Neikhârs, where there is a big tree, under which it alighted. The other piece of the gourd was split into many fragments by the heat of the fire, and some of the fragments were driven with such force that they killed a kite which had come to the funeral. (To this day the kite does not eat the buffaloes at funerals at Ushadr, though it does so at other places.) The father and mother followed the child to Neikhârs, where they found it sitting on the tree.[1] The father and mother said to the child "*Ena, itvâ*"—"My son, come here," and the boy came down and went to them, and was taken away by his parents to Melgars.

As the parents and child were on their way to Melgars they met the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* going from Kòn to Enòdr. At that time the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars used to go with the *ti* buffaloes as far as a place called Irgûdrval, on the way between Kars and Enòdr. A Kars man went with the buffaloes, and he wore on his right wrist a gold bracelet (which is still kept at Kuzhu). At Irgûdrval there is a stone called Pidûtkars, and it was the duty of the man with the bracelet to sit on this stone and to make the Melgars buffaloes pass on the right side, the Kars buffaloes on the left side, and the *ti* buffaloes in the middle. When he had done this, the *palol* prayed at the stone, and then the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars turned back and the *ti* buffaloes went on to Enòdr. When the man and his wife saw the buffaloes coming, they waited near Pidûtkars, and while they were waiting the baby laughed. The father asked the boy, "Why do you laugh?" The boy answered, "I know the *kwarzam*[2]

[1] My informants could not say whether the boy went away in the air as a child or as a kite. The boy often assumed the form of a kite later, and it is tempting to suppose that the assumption of this form by the child was connected with the death of the kite, *i.e.*, that it was a case of transmigration. The fact that the child went away in the air and was found sitting on a tree makes it highly probable that it flew in the form of a kite, but my informants could not say that this was definitely part of the legend.

[2] The *kwarzam* is the name used in prayer (see Chap. X).

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of the *ti* buffaloes, *peruer persagun*; I know the *kwarzam* of the Melgars buffaloes, *narsüln natüln nâkh*; also I know the *kwarzam* of the Kars buffaloes, *inâtvidshti inâtvan*; that is why I laughed." After the buffaloes had gone on to Enòdr, the parents and child went on their way to Melgars. After they had been at Melgars fifteen days, they noticed that the child grew so rapidly that they could see him getting bigger from day to day, and he was soon grown up. He was called Kwoto.

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One day Kwoto went into the buffalo pen and played there with the buffalo-dung, so that he was covered with the dust of the dung. His father rebuked him and was blowing on him to get rid of the dust when the boy changed into a kite and flew away. The next day he resumed human form, but from that time he only stayed in the village at times, and at other times stayed in the woods. This went on for about eight days, and then he refused to take food from the village and became a companion of the gods.

At this time the gods used to hold councils on the slopes below a hill called Tikalmudri. The place where they sat was called Pòlkab. When the gods were holding council at Pòlkab, Kwoto went and sat on the top of the hill Tikalmudri. Then the gods said to one another, "How is it that he sits on the top of the hill while we sit below? It is not at all good." They consulted together and decided to kill him. So three or four of the gods went to Kwoto and said in a cunning way, "We will show you your country" (*i.e.*, the place which should belong to him; each of the gods had his appointed place). So they took him to a steep precipice called Teipâper, and having deceived him that they would show him his country, they threw him down. Kwoto, however, was not killed, but took the form of a kite and flew back to Tikalmudri. Then all the gods were surprised that he was not dead, but decided to try and kill him again, and they took him to the hill Kòdrtho, near Nidrsi, and threw him down. (The hill Kòdrtho was inhabited by the god Kòdrtho.) Kwoto was not killed, but pulled up a bamboo tree with its roots, and flew back and struck Kòdrtho on the head, and Kòdrtho's head split into three pieces. One of these pieces is now the well-known

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173 hill, the Drug, seen from Coonoor, while the other two pieces
773 are eminences on the ridge running out to the Drug.
776 Kwoto then returned to Tikalmudri. The gods said, "We cannot kill him; he has some power; let us try his power." So they gave him the following task:

"*Poiwi*	*tirikwô,*	*ptôtr*	*ptrikwô?*"
Low	turn	high	fill?

i.e., "Can he turn the low stream and fill the high stream?" (According to another account the words in which the task was given were, "*Alvoi tiriki, Kalvoi ptrsvôka,*" *i.e.*, "Can he turn the stream Alvoi and fill the stream Kalvoi?")

Kwoto then took a huge stone, which may still be seen near Kanòdrs, and put it in the stream so that it flowed upwards. Then the stream begged Kwoto, "We are going upwards according to your order, but it is very difficult for us; we wish to be allowed to go our ordinary way." So Kwoto took away the stone and the stream resumed its natural course.

The gods saw what Kwoto had done and decided to try his power in another way, so they said:

"*Kônôr*	*ôt,*	*kutei*	*kurs*	*ôtia?*"
Sun	tie,	stone	chain	can he do?

i.e., "Can he tie the sun with a stone chain?" Kwoto then took a stone chain and tied it to the sun and brought the sun down to Nern, near Kanòdrs, and tied it to a tree. When the sun wanted to drink, Kwoto took it to the stream Kalvoi, from which the sun drank, and there is now to be seen a hole in this stream at the place where the sun drank.[1] Then Kwoto took the sun to a pool surrounded by trees called Nerpoiker, also near Kanòdrs. While the sun was tied in this way, it was dark both in this world and in Amnòdr. Then the people of Amnòdr came to the gods and asked why they allowed Kwoto to do these things, and said that they were now living in thick darkness, and they begged that Kwoto should be allowed to put the sun back in its right place. Then the gods went to Kwoto and asked him to put the sun

[1] This place is close to the spot at which the path from Pishkwoshi (Bikkapattimand) to Kodanad crosses a stream soon after leaving the former village.

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back, and they acknowledged that he was a god and the most powerful of the gods. They said that he should no longer be called Kwoto, but that his name should be Meilitars, because he was superior to all the gods; also that he should go "*parnur nòdr, putnur nòdr*," "to 1,600 places, 1,800 places," *i.e.*, he should not belong to one place only, like the other gods, but should go everywhere.

Then Meilitars put back the sun in its proper place.

(According to another version, the task of tying the sun was given in the words:

"*K'ònòr*	*di*,	*pirnagum*	*patrònd*?"
Male buffalo	tie,	sun	can he catch?

The sun was said to have been at this time sitting on the back of a male buffalo, and Kwoto was told to tie the buffalo and catch the sun. According to this account Kwoto first used an iron chain, *kabantagars*, which was melted by the heat of the sun. Next he tried a bronze (?) chain called *kuchtagars*, which also melted. Then he used a stone chain, or *karstagars*, which did not melt, and he succeeded in tying the sun with this. This version of the story corresponds with that given by Breeks.)

Kwoto or Meilitars was closely connected with two clans, those of Melgars and Kanòdrs. It is said to be owing to the fact that Kwoto was a Melgars man that Melgars people have the special privileges and duties which are peculiar to that clan. At any rate, this is the view held by the people of Melgars. At Kanòdrs, the name of Kwoto occupies a prominent place in the prayer of the dairy, and several of the special features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs dairy are said to exist in consequence of the many wonderful things which Kwoto had done in its neighbourhood. When new buttermilk has to be made for Kanòdrs, it is made at a place called Kautarmad, far away, because Kwoto made new buttermilk there, and in the ceremony at this place earth is taken from certain places from which Kwoto took it.

Kwoto or Meilitars is the hero of several stories, in none of which does he play a very creditable *rôle*.

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

173 world and Amnòdr. Those who were dead stayed perman-
773 ently in Amnòdr, but living people could go to visit them
775 and return. One day Punatvan of Kars went with Meilitars to Amnòdr. They stayed there two days and two nights, and then Meilitars came away without Punatvan's knowledge. At that time the people of Kars were living at Nasmiòdr, so Meilitars went to Nasmiòdr and said that Punatvan intended to stop in Amnòdr, and wished the Kars people to perform the funeral ceremonies for him, killing thirty buffaloes. So the Kars people caught thirty buffaloes, the chief one being called Enmon. Round the neck of Enmon were hung the two bells (*wursuli mani*) called Karsod and Kòni. They cut a piece of stick and put it in a *putkuli* to represent the dead body and then killed the thirty buffaloes. As the buffaloes were on their way to Amnòdr, they met Punatvan on his way back. Punatvan asked the chief buffalo, Enmon, "Why do you come here?" Then Enmon told him what Meilitars had done. The man and buffalo put their heads together and cried, and their tears became a pool of water.[1] Then Punatvan took the two bells from the neck of Enmon and sent them back to Nasmiòdr, where they are kept to this day, but he returned to Amnòdr with the buffaloes. Then Ön, the ruler of Amnòdr, ordered that in future no one should return to the world of the living from Amnòdr, and since that day the Todas have not been able to go to and fro between the two worlds as they used to do.

173 At the present time the people of Keradr have no *ti*. Once
773 they had a *ti* which they lost through the action of Kwoto, who
776 went one day to their dairy at Tikirs, near Mòdr, and, hiding the *kaltmokh* in the wood, took his place. When the *palol* milks, it is the duty of the *kaltmokh* to let out the calves and send them to the *palol*. Kwoto did not do this properly, but sent more calves than were required, so the *palol* became angry and took his stick (*kwoiwrtpet*) to beat the supposed *kaltmokh*, but the stroke missed and fell on the *palol* himself.

000 Another day the *palol* told Kwoto to pour out the re-

[1] This pool has been converted into the Marlimund reservoir, the source of the water-supply of Ootacamund.

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Another day the palal told Kwoto to pour out the re-

mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of 173
doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the butter- 753
milk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends small- 773
pox.[1] Then the *palal* became very angry and said he would 776
no longer be *palal*, if he had to keep such a *kaltwokh*. Then 886
Kwoto revealed to the *palal* and to the real *kaltwokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mòvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

After giving *mòvòmad* to the *palal* and *kaltwokh*, Kwoto 173
sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the 773
buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all 776
went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palal* and *kaltwokh* when they are talking to one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part 173
is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received 177
several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy 262
myself which was correct.

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur 773
in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with 776
these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

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173 pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of
177 the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a
262 god and said that he would dance before them, and did so
773 like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever
776 he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *tesol*, or diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meiltars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (*Panyas*), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat the flesh of a calf while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *ershwpttkpimi* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *ershwpttkpimi* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

Other Gods

773 There are very many other deities. Of the following I can
776 give little more than the names.

Atinto is the *nidvadchi* of the Kwödrdoni clan and also of Pedrkars. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

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●773 Konto or Konteu is the *nödrolchi* of the Panol, and lives on
776 the hill Konto, to which fire is set by the *palol* of the Kars or Pan *ti* (see Chap. XIII).

Kòdrtho is the *nödrolchi* of Nidrsi. He played a part in the history of Kwoto, and according to some accounts he was the *mau*, or maternal uncle, of this god.

Near the source of the Paikara river, there is a cave in which there is a pool called Alvoi. Sometimes this pool gives forth a loud bubbling noise, and this is believed to be due to a *teu* dipping himself in the water. The name of the god is Alvoi Kalvoi, Kalvoi, situated at some distance from the pool, being a hill on which the god usually lives.

There are other gods about whose histories I have no information. Tiligush is the *nödrolchi* of Pàm and Karadr of Taradr. Pòrzo inhabits a hill near Nòdrs, and Karzo, a hill near Kars, and the names of other gods, such as Kaladrvan, Teikhun, Peigwa, Karmunteu, Kondilteu and Mundilteu, are mentioned in the prayers of the *ti* dairies.

114 In addition to these, who are certainly true Toda gods, the
177 Todas also pay respect to the gods of the other tribes on the Nilgiris, while occasionally the names of Hindu gods are men-
776 tioned in their ceremonies. If a Toda be asked if he worships one of these gods, he will almost certainly assent, but at the same time he distinguishes them from his own gods. The only deity who seemed to be confused with their own gods by some of the Todas was Petkon, whose Badaga name was said to be Betakarasami. Breeks calls him Betikhan, and states that he is a hunting god; and according to some Todas Petkon was a son of Teikirzi.

Previous accounts of the Toda gods have been very erratic. Some writers have given the names of Hindu gods. Breeks gives the names of dairies as those of gods, though he also records abbreviated versions of several of the stories given in this chapter. The most curious account, however, of the Toda gods is that of Marshall, who gives[1] the following as the names of five gods which are muttered when milk is put on the sacred bells:—Ânmungâno, Godingâtho, Beligoshu, Dekultria, and Kazudâva. We puzzled over these words for

[1] P. 142.

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history of the dairy. *Eikisiev* is the *kwarnam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuudr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground became swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring and is called *kisutr*. The two following *kwarnam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. *Karstam* is the *kwarnam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathâmûk when it began to bellow and could not be induced to stop; the people tried to take it back to the pen, but it would not go and died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarnam* are followed by two referring to trees of ceremonial importance—one the tree by which is buried the *sw* on the integrity of which the continuity of the dairy procedure depends, while the other is connected with the sacred bell.

Then follow the *kwarnam* of a hill on which there are cairns and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarnam* of a different kind. The first refers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi, who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing we have seen that she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the form, "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes with the wand." The last *kwarnam* is that of the calf, from which the ordinary buffaloes or *putitr* of Kuudr are descended, but I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the words, except *nakk*, which is the name of a three-year-old buffalo.

In the Kuudr prayer several of the *kwarnam* refer to incidents of a more or less miraculous nature which are believed to have happened at the village where the prayer is used, while the last *kwarnam* but one refers to one of the chief events of Toda mythology.

It will be noticed that many of the *kwarnam* used in this prayer correspond very closely to the names in ordinary use. Some, such as *heitaidi* and *trikkwadiki*, are the same words as those in general use, while others differ from

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p. 116. Then follows a *kwarzam* relating to an incident which is probably recent. The *palol* of this *ti* used to make seven heaps of the dung of the buffaloes. There is a law that the dung should not be sold, which the *palol* disobeyed, and soon after a fire broke out suddenly from the seven heaps, and this event is commemorated in the prayer by means of the *kwarzam* meaning "seven heaps of buffalo-dung, fire set buffaloes," and is included among the *kwarzam* relating to buffaloes, probably because there was a belief that the anger of the buffaloes was the cause of the fire.

The buffalo *kwarzam* are followed by eleven referring to the bells of the *ti* and to the dairy, pen and spring of Makars, and these are followed by *kwarzam* referring to the other places of the *ti*—viz., Enòdr, Pars, Neradr, and Kòn. In each case there are said the *kwarzam* of the dairy, pen, spring, and place except in the case of Neradr, where for some reason the *kwarzam* of the spring is omitted.

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The feature of the Makars prayer which is especially interesting is the reference to legend in the *kwarzam*. This reference occurs in the Kuudr prayer and in those of Kanòdrs and Anto, but the references are far more elaborate in the Makars prayer. These references were very useful in providing incidental confirmation of the details of legends previously obtained, while in other cases they put me on the track of stories which I might otherwise have failed to obtain. One point of interest connected with them is that, in the absence of the legends, they might easily be supposed to be meaningless sentences. We have seen that there is reason to believe that the Todas are forgetting much of their mythology, and if the legends referred to in the Makars prayer should be forgotten, these *kwarzam* would become meaningless formulæ. This appears to have happened already in some cases; there were certain *kwarzam* of which I could obtain no translation; thus, all the *kwarzam* of the clans and villages were of this nature and could not be explained, though they almost certainly had a definite origin. A good instance of a *kwarzam* which is on its way towards a similar fate is that at the end of the Kuudr prayer. The meaning of only one word was clear —viz., *nàkh*—while *maj* was probably the word for cloud, and

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the *kwarzam* appears to refer to some incident of legend in which a three-year-old calf and a cloud were concerned, but I could obtain no record of the incident, nor of the legend of which the incident was a feature.

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I have treated these formulæ of the dairy as prayers, and I think there can be very little doubt that they are of the nature of supplications, and are believed to invoke the aid of the gods in protecting the sacred buffaloes. It must be confessed, however, that there is no actual evidence in the formulæ of direct invocation of the gods. The name of no god is mentioned in the vocative form. In some prayers there is barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' be limited to the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops.

The exact relation between the formula and the gods largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is not quite clear. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is evident that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned, followed by the words *âtham idith eink tânenmâ*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

There is little doubt that the Todas offer prayers to their gods in their ordinary daily life, altogether apart from the dairy ritual. I was told by one man that when anyone leaves an *ctudmad* he should pray that he may return safely, and in this case my informant said that he prayed to Teikirzi. Unfortunately I did not ask the exact form of the prayer, and do not know whether the goddess was invoked by name or whether *kwarzam* were uttered of the same form as in the prayer of the dairy. We may, however, be confident that the idea of supplication to the gods is not foreign to the Toda mind.

We shall see later that in the formulæ used in Toda sorcery, the names of gods are mentioned, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formulæ. In the magical formulæ the evidence of appeal to deities is somewhat stronger than in the case of the dairy formulæ,

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time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions, and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of function, though the means used continue to show a close resemblance. 771 788 754 793

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

Omens

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meeting certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird called *karpüls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus. 787 925 779 177

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When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful. 234

The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Harkness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gompts*." A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself. 114 782 796

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf. 773 782 796

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
796 know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Erkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned:
788 *Atthkâr* and *Ôners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
621 *Moskar* and *Manîthi* (Ôdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsûlh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Ttindzuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsêram parsêram*, *Nòtlrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Ôdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Taradr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panîpikârs, nor do they cross Püvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

Origin of Funeral Customs

773 763 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrûvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

764 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

192 [1] *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes by which they were borne. 234 778

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one time to have been more sacred, or to have received more definite signs of reverence than at the present time. The evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mod* at Makars was a very human animal. [773]

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *palol* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals. 234 778 788

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world. 234 778

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the

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Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas. 234 177 437

Other Animals

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence which I possess concerning their relations with animals in general. 773 778 825

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

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At an ordinary village the stones usually belong to one of the following classes:— 778

(*a*) Stones to mark off boundaries or places, such as the *majvatvaikars*, marking the path or spot used by the women in fetching buttermilk from the dairy. 487 211

(*b*) Stones used in the ceremonies in which offerings are made, the *irnörtkars* and the *pilinörtkars*.

(*c*) Funeral stones, at which the buffaloes are killed. These are, of course, only found at funeral villages, but there are certain other stones, such as the *imudrikars*, which may be found in any village. Such a stone may mark the spot where the body is laid, or may even, as in the case of the *imudrikars* of Kars, form a mound on which the body is laid.

(*d*) Stones in or near the *tu* or buffalo pen, such as the *mutchudkars* and *pudothkars*. I do not know the origin or use of these, but in some villages there are stones in the pen marking the places where the *mu* or dairy vessels are buried, and it is possible that the above stones are in some way connected with the buried dairy-vessels.

(*e*) The lifting stone or *tukitthkars*. This is usually a large round stone which sometimes resembles in appearance stones of a ceremonial character.[1]

(*f*) Commemorative stones. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 13), and certain stones with the same name lying between Nòdrs and Teidr, had their origin in events connected with the death of a man belonging to the village of Teidr who was once *wursol* at Nòdrs. When he was told to milk one of the buffaloes, he replied, "If I milk it, the milk will not fill this place," pointing to a small depression on his thumb. Still the people told him to milk, and when he did so the milking-vessel was completely filled. Then the *palikartmokh* was very angry, and, taking the wand which the *wursol* was carrying, he struck him so that he flew in the air and fell down midway between Nòdrs and Teidr. When the people came to the place they found that the man was dead, and they tried to take up his body and carry it to the funeral place. But 211 778 773

[1] Burton (*Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 316) brands the Todas as inveterate liars, because, evidently owing to some misunderstanding, he was told that a "putting stone" was the "grandfather of the gods."

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211 the body would not move and so they held the funeral on the
773 spot and made a *tu*. At the entrance of the *tu* they placed
two women carrying pounders[1] in place of the posts or *tüli*,
778 and these women were changed into stones and their pounders
became the *tasth* of the entrance of the pen. The stones
which are now found on the spot are the remains of the pen
and the *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs marks the spot where the *wursol*
milked the buffalo.

In the village of Tovalkan there is a mound shown in Fig.

FIG. 59.—THE MEMORIAL OF KEIREVAN.

59 which is much like the *imudrikars* of Kars, but it is of modern origin, having been made to mark the spot where Keirevan (26) fell out of a tree and was killed.

(*g*) Stones connected with special features of the dairy ceremonial. I only know of one stone of this kind at a village, the *pàrsatthkars* of Nidrsi, on which the *palikartwokh* puts milk every morning and evening.

778 Stones are often used for more than one purpose; thus, the

[1] It will be remembered that at the *amrumkoir* of a woman, two women stand at the entrance of the *amram* one of whom holds a pounder in her hands.

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THE GODS

The Toda gods are definitely anthropomorphic beings, who are believed to have lived in this world before man existed. Both man and buffalo were created by the gods, and the Todas seem to picture a time when gods, men, and buffaloes lived together on the Nilgiri Hills, and the gods ruled the men. At this time the gods seem to have lived much the same kind of life as the Todas themselves. Ön was *palol* to the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, his son Püv was *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, and other gods are believed to have filled dairy offices. From the earliest times, however, the gods were connected with the hills—*i. e.*, they were believed to dwell on the summits of the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. At first they seem to have mixed at times in human society and at other times to have retired to their hill-tops. The earliest of the gods was Pithi, who was born in a cave, and the Todas and many of their buffaloes were created by his son Ön and his wife. Later death came to the gods in the person of Püv, the son of Ön and Ön followed Püv to the world of the dead, called Amnòdr, of which he has since been the ruler. He left behind him as predominant among the deities Teikirzi, a goddess, who ruled over the Todas. It is to her that the origin of most of the Toda institutions is ascribed, and there is some reason to think that she was predominant among the gods even before Ön went to Amnòdr.

The Todas seem to believe that Teikirzi was at one time a person living among them, giving laws and regulating the affairs of the people. At the present time she is believed to be all-pervading; and, though she has her special hill, she does not dwell there only, as in the case of all but one of the other Toda deities.

There seem to have been many other gods contemporaneous with Ön and Teikirzi, and certain of these are believed to have been related to these deities and especially to Teikirzi. The gods are believed to be very numerous: the Todas speak of the 1,600 gods, the 1,800 gods, but it would seem that these expressions are used in the sense of "an infinite

773 number." The gods are believed to have held their councils,
776 meeting on some special hill, to which each god came from his own hill-top. The hill of Pòlkab, near Kanòdrs, and the
823 village of Miuni are both renowned as meeting places of the gods.

There is a very definite association between the Toda gods and the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. Nearly every one of the gods has his hill where he dwells, and often when speaking of the gods the Todas seem to identify the god with the hill. There are two river gods, Teipakh and Pakhwar, associated with the two chief streams of the district, but there is some reason to believe that even these gods have their hills where they sometimes live, while at other times they inhabit or are identified with their streams. In the case of Teipakh, the god and the natural object seem to be very closely identified, and Kuzkarv, growing up in the river Teipakh, is said to be sitting in the lap of his maternal uncle. Again, one god is associated with a bubbling pool, but he also has his hill-top and is believed only to visit the pool on certain occasions. There can be little doubt that most of the Toda gods are hill-deities and that the association of the gods with hills is so strong that even the gods of streams and pools may be assigned their hills in general belief.

172 There is one important feature which is said to be common to all the hills inhabited by deities. They all have on their summits the stone circles which the Todas call *pun*. My informants were very definite about this and fully understood that these stone circles corresponded to the cairns and barrows opened by Breeks and others.

I was not able to examine into the question for myself and ascertain whether the circles called *pun* were actually present on the god-inhabited hills, but I have no reason to doubt that this was usually the case. Most writers on the Todas have been inclined to suppose that the cairns and barrows, with their contents, were in no way connected with the Todas, and they have based this opinion largely on the indifference of the Todas to these monuments. The people who are so jealous of their dairies that they will not allow anyone to enter or even view their contents, will allow any stranger to open the

776 very vague. On the other hand, certain gods of obviously more recent origin seem to be replacing, to some extent, the older gods. The lives of Kwoten and Meilitars can be related by many in great detail, but though they seem to inspire more interest among the Todas I cannot say that I observed anything to show that they receive any special worship or reverence. [773] Meilitars is especially mentioned in the Kanòdrs prayer, but this would only put him on a level with many objects of no great amount of sanctity. The attitude of the Todas towards these two beings seemed to me to be rather that of people towards heroes than towards gods, though the mythology has raised them to the level of the gods.

771 Nevertheless, the idea of "god" is highly developed among the Todas and I am inclined to believe that the most satisfac-
776 tory explanation of the Tòda deities is that the people came to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes have been raised to the ranks of the gods and that the lives of these heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the progress towards complete obliviscence; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods.

The Todas, then, show us a stage of religious belief in which gods once believed to be real, living among men and intervening actively in their affairs, have become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible and intervening in the affairs of men in a mysterious manner and chiefly in the case of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given.

771 The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom
788 of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated

588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol*
616 went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give
837 the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[723] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nôtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming
837 a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage. A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.
[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

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In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Pardon, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

SUICIDE

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on sûdr hati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

THE MONEGAR

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

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Astronomical Ideas

772 821 We have already seen that the Todas reverence the sun, and that the period of the moon is of the greatest importance in the regulation of the times for their ceremonies. In this chapter we have to deal with their views as to the nature of these bodies and of the stars.

The Sun

The Todas believe that when the sun goes down in the west, it goes to Amnòdr. The same sun illuminates both worlds, and this is shown very well in the story of Kwoto; when this demi-god tied down the sun, there was darkness both in this world and in the other, and the people of Amnòdr joined with those of this world in imploring that the sun should be restored to its proper place.

When the Todas know that there is going to be an eclipse of the sun, they abstain from food, but they do not shout out during the eclipse as we shall see they do in the case of the moon. When the eclipse is over, they have a feast with *ashkkartpimi*.

The Moon

The new moon is called *mut* and the full moon *nêrv*. We have already seen the enormous influence of the period of the moon in Toda ceremonial and I have given above the method of counting between the periods of new and full moon so as to know the correct day of the new moon if for any reason it should not be visible.

772 773 821 The Todas see a figure in the moon which they call *mârs*, the hare.[1] The following story not only shows how the hare comes to be there, but also furnishes the explanation of eclipses of the moon and the origin of the Paikara river.[2]

Two men who were *matchuni* (see p. 501) went out one day to fetch honey. After a time they separated, and one

[1] In India the marks on the moon are frequently supposed to represent a hare.

[2] For another version of this story obtained by Mr. Thurston, see *Bulletin*,

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found honey, while the other found none. The man who found the honey put it into a dairy vessel called *pus*, which he hid in a tree, and when he met the other did not tell him of his good fortune. After a time the *pus* containing honey which had been put in the tree suddenly broke, and the vessel became a snake, while the honey became the Paikara river. The snake ran after the man who had hidden the honey, and when the man saw the snake coming after him, he ran away. As he was being pursued, a hare came between the man and the snake. Then the man threw his cloak over the hare and hid himself, and the snake ran after the hare. The hare ran to the sky followed by the snake, and they came near the sun, which said, "Don't come near me because I am very hot. Go to the moon!" So the hare went to the moon, and the moon said, "Do not be afraid; I will protect you till the end of the world." The snake still goes sometimes to catch the hare in the moon, and when he goes the moon becomes dark and some people fire guns and send up rockets and the Todas shout. When it is known that there is going to be an eclipse the Todas abstain from food, and when they see the moon being eclipsed they shout out.

772 773 821

I was told that there was another incident of the story connected with shooting stars, but I was unable to obtain an account of it.

Planets

The Todas know Venus, which they call *Pili*, and they also speak of the "morning star."

772 821

Constellations and Stars

The Todas have names for several stars or constellations. The Pleiades are called *Kadsht* and the constellation is believed to be composed of six stars.

Another heavenly body which I could not identify is called *Keirt*. *Keirt* has already been mentioned in Chap. XIV., and it is the evil influence of this body which is chiefly feared after

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A Single Star called Ishthati is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishthati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishthati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*." 177 772 821

A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tidrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably η and ε Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky. 773 821 171

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tidrval*, and so one star is called *tidrvalmokh*. The *tidrval* still sings "*Kudursami ererrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tidrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas. 177 772 773 821

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

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177 time. The Kotas are mentioned in Toda legend. The
174 people of Tiugudr play a prominent part in the story of
773 Kwoten (p. 195), and this deity is said to have been the first Toda who stayed at a Kota village, viz., at the village of Kulgadi (or Gudalur). He sat and slept on the Kota *tôw* and since that time the Todas have stayed at this village, though they will not stay at any other. The relation between Kwoten and the Kotas seems to have been especially close. The old woman, Muturach, from whom the present people of Kanòdrs are descended, according to the legend, may have been a Kota. The Kotas who give tribute to the Todas are known as their *mutta* Kotas, and the first part of the old woman's name may have been this word.

Our acquaintance with Kota mythology is too scanty to contribute much to our knowledge of the relations between the two peoples. Breeks states that Kurguli (Padagula) is the oldest of the Kota villages, and that the Badagas believe that the Kotas of this village were made by the Todas. At Kurguli there is a temple of the same form as the Toda dairy, and this is said to be the only temple of the kind at any Kota village.

Breeks gives a legend which records the origin of the different foods of the Nilgiri tribes. Kambataraya, perspiring profusely, wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and out of these formed the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to live principally upon milk, the Kurumbas were permitted to eat the flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas were allowed perfect liberty, being informed that they might eat carrion if they could get nothing better. My interpreter, Albert, was told a different version of this legend, according to which Kambataraya gave to each people a pot. In the Toda pot was calf-flesh, and so the Todas eat the flesh of calves (*i.e.*, at the *ethumpettkpimi* ceremony); the Kurumba pot contained the flesh of a male buffalo, so this is eaten by the Kurumbas. The pot of the Kotas contained the flesh of a cow-buffalo, which may, therefore, be eaten by this people.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Todas and Kurumbas

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often 101
sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is 609
called *dr ādrikpaf*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them.

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from 177
the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrzi* or *tadri*, 437
which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *tsily*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood.

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas 177
and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical 754
powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubadrkiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge.

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. 177
With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could 787
not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *tiual*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners.

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. 177
According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto 773
deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were
773 deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

174 In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the
177 Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and
773 this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

Todas and Irulas

101 The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and
177 have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by
609 the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted
759 in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

177 The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection
773 of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwbdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their skewness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tên* or honey Kurumbas (Thurston, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 91).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

In this chapter I propose to give a short account of each of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan. 618

The Tarthar Clans

Nòdrs

The people of Nòdrs owe their special importance to their connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nòdrodchi*, or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed certain special favours on her people. Chief among these is the possession of the Nòdrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact that the Nòdrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nòdrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *tirkevat*, is also usually performed at a Nòdrs village. 123 773 618 234 554

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ordination ceremonies, and I was shown the spot under a tree where he has to sleep, the same spot being also used by the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* when they undergo any part of their ordination ceremonies at Odr. 234 621 773

Another feature of interest is the connexion of this village with Kuudr. An Ôdr man must be present at the *irpalvusthi* and salt-giving ceremonies of Kuudr, and a Kuudr man must attend when these ceremonies are performed at Ôdr. Further, the *kwarzam* of Ôdr are said in the prayer of the *erkumptthpini* ceremony at Kuudr and the *Kwarzam* of Kuudr are said at Ôdr.

The following legend records the origin of these customs:—

Soon after Teikirzi had given the buffaloes to the different villages, the buffaloes of Kuudr and Ôdr were grazing together, and when evening came they could not be separated and both herds went together to the funeral place called Keikars. The *wursol* of Ôdr and the *palikartmokh* of Kuudr brought their milking-vessels, each to milk his own buffaloes, and they also brought their churning-vessels (*patat*) and cooking-vessels. After they had milked, the *wursol* of Ôdr went to pour his milk into his *patat*, and when doing so some of the milk splashed into the vessel of the *palikartmokh*. They then cooked some food with the milk, and as the food was boiling strongly, some of it went from one cooking-pot to the other. Then the people of the two villages met and decided that, as the two kinds of buffalo had been milked in one place and the two kinds of milk had been mixed with one another, each of the villages should mention the *kwarzam* of the other in its prayer, and people of one village should attend the ceremonies of the other.

Tolshtsiri (Talapattaraimand). This is another important Nôdrs village. It was vacant at the time of my visit, but is still often occupied. It had at one time a dairy called *Okurzhapali* with seven rooms, which was, like that of Nôdrs, a *kudrpali*. It fell into disuse at the same time as the Nôdrs dairy, and its site is still quite distinct; but though it seemed larger than usual, I could discover no indication of the number of rooms it had had. When I visited the village there were nine ovens standing in a row, which had been used to cook the 234 621

554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpatadutkti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The Me'gars people themselves believed that their exceptional
618 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan.
773 They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so
224

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

678 For some time after the separation intermarriage was not
618 allowed between Kuudr and Pedrkars, but recently such
621 marriages have taken place, and several are recorded in the genealogies.

There are very few members of the clan, only seven males and five females. At present there is only one *kudr* and this has only one *pòlm*. Formerly there were two *kudr*, but one became extinct some time ago.

About three generations ago there was a quarrel between the people of Pedrkars and those of Piedr. A man of Pedrkars named Kavanadi had married a woman of Piedr and one day quarrelled with his wife's father. At Piedr there were at the entrance of the buffalo-pen two large wooden posts (*tüli*). After the quarrel Kavanadi went to Piedr and carried off both the posts with the wooden bars (*tasth*) by which the opening of the pen is closed. When Kavanadi had carried the posts and bars as far as a place called Kalin, near the Kota village of Tizgudr, a stone on the top of one of the *tüli* fell down. It may still be seen and is known as *Kalinkars*. Kavanadi went on, but he soon began to spit blood, and when he had gone some way further, he was obliged to drop the *tüli* at a place which is now called *Tülipudinpem*. He managed to reach his home at Pedrkars and then died. A council was held and it was decided that marriage should not be allowed in future between the Piedrol and Pedrkarsol, and no such marriages are recorded in the genealogies.

The stone called Kalinkars which fell by the way is now said to be able to move about and may be seen one day at one spot and on another day at another. The Kotas of Tizgudr have several times taken the stone to their village, but it has always gone back again. In spite of his unfortunate end, Kavanadi is regarded, more or less, as a hero by the Todas and is mentioned in the funeral eulogy of Pidrvan (p. 387).

621 All the villages of the Pedrkarsol are in the part of the
773 hills near Kwòdrdoni. Pedrkars itself is said to have been at
619 one time a *ti mad*. Some Tamil people once came to the hills and found some of the buffaloes of the *ti* standing by a

621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars*
● 773 *ama, kwòdr nòdr ama*," "may the Tamil stone become; may
618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name from this village.

KULHEM

184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol
554 among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to
618 sit on the *meitün* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr*
773 bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*, *kaltmokh*, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnörtits* to Kuudr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulthlem*, is near Kanòdrs.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of the dairies and priesthood. In 1826 the Rev. James Hough addressed a number of letters to the Bengal Hurkaru, giving an account of the Nilgiris and their inhabitants, and these letters were republished in a book in 1829. A more elaborate and most excellent account of the Todas was given by Captain Harkness in 1832, in a work entitled *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, and since that time very many of those who have visited the Nilgiri Hills have had something to say about the Todas and their ways. As I have already pointed out, these records from the earlier part of last century differ but little from my own, and do not furnish us with any evidence that Toda customs underwent any great change during that century.

As regards the evidence from Toda tradition, we are in no better case. Several writers have stated that the Todas believe that they came to the Nilgiris from elsewhere, but whenever I made any inquiries on this point I was assured that they had always been on the Nilgiri Hills, the first Toda having been created on the Kundahs in the manner already described.

It seems most probable that those who have ascribed such traditions to the Todas have been misled by the account of the Kamasòdrolam. These are the people who are believed to have been driven away from Kanòdrs by Kwoten (see p. 195). The Todas have a very sincere belief in the existence of these people, and when I showed one man the frontispiece in Marshall's book, representing a Toda village and its inhabitants, something unfamiliar in the arrangement of the scene made the man think that it must be a picture of the Kamasòdrolam. Any Toda who is asked whether there are other Todas and where they live will at once think of the Kamasòdrolam and will tell of these people, and the story might easily be mistaken for a tradition of their origin.

The Todas are also said to believe in their descent from Ravan, and I was told by one man that they were descended from the Pandavas, but I have little doubt that such beliefs are only recent additions to their mythology.

In studying the origin and history of the Todas we have

said Madge Wildfire, 'ye ken[3] very weel it's buried—but that signifies naething. I have had it on my knee a hundred times and a hundred times till that, since it was buried; and how could that be were it dead, ye ken? it's merely impossible.' CHAP. XVIII. 100

It is somewhat remarkable that the Todas should not only feel so confident in their immortality, but be without apprehension as to the future state; in the possibility that individually they may not attain to it. No such doubts arise to perplex their simple minds. Death is not a leap in the dark, but the contrary. The mode of thought—if thinking, it may be termed—by which they seem to set at rest this difficulty of more advanced and religious races, is too curious to be lost. 761 775

Their belief appears to be based on two considerations; one, what they know: the other, a sort of self-consciousness. 181 775

As regards the first, they *know* that they and their cattle were raised from the earth by the Great Unseen. This with them is a faith assured, as if the true story had been handed down from incontrovertible sources. They find themselves living, existing, breathing: they note the breath-life to leave the clay which returns to earth. But where does this breath-life go? The reply is contained in their *knowledge*. 'Tis a little sophistical perhaps, but an illogical jump is nothing with such people. They know that Todas and cattle live in amnôr; hence they are certain, with an absolute certainty, that this departed breath has gone there to join their forefathers. In this there is nothing more wonderful than that they rose from the soil! The subject is not worth thinking about! it has long been known! Thinking is difficult to the primitive mind. Best not to think! [773]

If with all our accumulated stores of information, we find the subject of a future state but little further advanced than it was ages ago, we can sympathise with a very simple people who have so few facts to work upon, and with whom the

[3] I would invite a comparison between this word ken, and the Toda words for I see, I dream, I smell, *et cetera*, in Chapter XXIX.

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning 773 of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his 533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there 538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought 173 about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought 773 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us, 776 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pâltchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute emuneration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,** *and Nātanēri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards, finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became com- 539 municative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda, 773 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mūttinād mund, near the top of the Segūr Ghât. † To the right of the Creermund road.

First Story.

A Pekkan* Ēn, and his wife who was with child, went from Kūltal mand to Okadnâdmand. The husband brought fibres of a thorn tree, and in due course the wife brought forth a pumpkin!†† The Pekkan said, "What! this child is dead, we must make a *Kôd*." They made a *Kôd*, and when the fire touched the pumpkin it split in two, and one half contained a male child; they brought it to Ootacamund, and it lived there, until one day the father found it playing in the kraal, and blew some dust on it, when it became a kite, and flew away. In those days the gods used to assemble on Doddabett, and the kite used to sit with them. One day the gods took counsel, saying "Why does the kite come here, let us drive him out;" so one of them, named Kodâtha, took the kite home to Kodâtha-betta (Hulikaldûrga), and pushed him over; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodâtha's head, so that it split into three pieces. Again the kite joined the assembly of the gods, who said, "The kite does everything; will he turn backwards the stream of Picwakmund? will he catch hold of the sun?" The kite turned back the stream, and tried to catch the sun, first with iron, then with bell-metal chains, both of which melted; at last he made the hook and part of the chain with stone, and caught the sun, and brought it down to Nérvânmand. Then the world was dark: then the gods went to the kite and said, "You are very great, let the sun go;" so he let the sun go, and the river return to its course.

Before death began, one Ēn, a Todi of Muttanâd Mand,‡ used to go to the other world and return, accompanied by Ponetwan of Okadnâdmand. One day when they were in the other world, the kite came and said to the people of Okadnâdmand, "Ēn and Ponetwan will not return, therefore tie bells to thirty buffaloes and make the *Kôd* ceremony on their account;" and they did so. As Ēn and Ponetwan returned, they met buffaloes with bells coming; so Ponetwan cried, "The kite has done this;" and he touched the buffaloes with his forehead and wept, and his tears became a spring of water; and he blew his nose and there sprang up a tree. Then both said, "They have killed buffaloes for us, we must go back to the other world;" so they went, and took the buffaloes with them. Afterwards a man died in a circle of stones on the right hand side of the road to Kalhatti.§ People tried to lift the body, but could not, so they burnt him there. As there were no posts to the circle, they made women with rice-pounders stand at the entrance all night, and next day the buffaloes were killed.

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* A Pekkan of Muttanâd Mand.

† Comp. *Ramayana*, book I, chap. xl. Sumati, the wife of king Sagara of Ayodhya, gave birth to a pumpkin, which broke, and from it issued the 60,000 sons she had been promised. Afterwards the 60,000 were reduced to ashes in an encounter with Vishnu, but obtained Swarga on being sprinkled by the Ganges, by the advice of Garuda, whose appearance seems to make it possible that the Toda story may really be a corruption of this very old legend.

‡ To the left hand of the Sigûr road, near the top of the Ghât close to Seven Cairn hill. The "Ron" (Plate xxiv.) is on this road, which from the position it holds in all these stories, I imagine to be one of the oldest.

§ Nearly opposite Muttanâd Mand. There are several circles here, some apparently kraals. I dug out the circle built on rock and found that it had nowhere more than a foot of soil above the rock, so that the posts could not have been fixed. There are many *kodrans* on a neighbouring hill, and the place seems to have been an old funeral mand. This story looks like an invention to account for this abortive kraal, when the real story was forgotten.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

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As the Paikāra *Tiriari* buffaloes had gone with Ēn and Ponetwan, Pūrsh, Ēn's daughter, went to the other world and brought them back. But when they returned, they said, "We will not give you our milk, Pūrsh; let our calves have it." Pūrsh went and told this to Ēn, who said, "Give the *Tīd* tree bark to the buffaloes, and they will cease to speak, and you can take their milk." Again, Pūrsh went to ask for the golden milk-vessels and churn, which she had left in the other world; but Ēn said, "You left them here, and I will not give them back: use bamboos for milk vessels, and make a churn with five branches like the kafie flower,* and do not come here any more."

When Ēn was gone, there was no head of the Todas, so Pūrsh was made head; and she lived at Muttanâd temple (*Plate* XIII.), and established the *Pâlâls*, *Tiriaris*, *Mands*, and *Boas*. One day an army of horsemen from Mysore came near; when Pūrsh heard of it she said, "Let them all become stones;" so they were turned into stones;† but a few escaped. After this another troop came, and halted at Segūr. Four of them came up the hill, captured a Todi, and asked him, "Who turned the first army into stones?" and they bribed him to tell them of Pūrsh's curse. Then the Mysoreans returned and told their chief; and he said, "Take mutton, and throw it at Pūrsh's door, and the flesh will expel the god." They did so, and Pūrsh came out like a fire, and was transformed into the hill behind Muttanâd Mand.‡ Then the Mysoreans came up and plundered the Todas. Before this time the Todas used to see and speak to their gods, but from the time Pūrsh disappeared, and from the day that a Toda betrayed his people, the gods are seen no more of men.

Second Story.

Kotēn, Tekudi, and Elna were three brothers, who lived respectively at Hona Mand, Tārnāt Mand (*Plate* VIII.), and Muttanâd Mand.§ The wife of the former cursed her husband, saying, "You possess no *Kotagiri*, no *Tiriari*." Kotēn went to his brother and said, "I am cursed, I can't eat or go to the house; give me a *Tiriari* and some Kotas." Then Tekudi gave him a *Tiriari* bell and buffaloes from the Muttanâd *Tiriari*, and Elna gave him a Kota man and woman.

Kotēn went off with these to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Pâlâls*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri*, called by Todas Mērkōkâl.‖

When the Paikara Pâlâl drove Elna's buffaloes to the Sholūr Tiriari, where the god Ênta presides, the buffaloes refused to go, and said they could not go without the bell which Tekudi had taken. The Pâlâl told Elna, who told Ênta. He said he would give a stick, which was to be given to a Pekkan of Manjakal Mund, who was to take a horn to be cut from the head of a living buffalo, and blow it in front, when the buffaloes would follow. Even now when the Paikara buffaloes go to the Sholūr Tiriari, a Pekkan must go in front with a horn, and the horn is blown every evening when the Pâlâl has finished his meal. Ênta added that he would kill Tekudi by a bow and arrow within eight days.

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* Such as the Todas still use. Two are seen in *Plate* IX. leaning against the hut.

† A variety of this story is connected with some upright stones, apparently slabs from a half-destroyed cairn, near Mr. Findlay's plantation at Kodanâd. Mr. Findlay tells me that he was told by a Toda, that these were once soldiers who insulted the Pâlâl of a neighbouring Tiriari, whereupon he threw some milk over them and turned them into stones.

‡ The hill nearest Muttanâd Mand is Seven Cairn Hill, connected with the story of Dirkish.

§ All these mands belong to the Todi clan, which is the largest, and possibly the oldest from its position in these stories.

‖ Mērkōkâl means the Kota village of the Kundahs. Mēr is the Toda for Kūndaha, and Kōkâl for Kota village.

As Tekudi came from Tarnăt Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air. 539 773

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikăra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Tarnăt Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotēn went to a Kurumba village in Bāni Shima,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swāmi‡ woman, by name Tĕrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotēn returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotēn slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring§ and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Tĕrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotēn and Tĕrkosh, on the Sisapăra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Tĕrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotēn.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanăd. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanăd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ēn's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Manda. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swāmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ēn one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ēn's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

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* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bāni Shima, the country of the Bhawāni (Bhowāny) river.

‡ Swāmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nīrvēn, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotēn's ring. Nīrvēn claims to be a direct descendant of Kotēn. He professes to have lost the spear.

‖ These five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodēths, Pūrsh, Kotēn, and Tĕrkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Malaiyarasamalli. 776 782

¶ This seems to have been connected to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanăd Mand.

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the manda and *tiviarin*. They themselves became *Pālāls*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āstrem*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ānnād Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Ānnādd*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building manda. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Ānnādd*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Ānnādd*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of
771 which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

799

* *Pūjā*, worship.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of kūasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. myuj of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̨ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kūasm is paɪrnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪs) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭṇuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nul- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kūasm koɪnuɪs of the mund nyɪḷṇ of the meḷgaɪsoɪ̨ is to be interpreted as koɪn-nuɪs "the place of the god koɪn;" koɪn or koɪnṱṱ is the mountain near this mund. The first kūasm of the mund meḷgaɪs is naɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two kūasm of the people of this sib, naɪsṱoɪr, naɪsfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrṱasoɪ̨ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kūasm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsḷṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪs, naɪsṱūuɪ (i.e. naɪs-tūuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪs is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kīuɪr of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̨ and kūaɪṱyṇj of the puɪrgoɪroɪ̨, have kūaɪsnuɪs as their first kūasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of kūaɪsem (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the möɪroɪ̨ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not kūasm, with this element are poɪ̨jnuɪs "the place of the funeral-hut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̨, and maɪnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the möɪroɪ̨, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and kūasm of munds. A brother of momgiṱj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kīuɪdnuɪs, whose name is the first kūasm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kaɪsnuɪs (56, Karsners) < the first kūasm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kimuɪs (26, Kinsr) is derived from kimuʃnuɪs, the first kūasm of the mund köɪroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboos work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 188).

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

of female-denoting significance, is -ɪdz. E.g. ɑrlɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from ɑrl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the nonoɲ; it was at noɲ that the goddess tōɪkɪsj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

mɑxɑrxoj	potswθnoɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
mɑxɑrɑl	oɪkjuθnoɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noɲ) the sacred place where tōɪkɪsj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that ɑrl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with tōɪkɪsj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moɲɪdz (7, Manidz); moɲ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—ɪɲefædʒ, moɲefædʒ "quarrels (pædʒ) about women (iɲ, a Hadaga word) and land;"

ɪɲexūɑɪt	kotʃoθik
woman-bungalow	you built
moɲexōɪr	kerteθik
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɑrmɪdz (44, Termidz) < tɑrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nūmɪtɪdz (3, Notidz) < nūmɪt "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪt, koɲenūmɪt "dancing (oɪt) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koɲ)." poɲɪdz, daughter of kūmɪlpɑx (52, Kulpakh) < poɲ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otɑodʒfoɲ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sɪnɪdz (21, Sinidz) < sɪn "gold." lɑɪbɪdz, daughter of tōɪkūmɪr (63, Teikudr), < lɑɪbm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). rɑɪpojɪdz (also rɑɪpoj), daughter of kōmnɪdz (34, Kemners), < rɑɪpoj "rupee." rɑɪmɪdz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. roɪdʒɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), < roɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪdz (28, Pirkidz) < pɪrkitɑn, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nīlgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmɪdz (63, Sunmidz) < sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitaznokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

13: Peter E-S (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

the stubborn resistance of Pillar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Aperngor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die.

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3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed.

595 773

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podalövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mod* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above).

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Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mod*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursiltpimi* was, however, performed for

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4 Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
Toda AW80

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[3]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[3] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

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pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

173 world and Amnòdr. Those who were dead stayed perman-
773 ently in Amnòdr, but living people could go to visit them
775 and return. One day Punatvan of Kars went with Meilitars to Amnòdr. They stayed there two days and two nights, and then Meilitars came away without Punatvan's knowledge. At that time the people of Kars were living at Nasmiòdr, so Meilitars went to Nasmiòdr and said that Punatvan intended to stop in Amnòdr, and wished the Kars people to perform the funeral ceremonies for him, killing thirty buffaloes. So the Kars people caught thirty buffaloes, the chief one being called Enmon. Round the neck of Enmon were hung the two bells (*wursuli mani*) called Karsod and Kòni. They cut a piece of stick and put it in a *putkuli* to represent the dead body and then killed the thirty buffaloes. As the buffaloes were on their way to Amnòdr, they met Punatvan on his way back. Punatvan asked the chief buffalo, Enmon, "Why do you come here?" Then Enmon told him what Meilitars had done. The man and buffalo put their heads together and cried, and their tears became a pool of water.[1] Then Punatvan took the two bells from the neck of Enmon and sent them back to Nasmiòdr, where they are kept to this day, but he returned to Amnòdr with the buffaloes. Then Ön, the ruler of Amnòdr, ordered that in future no one should return to the world of the living from Amnòdr, and since that day the Todas have not been able to go to and fro between the two worlds as they used to do.

173 At the present time the people of Keradr have no *ti*. Once
773 they had a *ti* which they lost through the action of Kwoto, who
776 went one day to their dairy at Tìkîrs, near Mòdr, and, hiding the *kaltmokh* in the wood, took his place. When the *palol* milks, it is the duty of the *kaltmokh* to let out the calves and send them to the *palol*. Kwoto did not do this properly, but sent more calves than were required, so the *palol* became angry and took his stick (*kwoinörtpet*) to beat the supposed *kaltmokh*, but the stroke missed and fell on the *palol* himself.

000 Another day the *palol* told Kwoto to pour out the re-

[1] This pool has been converted into the Marlimand reservoir, the source of the water-supply of Ootacamund.

764 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and
436 among the more recent coins were included two Japanese
177 yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral
372 of a man this must be done by means of fire made by friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood
766 (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three
775 times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"*Kedr*	*tütth*	*tâzâr*	*ünd*	*tirk*	*tûkitth*	*tûhi.*"
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tâzâr tûkitth kûrs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed 764
and redistributed to those who had given them. The people 775
told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body 178
over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the 764
objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is 178
now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face down- 764
wards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall[1] and 775
Walhouse[2] thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston and myself the body was put on the fire with the face upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that if this were not done, the dead person would have to make [772] the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set towards his future abode.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.
[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *manmokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle. 764 431 602

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased. 177 764

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world, 772 775

[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

772 and this was given as the reason why the dead used to be
775 burnt face downwards. It will be remembered also that Ön was looking downwards when he saw his son Püv in Amnòdr (see p. 185).

775 Amnòdr is presided over by the god Ön, who went there after the death of his son Püv, and it is often called Önnòdr after him, while this world, presided over by the goddess Teikirzi, is known as Inanòdr or Eikirzinòdr.[1] The people of Amnòdr or Önnòdr are known as the Amatol. Formerly the Todas used to go freely to and fro between Amnòdr and Eikirzinòdr, but this was stopped owing to the behaviour of Kwoto, and since his time only the dead go to Amnòdr and they do not return.

The Amatol live in much the same way as the inhabitants of this world. They have their buffaloes and their dairies, and the daily life of the people appears to be much like that of the living Todas. As the people walk about, however, they wear down their legs. They have to walk every day, and when a man has worn down his legs as far as the knees Ön sends him back to this world as another man.

Ön will not allow any pigs or rats to enter Amnòdr, as they would root up and spoil the country.

[616] Dead people travel to Amnòdr by well-defined routes, which are different for Tartharol and Teivaliol, while the Taradrol have a separate Amnòdr for their clan.

The dead do not set out for Amnòdr till after the second funeral, taking with them the things burnt at the *azaramkedr*. Both Tartharol and Teivaliol journey westwards towards the Kundahs and cross the Pakhwar or Avalanche river at the same spot.

The paths for the two divisions then diverge. The Tartharol go by a place called Katchâr, while the Teivaliol go by Kusheigûdr, situated by the bridle path now leading from Avalanche Bungalow to Avalanche Top. Whenever a Teivali man passes this spot for the first time he throws three stones called *ovilnikârz*. Similarly, a Tarthar man passing Katchâr for the first time throws three stones in

[1] This is one of several instances in which the initial *t* of a word is omitted in compound forms.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the same way. At the top of the hill there is a spot at which every Toda salutes (*kaimukhti*) in all directions. 775

The two paths meet again at a stone called Nidzmûtkârs (hot knock stone). When the dead Todas reach this stone they knock on it, and in so doing lose all their love of this world. They proceed and reach the stone called Panîpikârs, on which also they knock, and by so doing lose all their diseases and become strong again, so that they are sound and vigorous when they reach Amnòdr.

After knocking on Panîpikârs, the dead pass a wood called Katiârnpül, in which there is a tree called *main*, and as they go they make a cut on this tree with the *kafkati* or knife burnt with them, and Todas who pass by Katiârnpül on the day after a funeral have often seen the newly made cut on the *main* tree. For women there is another place in the wood called Patkadipem, and here the woman pounds with the *mask* burnt at her *asaramkedr*.

On proceeding the dead Todas come to a ravine and river called Püvûrkin, near Sisapara. Across this river there is a thread bridge, and those who have been bad Todas during life fall into the river and are bitten by leeches (*püv* or *püf*). The people who cross the thread bridge successfully go straight to Amnòdr, but those who fall are helped out of the river by the people of Padrmukhteir (crowd plain swamp), who belong to all tribes and live on the further bank of Püvûrkin. The people of Padrmukhteir may keep the offending Todas in their country for some time. The greater their offences, the longer are they kept, but all, however bad, reach Amnòdr sooner or later.

The following are the people who fall into Püvûrkin:—(*a*) the *karainol*, selfish people; (*b*) the *kashtvainol*, jealous and grudging people; (*c*) the *kaspivainol*, those who have committed any offences against the dairy, whether *pali* or *poh*.

The danger of falling into Püvûrkin does not seem to have much influence on the people. It has been spoken of as the Toda Hell, but it is rather a mild variety of Purgatory, and only involves some discomfort and delay on the journey to the next world. The people of Kavidi in the Wainad may travel direct to Amnòdr without going over Püvûrkin at all,

775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Tamadr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panipikârs, nor do they cross Püvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

Origin of Funeral Customs

773 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly
763 ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrûvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

764 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

192 [1] *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1] 764 234 782 775

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *koòtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present. 764 234 793 778

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 764 234 793

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen. 764 174

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kazun* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kazun*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.[1] That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies. 764 775 765 783

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tersamptpini*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolkedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be 765 775

[1] In Teknir's lament for Pidrvan (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kars *kazun*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kazun*.

765 furnished if we supposed that the spirits of the dead are
775 malignant and that the ceremony was postponed till after the spirit had set out on his journey to Amnòdr, but there are two objections to this explanation. If the Todas had had this in their minds, they would have said that the ceremony might not be performed while there was *kedr* among the Tartharol, *i.e.*, while the funeral ceremonies of a Tarthar man were still incomplete. For the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, however, it seems that a child has to wait till after a *marvainolkedr* even if there has been no recent death among the Tartharol. Further, if the proposed explanation had been correct, there is no reason why the *karvnol*, or day immediately after the funeral, should have been appointed for the ceremony. The fact that this day is prescribed points rather to some beneficial influence which it is hoped may emanate from the dead.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grandfathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence. 769 771 776

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men. [775]

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personifications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence whatever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces. 771 776

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neurzülnkars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual 776 778

[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

Instead of adultery being regarded as

577 immoral, I rather suspected,[1] though I could not satisfy myself on the point, that, according to the Toda idea, immorality
837 attaches rather to the man who grudges his wife to another.
775 One group of those who experience difficulty in getting to the next world after death are the *kashtvainol*, or grudging people, and I believe this term includes those who would in a more civilised community be plaintiffs in the divorce court.

835 In nearly every known community, whether savage, barbarous or civilised, there is found to exist a deeply rooted antipathy to sexual intercourse between brother and sister. In savage communities where kinship is of the classificatory kind, this antipathy extends not only to the children of one mother, but to all those who are regarded as brothers and sisters because they are members of the same clan or other social unit. In some communities, such as those of Torres Straits, this antipathy may extend to relatives as remote as those we call second and third cousins, so long as descent through the male line from a common ancestor and membership of the same clan lead people to regard one another as brother and sister.

It is very doubtful whether this widespread, almost universal abhorrence is shared by the Todas. I was told that members of the same clan might have intercourse with one another, and in the preliminary ceremony for the office of *palol*, a special part was taken by a woman who possessed the qualification that she had never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it was said it was far from easy to find such a woman. When I collected this information, it seemed clear that this meant that a woman who, before marriage had belonged to a given clan, had never had intercourse with a man of that clan. But since a woman joins the clan of her husband, and since, marriage taking place at an early age, the woman belongs to her husband's clan from this early age, it has since occurred to me that an alternative explanation of the restriction is possible, though it does not seem to me to be likely. It is possible that what is meant is that the woman

[1] The definite appearance of jealousy in the history of Kwoten must, however, be noted in this connexion.

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
174 when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
178 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh. 621 234

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place. 621 764

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members. 618 621 234

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amnòdr) near Perithi. 775

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful
184 kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
616 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning
775 the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it.
142 When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by
621 their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
616 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 175

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

me, that the Pekkans are poor and have few herds, therefore *they have no occasion for a God* to protect them. I see the man now before me shaking his grave head, 'Aha, they don't want a God.' CHAP. XII. 771 776

'First divest your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson. The Toda anticipated that sage advice long years ago. What is the *use* of a God if not to protect life and property? And no property, no God! I dwell on this phase of the primitive mind, for it will liberate us much from the necessity for searching for evidences of religious worship in the customs, whose description I am entering upon.

The sum of real Toda belief is, that they were born, they and their cattle, somehow—rose out of the earth. When they die they go to amnôr,[4] which is a world exactly like this; whither their buffalos join them, to supply milk as in this state—*voilà tout.* They look on this migration from the nomad point of view: but do not appear to be quite clear whether they and their cattle go to amnôr in the body or the spirit. Some practical difficulties appear to present themselves, to whichever belief they bend. The abstruseness of the question is acknowledged. They are satisfied that they *do* get there, and don't care to speculate and reopen a matter which has so long and so satisfactorily been settled! 771 775

A good opportunity presenting itself, in a visit with which I was favoured by an important religious character, I asked him where amnôr was situate. He did not appear surprised at the question, or in a moment's doubt as to the locality. Looking about him in the sky as if to ascertain the cardinal points of the compass; as all Orientals do; who living without clocks or barometers, read the signs in the heavens for guidance 772 775 821

[4] Amnôr, amnâr, ômunâr = *the next world.*
Nâr or nâdu = *district, country.* This is Tamil.
Ôma is a difficulty. Yaman is the '*God of death.*'
It seems to be = avap, which in Tamil = *there*, and is sometimes used for *the other world.* In Tamil, ammai = *the next state* or *stage in transmigration.* [POPE.]

CHAP. XII.

and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[a] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pil'i—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[a] See note 2 of Chapter V.

Z: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XVIII.

[761]

775

often beneficent than the contrary. Hence their beliefs are pleasant rather than otherwise, and death is free from horrors.

Even when a man's breath has left his body, and the corpse yet remains with them—forming the most eventful episode in their experience—yet no power of generalising or abstract reasoning seems to come to their aid, to assist them in this their day of agony, to frame any sort of link between the expired spirit and the Spirit which rules the darkness, in whose bosom it has been lost to sight. Their practical experience forms the fuel, which their strong sense of *perpetuity*, fanned by the visible evidences of power in all nature, kindles into flame; dictating that the curious something which has just left that body—lying so senseless without it—must have gone somewhere. And where could it have gone, but to another place just like this? Other *Todas are there*: and they could not live without milk; *therefore* buffalos are there too!

000

'A high degree of education must be attained,' writes Mr. Baring-Gould, 'before the notion of annihilation can be apprehended.' Again: 'Let anyone try to imagine himself extinguished—his powers of thought, his feelings, his volitions, his perceptions broken short off—and he will see how extremely difficult is the task, and how incomplete his success.'[2]

I incline greatly to the belief that the firm faith in a future state, owes its *origin* more to the domestic feelings, strengthened by the strong conservative sense provided by the organ of Concentrativeness, than to Hope, which is ordinarily considered to be its stronghold. The first combination is that which eminently distinguishes the most primitive races, whilst Hope is a religious organ whose development betokens an advance from the primæval state. A very pretty illustration of my theory is contained in the following quotation from 'Guy Mannering,' taken from Mr. Baring-Gould's work: 'Whiles I think my puir bairn's dead,'

[2] Baring-Gould. 'The Origin of Religious Belief.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

said Madge Wildfire, 'ye ken[3] very weel it's buried—but that signifies naething. I have had it on my knee a hundred times and a hundred times till that, since it was buried; and how could that be were it dead, ye ken? it's merely impossible.'

It is somewhat remarkable that the Todas should not only feel so confident in their immortality, but be without apprehension as to the future state; in the possibility that individually they may not attain to it. No such doubts arise to perplex their simple minds. Death is not a leap in the dark, but the contrary. The mode of thought—if thinking, it may be termed—by which they seem to set at rest this difficulty of more advanced and religious races, is too curious to be lost.

Their belief appears to be based on two considerations; one, what they know: the other, a sort of self-consciousness.

As regards the first, they *know* that they and their cattle were raised from the earth by the Great Unseen. This with them is a faith assured, as if the true story had been handed down from incontrovertible sources. They find themselves living, existing, breathing: they note the breath-life to leave the clay which returns to earth. But where does this breath-life go? The reply is contained in their *knowleage*. 'Tis a little sophistical perhaps, but an illogical jump is nothing with such people. They know that Todas and cattle live in amnôr; hence they are certain, with an absolute certainty, that this departed breath has gone there to join their forefathers. In this there is nothing more wonderful than that they rose from the soil! The subject is not worth thinking about! it has long been known! Thinking is difficult to the primitive mind. Best not to think!

If with all our accumulated stores of information, we find the subject of a future state but little further advanced than it was ages ago, we can sympathise with a very simple people who have so few facts to work upon, and with whom the

[3] I would invite a comparison between this word ken, and the Toda words for I see, I dream, I smell, *et cetera*, in Chapter XXIX.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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process of thought is little more than the instinctive stringing and restringing of those very few and very stale facts together. With a deeply domestic, excessively conservative and practical race, void of talent for generalisation, employed in working out its own problem; what could its theory of a future state be, than an exact copy of circumstances it had witnessed in this?

The self-consciousness to which I have ascribed one of the reasons for their viewing the future entirely without apprehension, appears to me to be an *intuitive but unobtrusive appreciation of the simplicity and harmlessness of their own natures:* unsensitive doubtless as to abstract right and wrong, but whose tendencies to the commission of crime are the very smallest; small indeed, in proportion to the inefficiency of their character, rather than in any ratio to moral qualities.

It is acknowledged that they commit without much remorse, as a matter almost of habit and nearly with impunity, acts which, with races that have long been exposed to the influence of a public opinion, are scouted as degraded though secret vices, but which the unrefined Toda sense does not censure as anything very heinous; rather as peccadillos punishable in a quiet way amongst themselves.

If all Toda society is unanimous in holding such acts as of small importance, where from such a race are we to meet a Toda of the unusual moral stature to consider himself alone criminal? Todas in addition to much real harmlessness of life are never troubled by moral scruples or remorseful feelings; such as would give their consciences trouble, leading to the hope of a purer future life, or one in which those who had escaped merited punishment for crimes committed in this world, would yet suffer hereafter.

If they have words for sin and hell, they have to all appearance, merely been adopted from the Hindus; the former perhaps in its milder sense, of a trespass, to supply a want, the latter to apply to other people. But Todas all go to amnôr.

CHAP. XXI.

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.) 284 765 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the *ex*-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.' 764

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless. 183 764 765 775 178

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara-kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of 765 775

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] The bara kêdu, or second funeral --Analyst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

765 the other three clans—and blood having been taken from the
775 artery of one of the fore legs, at the point of junction with the body, it is sprinkled on the piece of skull preserved from cremation. Nothing is said at the time, and the Todas have no name for the ceremony beyond describing it as, bâkh nirrshk idu, or 'put the blood to the ashes.' The mantle and its contents are now completely burnt.[8]

In none of the ceremonies described, have I seen any active acknowledgment of the existence of a God.

The main object of the festivities appears to be to gratify a pious desire to further the material welfare of their friend in amnôr, and to bow him out of this world with ceremony and honour. The whole is a grave, practical affair, in which their natural fondness for a prolonged sensation, their domestic and also their wasteful dispositions are all thoroughly gratified. He has gone to amnôr. Send one or two cows at once, at time of death—with more, with plenty, to follow. They are as realistic in this matter as the ancient Britons, who used to give *post-obits* payable in the next world. When asked what became of infants who died, they said, 'Those who have gone before, take care of them.' Their little programme is cut and dry, and the people, harmless race, are quite comfortable in their belief.

If the hut erected for these obsequies was made for a woman, it is now burnt. If for a man, it is not touched.[9]

The Kotas remove the carcases.

[8] Mr. Metz very kindly gave me the information contained in this paragraph. I believe it likely that the personal property; flute, bow and arrows, are also burnt at this time, and not prior to the festivities. The circumstances narrated are correct, though perhaps their sequence is not so. It is not easy to obtain absolutely reliable information from these interested people: and I did not witness either of the two ceremonies myself.

[9] Mr. Metz authorises this statement.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXII. 080

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

771 The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees 778 or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements 782 No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the 304 stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is 769 not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

774 They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body 775 probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

262 Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the 771 work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a 784 parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither 789 one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best 796 define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

● 775 The Todas, as we have said, believe in a Heaven and Hell, the latter represented by a river or swamp full of leeches. The road to *Âmunâd* (Heaven) lies across this stream, and those who have already reached their Paradise, make for new-comers a bridge formed of a single thread, which will bear a good man, but breaks under the weight of a sinner, and precipitates him into *Pâférigên** (Hell) (from *pâf*, leech; *êri*, place; *gên*, water), where he remains until he has expiated his offences. I asked particularly what became of the slaughtered buffaloes meanwhile, but my informant had evidently taken this economical question into consideration, and replied that they crossed higher up, and were utilized by the dead man's family until his penance was over.

[776] *Âmunâd* is presided over by Ên, a deified Toda, on whose authority the Todas believe it to be "a good place." Their description of it however does not seem attractive. They say that here men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that in *Âmunâd* the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism† between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of *Âmunâd* probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. *Cf. Institutes, X.* 84. "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame: for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

The bridge of thread recalls the Mahomedan Al Sirât, and the Badagas have a similar tradition, which receives a curious illustration from the actual practice of the Khâsias, when carrying home the remains of any of their number who may have died at a distance. "The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade through water, and if they trust themselves to it, would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and, if the breadth is great, this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow, merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the 'string bridge'"‡

Our own old superstition about the inability of witches to cross running water seems a reproduction of the same idea.

The Todas have no written language. Captain Harkness§ speaking of their dialect says, "It appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries. With the Sanscrit it has not the least affinity in roots, construction, or sound, and if I may venture to say so, as little with any Asiatic language of the present day."

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Major Ross King gives a similar account in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.

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* Dr. Pope (*Outlines, &c.*) says "pâf, an insect, is probably old Kanarese-parin. It must, however, be stated that the words in which *f* is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace."

† Compare *Genesis* i. 28, and iv. 12; also *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, page 248, story of Pritha and Prithivi.

‡ *On the Stone Monuments of the Khâsi Hill Tribes*, by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen. *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, October 1871, Vol. I., No. II.

§ *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 25.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf [648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded, the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter- [765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over [775] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that "it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed, and are available for use another time. This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas them- [173] selves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man [763] supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoɨ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɨlkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrassing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnitr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter orliɨg had married piɨkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the möir patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kon(ɨ)-kotpoɨ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pais-oɨt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

539 614 [775] [114]

pɯmɑxθɯr,[*] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kɑjniɪr asked what it was he was told: ilθon-ɯji pɯɪrotj-noɪj yst "It is just here that the pɯɪrotj-noɪj [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ɯd fintjn. 'poɟjoɟ-xɯɪrjfojoɟ θɯd-mortk-fæɪdfoj-xɯɪrjfojoɟ̣ pɯɪrotj-noɪj ysti; poɟjoɟ ṇoɪṇjti; oɪtoɟ xɯrsti' ɯdng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The pɯɪrotj-noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poɟjoɟ feel shame; the oɪtoɟ laugh.' " The word poɟjoɟ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɟ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poɟjoɟ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɟ, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poɟjoɟ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poɟjoɟ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪlkj (cf. the verb noṇjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kɑɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

[764] [578]

puɪlkɯɪrθoɪr poɟjoɟ-ṇoɪlkj oɪjxɯwθɯn
pæɪθoɪr oɪtoɟ-ṇoɪṇ oɪjxɯwθɯn

noɪɖoɪk-noɪlkj oɪjxɯwθɯn
sɪɪmjoɟk-sig oɪjxɯwθɯn

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poɟjoɟ, the oɪtoɟ, the people of the country (noɪɖoɟ), the people of the district (sɪɪmjoɟ; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poɟjoɟ and the oɪtoɟ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poɟjoɟ and oɪtoɟ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[*] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Padmukhnir: pp. 398–400); his account is in general incomplete.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
[835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
[123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
[775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
[766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, [614]
and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

764 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-
588 world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground,
614 with a further display of grief and lamentation.
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ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance,
123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me
855 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex-
159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con-
159 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started
857 off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Närshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER IX

THE TODA GODS

788 THE ceremonies which have been described in the last five chapters make up a large part of the ritual of the Toda religion, but there is one important feature of this ritual which has so far been left on one side, or only cursorily mentioned, because its full consideration only becomes possible after an account has been given of the Toda gods.

In describing the ritual of the dairy and the various ceremonies connected with the buffaloes, it has been mentioned that at certain times the prayer of the dairy or the prayer of the village is used. In these prayers there are references to various incidents in the lives of the gods, and many of the clauses would be unintelligible without a knowledge of these lives. It therefore becomes necessary to consider this branch of Toda mythology before dealing with the prayers in detail.

776 The typical Toda god is a being who is distinctly anthropomorphic and is called a *teu*. In the legends he lives much the same kind of life as the mortal Toda, having his dairies and his buffaloes. The sacred dairies and the sacred buffaloes of the Todas are still regarded as being in some measure the property of the gods, and the dairymen are looked upon as their priests. The gods hold councils and consult with one another just as do the Todas, and they are believed to be swayed by the same motives and to think in the same way as the Todas themselves.

At the present time most of the gods are believed to

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At the present time most of the gods are believed to inhabit the summits of the hills, but they are not seen by mortals. Before the Todas were created, the gods lived on the Nilgiri Hills alone, and then it is believed that there followed a period during which gods and men inhabited the hills together. The gods ruled the men, ordained how they should live and originated the various customs of the people. The Todas can now give no definite account of their beliefs about the transition from this state of things to that which now exists.

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Each clan of the Todas has a deity especially connected with it. This deity is called the *nòdrodchi* of the clan, and is believed to have been the ruler of the clan when gods and men lived together. I am doubtful whether there is at the present time any belief that the *nòdrodchi* exerts an influence over the clan with which he is connected.

[618]

There was no department of Toda lore which gave me greater difficulty than the study of the beliefs about the gods. There was no doubt that two gods stood out pre-eminent among the rest. One was a male deity whose name was Ön, and the other a female deity, Teikirzi. A simple question which I had the greatest difficulty in settling was the relation of these deities to one another. According to one account they were brother and sister; according to another, father and daughter. It seemed quite certain they were not husband and wife, and most probable that they were brother and sister. Others of the gods were believed to be related to one another, but on such points as this I found it almost impossible to obtain trustworthy information. It may have been reticence which made the difficulty, but I do not think so, and am inclined to think that the Todas have now only vague ideas about the histories of their more ancient gods, and have nothing like the definite traditions which they possess about deities of obviously more recent origin.

Sometimes there were discrepancies between different accounts which I could not clear up, and in such cases I give the account which seems to me to be the most trustworthy.

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PITHI

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This god is the earliest of whom any tradition is preserved. His name is Pithi or Püthi, and he is often called Pithioteu. He was born near the sacred dairy of Anto in a cave which had the same shape as the ordinary Toda hut. According to one account, Pithi created Todas and buffaloes, but there seemed to be little doubt that this is not the correct tradition, which assigns the act of creation to his son Ön. There is a suggestive resemblance between the name of this god and the Sanscrit word for earth, Prithivi, which is in common use in Southern India.

ÖN

Ön was the son of Pithi. He created the buffaloes and the Todas and became the ruler of Amnòdr, the world of the dead, where he now lives.

One day Ön went with his wife Pinârkûrs to Mêdrpem (the top of the Kundahs). There he put up an iron bar which stretched from one end of the *pem* to the other. Ön stood at one end of the bar and brought forth buffaloes from the earth, 1,600 in number. Then Pinarkurs tried to produce buffaloes and she stood at the other end of the bar and produced 1,800 buffaloes.

Behind Ön's buffaloes there came out of the earth a man, holding the tail of the last buffalo, and this was the first Toda. Ön took one of the man's ribs (*parikatelv* or *magalelv*) from the right side of his body and made a woman, who was the first Toda woman. The Todas then increased in number very rapidly so that at the end of the first week there were about a hundred.[1]

The descendants of the buffaloes created by Ön became sacred buffaloes, while the descendants of those created by his wife are the ordinary buffaloes.

[1] This account of the creation of men and buffaloes was obtained from Arsolv (27) of Kanòdrs, one of the oldest living Todas. It agrees very closely with the story as related to Mr. Breeks.

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Ön had a son called Püv. One day when Püv was acting as *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, he was churning in the dairy with a ring on the little finger of his right hand. When the dairyman goes to fetch water he should always take the churning stick out of the *patat* or vessel in which the milk is churned. On this occasion Püv left it in the *patat* and went out to fetch water. As he was going a black bird called *karpüls* tried to check him, saying "*tls, tls, tls*," meaning "Don't go to the water," but Püv paid no attention and went on. When he was taking the water the ring dropped from his little finger into the spring. Püv saw the ring in the water, but could not reach it, and so he got into the spring. The water was not deep, and yet as soon as he stepped into the spring it completely covered him and he was drowned. When Ön found that his son was lost he cried very bitterly and covered himself with his cloak (*tuni*). (Ön is said to have been a *palol* at this time.) When Ön covered himself he looked downwards and saw, as through a veil, his son in Amnòdr playing with the ring, putting it on and off his finger.[1]

When Ön saw that his son was in Amnòdr he did not like to leave him there alone and decided to go away to the same place. So he called together all the people and the buffaloes and the trees to come and bid him farewell. All the people came except a man of Kwòdrdoni named Arsankutan. He and his family did not come. All the buffaloes came except the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Some trees also failed to come. Ön blessed all the people, buffaloes and trees present, but said that because Arsankutan had not come he and his people should die by sorcery at the hands of the Kurumbas, and that because the *arsaiir* had not come they should be killed by tigers, and that the trees which had not come should bear bitter fruit. Since that time the Todas have feared the Kurumbas, and buffaloes have been killed by tigers. All the Todas and all the buffaloes appear to have suffered for the evil deeds of Arsankutan and the *arsaiir*.

[609]

Then Ön went away to Amnòdr, taking the buffaloes

[1] According to another account, Püv died from trying to catch the image of a white calf in the water. At that time, it was the custom to kill and bury any calf of a white colour, and one had been buried close to the spring.

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773 and the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* with him, and since that time
776 Ön has ruled over Amnòdr, which is sometimes called Önnòdr after him.

TEIKIRZI

This goddess is perhaps the most important of the Toda deities. She is said to have been the sister, and probably the elder sister, of Ön. I could learn very little about the story of her life, but nearly all the customs of the Todas were referred to her, and it seemed clear that when Ön left this world Teikirzi became the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of the Todas. Whenever I tried to obtain from the Todas an explanation of any ceremony or custom I nearly always received the reply, which was regarded as final, that it had been so ordained by Teikirzi.

It seems doubtful whether Teikirzi dwells in any special hill like other Toda deities, though there is a hill near Nòdrs especially connected with her. I was told that she lives everywhere in this world, and in answer to a question it was said even that her influence extends to London, where she dwells as she dwells everywhere else.

She is regarded as the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of all the Todas, and this world is often spoken of as Eikirzinòdr. At the same time Teikirzi is especially connected with Nòdrs, and she is the special *nòdrodchi* of this clan.

Five customs, or sets of customs, are ascribed especially to Teikirzi. These are :—

(i) *Madol pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave *madol* (clans)." Teikirzi is also said to have divided the Todas into their two chief divisions.

(ii) *Ir pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave buffaloes."

Below Nòdrs, near a swamp called Keikudr, there is a small stream which at the present time Todas will not cross at a certain spot, and Teikirzi stood in this stream. According to one account she beat the water with a wand, saying "*Ir padri ma*" ("May buffaloes spring"), and buffaloes sprang out of the stream; but it seemed to be more generally accepted that she only divided the buffaloes on this spot by touching each animal on the back with a wand and saying

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the name of the clan to which it was to belong. The first portion went to Nòdrs, the second to Kuudr, the third to Kars, and the fourth to Taradr. Up to this point she used a wand of *kid* wood (*kidkurs*). For the next clan, that of Keadr, the *kidkurs* was put away and she used a wand of *tavat* wood, and several other kinds of wand were used. Teikirzi was also said to have ordained at the same time that *wursulir* should be milked by Teivaliol and to have settled the general regulations concerning the different kinds of buffalo.

(iii) *Püliol pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave *püliol*."

Teikirzi is said to have ordained that certain people should be the *püliol* of a man, and that *püliol* should not marry one another (see Chap. XXI).

(iv) *Ir pats id vai*, "Buffalo catch who said." Teikirzi ordained that buffaloes should be caught at the funeral ceremonies (see Chap. XV).

(v) *Kwarzam pep ostht ad vai*, "Who told the *kwarzam* and gave *pep*."

Teikirzi gave to each village its *kwarzam*, or sacred name, and settled the method of making new *pep*.

The name of Teikirzi occurs frequently in other legends. One story not mentioned elsewhere is the following:—

When Teikirzi was living at Nòdrs the people of Mysore came to fight her, but as they approached, the woods made a great noise. When the Mysore people heard the noise they stopped, and then Teikirzi cursed them and said, "Let them become stones," and they were turned into stones, which are still to be seen below Nòdrs.

Teipakh, or Tirshti

I know very little about the life-history of this deity, but he is very widely mentioned in the prayers and incantations of the Todas, and is one of their most important gods. He was the brother of Teikirzi, and differs from most other Toda deities in being a river god, Teipakh being the Toda name of the Paikara river.

Teipakh is the *nòdrodchi* of the Piedr and Kusharf clans.

Although there was considerable agreement that Teipakh

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and Tirshti were one and the same god, there was some doubt about it, and, according to one account, Tirshti was only another name for Teikirzi.

ANTO.

I am very doubtful about the name and identity of this god. There seemed to be little doubt that he had the same name as the chief dairy of the Nòdrs *ti* and was the chief deity connected with this dairy. According to one account he was the son of Ön, but it is possible that the two deities were identical, Anto being Önteu. His name was sometimes pronounced Anteu or perhaps more correctly Änto or Änteu.

I have only a few incidents from the life of Anto. He once rolled a huge stone with the hair of his head from Nelkòdr in the Wainad to the top of a hill called Katthvai near the dairy of Anto. The god now lives near this dairy, resting his head on a spot called Ködrs, and stretching his legs on a spot called Tudrs. These places are about two furlongs apart so that Anto is evidently a god of a large size.

Anto is said to have made buffaloes, and the buffalo which founded the *ti mad* of Makars (see p. 116) was one of his creation. The fact that Anto created buffaloes increases the probability of his identity with Ön, but this is far from conclusive for there were undoubtedly several independent creations of these animals.

KULINKARS

This deity is the *nòdrodchi* of the Kars clan. His original name appears to have been Kulin, and this was changed to Kulinkars. He is also called Teikhars. He inhabits a hill near Makurti Peak, which is so steep and rocky that "no man has ever climbed it."

The following story is told of Kulinkars or Teikhars:—He once knocked on the ground and so made two buffaloes. He then told the monsoon (*kwadr*) to drive the buffaloes to the place to which they were to go, saying, "you must push them on." As the buffaloes were being driven on by the monsoon,

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a tiger went after them. When they reached a certain hill, the hill divided into two and the buffaloes went between the two parts, but still the tiger followed them. Then the buffaloes came to Kwaradr and went into the pen, and the tiger also went into the pen. When the buffaloes saw that the tiger had come into the pen, they kicked it and it died. Then one of the buffaloes said to the other, "You stay here in the pen; I am going to Tarsòdr." Then the monsoon drove on this buffalo to Tarsòdr, which is one of the dairies of the Pan *ti*. The descendants of the buffalo which stayed in the pen are the *pasthir* of Kwaradr and the descendants of the other are among the buffaloes of the Pan *ti*.

Kulinkars was connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) and was the *mokhthodvaiol* or paramour of Nòtirzi. His relation to Nòtirzi is said to have been the origin of the *mokhthoditi* custom (see Chap. XXII), but I was not able to obtain any detailed account of this part of the history of the god.

Kulinkars has a son called Teikhidap, who lives on Makurti Peak, and the proper Toda name for this hill is Teikhidap.

NÒTIRZI

I have no details of the history of this female deity. She is the *nòdrodchi* of the two important clans of Melgars and Kuudr, and lives on the hill now known as Snowdon, the Toda name of the hill being the same as that of the goddess. This hill is especially sacred, and any Toda who visits it has to salute with hand to forehead (*kaimukhti*) in all directions. Like her *mokhthodvaiol*, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi is connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. She is said to have had a son called Tikuteithi or Teukuteithi. It is possible that this is the same as Teikuteidi, who appears in the story of Kwoten (see p. 193), but they are more probably two different deities.

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A stone which is said to have been thrown by this goddess from her hill is shown close to the village of Pòln, under the tree known to English visitors to the Nilgiris as the 'umbrella tree.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

KORATEU OR KUZKARV

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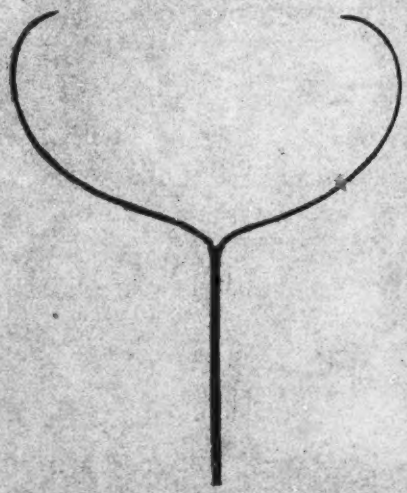
Korateu was the son of Teikirzi. One day when Teikirzi was going from one village to another she went into a cave called Teivelkursh, by the side of a stream called Kathipa, near Kakhudri, and there gave birth to a son, who was called Azo-mazo. The afterbirth dropped into the stream and was carried down to Teipakh (the Paikara river). It travelled down the river as far as a place called Marsnavai, where there were growing two plants called *tib* and *purs* in which it became entangled. The afterbirth then slowly arose and became a boy, and the boy was Korateu. When Azo-mazo became a man he went to live at Pernòdr in the Kundahs, but Korateu lived in the river till he was eight years old. The river Teipakh was the brother of Teikirzi. As he sat in the lap of his uncle Korateu used often to play at making the buffalo horns called *tebkuter* (Fig. 35).[1] When he was eight years old he founded a *ti* and created a male and a female buffalo, making both out of earth. He also built a dairy and a buffalo pen and made the garment called *tuni*. As soon as the buffaloes had a calf, he went to fetch a churning-stick from Kaiers, beyond Makurti Peak, and took it to Nerva, near Mòdr, where his buffaloes were standing. He then went to Kurkòdr, a bamboo grove near Meipadi in the Wainad, and made a *kwoi* or milking vessel. He next made the *persin* and the



[524]

FIG. 35.—IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

[1] Usually called *petkuter*.

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mani and all the other things of a *ti* and became *palol* of the buffaloes at Ödrtho. There was a buffalo here of the kind called *kughir*, with the horns growing downwards. Korateu cut off these horns and gave them to the *kaltmokh* at Ödrtho and they are now the horns of the Nödrs *ti*. Korateu then made a law that the people of Piedr should fill the office of *palol* and that the *kaltmokh* should be taken from the Melgarsol. He appointed a *palol* and a *kaltmokh* from these clans, handed over the charge of the *ti* to them, and went away to the hill Korateu, where he lived in an iron cave which he called a *pok*. He used to bathe in a pool near the hill.

At this time Korateu was not recognised as a *teu*, and when the gods held council he was not summoned as a member. This made him very angry.

Near Korateu there was a wood in which there stood a tree of the kind called *mörs* (*Michelia nilagirica*) which was about 80 feet high. Korateu ordered that honey bees (*peshtein*) should come to the tree, and after a time there were about 300 nests, which made the tree bend down with their weight. One day about twenty men came to collect honey, Todas, Irulas, and Kurumbas. The Todas made a fire under the tree, while the Irulas and Kurumbas climbed and collected honey from the nests. When they had collected the honey from all except three or four nests, the tree became so light that it sprang back and killed the Irulas and Kurumbas, and the Todas went home.

At this time Korateu was unmarried and he carried a stick of iron. One day a Kurumba woman came to the *mörs* tree in search of honey. Korateu knocked her on the head with the iron stick and at once she became pregnant. That evening she gave birth to a daughter, who was very beautiful, and Korateu decided to marry the child and sent away the mother that night. (According to another version, the child was so beautiful that the mother was frightened and went away to her own village, and Korateu fed the child with milk and fruit and honey, and when she grew up he married her.)

Soon after the death of the Irulas and Kurumbas a sambhar calf came to Korateu, who caught it, tamed it, and

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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kept it for a month. Then certain Todas went to Korateu and asked him for a place. Korateu gave them a place and said that it should be called Keradr. The people of Keradr then asked for buffaloes. So Korateu gave them the sambhar calf and said that it should become buffaloes for them, and he ordered that the buffaloes should be called *miniapir*, and that the calves should be called *mâvelkar—i.e.*, calf from a sambhar. This was the origin of Keradr and of its *wursulir*, which are still called *miniapir*, and they are the only buffaloes of the Todas which were made from sambhar.

After these things had happened the gods recognised that Korateu was a *teu*, and calling him asked him who he was. He answered that he was the son of Teikirzi, and the *manmokh* or sister's son of Teipakh. He was then admitted as one of the gods and now lives on the hill Korateu, but still sometimes sits in the lap of Teipakh. He is the *nòdrodchi* of the Keradr and Keadr clans, and the chief villages of these clans are near his hill. He is called Kuzkarv when mentioned in prayer.

Another god, called Etepi, is said to be the same god as Korateu. It appeared, however, that Korateu lived on one hill and Etepi on another, and I could not ascertain the true relation of the deities to one another.

Azo-mazo is mentioned in the prayer of the Kars *ti* as two deities, Azo and Mazo.

Puzi and Kurindo

I am very doubtful as to the identity of Puzi. According to some accounts Puzi or Purzi was merely another name for Teikirzi; according to other accounts Puzi was a male deity and the husband of Teikirzi. In the following story Puzi is a female deity, inhabiting a hill near Nòdrs. She gave birth to a son called Kurindo. As soon as Kurindo was born he became fire. Puzi did not approve of this, as it seemed to show that the boy was too powerful, so she took a leaf of the kind called *kuagal*, pounded it and mixed it with water and sprinkled it on the fire. The fire then turned back again into a boy who was bent to one side.

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Puzi said, "I will put you on a hill opposite to me." So she put him on the hill called Mopuvthut, near the village of Naters, and in order to make the hill higher she put three baskets of earth on the top, so that her son might be seen by everybody.

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When Kurindo was on his hill he thought to himself, "My mother has treated me badly; she sprinkled me with water and quenched my power, and she has made me bent to one side; I do not like to be opposite to her." So he went away to a hill near Kanòdrs. This was before the time of Kwoten and before the Kamasòdrolam had run away (see p. 195). While Kurindo was living on this hill a strange tribe came to the hills, so Kurindo again moved and went away to the hill of Arsnur on the Mysore side, where he still lives.

There is a hill called Puthi on which a fire is lighted at certain times (see p. 291) and the god inhabiting this hill was, according to one account, the husband of Teikirzi. It is possible that Puthi and Puzi are the same, but I think it more probable that they are two separate gods, each having his own hill, Puthi being the husband of Teikirzi, and Puzi being the deity of this legend.

The following legends differ from the preceding in that they appear almost certainly to record the lives of deified men. The first legend deals with three men of different clans, but the sons of three sisters. The second deals with the life of Kwoto, and professes to be the history of a being of miraculous birth who came to be accepted by the gods, not only as one of their number, but as superior to themselves. These two legends were known far more thoroughly and universally than any of the preceding. It seems most probable that they are records of men who really lived, and that the life of each has become a nucleus round which have grown various miraculous and portentous incidents.

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Kwoten, Teikuteidi, and Elnâkhum

There were once three men, the children of three sisters. The eldest was Kwoten, who belonged to Pan, the second was Teikuteidi, who belonged to Taradr, and the youngest

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was Elnâkhum of Nòdrs. (According to one account the father of Kwoten was Purten, and his mother was Tiköni of Keradr. They lived at Pan and Kiursi, and Kwoten was born at Pan. Purten died when Kwoten was thirty years old and Tiköni died six years later.)

Kwoten had a wife called Kwoterpani. She did not like her husband, but preferred a man of Kanòdrs called Parden. One day Kwoten took his wife to a place called Timukhtar (near the spot where Sandy Nullah toll-bar now stands). He gave her only the loin-cloth called *tadrp* to wear, hoping that she would be cold and uncomfortable and would sleep with him, but she refused. Kwoten then took her to Kûdrîdjpül near Mulòrs, where there was a large wood. In this wood there was a tree of the kind called *külmän*, into which Kwoten climbed and made a bed. Below him, about three feet above the ground, he made a small bed for his wife, and under the tree, close to his wife's bed, he tied a big male buffalo. He did this because he thought a tiger might come to take the buffalo during the night when his wife would be frightened and would climb up the tree to his bed. During the night a tiger came and took away the buffalo, but even this did not induce the woman to go to her husband. Next morning Kwoten took his wife to Pòlâdri, which belonged to the Panol. This village was near Miuni, and there Kwoten became a *palikartmokh*. One day Kwoten was in the dairy and his wife in the hut when Parden came from Kanòdrs. Kwoten's wife knew that her husband was in the dairy, and endeavoured to prevent Parden from going into the hut by giving him buttermilk. Kwoten found that Parden had come, and sharpened a big knife to kill him, and when he came out of the dairy, Parden ran away towards Kanòdrs and Kwoten followed with the knife.

Kwoten's sister had married a Kars man and was living with him at Nasmiòdr, and at this time Kwoten's mother was staying at this place. As Parden ran away, pursued by Kwoten, they had to pass Nasmiòdr, and Kwoten's mother saw them, and said, "How is it that my son does not catch Parden?" Then she cursed Parden, saying "*On sati udairnûdr, Kârkadith mul udith pâtmâ*"—viz., "If I have reverence

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to the village, may he be checked by the tree with thorns in the Kark wood." When Parden reached a stone now called Pardenkars, Kwoten caught him up and tried to kill him, but the knife struck the stone instead and split it into two pieces. Then Parden ran on to the wood called Kark, where he was caught by a tree with thorns (brambles) so that Kwoten was able to kill him.

When the news of the death of Parden reached Kanòdrs all the people were very much afraid, and all ran away except one old man and his wife. As the people were going, they sent a message to the Kotas at Tizgudr. Two Kotas took a grain pounder (*wask*) and went to Pòladri. When Kwoten was told that the Kotas were coming he went and hid himself. The Kotas came and stood near the village and were told that Kwoten had gone away. Then they told Kwoten's wife, who at this time was pregnant by Parden, to come out of the hut. She came out and went to the Kotas, who asked her where Kwoten was. She said she did not know, whereupon the Kotas were vexed, and pierced her belly with the pounder, so that she died. Her funeral took place at Tadendari, and that of Parden at Arâdr.

The people of Kanòdrs ran away to a place called Penasmalpet, near Malmathapenpet, and are known as the Kamasòdrolam. They have never been seen since, but the Todas have heard from various wandering tribes that they still exist and that they live on a hill from which they can see Kanòdrs, and that when the Kamasòdrolam see a fire at Kanòdrs they shave their heads and make a special kind of food called *ashkkarthpimi*.

When the Kanòdrs people ran away there remained behind one old man called Muturojen and his wife Muturach,[1] who were living in a village near Kanòdrs called Mîtâhârzi. When the people left, the old man went to the Kanòdrs dairy to churn the milk left there by those who had run away, and he stayed there, sleeping in the *kwotars* or calves' hut, as the dairyman should do at Kanòdrs. His wife used to come every day as far as a place called

[1] These are quite unlike Toda names, nor is the name of the village, Mîtâhârzi, like a Toda name.

173 Pitipem, where she rubbed a place with buffalo-dung and sat down.

773 While sitting there one day an eagle (*kashk*) sat on her head, and she became pregnant, and went back to the village and gave birth to a son. When Kwoten heard of this he wished to kill the child and set out to do so. The old woman's daughter, who had married a Kars man, sent her husband to warn her parents that Kwoten was coming to kill them. The Kars man met Kwoten and ran away from him towards Kanòdrs, followed by Kwoten's dog. When he came to a hill above the village he called out that Kwoten was coming. When the old man heard him, he cursed Kwoten and those with him; the latter became stones and Kwoten himself (according to the story as told by the Kanòdrs people) was stung by honey bees and died. The people of Kanòdrs are descended from the son born to the old woman. If this old woman was not a Toda, as her name and that of her village suggest, this would seem to point to a tradition that the people of Kanòdrs are descended from an ancestor of a different race from the other Todas (see p. 640).

[578] Owing to the behaviour of Kwoten to the Kanòdrs people there has ever since been *karaivichi* (trouble) between the people of Pan and Kanòdrs. They do not intermarry and no Kanòdrs man may go to one of the chief villages (*etudmad*) of the Pan people nor may a Pan man go to an *etudmad* of Kanòdrs.

According to the above account Kwoten died after being cursed by the old man, but this is only a feature of the story as told by the Kanòdrs people, and in the account given by others Kwoten had many other adventures and finished his life in this world in a very different manner. He married a second wife, who, like the first, objected to her husband and preferred a man of Keradr, whose name was Keradrkutan. Kwoten lived with this wife at Kazhuradr, near Isharadr. At that time women wore the garment called *än*, which is dark grey like the *tuni* of the *palol*, and is now only used as a funeral garment.

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Keradrkutan used frequently to come to Kazhuradr, and this vexed Kwoten, who told his wife to have nothing to do with the man. She encouraged Keradrkutan, however, and this vexed Kwoten so much that he took off her *än* and brought a thorny bush called *peshteinmul* and beat her all over with the bush, so that she became covered with blood. Kwoten at this time wore the garment called *tuni*, which he then took off, dipped it in water, and rubbed it all over his wife so that she became the colour of *tuni*, and then he gave her back her *än* and went to his dairy. While he was in the dairy Keradrkutan came stealthily to the village. When the woman saw Keradrkutan she cried very bitterly and said, "Kwoten has beaten me very severely so that I shall die; come and see me." When Keradrkutan went into the hut, the woman died.

Before this time, when Kwoten was one day beating his wife, she abused him, saying, "*Talrs ti oditha vai, Kòlrs kûv oditha vai; en puspad*"—"You have no *ti*, you have no Kotas: why do you beat me?" This was to reproach Kwoten because the Pan people had no *ti* buffaloes and had no Kotas to make things for them. So Kwoten went and complained to his brother Teikuteidi. Teikuteidi was very sorry, and in order to remove the reproach he persuaded Elnâkhum of Nòdrs to give certain buffaloes of the kind called *unir* from the Nòdrs *ti*. Elnâkhum gave a two-year-old calf (*pòl*) and a one-year-old calf (*kar*), and also two bells (*mani*) to put on their necks. The two bells were called Tarskingg and Takhingg. The calves were then standing at Kuladrtho and were taken by Kwoten to the *tars poh* of Pan. He tied the two bells to one of the calves called Kazhi. These bells ought properly to have been tied to the buffalo called Enmars which remained behind at Kuladrtho. Then Enmars went to Anto and complained as follows:—

"*kl mòdr,*	*kl kevi,*	*uinkûth*	*pòrâni*"[1]
"inferior neck,	inferior ear,	to your council	I will not come"

i.e., "I will not come to your presence with naked neck and

[1] ? *Pòdrâni* or *pudrâni*.

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ear." Anto told him not to grieve because he had lost the *mani*, and that instead

Melgarsöl	*teirpülk*	*mudâ mâ*	*nî pud*
Melgars man	pül of Anto to	in front go may	you come

Antosh	*pep ûn*
at Anto	*pep* drink

i.e., "When you go to Anto, a Melgars man shall go in front of you to the *pül* of Anto; when you come to Anto you shall drink *pep*." To this day, when the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* go in procession to Anto a Melgars man goes in front and the buffalo called Enmars drinks *pep* at Anto. At the same time Anto prophesied to Enmars that a misfortune would befall Teikuteidi, saying

"*wûrâdr*	*nols*	*Teikuteidi tan*	*ennâth*	*piriedkin,*	*at vokh!*"
"whole year	day	himself	without numbering	I will divide,	go away!"

When Teikuteidi heard of this prophecy he was much grieved, and was very careful to do all the following ceremonies:—*erkumptthiti*, *upatiti*, *punkudrtiti*, *tatmadthkudrtiti*, *petkudrtiti* *mukudrtiti*, *adikudrtiti*, *parivkudrtiti*, *tatòtiti*, *muòtiti*, *ponkastiti* and *irpalvusthi*—viz., sacrifice of calf, salt-giving, purification of *pun*, *tat* and *madth*, *pet*, *mu*, *adi* and *pariv*, etc.,[1] He performed all these ceremonies to escape the prophesied evil, for if he had succeeded in doing them all for the whole twelve months the prophecy would not have been fulfilled. On the very last day he forgot the prophecy and did not perform the ceremonies, but went to a place called Kirspem, where he sat under the shade of a *pülmän*. There is a flower which blossoms on this tree in the rainy season only, and then the bees come. When Teikuteidi was sitting under the tree it was not the rainy reason and he was very much surprised to hear the humming of honey bees in the tree. The noise was being made by a *kazun*[2] which had taken the form of a

[1] I do not know exactly to which ceremonies *tatòtiti* and *muòtiti* refer. The words mean "he takes the *tat*" and "he takes the *mu*," and evidently refer to some dairy ceremonial. *Ponkastiti* probably means that he kept *pon* throughout the year- *i.e.*, gave or sold nothing from his dairy during the year.

[2] A spirit which brings death (see p. 403).

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bee. He looked up to see if there were any flowers to attract the bees and could not see them, neither could he see any bees. Then he thought for a little while and remembered Anto's prophecy, so he did not remain under the tree, but went away to Kirsgòrs to attend the funeral of a *wursol* of Nòdrs (see p. 439). When the funeral was over Teikuteidi set out with companions to go to Kerkars (a place near Paikara). On the way they passed Kwongudrpem (near Kuudi). There he stopped and began to count his companions; he counted them, but forgot to include himself, saying that there were twenty when they started and now only nineteen, and he thought for a long time who the lost person could be. When he was looking in the direction of the funeral-place for the lost companion, he saw a lame man named Keikarskutan, who had a *purs* and *ab* (bow and arrow). Keikarskutan lay down and shot the arrow [1] and it came towards Teikuteidi with a sound like a bird's voice. Teikuteidi was looking to see what sort of bird it was when the arrow pierced both his eyes [2] and he died. When his companions found that he was dead, they held the funeral at Kerâs, and at the place where he died they made a mark with four stones like a cross, one for his head, one for his legs and one for each hand.

Kwoten was responsible for various features of the organisation of the Pan people. He divided them into two parts, the Panol and Kuirsiol, and also divided the *ti* into two parts, the *wars ti*, which was to belong to the Panol, and the *tars ti* to the Kuirsiol. He settled that the *palol* of the *ti* should be chosen from the people of Keadr. When there is a funeral in any clan a *palol* belonging to that clan must give up his office; hence, in order that his *ti* should never be without a *palol*, Kwoten separated the people of Keadr into two divisions, the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol, so that a member of one division might be *palol* if a member of the other division died.

[1] When Keikarskutan shot the bow and arrow he lay down. According to my informants, Keikarskutan lay down to shoot the bow and arrow because he was lame, but shot it in the ordinary way and did not use his legs in doing so. Breeks, who gives a brief version of this legend, was told that the arrow was shot by means of the legs and refers to this method as the ancient Indian custom.

[2] I give this as it was told.

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This was the origin of the division of the Keadr people into the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol.

One day Kwoten went to the *wars ti* of Pan and took buttermilk and slept there, and he did the same at the *arsaiir ti* of Kwòdrdoni, and since that day the people of Pan have had the privilege of taking buttermilk and sleeping at the places of each *ti*.

Kwoten also made two *teiks* (stones or wooden posts at which buffaloes are killed at the funerals), the *parsteiks* for the Panol and the *kirshteiks* for the Kuirsiol.

[177] It is owing to the example of Kwoten that the Todas now take meals in Kurumba villages. Before his time they had never done so, but Kwoten one day went to a Kurumba village and took food, and since that time all Todas have done so.

Kwoten was also the first Toda to go to a Kota village. He wanted one day to go to Mitur in the Wainad, and as it was getting dark and he was still on his way, he went to the Kota village of Kulgadi (Gudalur). He sat on their *tiin*, or bed, got new pots and food from them, and, taking both to the stream called Marspa or Marsva, he cooked and ate the food there, and then, returning to the village, slept on a Kota *tiin*. Since that time Todas have gone to that village, and have done as Kwoten did, but they will not go to any other Kota village.

One day Kwoten went with Erten of Keadr, who was spoken of as his servant, to Pòni, in the direction of Polkat (Calicut). At Pòni there is a stream called Palpa, the commencement of which may be seen on the Kundahs. Kwoten and Erten went to drink water out of the stream at a place where a goddess (*teu*) named Terkosh had been bathing. When Kwoten was about to drink from his hands, he found in the water a long golden hair; he measured the length of the hair and found it was greater than his height; he had a long stick in his hand called *pirs*, and found that the hair was longer than this stick. Then he asked Erten about it. Erten knew it was the hair of a *teu*, but thought it best not to tell Kwoten, and tried to persuade him that it was of no importance, and proposed that they should return home.

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Kwoten, however, insisted on finding out from whom the hair came, so they went along the stream. Kwoten went first and Erten had to follow him. As they went they met the bird called *karpüls* going from the right side to the left,[1] uttering its cry. Kwoten asked Erten why they met the bird, why it went from right to left, and why it made a cry. Erten replied as follows:—

"*Nèdr udoi*	*kwudrpedrshai; Naraian sami kaipedrshai.*"
"Country (God) if there is	you will die; Naraian will kill you."

In spite of this warning, Kwoten persisted in going on, and finally they came to Terkosh, who said to Kwoten, "Do not come near me, I am a *teu*." Kwoten paid no heed to this, but said, "You are a beautiful woman," and went and lay with her. Then Terkosh went away to her hill at Pòni, where she is now, and to this day the Kurumbas go there once a year and offer plantains to her and light lamps in her honour.

Kwoten and Erten returned home. Kwoten went to Kepurs, a village now in ruins, close to Nanjanad, and Erten went to a village called Kapthòri belonging to the Keadrol. Kwoten had about five hundred buffaloes grazing at Pazhmokh, near Kepurs. That night Kwoten slept on the *idrtul* over which he had spread a sambhar skin. He had on his finger a thick silver ring, which may still be seen at Naters and is used in the funeral ceremonies of men of the Pan clan. When the people awoke next morning they found that Kwoten had disappeared and that there only remained, lying on the sambhar skin, the silver ring and some *pug*.[2] Kwoten had been carried away by Terkosh and it was found that his five hundred buffaloes had also disappeared.

When Erten got up next morning he went to Kepurs and called out to the *wursol* of that place, "*Wursolia, tar thrs-hodthrska*"[3]—"O *wursol*, is the man up yet?" The *wursol*

[1] To meet this bird going from right to left is a bad omen; if going from left to right, it is a good omen.

[2] I could not find out the exact meaning of this word, but it appeared to be a name for the blood-stained froth which may come from the mouth of a dying man. In a sentence which occurs later the word appears as *pógk* (blood), but my informants were certain that *pug* itself is not blood.

[3] See p. 616.

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replied, "*Pülmâv tars pògh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Aroth pun pârs Pâlmän kwark putvai, nadrtivadr*"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wursol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakhudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wursol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk [762] also strangled themselves with *kakhudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pòni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seizâr zon, Kwoten âr zon, Seizâr zon, Terkosh âr zon.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *âr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Taradr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that place were sent to him. [735] Very little is related about the third brother, Elnâkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

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Elnâkhum is said to have built the long wall which still exists at the village of Nòdrs. 173

The story of Kwoten reads very much like that of a man who really lived and was deified after his death. The minute detail with which several of the natural incidents of his life are known might be held to point in this direction, but perhaps more important is the fact that his ring can still be seen, and that his spear was, according to Breeks, in existence not long ago. It looks as if Kwoten was a man who raised Pan from a comparatively insignificant position among the Todas to be one of their chief clans, and was the means of introducing several innovations in Toda custom. It is probable that he was deified after his death, and that some of the incidents of his life have acquired miraculous characters. 773 776 [618]

Kwoto or Meilitars

There was once a man belonging to Melgars who married a woman of Kanòdrs and took her to Melgars. When she became pregnant, the woman was taken by her husband to Kanòdrs. On the way back to Melgars they passed Ushadr, the place where the funeral ceremonies of Melgars men took place. They were standing in front of the funeral hut at that place when the man found a good *twadri* tree,[1] and, cutting three or four sticks from it, brought them to his wife, who stripped the bark from the sticks. While she was doing this, the pains of labour came on, and soon after she gave birth to a gourd (*kem*). Both husband and wife were very much ashamed, and they decided to say that a child had been born and had died, and the man went round to all the villages to say that this had happened and that the funeral would be held at Ushadr. Accordingly they had the *etvai-nolkedr* (first funeral ceremony) at Ushadr, the gourd being covered with a *putkuli* (cloak), so that it was taken to be the body of a child.

First the buffaloes were caught and killed, and then the supposed corpse was taken to the burning-place, where a fire

[1] Probably the tree or bush from which the material called *twadrinar* is manufactured by the Todas.

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was made and the gourd in its mantle was put on the fire. The fire first burnt the cloak, and when it reached the gourd, this broke into two pieces. One piece became a little baby, a boy, which took a piece of the burnt cloak and went away in the air to Neikhârs, where there is a big tree, under which it alighted. The other piece of the gourd was split into many fragments by the heat of the fire, and some of the fragments were driven with such force that they killed a kite which had come to the funeral. (To this day the kite does not eat the buffaloes at funerals at Ushadr, though it does so at other places.) The father and mother followed the child to Neikhârs, where they found it sitting on the tree.[1] The father and mother said to the child "*Ena, itvâ*"—"My son, come here," and the boy came down and went to them, and was taken away by his parents to Melgars.

As the parents and child were on their way to Melgars they met the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* going from Kòn to Enòdr. At that time the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars used to go with the *ti* buffaloes as far as a place called Irgûdrval, on the way between Kars and Enòdr. A Kars man went with the buffaloes, and he wore on his right wrist a gold bracelet (which is still kept at Kuzhu). At Irgûdrval there is a stone called Pidûtkars, and it was the duty of the man with the bracelet to sit on this stone and to make the Melgars buffaloes pass on the right side, the Kars buffaloes on the left side, and the *ti* buffaloes in the middle. When he had done this, the *palol* prayed at the stone, and then the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars turned back and the *ti* buffaloes went on to Enòdr. When the man and his wife saw the buffaloes coming, they waited near Pidûtkars, and while they were waiting the baby laughed. The father asked the boy, "Why do you laugh?" The boy answered, "I know the *kwarzam*[2]

[1] My informants could not say whether the boy went away in the air as a child or as a kite. The boy often assumed the form of a kite later, and it is tempting to suppose that the assumption of this form by the child was connected with the death of the kite, *i.e.*, that it was a case of transmigration. The fact that the child went away in the air and was found sitting on a tree makes it highly probable that it flew in the form of a kite, but my informants could not say that this was definitely part of the legend.

[2] The *kwarzam* is the name used in prayer (see Chap. X).

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of the *ti* buffaloes, *perner persagun*; I know the *kwarzam* of the Melgars buffaloes, *narsiiln natiiln nâkh*; also I know the *kwarzam* of the Kars buffaloes, *inâtviḍshti inâtvan*; that is why I laughed." After the buffaloes had gone on to Enòdr, the parents and child went on their way to Melgars. After they had been at Melgars fifteen days, they noticed that the child grew so rapidly that they could see him getting bigger from day to day, and he was soon grown up. He was called Kwoto.

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One day Kwoto went into the buffalo pen and played there with the buffalo-dung, so that he was covered with the dust of the dung. His father rebuked him and was blowing on him to get rid of the dust when the boy changed into a kite and flew away. The next day he resumed human form, but from that time he only stayed in the village at times, and at other times stayed in the woods. This went on for about eight days, and then he refused to take food from the village and became a companion of the gods.

At this time the gods used to hold councils on the slopes below a hill called Tikalmudri. The place where they sat was called Pòlkab. When the gods were holding council at Pòlkab, Kwoto went and sat on the top of the hill Tikalmudri. Then the gods said to one another, "How is it that he sits on the top of the hill while we sit below? It is not at all good." They consulted together and decided to kill him. So three or four of the gods went to Kwoto and said in a cunning way, "We will show you your country" (*i.e.*, the place which should belong to him; each of the gods had his appointed place). So they took him to a steep precipice called Teipâper, and having deceived him that they would show him his country, they threw him down. Kwoto, however, was not killed, but took the form of a kite and flew back to Tikalmudri. Then all the gods were surprised that he was not dead, but decided to try and kill him again, and they took him to the hill Kòdrtho, near Nidrsi, and threw him down. (The hill Kòdrtho was inhabited by the god Kòdrtho.) Kwoto was not killed, but pulled up a bamboo tree with its roots, and flew back and struck Kòdrtho on the head, and Kòdrtho's head split into three pieces. One of these pieces is now the well-known

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173 hill, the Drug, seen from Coonoor, while the other two pieces
773 are eminences on the ridge running out to the Drug.

776 Kwoto then returned to Tikalmudri. The gods said, "We cannot kill him; he has some power; let us try his power." So they gave him the following task:

"*Privoi*	*tirikvd,*	*ptätr*	*ptrickvd?*"
Low	turn	high	fill?

i.e., "Can he turn the low stream and fill the high stream?" (According to another account the words in which the task was given were, "*Alvoi tiriki, Kalvoi ptrsvôka,*" *i.e.*, "Can he turn the stream Alvoi and fill the stream Kalvoi?")

Kwoto then took a huge stone, which may still be seen near Kanòdrs, and put it in the stream so that it flowed upwards. Then the stream begged Kwoto, "We are going upwards according to your order, but it is very difficult for us; we wish to be allowed to go our ordinary way." So Kwoto took away the stone and the stream resumed its natural course.

The gods saw what Kwoto had done and decided to try his power in another way, so they said:

"*Kônätr*	*ät,*	*kutei*	*kurs*	*ütia?*"
Sun	tie,	stone	chain	can he do?

i.e., "Can he tie the sun with a stone chain?" Kwoto then took a stone chain and tied it to the sun and brought the sun down to Nern, near Kanòdrs, and tied it to a tree. When the sun wanted to drink, Kwoto took it to the stream Kalvoi, from which the sun drank, and there is now to be seen a hole in this stream at the place where the sun drank.[1] Then Kwòto took the sun to a pool surrounded by trees called Nerpoiker, also near Kanòdrs. While the sun was tied in this way, it was dark both in this world and in Amnòdr. Then the people of Amnòdr came to the gods and asked why they allowed Kwoto to do these things, and said that they were now living in thick darkness, and they begged that Kwoto should be allowed to put the sun back in its right place. Then the gods went to Kwoto and asked him to put the sun

[1] This place is close to the spot at which the path from Pishkwosht (Bikkapattimand) to Kodanad crosses a stream soon after leaving the former village.

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back, and they acknowledged that he was a god and the most powerful of the gods. They said that he should no longer be called Kwoto, but that his name should be Meilitars, because he was superior to all the gods; also that he should go "*parnur nòdr, putnur nòdr*," "to 1,600 places, 1,800 places," *i.e.*, he should not belong to one place only, like the other gods, but should go everywhere.

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Then Meilitars put back the sun in its proper place.

(According to another version, the task of tying the sun was given in the words:

"*Kènèr*	*èt*,	*pirsagun*	*patrôbè?*"
Male buffalo	tie,	sun	can he catch?

The sun was said to have been at this time sitting on the back of a male buffalo, and Kwoto was told to tie the buffalo and catch the sun. According to this account Kwoto first used an iron chain, *kabantagars*, which was melted by the heat of the sun. Next he tried a bronze (?) chain called *kuchtagars*, which also melted. Then he used a stone chain, or *karstagars*, which did not melt, and he succeeded in tying the sun with this. This version of the story corresponds with that given by Breeks.)

Kwoto or Meilitars was closely connected with two clans, those of Melgars and Kanòdrs. It is said to be owing to the fact that Kwoto was a Melgars man that Melgars people have the special privileges and duties which are peculiar to that clan. At any rate, this is the view held by the people of Melgars. At Kanòdrs, the name of Kwoto occupies a prominent place in the prayer of the dairy, and several of the special features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs dairy are said to exist in consequence of the many wonderful things which Kwoto had done in its neighbourhood. When new buttermilk has to be made for Kanòdrs, it is made at a place called Kautarmad, far away, because Kwoto made new buttermilk there, and in the ceremony at this place earth is taken from certain places from which Kwoto took it.

Kwoto or Meilitars is the hero of several stories, in none of which does he play a very creditable *rôle*.

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

173 world and Amnòdr. Those who were dead stayed perman-
773 ently in Amnòdr, but living people could go to visit them
775 and return. One day Punatvan of Kars went with Meilitars to Amnòdr. They stayed there two days and two nights, and then Meilitars came away without Punatvan's knowledge. At that time the people of Kars were living at Nasmiòdr, so Meilitars went to Nasmiòdr and said that Punatvan intended to stop in Amnòdr, and wished the Kars people to perform the funeral ceremonies for him, killing thirty buffaloes. So the Kars people caught thirty buffaloes, the chief one being called Enmon. Round the neck of Enmon were hung the two bells (*wursuli mani*) called Karsod and Kòni. They cut a piece of stick and put it in a *putkuli* to represent the dead body and then killed the thirty buffaloes. As the buffaloes were on their way to Amnòdr, they met Punatvan on his way back. Punatvan asked the chief buffalo, Enmon, "Why do you come here?" Then Enmon told him what Meilitars had done. The man and buffalo put their heads together and cried, and their tears became a pool of water.[1] Then Punatvan took the two bells from the neck of Enmon and sent them back to Nasmiòdr, where they are kept to this day, but he returned to Amnòdr with the buffaloes. Then Ön, the ruler of Amnòdr, ordered that in future no one should return to the world of the living from Amnòdr, and since that day the Todas have not been able to go to and fro between the two worlds as they used to do.

173 At the present time the people of Keradr have no *ti*. Once
773 they had a *ti* which they lost through the action of Kwoto, who
● 776 went one day to their dairy at Tìkîrs, near Mòdr, and, hiding the *kaltmokh* in the wood, took his place. When the *palol* milks, it is the duty of the *kaltmokh* to let out the calves and send them to the *palol*. Kwoto did not do this properly, but sent more calves than were required, so the *palol* became angry and took his stick (*kwoinörtpet*) to beat the supposed *kaltmokh*, but the stroke missed and fell on the *palol* himself.

000 Another day the *palol* told Kwoto to pour out the re-

[1] This pool has been converted into the Marlimand reservoir, the source of the water-supply of Ootacamund.

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Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the re-

mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of 173
doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the butter- 753
milk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends small- 773
pox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would 776
no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then 886
Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto 173
sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the 773
buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all 776
went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part 173
is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received 177
several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy 262
myself which was correct.

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur 773
in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with 776
these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

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173 pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of
177 the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a
262 god and said that he would dance before them, and did so
773 like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever
776 he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *tawal*, or diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meilitars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (Panyas), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat the flesh of a calf while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *erkunyttkpini* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *erkunyttkpini* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

Other Gods

773 There are very many other deities. Of the following I can
776 give little more than the names.

Atisto is the *nidrmidi* of the Kwodrdoti clan and also of Pedrisan. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

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773 776 Konto or Konteu is the *nòdrodchi* of the Panol, and lives on the hill Konto, to which fire is set by the *palol* of the Kars or Pan *ti* (see Chap. XIII).

Kòdrtho is the *nòdrodchi* of Nidrsi. He played a part in the history of Kwoto, and according to some accounts he was the *mun*, or maternal uncle, of this god.

Near the source of the Paikara river, there is a cave in which there is a pool called Alvoi. Sometimes this pool gives forth a loud bubbling noise, and this is believed to be due to a *teu* dipping himself in the water. The name of the god is Alvoi Kalvoi, Kalvoi, situated at some distance from the pool, being a hill on which the god usually lives.

There are other gods about whose histories I have no information. Tiligush is the *nòdrodchi* of Päm and Karadr of Taradr. Pòrzo inhabits a hill near Nòdrs, and Karzo, a hill near Kars, and the names of other gods, such as Kaladrvan, Teikhun, Peigwa, Karmunteu, Kondilteu and Mundilteu, are mentioned in the prayers of the *ti* dairies.

114 177 776 In addition to these, who are certainly true Toda gods, the Todas also pay respect to the gods of the other tribes on the Nilgiris, while occasionally the names of Hindu gods are mentioned in their ceremonies. If a Toda be asked if he worships one of these gods, he will almost certainly assent, but at the same time he distinguishes them from his own gods. The only deity who seemed to be confused with their own gods by some of the Todas was Petkon, whose Badaga name was said to be Betakarasami. Breeks calls him Betikhan, and states that he is a hunting god; and according to some Todas Petkon was a son of Teikirzi.

Previous accounts of the Toda gods have been very erratic. Some writers have given the names of Hindu gods. Breeks gives the names of dairies as those of gods, though he also records abbreviated versions of several of the stories given in this chapter. The most curious account, however, of the Toda gods is that of Marshall, who gives[1] the following as the names of five gods which are muttered when milk is put on the sacred bells:—Ânmungâno, Godingâtho, Beligoshu, Dekulâria, and Kazudâva. We puzzled over these words for

[1] P. 142.

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a long time, and could not discover the names of gods even remotely resembling them. Finally it became clear that the last was "*kars ud âva*" ("Give me one rupee"). Similarly there was little doubt that "Beligoshu, Dekulâria" stood for "*beli karsu tudkersia*" ("Will you not give me a silver coin?"), the Badaga equivalent of the last word being very much like Dekulâria. The first two names we could not identify with certainty, but the first is possibly "*en mûn gânei*" ("Do not see my face"), and the second is possibly the name of a Badaga buffalo-pen.

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Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a *teuol*, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 191 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a god connected with the division to which the majority of the diviners belong. 787 791

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas. 177 787 791 198 776

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobův is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda. 787 791

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at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 302 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing. [234]

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind. [753]

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used. 751

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism. 177 776 751

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi*—*i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo. 755 278 824

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pudrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

It will have been noticed that the formulae recorded in this

754 chapter have the same general form as the prayers of the
788 dairy ritual. They consist of sentences ending in *mâ*, which
192 seem to be of the nature of supplications that certain things
771 may come to pass, preceded by the names of certain deities followed by the word *idith*, occasionally with other sentences allied in meaning to these. The two parts of the prayer are represented, but the first part, consisting of the *kwarzam*, does not appear to have acquired the same degree of importance as in the prayer. Thus the magical formulæ of the Todas have precisely the same general form as those used in their religious ritual. In the case of the prayer, I have pointed out that the actual words leave one in doubt as to whether there is anything of the nature of a direct appeal to the gods. In the magical formulæ, on the other hand, the case for an [776] appeal to the gods is stronger. In all the formulæ, whether used by sorcerers to bring evils on their enemies or by medicine-men to remove sufferings of various kinds, the names of the same four deities are mentioned, and these four deities, Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti, are undoubtedly four of the most ancient and sacred of the Toda gods. It is noteworthy that the sorcerer does not say the names of these gods when he is removing his spells, but simply refers to them as "those gods," and it is clear that he does this because he does not wish his victim to learn the names of the gods by whose power his misfortunes have been brought about and are now to be removed. This procedure leaves little room for doubt that it is through the active intervention of the gods that the sorcerer is believed to work.

There still remains the question whether the words of the magical formula imply anything of the nature of supplication, or whether the sorcerer is not rather using forms of words which will compel the gods to exert their powers in the way the sorcerer wishes. I have no definite information as to the belief of the Toda sorcerer on the point, but the almost contemptuous tone of the two clauses which follow the names of the four gods might perhaps be held to point to the latter conclusion, and to indicate that the sorcerer can use the gods as his instruments of wrath much as seems to have been the case with the magicians of our mediæval times.

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 673 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatsnol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatsnol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

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845 after delivery. If the child is still-born its body is buried at the same time.

A caul is named *kwadri* (umbrella), but no importance is attached to it, nor is it kept.

SECLUSION AFTER CHILDBIRTH

846 Two or three days after childbirth the mother and child go to the seclusion-hut, or *puzhars*, the same structure being used as after the hand-burning ceremony. Various rites are performed, both when going to and leaving the seclusion-hut, and these have many points in common with those which take place before and after the hand-burning. As in that case, the procedure for the Tartharol differs considerably from that of the Teivaliol.

The general name for the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* is *pòlk pòtha nir utpimi*—"to the calf back (or hind quarters) water we pour," from one of the chief features of the proceedings. The ceremony takes place either in the early morning or in the evening.

The woman who is to be secluded, whether she be Tarthar or Teivali, rubs ashes on her head and face (*pûthi adipimi*, ashes we rub), and comes out of the ordinary hut in which [924] she has been living since the delivery. She holds over her head a branch of the 'Nilgiri holly,'[1] which has spreading leaves so that it resembles an umbrella; this leafy umbrella is called *tòrikwadr*, and the act is called *tòrikwadr patipimi*, "we hold the umbrella." The head is also covered with [776] the *putkuli*. From the moment she leaves the hut the woman is very careful to keep her face turned away from the sun, not on account of its noxious influence, but in order to avoid the star or other body called Keirt, which is supposed to be near the sun. The child is carried in front of the mother by another woman, who also holds a *tòrikwadr* to shelter the infant from the evil influence of Keirt. Among the Tartharol a small artificial dairy is made, exactly as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, and four reeds are cut to represent dairy vessels.

[1] Called by the Todas *tòri* or *tòrimul* (*Berberis nepalensis*); its leaves are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

846 and bows down at the threshold of the imitation dairy, after which she goes into the seclusion-hut. During the whole of the proceedings she is careful not to turn her face towards the sun.

Among the Teivaliol there is no imitation dairy and, as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, only two reeds are used as *ertatpun*. A fire is made on an improvised fireplace of three stones, and lighted by means of thatch brought from the hut,[1] and food is put on a fragment of an earthenware vessel and placed over the fire.

After the woman has drunk of the water which has been poured over the back of the calf, she breaks the earthenware fragment over the fire, saying, *Namavku*, "to Namav," this rite being called *Namavtur kwudrtpimi*, "to Namav we give." [713] The woman then goes to the seclusion-hut, being assisted by her husband, who now acquires the impurity which is called *ichchil*, and any one else who touches the woman after this ceremony also becomes *ichchil*.

●776 I saw the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* on two occasions, the woman each time belonging to the Teivaliol. 784 The most striking feature of each occasion was the obvious 846 and intense dread of Keirt. In one case, soon after leaving the hut, the woman, Sintagars, called out for another umbrella as she feared that the *tòrikwadr* was not sufficient to shelter her from Keirt, and during the rest of the proceedings she held over herself both the leafy umbrella and one of the ordinary kind.

I was told that all the chief incidents of the ceremony—the rubbing on of ashes, the holding of the leaf umbrella, the pouring of water over the calf and the giving to Namay—were all designed to avert the evil influence of Keirt, which they call *Keirtpudrtvuti* (see p. 269).

846 After the woman has gone to the seclusion-hut she is visited by relatives and friends, who stand at a distance, just as they did after the hand-burning ceremony. They bring rice with them as a present and call out

Marivut	*irch*	*mikh*	*mokh*	(or *kugh*)	*udpatia?*
Confined	life	remaining	son	(or daughter)	had you?

I am doubtful whether this is essential.

1 [of the seclusion of a woman following the birth of a Child -- Analyse]

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It is perhaps significant that the number seven should be a sacred number to a people who have so highly developed the cult of different days of the week. It is possible that the purificatory drinkings of the ordination ceremonies were at one time performed seven times with the idea that the candidate was sanctifying himself for each day of the week, but at the present time it is clear that the act is performed seven times because this number is prescribed by custom. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the sanctity of the number seven occurs predominantly in the religious cults of peoples who have a seven-day week. 788 801

Nine.—This number only occurs in the dairy ceremonial during the ordination of the *palol* when the seven-fold purification with *tudr* is performed nine times.

Twelve.—I only met with this number once, in the prayer at the *pilinörtiti* ceremony, when the expression "12 years" is used as if it were equivalent to "for ever."

Sixteen and *Eighteen.*—The chief interest of these numbers is that they are used in connexion with the gods. There are said to be 1600, 1800 gods, and these numbers are mentioned in the prayer of the Kanòdrs dairy and in the legends. The numbers are probably used in the way in which we should use the word 'infinite,' but there must be some reason why they should have been chosen. 776 801

The number 18 occurs in another connexion in the rule that the *palol* should perform a certain ceremony after eighteen years of continuous office. 801

I have one possible clue to the choice of the number eighteen. The Todas say that a species of Strobilanth growing on the Nilgiris as a shrub only flowers once in eighteen years. They call this shrub *pövkat*, and it was in flower during the year of my visit. Albert, my interpreter, had only seen it in flower once or twice, but had not paid special attention to the duration of the flowering period. The number of times that several Todas had seen the flowers agreed approximately with their probable ages. Thus, Kutadri saw the flowers in 1902 for the third time, having seen them for the first time when he was twelve years old. This would make his age forty-eight, which seemed from other sources of information to be 824 801 805

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE GODS

The Toda gods are definitely anthropomorphic beings, who are believed to have lived in this world before man existed. Both man and buffalo were created by the gods, and the Todas seem to picture a time when gods, men, and buffaloes lived together on the Nilgiri Hills, and the gods ruled the men. At this time the gods seem to have lived much the same kind of life as the Todas themselves. Ön was *palol* to the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, his son Püv was *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, and other gods are believed to have filled dairy offices. From the earliest times, however, the gods were connected with the hills—*i. e.*, they were believed to dwell on the summits of the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. At first they seem to have mixed at times in human society and at other times to have retired to their hill-tops. The earliest of the gods was Pithi, who was born in a cave, and the Todas and many of their buffaloes were created by his son Ön and his wife. Later death came to the gods in the person of Püv, the son of Ön and Ön followed Püv to the world of the dead, called Amnòdr, of which he has since been the ruler. He left behind him as predominant among the deities Teikirzi, a goddess, who ruled over the Todas. It is to her that the origin of most of the Toda institutions is ascribed, and there is some reason to think that she was predominant among the gods even before Ön went to Amnòdr.

The Todas seem to believe that Teikirzi was at one time a person living among them, giving laws and regulating the affairs of the people. At the present time she is believed to be all-pervading; and, though she has her special hill, she does not dwell there only, as in the case of all but one of the other Toda deities.

There seem to have been many other gods contemporaneous with Ön and Teikirzi, and certain of these are believed to have been related to these deities and especially to Teikirzi. The gods are believed to be very numerous: the Todas speak of the 1,600 gods, the 1,800 gods, but it would seem that these expressions are used in the sense of "an infinite

773 number." The gods are believed to have held their councils, meeting on some special hill, to which each god came from his own hill-top. The hill of Pòlkab, near Kanòdrs, and the village of Miuni are both renowned as meeting places of the gods.

There is a very definite association between the Toda gods and the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. Nearly every one of the gods has his hill where he dwells, and often when speaking of the gods the Todas seem to identify the god with the hill. There are two river gods, Teipakh and Pakhwar, associated with the two chief streams of the district, but there is some reason to believe that even these gods have their hills where they sometimes live, while at other times they inhabit or are identified with their streams. In the case of Teipakh, the god and the natural object seem to be very closely identified, and Kuzkarv, growing up in the river Teipakh, is said to be sitting in the lap of his maternal uncle. Again, one god is associated with a bubbling pool, but he also has his hill-top and is believed only to visit the pool on certain occasions. There can be little doubt that most of the Toda gods are hill-deities and that the association of the gods with hills is so strong that even the gods of streams and pools may be assigned their hills in general belief.

There is one important feature which is said to be common to all the hills inhabited by deities. They all have on their summits the stone circles which the Todas call *pun*. My informants were very definite about this and fully understood that these stone circles corresponded to the cairns and barrows opened by Breeks and others.

I was not able to examine into the question for myself and ascertain whether the circles called *pun* were actually present on the god-inhabited hills, but I have no reason to doubt that this was usually the case. Most writers on the Todas have been inclined to suppose that the cairns and barrows, with their contents, were in no way connected with the Todas, and they have based this opinion largely on the indifference of the Todas to these monuments. The people who are so jealous of their dairies that they will not allow anyone to enter or even view their contents, will allow any stranger to open the

172 interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference
183 which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.[1]

●776 Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

769 There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as
771 heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of
776 the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

[1] I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grandfathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence. 769 771 776

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men. [775]

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personifications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence whatever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces. 771 776

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neurzülukars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual 776 778

[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

776 process of transference of sanctity from the buffalo to the
778 object worn by it, and I think it not unlikely that this transference may have reached its full development in comparatively recent times.

If my view be accepted, it would still leave open the religious status of the buffalo, and especially of the bell-buffalo, and here, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to me probable that the buffalo was never regarded as a god in the same sense in which this word is used for the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops. In the oldest legends, in which the buffaloes spoke like men, it is clear that they were in subjection to the gods, and were in no way regarded as themselves divine.

776 Some writers on the Todas have supposed that the *palol* is regarded as a god, but at the present time it is certain that
793 he is in no way divine. He is treated with respect, but nothing of the nature of worship or adoration is paid to him. His position among the Todas is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity. That his isolation is not a sign of divinity is, I think, shown by the results of infringement of his isolation. If the *palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches incurs no penalty. The sacrilege, according to Toda ideas, would attach not to him, but to the *palol* who, in spite of being touched, should persist in performing the duties of his office.

174 Whether the *palol* may ever have been more sacred in the
776 past I cannot say. An indication that he may at one time have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special
793 clauses of the Kiudr prayer which are uttered on the occasion of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*. Here the *kwarzam* of the *palol* is *eupalol*, which stands for *teupalol*, or "god palol," but in the next *kwarzam* the same prefix is given to his garment, the *tuni*, and I have little doubt that these *kwarzam* simply refer to the sanctity which attaches to the *palol* and his garment as part of the sacred institution of the *ti*. There is no doubt, however, that, according to tradition, the gods held the office of *palol* and that the *palol* of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Nòdrs *ti* is the direct successor of the god Ön, but to whatever extent Ön may have passed on his divine character to his immediate successors, there is little doubt that at present the *palol* has lost any divinity which may at one time have been ascribed to him. 174 776 793

It is very difficult to ascertain how far at the present time, according to Toda belief, the gods intervene in human affairs. Each clan is believed to have its *nòdrodchi*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nòdrodchi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler. Thus Teipakh is connected with both Piedr and Kusharf, Atioto with both Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, while Etepi, who is the *nòdrodchi* of Keradr, and Kuzkarv, the *nòdrodchi* of Keadr, are almost certainly one and the same deity. In the two latter cases a Tarthar clan has the same god as a clan of the Teivaliol. 776

Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nòdrodchi* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo. The Todas certainly believe that misfortunes are due to the anger of the gods. It is clear that the various offerings described in Chapter XIII are piacular and propitiatory. They are designed to atone for wrong done and to avert any future evil consequences of the offence which has been committed. 776 782

The power of the gods is believed to show itself in various ways. In several cases dairies have been disused because the dairymen have died in office, and this was said to have happened because the gods of those places were severe. It was apparently believed that they had visited infringements of the laws regulating dairy ritual with death.

The various misfortunes which befell different members of the community as the result of my visit were all ascribed to the anger of the gods. Again, the untoward incidents of the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 391) were ascribed to the anger of the gods because there had been an infringement of funeral custom. These and other cases show clearly that

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
782 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are
788 the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual. In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
787 the frenzy into which the *tewol* or diviners fall they are believed
791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *tewol*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village. 776 234

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas. 776 787 177

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods. 776 778 823

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are 776

776 very vague. On the other hand, certain gods of obviously more recent origin seem to be replacing, to some extent, the older gods. The lives of Kwoten and Meilitars can be related by many in great detail, but though they seem to inspire more interest among the Todas I cannot say that I observed anything to show that they receive any special worship or reverence. [773] Meilitars is especially mentioned in the Kanòdrs prayer, but this would only put him on a level with many objects of no great amount of sanctity. The attitude of the Todas towards these two beings seemed to me to be rather that of people towards heroes than towards gods, though the mythology has raised them to the level of the gods.

771 Nevertheless, the idea of "god" is highly developed among the Todas and I am inclined to believe that the most satisfac-
776 tory explanation of the Tòda deities is that the people came to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes have been raised to the ranks of the gods and that the lives of these heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the progress towards complete obliviscence; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods.

The Todas, then, show us a stage of religious belief in which gods once believed to be real, living among men and intervening actively in their affairs, have become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible and intervening in the affairs of men in a mysterious manner and chiefly in the case of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given.

771 The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom
788 of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 absent in the new country. At the same time, it is perhaps
182 not without significance that the Todas are allowed to eat the
771 flesh of the sambhar. In their former home, in the low country, it is almost certain that this animal would not have been a totem, and therefore it would be natural that on their reaching the Nilgiris they might be permitted to eat it.[1]

771 It is doubtful how far the Todas have an idea of a supreme
776 god. At the present time they speak of and constantly appeal to Swami, and they will say that Swami is above all the gods, but I have very little doubt that this is a recent idea. Swami was chiefly spoken of and reverenced by the younger men, and it is quite clear that the name should not properly occur in the formulæ of any Toda ritual. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that the idea is old. It is probable that at one time there existed direct appeal to gods in the Toda prayer, and this direct appeal may have been to some supreme being who was addressed as Swami.

Apart from this question of the meaning of Swami, two deities stand out from the remainder of the Toda gods. One of these is Meilitars, whose cunning was able to deceive the gods, and who was able to perform miracles which were regarded as beyond the powers of the other gods. His story seems to show one way in which a god might rise above his fellows, and might become a supreme god, but this has certainly not happened in his case. There is not the slightest evidence to show that Meilitars is in any way worshipped as a supreme god. There is a much stronger case for the supremacy of the goddess Teikirzi. Teikirzi is said to be the foundress of many of the Toda institutions; the final explanation of all things in the Toda mind is that "it is the will of Teikirzi." She is said to be all-pervading, and

[1] I do not wish to lay any stress on this argument, for, as I have already indicated, it is possible that the eating of sambhar is a recent innovation, which has arisen since the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiris. Also I do not wish to indicate by the above that I commit myself to a belief in the universality of totemism as a stage in religious development. I only wish to point out that if this has been so, the Todas furnish a good case in which we might expect all traces of this descent to have disappeared or to have become so blurred and scanty as to be of little value.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional *kwarsam* uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti. 771 776

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Ön who rules the world of the dead.

Influence of other Religious Systems

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,[1] whose temple is near Mettapollayam. 177 771 776

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At the present time there is no doubt that their temples are visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas from 40 TO 100 RUPEES. 776 782 842

[1] These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

776 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however
782 much money they take away with them from their villages, all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been
776 worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the
782 Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums
771 were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The
797 Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one
771 of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGION.

Prayers to Sun and Moon—The Mysterious confused with Godhead—No clear conception of a Supreme Being—The use of a God—Toda Belief—Amnôr—Where situated—Sin, Punishment, little Gods, Spirits, Witchcraft—Toda Religious Belief, whence derived.

If by the word religion, we mean to imply devotion, piety, duty, as applied to the worship of God, Creator and Ruler; then the Todas are most certainly an irreligious people, judging of them, as we can alone judge, by their actions; whether we compare them by our own standard or through the rites and performances of simple races more in keeping with themselves. CHAP. XII. 771

They salaam to the rising and setting sun—bîrsh—and the moon—tiggalu [1]—at night, reciting the one formula of prayer which they use on all devout occasions; danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama, the meaning of which has already been translated in note 5 of Chapter VII. To see a man amongst his family, stand out on a moonlight night with hand to forehead, asking most gravely this blessing on his house, from one of the givers of light, is an impressive spectacle, though the address may have been made only to the moon. 788

We see from this formula what they acknowledge to be the fact; that they look on these luminaries as Gods, Lords—Dêr, Swâmi—not that they are, in the least degree, clear on the subject of their power, or the mode or limits of their 771 776

[1] See note No. 3 of Chapter VII.

CHAP. XII.

771 776 action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see, confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

773 They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

771 782 778 They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to any personal God, of whose attributes or power they entertain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[2] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

771 776 I am not prepared to say that these people have actually no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[3] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

[2] See Chapter VIII.

[3] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

me, that the Pekkans are poor and have few herds, therefore *they have no occasion for a God* to protect them. I see the man now before me shaking his grave head, 'Aha, they don't want a God.' CHAP. XII. 771 776

'First divest your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson. The Toda anticipated that sage advice long years ago. What is the *use* of a God if not to protect life and property? And no property, no God! I dwell on this phase of the primitive mind, for it will liberate us much from the necessity for searching for evidences of religious worship in the customs, whose description I am entering upon.

The sum of real Toda belief is, that they were born, they and their cattle, somehow—rose out of the earth. When they die they go to amnôr,[4] which is a world exactly like this; whither their buffalos join them, to supply milk as in this state—*voilà tout.* They look on this migration from the nomad point of view: but do not appear to be quite clear whether they and their cattle go to amnôr in the body or the spirit. Some practical difficulties appear to present themselves, to whichever belief they bend. The abstruseness of the question is acknowledged. They are satisfied that they *do* get there, and don't care to speculate and reopen a matter which has so long and so satisfactorily been settled! 771 775

A good opportunity presenting itself, in a visit with which I was favoured by an important religious character, I asked him where amnôr was situate. He did not appear surprised at the question, or in a moment's doubt as to the locality. Looking about him in the sky as if to ascertain the cardinal points of the compass; as all Orientals do; who living without clocks or barometers, read the signs in the heavens for guidance 772 775 821

[4] Amnôr, amnâr, ômunâr = *the next world.*
Nâr or nâḍu = *district, country.* This is Tamil.
Ôma is a difficulty. Yaman is the '*God of death.*'
It seems to be = avan, which in Tamil = *there*, and is sometimes used for *the other world.* In Tamil, ammai = *the next state* or *stage in transmigration.* [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XV.

234 is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the names of the following Gods:—

Ânmungâno	Godingâtho
Beligoshu	Dekulâria

Kazudâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

[1] Nin arzbini—*I adore thee.* See Chapter XVII., on the êtud Mand, for the application of these words.

776 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and
713 not Gods of my tirièri only. I have never seen them. They are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk.
713 After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tirièri. He
412 said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in
713 none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tirièri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in
372 saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tirièri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

778 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by
713 anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his
234 priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tôde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

sacred nature of such office, advanced in popular estimation until they are viewed in the aspect of priests. The high priest, from being a servant of certain Gods, has become confused with Godhead itself. A family styling itself 'sons of the Gods,' has developed—though without arrogation to caste pretensions—into a Levitical clan, inheritors of the highest priestly office; its males being prepared and chastened thereto in sacred groves, by the use of a plant set apart for the purpose, and by abstinence from sensual pleasures; the females of the entire tribe, being not only excluded from participation in such duties, but debarred approach to all holy precincts.

These points appear to me to embrace the whole of what may be held to be Toda—performed—religion unadulterated.

They acknowledge the existence of Gods, *perhaps* even of a Supreme God—Ûsuru[1] Swâmi—but their ideas on the subject are quite undeveloped. I think I trace in them a partiality to the regard of *light*—apart from fire—as *par excellence*, the manifestation of divinity. Their beliefs, whatever they may be, are so little attended with formal signs of adoration, that we cannot, with any degree of confidence, assert this or that to be their creed. Still I believe I have grounds for the opinion that these people have a strong bias in favour of *light*;[2] the natural bent of their mind being such, that if any other race would work out for them the idea, connecting Ûsuru Swâmi with some such attribute of divinity as light, they could soon be brought to exalt Bêl into 'a king above all gods:' the more readily if deference to the cow was inculcated with such a teaching.

I submit the suggestion as one having a possible value in determining the ethnic affinities of the Toda race: and as

[1] See note 3 of Chapter XII.

[2] Note the Toda words in Chapter XXIX., showing how frequently the word 'bel' occurs, even in my small vocabulary; see *dawn*, *light*, *silver*, *bird*, *white*. Also, the names of men, and of Gods, given in previous Chapters.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.

778 (3.) Called *Tūrzhva*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.

(4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mutterzhva*.

346 Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding

103 God and Bell, where there is one.

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Peiki Muimands (*Etadmands*).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkannash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mírzhan. Ertâtu. Kírzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshannash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf 2. Karzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu. Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

* Measurements:—

From top of roof to ground	16′	
Inside diameter, north to south	9′	2″
Do. do. east to west	8′	2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′	
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′	7″
Breadth do. do.	1′	2″
From eaves to ground	3′	5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

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Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Músdshyáld	Kérshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tírzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nirzh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârzhtith	Kátĕtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângŭar. Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérköärzh	Musdshyáldf.	
6. Kúramárzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor, Tĕkva, Pĕshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kúĕrsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Párzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

776 Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bĕtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

771 In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest
788 kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salām to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasion-
778 ally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be
782 well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Bad. Tarnât. *Pl.* vm.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
765 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which
174 this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Azārame*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bêtikhân,
782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
441 are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pūtkuli*, *tharp*, *kōnu*, *&c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tēr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

775 The Todas, as we have said, believe in a Heaven and Hell, the latter represented by a river or swamp full of leeches. The road to *Âmunâd* (Heaven) lies across this stream, and those who have already reached their Paradise, make for new-comers a bridge formed of a single thread, which will bear a good man, but breaks under the weight of a sinner, and precipitates him into *Pâférigén** (Hell) (from *pâf*, leech; *éri*, place; *gén*, water), where he remains until he has expiated his offences. I asked particularly what became of the slaughtered buffaloes meanwhile, but my informant had evidently taken this economical question into consideration, and replied that they crossed higher up, and were utilized by the dead man's family until his penance was over.

[776] *Âmunâd* is presided over by Ēn, a deified Toda, on whose authority the Todas believe it to be "a good place." Their description of it however does not seem attractive. They say that here men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that in *Âmunâd* the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism† between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of *Âmunâd* probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. *Cf. Institutes, X.* 84. "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame: for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

The bridge of thread recalls the Mahomedan Al Sirât, and the Badagas have a similar tradition, which receives a curious illustration from the actual practice of the Khāsias, when carrying home the remains of any of their number who may have died at a distance. "The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade through water, and if they trust themselves to it, would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and, if the breadth is great, this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow, merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the 'string bridge'"‡

Our own old superstition about the inability of witches to cross running water seems a reproduction of the same idea.

7 page. 212 197 The Todas have no written language. Captain Harkness§ speaking of their dialect says, "It appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries. With the Sanscrit it has not the least affinity in roots, construction, or sound, and if I may venture to say so, as little with any Asiatic language of the present day."

Major Ross King gives a similar account in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.

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* Dr. Pope (*Outlines*, &c.) says "pâf, an insect, is probably old Kanarese-puru. It must, however, be stated that the words in which *f* is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace."

† Compare *Genesis* i. 28, and iv. 12; also *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, page 240, story of Prithu and Prithivi.

‡ *On the Stone Monuments of the Khāsi Hill Tribes*, by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen. *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, October 1871, Vol. I., No. II.

§ *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 25.

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
773 from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he
173 enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
773 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
776 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pāltchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute emuneration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,* and Nātanēri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
773 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mūttinād mund, near the top of the Segūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Creormund road.

As Tekudi came from Tarnât Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air. 539 773

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikâra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Tarnât Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotên went to a Kurumba village in Bâni Shîma,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swâmi ‡ woman, by name Têrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotên returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotên slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring § and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Têrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotên and Têrkosh, on the Sisapâra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Têrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotên.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanâd. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanâd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ên's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Mands. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swâmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ên one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ên's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bâni Shîma, the country of the Bhawâni (Bhowâny) river.

‡ Swâmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nirvên, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotên's ring. Nirvên claims to be a direct descendant of Kotên. He professes to have lost the spear.

‖ These five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodîtha, Pûrsh, Kotên, and Têrkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Mal swaramalê. 776 782

¶ This seems to have been concocted to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanâd Mand.

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551 patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions
[614] the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondωriidz. One of these is the daughter of iimuxfuin (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxüωiɪ (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondωr to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary
771 to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of
234 munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and
[192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töü "god" or nωiɪ "sacred place" or by the compound töünωiɪ, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and
776 nωiɪ when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some
778 extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the
[179] gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god öm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töünωiɪ, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

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[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–63, 1937).

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It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly. 776 778 [821] [354]

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the küasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of küasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toirθasoɨ̨ moiety, but not among the töüfiɨ̨joɨ̨), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tiɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of küasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one küasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one küasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the küasm. 778 552 [788] [614] [103]

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and küasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. üuɪṣoɪr of the meɨ̨gaɪsoɨ̨ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paɪng (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maɪkaɪs of the kaɪsoɨ̨ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiɪ-places of this sib. toɪsjoɨ̨ɨ of the kaɪsoɨ̨ (15, Tarsiolv) has the name of the kurpoɨ̨j dairy at the mund kaɪs. komdüuɪ of the toɪroɪroɨ̨ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoɨ̨j dairy at the mund toɪroɪr. pepoɪb of the meɨ̨gaɪsoɨ̨ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuɪsaɪs, a mund of the sib. köɪroɪrküɪṭṇ of the köɪroɪroɨ̨ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second küasm of the people of the sib. oɪtjaɪs of the puɪrgoɪroɨ̨ (34, Atharr) has the second küasm of the people of the sib. munombiɪʃtj, son of koɪtsiθj (12, Kacheidl) has one of the küasm of the buffaloes of his sib. 778 551 614

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778 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this
551 is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has
614 been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæθj in §12 and tæθjxæɪ, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tɪɪpɪɪxrūɪṭṇ, son of tæɪpɪɪ (20, Teipakh), and tɪɪfnɪɪs (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogloʃj dairy at the mund toɪroɪ, which is named tɪɪpɪɪsforū. In the case of one man pɪnɪɪs (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is kɪmɪɪs, which is the first kūɪsm of the mund poʃtɪɪr of the toɪroɪroʃ, but that a real kūɪsm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name pɪnɪɪs is based on the second kūɪsm of this mund, pɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged kūɪsm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. ōɪkjaʃf (24, Irkiolv) after the kūɪsm ōɪrṇɪɪs, ōɪkjaʃf, and oɪxūmḷṇ (24, Orguln) after the kūɪsm oɪrṇɪɪs, oɪxūmḷṇ; the kūɪsm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
● 776 existent is clear, for kiɪrṇɪɪs of the niɪjoʃ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second kūɪsm of the mund niɪj, and orjxæɪ of the
614 mōɪroʃ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second kūɪsm of the mund pæn. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always
551 clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of
103 compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. tōūmod (24, Teimad) <a valley (pæʃ) called tōūmodḷoʃ. mɪgoj (24, Mogal) <mɪgojnæɪ "cubit (mɪgoj)-shade (næɪ)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtsūɪ of his sib.[6] kakæɪ (20, Kakar) <kakæɪxūɪt, an open place in the middle of thickets (kūɪt) near the mund toɪroɪ. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiθjmɪɪrj (20, Kidimudri) <kiθjmɪɪn, a mountain; mɪɪn is the peak of a hill and mɪɪrj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

[6] Rivers (p. 623) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by enrollment of a place-name correlated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

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§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪ. It is found also in a number of kūarm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. myuj of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̨ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kūarm is pauɪnuɪ which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪ) of the 1600 (pauɪnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (pauɪnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭṇuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪ, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nul- "to stand;" the change of l to ɪ is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kūarm komuɪ of the mund nyiḷṇ of the meḷguɪoɪ̨ is to be interpreted as kom-nuɪ "the place of the god kom;" kom or komßū is the mountain near this mund. The first kūarm of the mund meḷguɪ is nauɪnuɪ, clearly to be connected with the two kūarm of the people of this sib, nauɪßoɪr, nauɪfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrßuɪoɪ̨ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kūarm of the buffaloes of this sib, nauɪi̧ṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷguɪ, nauɪūuɪ (i.e. nauɪ-tūuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element nauɪ means is quite unknown; but nauɪnuɪ is "the place of the nauɪ." Two munds, kīuɪr of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̨ and kūauɪßyṇj of the puɪgoɪroɪ̨, have kūstæɪnuɪ as their first kūarm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of kūstæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the möɪroɪ̨ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not kūarm, with this element are poi̧jnuɪ "the place of the funeral-ḃut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪūuṭoɪ̨, and nauɪnuɪ, a female funeral-place of the möɪroɪ̨, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪ is appropriate in place-names and kūarm of munds. A brother of momgiæj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kīundnuɪ, whose name is the first kūarm of the mund kīi̧ker of his sib. kauɪnuɪ (56, Karsnera) < the first kūarm of the mund tauɪnuɪx of his sib. The name kīnuɪ (26, Kiner) is derived from kīnuɪ̧ṇuɪ, the first kūarm of the mund könroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪ. For it is certain that -nuɪ is now felt as a

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is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "prepuce of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboo work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 180).

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pəirθotj near the mund kərkoɪ. edzen (22, Idjen) < ɪdzfəj, a valley near the mund pəʃtəɪr; this man was afterwards called kûnɪrxəz, from a rocky ground near the mund tæɪlgûuɪr, since there was another man called edzen. nəɪyij (25, Natuli) < kinxəɪyij, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund pəʃtəɪr; kinxəɪyij = "small (kin)-stone (kəz)-deep pool (tyij)," and nəɪyij = "beauty (nəz)-deep pool (tyij)." I could not discover that nəɪyij was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæɪθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæɪθj and kæm, a brother of tæɪθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmaʃl, cf. kæmgûuɪṭə (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkiθj, for which see §12.

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§17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or kûnɪm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjəɪr in §14. Others are

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moɪrəmn, a son of tôôθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪrəmn, i.e. Mariamma; noɪxoroɪdzn, a son of sirjəɪr (table 20), < noɪxuɪr "Nagore" or noɪxuɪrxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roɪdzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noɪxoɪ or noɪxoroɪf "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ərdʒən "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ŋ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ərdʒ. The other name is idjoɪn (a son of tæɪpəx, table 20). This is from idroɪdzn "king (roɪdzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in ômgûuṭə (20, Enkutan); ôɪn, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes kûnθθ, who belonged to the sib of the melgnɪroɪj, had another name mæɪltəɪz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meiltaɪz).

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§19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. koɪntəɪz, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kântarâja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kântarasu. (ərs is the Toda representation of Kannada erasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

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551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæibj, daughter of ōiknuz (8, Arkners), <"baby;" pentʃ, daughter of korxūuṭp (42, Kadrkutan), <"bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæsn; a woman's name tæis is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kajniir, 3, Kainir).

[177] §30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiifj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amendiifj, daughter of kūuilpox (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 614 708 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and kūurm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. ōmgūuṭp §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 193 614 §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[10] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

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[10] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the kūurm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the po*f*o:*l*, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töuθut and the töunoɔ̃. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the *wrfo:lfmat*, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. *kaŋθum*, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying *hõ:* at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is cleaned at *ni·r*, after in *ur*.

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθuṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tuṭ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tökiṛj created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noṛ; and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθuṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 776 114 794 [777] [791] [688] 794

The töunoṛ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoṛ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as aṛ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noṛ "sacred place." Within the noṛ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noṛ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noṛ "sacred place" or töunoṛ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which 777 234 [361] [782] [783] [562] 776 234 778 794 [192]

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is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːʈ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noːʈoːselm	kuːtʃuθnoːʈ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tōuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːʈ), the sacred place to which the goddess tōːkiɲj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moɾeθaɾm	kumʈumθnoːʈ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mɾeθaɾm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noːʈexuːḍtk	pimθnoːʈ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tōuenoːʈtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tōuθuʈ, the tōunoːʈ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tōunoːʈ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tōunoːʈ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair: paːɾmuːrθu, paʈʈuːrθu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kuɡm)" of the mund myːnj, which is paːɾmu, said to mean "the standing-place (nuu) of the 1600 gods (represented by paːr for paːrmur)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunoːṛ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the tiː. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not tōunoːṛ. Some munds also which have dairies are not tōunoːṛ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunoːṛ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunoːṛ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the tōunoːṛ, which are utumḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunoːṛ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuθuṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation. [342] [178] [793]

When a tōunoːṛ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunoːṛ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunoːṛ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn. [791] [614]

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōuθuṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nȯdrodehi, i. e. noːṛoːḍei-, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōuθuṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (utumḍmoḍ or tōunoːṛ) was created, as we have said, by a tōuθuṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning. [614]

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771 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion
● 776 seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at
794 the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs"
234 he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiɟj and the rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθut̪. Since they are distinct from the töunor̪, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθut̪. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the for-
771 mer, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may pro-
174 bably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product
794 of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly
234 general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kiɟj and the other töuθut̪ for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiɟj and the gods
[776] associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods, the töuθut̪, stories are still told in the vague way of which
776 Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really
538 merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

771 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no
234 change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such
794 change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete
172 abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical
178 alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 487-8 worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

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worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nōrnmę (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son airjar; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a tōu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief alreay mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is somj (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmę (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

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of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative so:mi: as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munda, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 778 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk 234 from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of [462] stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthro-* [113] *pologist* 39. 108-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [778] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [796] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

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In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on 771
pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of
esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of
the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names [776]
and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is 776
that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a [178]
part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now
quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (espe- [115]
cially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something
about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an
intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which [773]
the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same
kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of
buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some
of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living
on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. [114]
Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly
speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very
good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned
by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the
present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Under-
world (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris;
while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife,
Pinakursh, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes;
2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity,
amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear
continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when
Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a [103]
hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however,
omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the
Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover [174]
what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or
so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which
would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world
of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author,
see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter [128]
refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

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776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[24] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

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modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Komarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

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[Melgarsh Village]

159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said
776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting
[125] on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
159 even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh*, *wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be-
[836] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konorj.

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 777
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvasnudr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvasnudr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this 755
kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or 756
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incantations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Sinpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkòren* may be spoken of as an *utpol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *utpol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any inter-
193 course with people other than the Badagas and Kotas. "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts
796 them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
618 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kárs clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regula-
777 tions which have been described in this chapter. One of these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

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Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *tererstki* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

[1] According to a later finding of the *tiwal*, the death of Tersvell was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion, "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
777 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure
688 of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they
796 might fall.

Several previous writers, when recording the choice of
621 certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the
618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good
or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday,
777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi* ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in
777 this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the present time a given act is done or not done on a given day, the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing that the act shall or shall not be done on that day. 527

There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations connected with certain days of the week which have probably arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days. 777

There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays, on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol* is visited by Todas other than the *nòrol*. Such facts suggest that the three days on which the rivers should not be crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday. The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to the whole community may be connected with the belief in lucky and unlucky days. [784]

Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas evidently regard the first half of the month as most auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for the period of the full moon or for the second half of the moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may take place in the second half of the month, but I have no doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity. 527 796

The definite values assigned to different days of the week is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madnol* we have an institution very closely resembling that of the Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the existence of different *madnol* for different clans of the community would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on the business of life, and such a community would probably agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At present the *madnol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other 527 621

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθuɨ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tuɨ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called *mod*, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö̆kiɨ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noɨ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθuɨ are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The töunoɨ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoɨ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as aɨ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noɨ "sacred place." Within the noɨ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noɨ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noɨ "sacred place" or töunoɨ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noʂ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localised dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noʂoɤelm	kuʂtjuθnoʂ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tõuoɤelm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noʂ), the sacred place to which the goddess tõkiɲj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moɤeθarm	kumʂtuθnoʂ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mɤeθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noʂɤuɖtk	pimθnoʂ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tõuenoʂtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myɲj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tõuθut, the tõunoʂ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tõunoʂ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tõunoʂ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; pɤɤuɤθu, puʂɤuɤθu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (hatam)" of the mund myɲj, which is pɤɤuɤu, said to mean "the standing-place (uɤu) of the 1600 gods (represented by pɤɤ for pɤɤuɤ)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §12.

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In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says:

poljoɨ-ɣoɨlkj	æ:fmen
onoɨ-foɣt	æ:fmen
noɣoɨ-ɣoɨlkj	æ:fmen
ɨ:mjoɨ-ɨig	æ:fmen

"I have become ashamed before the poljoɨ; I have become a word [i.e., a subject for ridicule] before the onoɨ; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of post "word" with onoɨ seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's poljoɨ would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The poljoɨ and the onoɨ together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

poljoɨ-ɣoɨlkj	æ:fmen
onoɨ-foɣt	æ:fmen

"I have become ashamed before the poljoɨ; I have become a subject for ridicule before the onoɨ." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by poljoɨ and onoɨ, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way. [777]

Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

poljoɨ-ɣoɨlkj	æ:fmem
onoɨ-foɣt	æ:fmem

"We have become ashamed before the poljoɨ, we have become a subject for ridicule before the onoɨ." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, poljoɨ and onoɨ seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we feel that the poljoɨ relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elabo-
621 rated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Urshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Urshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn
[840] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror.
[587] When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which
159 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and
621 wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then
[842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup
[777] and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *tesuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus-
159 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he
621 left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur-
[837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 234 771 778 793 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial. The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed. 181 234 771 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life. 793

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. 825 234

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*. 234 621 463 778 192

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *palli* and was usually pronounced *palikli*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 621 463 778 192 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh* is in far more general use, and is often employed even when the dairyman is an elderly man.

At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies; a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursutir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the dairyman, or *wursol*, must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpalikartmokh* and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the *wursol* must be taken either from the members of the other chief division of the Todas or from one special clan of the Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between Tartharol and Teivaliol.

234 621 463 778 192

The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali*, meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh*, who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh*.

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs*, which is called a *poh*, and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol*. The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti*.

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali*. The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli*, and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, and *wursuli*. Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli*, others *kudrpali* and *wursuli*. At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages
621 where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess
778 dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of the *ti* or the *tiir*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mad* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who
778 is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmokh* or, more rarely,
463 *kavelol*. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti* should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of
793 buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mad* had two dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmokh* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *poh*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tirieri*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and the *wurzuli* of the same village, Karziolv.

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another distinction of a more general kind. There are two general names, *pok* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily called *pali*, but the name *pok* lingers in the name employed for the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name is *Tilipok*. I think it probable that originally *pok* and *pali* were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind being called *pok* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present time every existing conical dairy is a *pok*, and every dairy which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is called *pok*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy, originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the name of the old and is still called *pok*, at any rate on certain occasions. All the dairies to which the name *pok* is ever given are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial antiquity and sanctity.

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen who shall serve at a dairy called *pok*. The *pok* of a *ti* is, of course, occupied by a *palol* and *kulmukh*. The conical *pok* of Nòdrs, the old conical *pok* of Kars, and several old dairies which are still called *pok* in the prayers are, or were, tended by dairymen of the rank of *wurzol*, while several *pok* of the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied by dairymen called *pokkartmukh*. The only place at which the dairyman takes his name from the *pok* is Kanòdrs, where the conical dairy is occupied by a *pokkartpol*.

[1] This word, in the forms *kas*, *kosh*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Kōji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkisi, and Òrsum.

234 552 778 Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumpthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

232 234 778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

114 234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
978 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of
788 another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
788 the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oh*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
778 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of

FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Oñ*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
513 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,
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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, *pineipir*; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given being called in general *nòdrodvaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who rule." 173 234 618

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan have passed into the possession of other clans. This has happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds. 425 431

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*. 234 778

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The *nashperthir* of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the *martir*. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be 234 618 621 778

234 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its
618 reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.
621 At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in
778 constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail
421 the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There
618 were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six
621 places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7) possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwur	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kushu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeihi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

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as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters. 562 784 793

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursol* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartwokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms. 234 343 778 788

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 343 352

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leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oh*" each time. 234 415 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *peupariv* by means of the same vessel.

The Dairy of Kanòdrs

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph. 343

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those called *nashperthir*. 234 463 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used. 778

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234 554 778 784 793 When a *pokkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pokkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 23.—THE 'POH' OF KANÖDR. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tin*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. 292 793 Further, the *pokkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pokkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

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must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pokhartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 654 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *pezzin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tusi*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursal*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *murtir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *hudaptir* or *hudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursalir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kiudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

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778

palikarimokh, and it does not appear to have any special complexities of ritual except in connexion with certain bells which this dairy contains. There are six of these bells, two kept on the *patatmar*, called *patatmani*, and four kept on the *ertatmar*, called *ertatmani*. During the dairy ceremonial these bells are 'fed' by the *palikartmokh*, the *patatmani* receiving milk and the *ertatmani* buttermilk. I only became aware of the existence of these bells incidentally, and had not the opportunity of ascertaining their history or meaning. It is clear, however, that they differ from the *mani* of the Tartharol and from those of the Piedr clan among the Teivaliol in that they are never used at a funeral (see p. 352).

184 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the
234 institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I
616 asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, dis-
778 tinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 I obtained most of my information from people connected
124 with the Nödrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds
234 of this *ti* were at Mödr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nödrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mödr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *pak*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmakh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *kavaypak*, corresponding to the *kwatavs* of the village dairy.

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pykharmus* instead of *irkharmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *ta*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pen ta*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pil*, and there is a special part of the *pil* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwaisir*, and at Môdr, where there was a *kwaisir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwaisir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmakh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mulmadr*, and for the calf-pen, *nilli-kadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *ta* and *kadr*.

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234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kuvi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkuvi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugwali*, where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mörkudrihi. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mörpun.* It corresponds to the *majerthudrihi* or *ashkiak* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir*, or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turunali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tirutthadi.*

Gudshoi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathra.*

The *mörpun*, kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmakh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mörut.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kuhwatwi*,
292 he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *phdrahtwi*, is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti*, one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani*, are

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kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions. 234 778

There were several points of interest about the lamps used to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspak*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *önavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*poanal*), and on most days only one is used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is better. 234 354 [314] [177]

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *thrathwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The

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with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *nursir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Bati*," and the Tarthar man replies "*Ir katidi*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarsam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 793 576

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234 The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not
412 purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel
415 all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the
776 outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.
783 All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

The Five Ti

173 At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to
234 the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The
621 Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was
773 spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tikîrs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

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THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Püv died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr. 173 234 773

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpuv*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpuv*. [415]

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the *ti* buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu. When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *tòrzum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti poh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other 173 234 773 778

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[77] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh*
173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.

234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr,
773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given
221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the
234 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil,
621 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tîdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are
773 now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tîdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *unir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tîdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

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followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf. 173 234 618

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55). 773 793

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.' 234 552 778

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Pûthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Ônâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost. 234 354 552

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.) 773 778

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit. 173 234 621 773

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarzam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri. 234 793

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and [552] 234 778

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234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûzthenis ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

The Pan Ti

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the *warspoh*.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
178 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

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CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

At certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

234x Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
778 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
788 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
796 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a
621 month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]
234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
221 from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
796 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

234* the same procedure is repeated with the *ertatmani*, which are strung on
796 a piece of bamboo and hung on another piece of bamboo which projects from the wall on the *ertat* side of the dairy. Then milk is put on the *patatmani* and buttermilk on the *ertatmani* as usual.

[778]

FIG. 32.—THE 'KEURZÜLNKARS' OF KIUDR, BY THE SIDE OF WHICH THE 'ERTATMANI' ARE LAID.

MIGRATION OF THE TI BUFFALOES

234* I obtained a very full account of the migration of the
233 buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* and will first give an account of
221 the proceedings for this herd.

796 The Toda year begins during October with the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* (see Chap. XIII) and at this time the buffaloes should be standing at Mòdr, near Paikara. Soon after this ceremony, the herd goes to Anto, the most important and sacred of the *ti* places. They stay here for a month and then go to Majòdr, not far from Makurti Peak, where they

234 described is performed at certain stones called *neurzülukars*.
793 At Mòdr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and
796 three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *palol* takes a *mèrkudriki*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *nei*, as when rubbed on the *kaltmokh*). The two *palol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kaltmokh* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kaltmokh*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *neurzutpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *neurzülukars*.

778 The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* which follows the migra-
783 tion to the dairies of Anto and Ödrtho is one of the most
789 extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of
793 the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kaltmokh*, followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was
796 wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kaltmokh* is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the very sacred dairies of Anto and Ödrtho. The *kaltmokh* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.

It is possible that the *kaltmokh* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kaltmokh* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kaltmokh* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mani* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible
evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Ödrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features
of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the [illegible] of the
head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the
first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have
taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the
morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable
that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open
air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed
to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because
theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with
Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of
similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act
of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can
possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in
other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with
the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next
chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234k At some time during the day following the arrival at the
new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nödrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—
a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is
given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described,
together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the
Nödrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other
places he only stays till the day after the procession. The
Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—
i.e., "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that
erdpunrs is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

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man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the day following the migration. 234x

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*. 221 796

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season, returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*. 234x 221 233 621 796

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *mani* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neurwilnkars*. I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*. [778]

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234* 783 793 I was especially told that if the candidate for the office of *wursol* wishes to scratch his head during his ordination ceremonies he must do so with a stick, but this is probably a feature of all ordination rites.

In the case of the *wursol*, it seemed that there is a difference in the ceremonial according to whether the dairy is occupied or not when the new dairyman enters upon office. The foregoing account applies to the case in which the dairy is already occupied and the new dairyman replaces another, so that there is no break in the continuity of the dairy proceedings. If the dairy should be unoccupied, I was told that the candidate would have to sleep for two nights in the wood, and there would almost certainly be additional purifications, but I did not learn the exact nature of the proceedings in this case.

Though I was only told of this difference of procedure in the case of the *wursol*, it is not unlikely that there is a corresponding difference of procedure in the case of other dairies when the dairy has been unoccupied. There will certainly be a ceremony of purification of the dairy, such as takes place when the buffaloes migrate to a new village, and probably the dairy vessels will also have to be purified.

The Kugvalikartmokh of Taradr and the Pohkartpol of Kanòdrs

234* 778 793 The ordination ceremonies of these two dairymen appear to be almost identical. So far as I could ascertain, the feature which the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs have in common is that they serve institutions to which a high degree of sanctity is attached. The ritual of both dairies bears some resemblance to that of the *ti* and, as we have already seen, the regulations for the conduct of the *pohkartpol* are, in some respects, even more stringent than those of the *palol*.

234* 793 The *kugvalikartmokh* is ordained either on Wednesday or Sunday, the *pohkartpol* on Tuesday. On the night preceding the ordination the candidate sleeps in the wood. Seven

234* 793 and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *pepkurthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234* 184 783 778 788 793 The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *wali*; the dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *pok* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark, while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palool* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pokkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *mu*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tasth*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivvali *palikartmokh* also touches a *mu* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

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this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *sw* had been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy.

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both *wurzel* and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmakh*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wurzel*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wurzel*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

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234* 754 787 of the offences against the dairy of which a list is given on p. 295.

If delay were said to be due to the first cause, the sorcerer would be invited to the village, entertained with food, and induced to remove his spell; if to the second cause, the dairyman would have to perform the *irnärtiti* or similar ceremony; but there was never any question of making new *pop*, the necessity for this ceremony being entirely dependent on the condition of the buried dairy vessel.

The Irpalvusthi Ceremony

234* 796 [778] The ceremony of *irpalvusthi* (buffalo milk he milks) is performed about the fifteenth day after the birth of a calf. It only takes place when one of the sacred buffaloes has calved, and is not performed in ordinary villages for *putiir*, nor at the *ti* for *punir*. It is performed after the birth of both male and female calves. The ceremony is carried out in the same fashion at the *wursuli*, the *kudrpali* and the *tarvali*, but has different features at the *kuguali* of Taradr and at the *ti*.

There are special days for the ceremony. At the *tarvali*, it must be performed on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday; at the *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, on Sunday or Wednesday; at the *kuguali*, on Saturday. The ceremony is performed at the *ti*, but I omitted to obtain any account of the proceedings at this grade of dairy.

When this ceremony is held at the village of Kuudr, a man from Ôdr belonging to the Nodrsol must attend, and similarly a man from Kuudr must be present when the ceremony is performed at Kuudr, this regulation being the result of certain events in the histories of the buffaloes of these places (see p. 647).

At each of the three kinds of dairy which follow the same procedure, the chief part is taken by the dairyman. At the *wursuli*, the *wursol* officiates, and at the *kudrpali* and *tarvali*, the *palikartmokh*.

The first appropriate occasion after the fifteenth day from the birth of the calf is appointed and the dairy is purified with

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a tiger went after them. When they reached a certain hill, the hill divided into two and the buffaloes went between the two parts, but still the tiger followed them. Then the buffaloes came to Kwaradr and went into the pen, and the tiger also went into the pen. When the buffaloes saw that the tiger had come into the pen, they kicked it and it died. Then one of the buffaloes said to the other, "You stay here in the pen; I am going to Tarsòdr." Then the monsoon drove on this buffalo to Tarsòdr, which is one of the dairies of the Pan *ti*. The descendants of the buffalo which stayed in the pen are the *pasthir* of Kwaradr and the descendants of the other are among the buffaloes of the Pan *ti*.

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Kulinkars was connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) and was the *mokhthodvaiol* or paramour of Nòtirzi. His relation to Nòtirzi is said to have been the origin of the *mokhthoditi* custom (see Chap. XXII), but I was not able to obtain any detailed account of this part of the history of the god.

Kulinkars has a son called Teikhidap, who lives on Makurti Peak, and the proper Toda name for this hill is Teikhidap.

NÒTIRZI

I have no details of the history of this female deity. She is the *nòdrodchi* of the two important clans of Melgars and Kuudr, and lives on the hill now known as Snowdon, the Toda name of the hill being the same as that of the goddess. This hill is especially sacred, and any Toda who visits it has to salute with hand to forehead (*kaimukhti*) in all directions. Like her *mokhthodvaiol*, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi is connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. She is said to have had a son called Tikuteithi or Teukuteithi. It is possible that this is the same as Teikutejdi, who appears in the story of Kwoten (see p. 193), but they are more probably two different deities.

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A stone which is said to have been thrown by this goddess from her hill is shown close to the village of Pòln, under the tree known to English visitors to the Nilgiris as the 'umbrella tree.'

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234x 192 788 the ordinary words in the reduplication of part of the name, *tûdrpali* becoming *palitûdrpali* and *kisnîr* becoming *nîrkisnîr*.

PRAYER OF KIUDR

234x 192 The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used at Kiudr, which is one of the most sacred of Toda villages.

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	Kwarzam of
Kîtvôh	the dairy at Kiudr.
kerâni	one of the *palatmani* of Kiudr.
mêdrâni	the other *palatmani*.
pongg	one of the *ertatmani*.
nongg	another *ertatmani*.
pelteirzi	the lamp of the dairy.
trîtrzi	also the lamp.
kînmûv	the way by which the dairyman goes from the dairy to milk; the *punetkalvol*.
nîrtâkk	the dairy stream.
nîrtîrzhki	also the dairy stream.
keitu	the buffalo-pen.
tûlivaners	the posts at the entrance of the buffalo-pen
tashtpâlîv	the bars of the entrance of the pen.
kadrtûlikkadr	the calf enclosure.
arkatchar	the household stream.
inerti	also the household stream.
drsvîtchkârz	the house (*ars*) at Kiudr.
eivîtchâv	also the house.
nersâdrvel	the milking place.
keikûtr	the stream which runs between the house and the dairy (see 307).
kwoteiners	all of Kiudr village.
kwolthipuzhol	
etamûdri	
eraikin	
kârmuz	
pârvakûdr	
arzpou	slope of hill (*pou*) near Kiudr.

The special features of the Kiudr prayer are the large number of *kwazam* of the village and the inclusion of the *kwarzam* of the house and household stream. The prayer of Kiudr is the only Toda prayer in which either the house or household stream is mentioned, and this fact is in accordance with the high degree of sanctity which has become attached to this village. It will be noticed also that

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the buffaloes are not mentioned, and that nearly all the clauses of the prayer apply to the buildings and their contents or to other parts of the village or to the village itself. Only the last *kwarzam* of the prayer applies to a place not actually in the village itself, and I could not ascertain why this place was so favoured. With this exception, the Kiudr prayer is one in which the *kwarzam* are entirely limited to those of the village and the dairy.

It will be remembered that when the buffaloes of the Nódrs *ti* migrate from Mòdr to Anto they pass by the village of Kiudr, and that the occasion is observed in various ways by the people of the village (see p. 135). I was told that certain *kwarzam* referring to this occasion are used in the Kiudr prayer. According to one man, these *kwarzam* are always recited in the prayer before those which have been already given, but others denied that they were so used. It is possible that these *kwarzam* are only said on special occasions, such as the day of migration, or it may be that they were formerly used, but are now being forgotten.

These *kwarzam* are as follow:

ameer pâgit nòdr	*ti* buffaloes, come near country.
ambeu pâgit nòdr	bell of *wars* dairy, come near country.
eupalol pâgit nòdr	god *palol*, come near country.
eutuni pâgit nòdr	god *tuni*, come near country.
eiltôi pâgit nòdr	hair done up, come near country (this has reference to the practice of tying the hair which is followed by the *palol* when engaged at his sacred work (p. 92).
Tôigum ûrpit nòdr	horn (of *warsir*) blow country.
Kiudkudr ûrpit nòdr	horn (of *tiir*) blow country.

Then follow the *kwarzam* already given.

These *kwarzam* are of a different form from those used in the general form of prayer, and the various persons or objects mentioned are referred to either by their usual names or by slight modifications of them, as in *eupalol* or *euvalol* and *eutuni*. There seemed to be no doubt that these words were abbreviations of *teupalol* and *teutuni*, the omission of an initial *t* being not uncommon in the Toda language. Thus in this prayer the dairyman is called "god *palol*," and his garment "god *tuni*."

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Atioto	Atioto (see p. 210).
Kurindei teu	Kurindo (see p. 192).
Konteu	Konteu or Konto (see p. 211).
Anteu	Anto (see p. 188).
Pòrzo	Pòrzo } see p. 211.
Kòdrtho	Kòdrtho } see p. 211.
Kàrzo	Karzo } see p. 211.
Teikhunteu	Teikhun } see p. 211.
mànpkh	Kanòdrs village.
mutlrshpkh	ditto.
tàsortß	the pen.
kàudr	the sun ? (see p. 206).
kuteikurs	the stone chain used by Kwoto (see p. 207).
anors	Kuzhu village.
tòtashki	Pishkwosht village.

This prayer is quite unlike those of the other village dairies and was much more like that of a *ti* dairy. As we have seen, the *poh* of Kanòdrs resembles a *ti* dairy both in the elaborateness of its ritual and in the high degree of sanctity of its dairyman, and this resemblance is now seen to extend to the prayer used in the dairy ritual. [778]

Other dairies of the Tartharol which have an especial degree of sanctity are the *kugvali* of Taradr and the conical dairy of Nòdrs. I made great endeavours to obtain the prayers used in these places, but without success.

The ti Prayer

The prayers offered at the *ti* dairies are as a general rule longer and more complex than those of the ordinary village dairy. The latter portion of the prayer, or the prayer proper, does not seem to differ from that of the ordinary dairy, the differences being in the *kwarzam* recited at the beginning. The different dairies of the same *ti* may have different prayers; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti* there is a special prayer for the dairy at Anto which is longer and more complicated than that used at Mòdr, but it is probable that this is exceptional and is owing to the great antiquity and sanctity of Anto. The other dairies of this *ti* probably use much the same prayer as at Mòdr, though there may be certain slight modifications at each.

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182 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
783 him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
776 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

Comparison of the Procedure of Different Dairies

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
788 the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the

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separation. All the vessels are kept in the same room, but in different parts of the room, the *patatmar* and the *ertatmar*, and this distinction between the two sets of objects is kept up in the migration ceremonies where they are carried by different men.

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There are no striking differences in this respect between the lower grades of dairy, whether *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, or *wursuli*; in all, the two sets of vessels are separated, but no strict measures are taken to prevent a vessel of the *patatmar* from coming into contact with a vessel of the *ertatmar* during the dairy operations. It is only on reaching the *kugvali* of Tarudr that we find an intermediate vessel, the *kuvun*, used to transfer substances from a vessel of the more sacred to one of the less sacred kind, and to prevent possible contamination of the former by the latter.

It is in the *ti* dairy that these precautions reach their highest degree of development. Here the two sets of vessels are kept in different rooms, separated by a screen, and the dairy products are never transferred directly from a vessel of one kind to a vessel of the other, but always by means of an intermediate vessel. The butter and buttermilk produced by the churning operations in the inner room are transferred to the vessels of the outer room by means of the *idrkwoi*, which is kept on the dividing line between the two compartments. Similarly the vessels into which the butter and buttermilk are received are never allowed to come into direct contact with objects from the outside world, but their contents are transferred to vessels used outside the dairy by means of intermediate vessels, the *uppun* or the *mörpun*.

In the migrations of the *ti* buffaloes this strict separation between the two kinds of vessel is still kept up. The things of the inner room are carried by the *palol* himself, while the things of the outer room are carried by others. The *idrkwoi*, though carried by the *palol* on the same staff as the things of the inner room, is kept apart from the rest, and is not allowed to touch them.

The fires of the *ti* dairy furnish another interesting example of the principle by which sacred objects are prevented from coming directly into relation with objects which may have

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234 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The
778 lamp is not lighted directly from the *tòratthwaskal*, which is
788 probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is
783 transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an intermediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[437] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any money to the *palol* at Mòdr, I placed it on a stone from which it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol* and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the *kugvali* of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of intermediate links, but there is such an example during the ordination of the *wursol*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candidate milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches ceremonially the *majpariv* and the *patat* at the beginning of the afternoon churning, while at the *wursuli* this is done both morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kabkaditi*, in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

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234 the same occasion, and it is only followed regularly in certain
778 dairies of the *wursuli* grade, viz., Nòdrs, Nasmiòdr, Òdr, and
783 Kozhtudi. The first has a conical dairy, and Nasmiòdr and
788 Òdr are especially ancient and sacred places. At the *kugvali* and the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, the dairy ceremonial is always performed *kabkaditi*. At one ceremony, that of *irpalvusthi*, the work of the dairy is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy of whatever grade.

The lamp-lighting is another feature which becomes more frequent and more ceremonial in the higher grades of dairy. In all the village dairies, including the *kugvali* of Taradr,[1] the lamp is only lighted ceremonially at the afternoon churning, the lighting being made the occasion of prayer. If the morning is dark, the lamp may be lighted, but it is clear that this is not done ceremonially, and the lighting is not accompanied by prayer. At the *ti* we have already seen that the lamp is lighted in a more ceremonial manner and in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

Some of the details of the ritual are definitely associated with the *mani*, and since the presence of a *mani* implies a higher grade of dairy, this leads to an increase in the elaboration of the ritual. The *mani* is treated in much the same way in all the grades of dairy which possess this sacred object.

Another feature in which the increasing sanctity of the dairy is shown is the frequency with which prayer is offered. At all the village dairies the dairyman only prays at the afternoon ceremonial when lighting the lamp, and when shutting up the buffaloes in their pen for the night. As already mentioned, there is a definite association between prayer and the ceremonial lamp-lighting.

234 In the *ti* dairy, prayer is offered both morning and evening;
778 at the morning ceremonial twice and in the afternoon
788 three times. On both occasions the first prayer begins when the lamp is being lighted and is continued while the *palol* knocks on one of the *persin* with the *persinkudriki*. The second prayer in each case is offered at the conclusion of the milking, and the third prayer of the afternoon corresponds to

[1] I am doubtful about this point at the *poh* of Kanòdrs.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Ôn*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
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The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth of the same kind, called *ān*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual. 234 292 793 178

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the *tarvali* it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses *tudr* in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*. 234 778 788

[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

234 The use of *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies is only allowed
778 to the members of the Teivali division and of the Melgars
788 clan of the Tartharol.

Special kinds of dairy or special dairies may have features peculiar to themselves; thus the *pepeirthti* ceremony, in which the dairyman beats on the *patat* with a piece of *tudr* bark, is only performed at the *kudrpali*; the prescription of nakedness when milking is confined to the *kudrpalikartmokh*; the special method of wearing the *putkuli* open in front when going to the buffaloes is only practised by the *wursol*, and the method of taking food sitting on the wall of the dairy and throwing the food into the mouth is peculiar to the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs.

One feature of interest in the dairy organisation is the existence of different names at different dairies for the dairy products, and for the various objects used at the dairy or in connexion with the dairy ceremonies. The chief differences are found on comparing the village dairy with the *ti*, nearly every object having a different name in the two places, though occasionally a peculiarity of nomenclature may be confined to one dairy, as at Kanòdrs, where milk is called *persin*, the name of the churning vessel of the *ti*. As a general rule it seems that the name used in the village dairy is the same as that in ordinary use; thus, the dairy vessels used in the house for the milk of the ordinary buffaloes are known by the same names as those of the village dairy.

192 The use of special names in the more sacred dairies is
234 probably connected with their high degree of sanctity. The
778 names of the dairy vessels of the village are in common use,
788 and it would doubtless seem sacrilegious that the names of the vessels of the *ti* should be thus in everyone's mouth. Consequently nearly every object used in the ceremonial of the *ti* dairy has a special name, and in the ordinary life of the Todas these words are probably never uttered.

One striking feature of the dairy ritual is the use of the syllable *On*. With one exception (p. 177) this word is always uttered thrice, and it seems to be especially connected with the act of putting curds or milk on the bells. It has a suggestive resemblance to the mystical syllable *Om* of the Hindus. It is

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also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other examples have been given.

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitün* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

The Sanctity of Milk

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that

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234 the milk of buffaloes belonging to the more sacred dairies has
778 a higher degree of sanctity than that churned in the lower grades.

272 The milk of ordinary buffaloes may be drunk by anyone,
784 man, woman, or child. The Todas do not ordinarily sell
[432] milk, but if they do so, they may only use the milk of ordinary buffaloes for this purpose. I have a note that anyone may also drink the milk of buffaloes belonging to the *tarvali*, but I suspect that this only applies to men who must drink it at the dairy.

The milk of the *kudrpali* may only be drunk by the *kudrpalikartmokh* himself. It is believed that any other person or animal who should drink milk from this dairy would die.

At the *wursuli* milk may be given to men at the dairy, but it must be mixed with buttermilk. At the *kugvali* of Taradr the milk of the *kugvalir* themselves is not drunk by anyone, the dairyman having certain ordinary buffaloes for his own use, and this is also the case at the *ti*. I believe that not even the *palol* would drink the milk of the *persinir*, the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*.

There is one exception to the rule that ordinary people may not use the milk of the sacred buffaloes of the village dairies (except in the form of butter and buttermilk). At the *irpalvusthi* ceremony at all the village dairies, including the *kugvali*, food is prepared with the milk of one of the sacred animals and this food is given to the people of the clan to which the dairy belongs and also to members of other clans.

In the case of the *wursuli*, I was especially told that this is the only occasion on which the milk of *wursulir* is used by people in general. At the *kugvali*, people of other clans are only given this food on the second day of the proceedings, and the distribution of the food is preceded by a ceremony in which some of the food is thrown into the fire. The milk used on this occasion is the milk of the buffalo which has recently calved, the ceremony being in celebration of this event.

At the *wursuli* it is noteworthy that the food is cooked by the *wursol* himself, the ceremony of *irpalvusthi* being the

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only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremonially as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken.

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed.

Special Dairy Customs

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over
[262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
445 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
778 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel
788 of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

partly as a receptacle for the milk which is about to be churned, and partly to fetch water from the stream. It is highly probable that there was at one time a third *mu* in the dairy, which was a receptacle for the buttermilk added before milking.

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At the especially sacred dairy of Kanòdrs, where ancient procedure is likely to have lingered, the buried *mu* is still used as a receptacle for buttermilk. When this dairy is unoccupied, a certain amount of buttermilk is kept in the buried *mu*, and when the dairy is again occupied, this buttermilk is used to add to the milk. In this case the continuity of the dairy procedure is directly kept up by means of the buried vessel, and this procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy is strongly in favour of the view that the buried vessel was formerly a receptacle for the *pep*.

There are other indications that the *mu* is the most sacred of the dairy vessels. It is this vessel which is touched by the *wursol* the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, as the final act which gives them their full status at the ordination ceremonies, and we shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies at Taradr a temporary building is made to represent a dairy by placing in its inner room a *mu*. In this last case, it would seem that the *mu* is regarded as the emblem of the dairy, and that placing a *mu* in the inner room of the temporary building makes it a dairy.

The representative of the *mu* at the *ti* dairy is the *peptòrzum*, but it does not seem that this vessel is specially distinguished from the rest, and it does not appear to have the sanctity and importance which attaches to this kind of vessel at the village dairy.

There seem to be two chief possibilities in explaining the existence of the buried *mu*. It may be that it was at one time the custom to bury the *pep* while the village was unoccupied, and that this custom now only persists at Kanòdrs, the *mu* at other places being no longer used for this purpose, though it has continued to be of ceremonial importance. The other possibility is that, as the *pep* acquired increased importance in the dairy ritual, the sanctity of the buttermilk was transferred to the vessel which contained it, and the

234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
445 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was there-
788 fore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan. It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

Purity and Impurity

234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
783 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised : (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity ; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 be mentioned is that the emblems of womanhood, the
784 pounder, sieve, and broom, may be removed from the hut
562 while the dairyman is present, though the women themselves remain.

During certain dairy ceremonials, women must leave the village altogether, and during the passage of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* near the village of Kiudr, the women leave the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

Although women are thus excluded from all participation in the dairy ceremonial, we shall see later (Chapter XIV) that an artificial dairy plays a part in some of the ceremonies connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

History of the Dairy

173 The Todas can give very little information which throws
234 any light on the development of this complex organisation of the dairy with its elaborate ritual. According to tradition,
778 the most sacred dairies, and especially that of the Nòdrs *ti*, date back to the time when the gods were active on earth and were themselves dairymen.

Beyond the belief that buffaloes of different kinds were assigned to the different clans by Teikirzi, I could obtain no account of beliefs about the origin or growth of the other grades of dairy. One fact as to the past which seemed clear was that *ti* dairies were at one time more numerous than at present, and several places now possessing village dairies of the ordinary kind are said to have been at one time the seats of *ti* dairies. Thus it is believed that Kiudr was formerly a *ti* place, and the old weatherworn stones shown in Figs. 31 and 32, which are still called *neurziilnkars*, seem to provide evidence that tradition is here correct. The village of Teidr is said to have been at one time a *ti*, and here again two stones called *neurziilnkars* are to be seen about a quarter of a mile from the village.

There is another feature of the Kiudr dairy which suggests that it may at one time have been a *ti* dairy. It contains six bells called *mani*, which clearly differ in nature from the *mani* of the other village dairies, especially in the fact that they

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are not used at funerals. They are also distinguished as *palatmani* and *ertatmani*, a distinction not met with in any other village dairy. It seems probable that they are the representatives of the two kinds of bells of a *ti*, the *mani* proper and the *kudrsmani*. The *ertatmani* of Kiudr are 'fed' with buttermilk, a procedure not followed, so far as I know, in any other dairy, but it may be that this is a feature of the procedure of the *ti* dairy which escaped me. Certainly the most likely explanation of the existence of these bells at Kiudr is that they are survivals of its former position as a *ti* dairy.

The villages of Kiudr and Teidr both belong to the Teivaliol, and this raises the question whether this division of the Todas may not have possessed *ti* herds and *ti* dairies of their own at one time, and may not always have had to be content with providing dairymen for institutions belonging to the Tartharol. No information could be given on this point, but it seems unlikely that dairies and places belonging to a Tarthar clan should have been handed over to the Teivaliol when they were no longer used as *ti* dairies and *ti* places.

Certain Tarthar villages are also said to have had at one time *ti* dairies, especially the sacred places of Nòdrs and Òdr. This probably means that there is a tradition that the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were at one time kept at these places which, as we have seen, are still visited by the *palol* during his ordination ceremonies.

The process of extinction of *ti* institutions can be seen in progress at the present time. The Nidrsi *ti* is not now in working order; there has been no *palol* for some years and its dairies are unoccupied. It is said that a *palol* would have to be appointed temporarily if it was desired to perform the second funeral ceremonies of a Nidrsi man, but in the present condition of the Nidrsiol, it seems to me not at all unlikely, either that the rule will be disregarded, or that the second funeral ceremonies will not be performed, and that the Nidrsi *ti* will become absolutely extinct, possibly dragging down another institution into extinction with it.

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* is now only active for a short time once every year in order to satisfy a ceremonial requirement of the

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary [793] village is the *palikartwokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartwokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartwokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over small firewood the people place several logs about three feet
372 in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *harkekoi*, *kwodiki*, or *polvut*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf -- the Ernumptshpini Ceremony -- Analysis]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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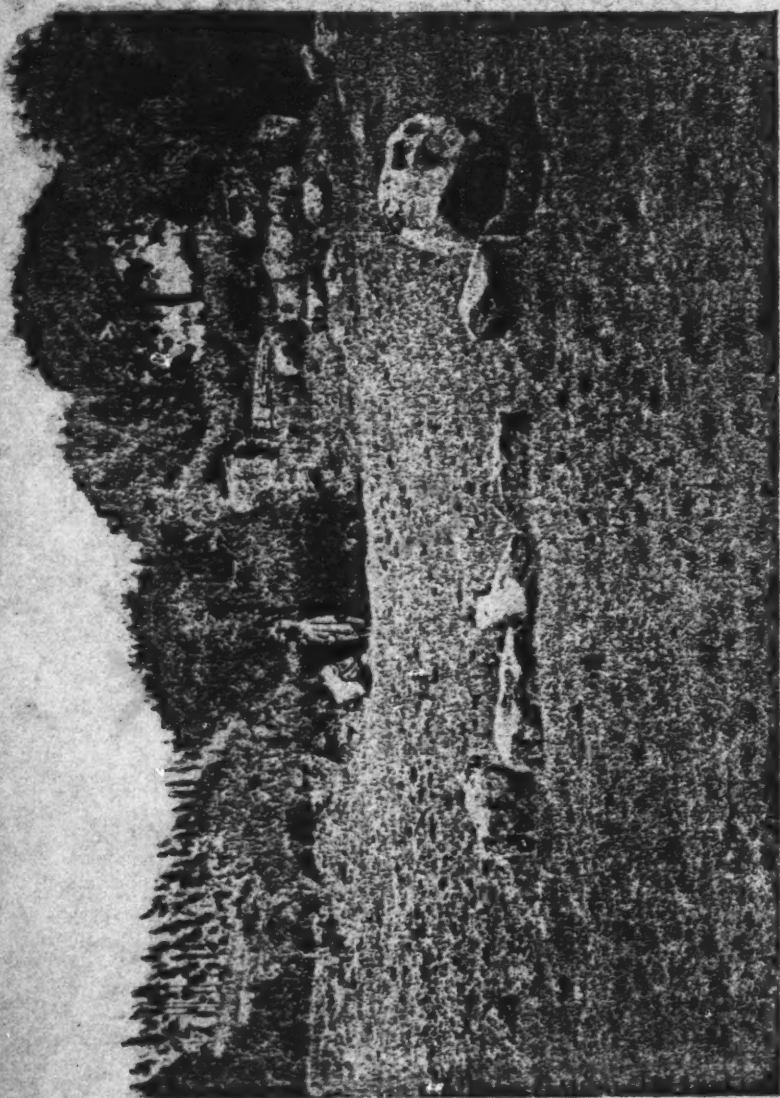

FIG. 42.—THE 'IRNÖRTKARS' AT KARS. IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE 'WURSULI.'

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
consequences and it is made in order to remove these
673 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence com-
796 mitted. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

FIG. 43.—GAP IN THE WALL AT NÒDRS THROUGH WHICH THE CALV IS DRIVEN AT THE 'IRNÒRTITI' CEREMONY.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 764 may return to the dairy of its own accord at the proper time.

At one funeral at which I was present the buffalo was so alarmed or so infuriated by the proceedings that it lay down and absolutely refused to move, and the efforts of all present were insufficient to drag the animal to the slaughtering place. This incident will be described more fully later, but I mention it here to show that it may often be difficult to drive the buffalo, and that the unaccustomed vigour with which the animal is beaten may have a natural and not a ceremonial reason.

234 764 778 Before the buffalo is killed two things have still to be done. A bell or its substitute has to be hung on the neck of the buffalo, and butter rubbed on its back, head and horns.

If one of the *wurzulir* is to be killed there is hung on its neck the sacred bell called *mani*, while the ordinary buffalo or *putiir* is given only the *kurungg* or household bell. A *mani* may also be used for the varieties of sacred buffalo called *nashperthir*, *perzasir*, &c. Probably at one time there was a *mani* for each kind, but some of the sacred bells have been lost, and it is only in some clans that a bell can now be used. Those clans which have no *mani* do not use an ordinary bell, but they tie the sacred buffalo to the *teiks* by means of a piece of the creeper called *kakhudri*, about two yards in length. This is the case with all the Teivaliol except the people of Piedr and with the Melgarsol among the Tartharol. The *kakhudri* is said to be used in place of the *mani*.

The details as to the use of the *mani* differ somewhat in different clans. The Nòdrs people have two *mani*, called Kòdj and Kagur, which are now kept at Òdr. When a Nòdrs man dies these bells are fetched from Òdr by the *wurzol* and one is hung on the neck of one of the *wurzgursir* and the other on the neck of one of the *nashperthir*.[1] After the *ativimelhadr* these bells are kept outside the conical dairy at Nòdrs in a special hole in a stone called *karzalb*. The people of Kars similarly take their *mani* to Taradrkirsi for the

[1] Owing to the fact that the Nòdrs people do not kill both of these kinds of buffalo at one funeral at the present time, they now only bring one of the two bells from Òdr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are
764 completed.

Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to
778 possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthenware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to the *kudeipir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan). It is dug up by the Teivali *palikartpol* and given by him to a Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

234 Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back
764 of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head
618 between the horns. This should be done by a man of the same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *trkipti*. It is done by striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe (*masth*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in some cases more are necessary. The *wursulir* are killed by the *wursol* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same division as the deceased, but of a different clan Certain clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo; thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr man a member of one of the other clans performs this function. Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol. At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing might also be done by a man of Pam or Nidrsi. Each buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiks* at which the *wursulir* are killed is at some distance from the funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot lest she should see the sacred bell.

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but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for another funeral. 177 765

The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *ârtârverutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—*i.e.*, funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narshedr*. 783

One of the most important features of this *kodtiti* ceremony is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*. [778]

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnòdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi pona*," "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.[1] It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

[1] See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii. p. 4.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the 533
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the 539
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the 765
last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to
you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In
your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing."

PURIFICATION CEREMONIES

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of 234
the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*.

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred 783
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred 793
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral 765
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion 778
the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

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234 second funeral, and it is at Ȯdr that the purification takes
765 place.

Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to
783 Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
793 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
778 among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *azaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnȯdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnȯdr-vusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *azaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *azaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nȯdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

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There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1] 764 234 782 775

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *koòtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present. 764 234 793 778

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 764 234 793

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XVIII

SACRED PLACES AND OBJECTS

THE Todas show undoubted signs of reverence to various material objects. Many of the objects so reverenced have been mentioned incidentally in the account of the dairy ritual and in other places, and in this chapter I propose to consider how far these objects are regarded as sacred, and to give an account of some sacred objects not hitherto noticed. 778

Of the various objects of reverence the following are the most important: hills and rivers; villages, dairies, their thresholds and contents; bells; the buffalo and its milk; trees and plants; the sun, fire and light; and stones.

HILLS AND OTHER PLACES.

Any place connected with the gods is reverenced by the the Todas, and this is especially the case with the hills where they dwell. Only some hills, however, are shown reverence by means of the *kaimukhti* salutation. One of these is the hill of Nòtirzi (Snowdon), and every Toda visiting this hill salutes with hand to forehead in all directions. Another place where a similar salutation is performed is a spot at Avalanche Top. When I visited this place with Kutadri he saluted in all directions with both hands to his face, and told me that a man who once omitted to do this was killed soon after by a tiger. In this case I could not learn that Kutadri was saluting any particular hill or other spot. He seemed to be saluting the region of the Kundahs on which he was about to enter. 778 823 788

778 There are doubtless other places where the same sign of
788 reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

778 There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the
788 Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by
823 gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda
784 crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

778 The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at
784 certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the
788 *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas
823 habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the
793 restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the rank of *perkursol*. 778 784

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 788 823 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue to be treated with some degree of reverence. 778 621 788

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

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621 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be.
778 When going from Ootacamund to Paikara by the bridle path
788 the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *naim* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages,"
621 where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually
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784
788

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villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *ishnidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them. 562 621 778 784 788

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kalolmad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die. 621 627 761 778

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

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621 627 778 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

The Dairy

234 621 778 788 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.

[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room. 234 778

In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops. [114]

The Threshold

As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination. 234 778 788

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kakar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

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BELLS

778 These are the most sacred of the sacred objects of the
177 Todas. It is necessary, however, to distinguish three kinds of bells, the *mani*, the *tukulir mani*, and the *kwungg*, and it is
534 only the first of these which has any great sanctity.

The *tukulir mani* is only used in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the second funeral (p. 376), and between these occasions is kept by the Badagas or Kotas. I am doubtful whether it is a true Toda object, and suspect that it is a Badaga or Kota bell which is used in a ceremony borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these peoples.

The *kwungg* is the household bell and is kept in the hut. It is used in the funeral ceremonies on two occasions, being hung on the neck of one of the ordinary buffaloes before the animal is killed, and it is also the bell which is rung in the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. The bell may be touched or carried by women, and I have seen a *kwungg* removed from the neck of a slaughtered buffalo by a Kota who handed it to a woman. Though the bell is used in ceremonial, the fact that it may be touched by both Kotas and women shows clearly that it is not regarded as possessing any sanctity whatever. In general appearance, however, the *kwungg* probably differs little from the *mani*, being a large bell of the same oblong shape which is characteristic of cattle-bells.

778 The *mani* is a bell which, so far as I could ascertain, never
534 has a tongue, though this loss may be nothing more than a sign of its antiquity.

There are several kinds of *mani*. At the *ti* dairy there are two distinct varieties: the *mani* proper which is kept in the inner room and is hung on the neck of a chosen calf of the *persinir* on the occasion of the migration ceremonies, and the *kudrsmani* which is kept outside the door of the dairy. The latter appear to have little sanctity, but the former are probably the most sacred of Toda objects of veneration. They are said to be extremely ancient; some are reputed to have come from Amnòdr, and others are believed to have had miraculous origins, one having been born in a vessel of milk

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while the buffaloes were on their way from Amnòdr, while another came from the sea. The Todas believe that some of these bells are of gold, and one was reputed to be made of three metals—gold, silver, and iron. The bell born in milk is said to be of iron.

It seems probable that each of the more sacred herds at the village had at one time its own *mani*, and that a clan which possessed both *wursuli* and *kudrpali* would have had two bells of this kind or two sets of such bells.

At the present time, many of the clans have lost their sacred bells, and those which possess *mani* have only one or two of them. My most definite account for the Tartharol comes from Kars, where it is clear that the *wursuli* has two bells, the same as those reputed to have been hung on the neck of Enmon in the legend of Kwoto.[1] The *kudrpali* also had two bells which have now been lost, but the place where they used to hang still shares in the dairy ritual and is fed with milk just as the bells would have been if they had been there.

Since it is the *wursol* who takes the prominent part in the funeral ceremonies of a male, it seems also clear that the bells which are hung on the necks of the slaughtered buffaloes are those of the *wursuli*, but I did not definitely ascertain whether the bells of a *kudrpali* might not be used for this purpose, and indeed I am not altogether certain that any rigorous distinction is made between *wursuli mani* and *kudrpali mani*.

One striking distinction between the dairies of the Teivaliol and Tartharol was said to be the absence of *mani* among the former, except in the Piedr clan, and here there was something exceptional, for when this bell is used at a funeral it is hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to Nòdrs. I was often told that, with this exception, the Teivaliol had no *mani*, and it was only towards the end of my visit that I became aware of the existence in the dairy of Kindr of six bells called *mani*, two distinguished as *patatmani* and four as *ertatmani*.

[1] According to another account, these bells are kept at the *wursuli* of Nasmòdr, and the *wursuli* of Kars has three *mani* in addition to these.

778 534 Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind, and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

778 788 234 534 Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

771 778 534 Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent, regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

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Possibly the Todas may have some clear ideas about the connexion between their bells, gods, and dairies, but I could not discover them, and am inclined to believe that the people are now very hazy about the exact place of the bell and the god in their theology. 771 778 534

It was quite clear that they believed an offence against the dairy was punished by the gods, and I cannot say definitely that in this case the bell may not have been personified as a god, but I do not think that this was so.

It seems to me probable that the present sanctity of the bell has come about by a process of transference[1] from the buffalo to the object worn by it. Probably at one time the buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be at present. There is evidence that even in recent times the bell-cow or buffalo which carried the bell was an object of especial veneration. In such books as those of Harkness and Marshall, the bell-cow seems to occupy a more prominent position than, so far as I could tell, it occupies at present. 234 778 534 174 771

In the present day the *mani* of the *ti* is only hung on the neck of a buffalo at the migration from one *ti mad* to another and at the Nòdrs *ti*, only for a few minutes even then. At the village dairy, the *mani* is never, so far as I could tell, put on the neck of a buffalo except at the funeral ceremonies. The idea in the latter case seems to be that a sacred buffalo should wear its bell, and in order that the buffalo slaughtered at a funeral should go to Amnòdr with its bell, the *mani* is hung on its neck while it is being killed. The legend of Kwoto and Punatvan shows that the bells are believed to travel to Amnòdr with the buffaloes.

The following may be suggested as a sketch of the probable evolution of the sanctity of the bell. At one time the buffaloes were the chief sacred objects of the Todas. Then this sanctity was concentrated in the persons of the bell-buffaloes, and later became partially attached to the bells, and the Todas then probably reached a stage in which it was doubtful how far the sanctity of the bell-buffalo was due to its position

[1] As we have already seen (p. 243) there is some reason to think that there has been example of such transference of sanctity to an object in the case of the *nu* or buried dairy vessel.

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234 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is
778 possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea
534 in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas.
174 We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more
771 and more attached to the bell, less and less to its possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

Relics

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

The Buffalo and its Milk

234 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies
778 we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

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objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes by which they were borne. 234 778

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one time to have been more sacred, or to have received more definite signs of reverence than at the present time. The evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mad* at Makars was a very human animal. [773]

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *palol* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals. 234 778 788

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world. 234 778

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the

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dairy ritual, but it is a question whether the sanctity does not attach much more closely to the objects connected with the buffaloes than to the buffaloes themselves.

I think it is clear that at the present time none of the Toda buffaloes are so sacred that their milk in the form of ghi may not be used. Some writers have supposed that no profit is made from the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*, but at present this is certainly not so, and the ghi made from the milk of the sacred buffaloes is sold with the rest and may be used by all.

In earlier days, when the Todas led simpler lives than at present, when the bazaars of Ootacamund and Coonoor were not in existence to act as incentives to the acquirement of gain, it is possible that the Todas did not sell the ghi made from the milk of their more sacred buffaloes, and, as I have already suggested, it is even possible that at one time they were content to allow these animals to suckle their calves and made no use of their milk. Even at the present time a sacred buffalo will not be milked unless it is provided with the appropriate dairy and dairyman. The buffaloes of a *ti* which has no *palol*, or of a *wursuli* which has no *wursol*, are not allowed to be milked though they may be looked after by other men. With this exception, however, I believe that, at the present time, every buffalo, even of the most sacred herds, is a source of profit by the sale of the ghi which is made from its milk.

The various offerings of buffaloes made in connexion with ceremonial are also not allowed to interfere with the economic value of the animals. In the *irnörtiti* ceremony of the village, the offered buffalo simply passes from one division of a clan to another, and when a buffalo is said to be devoted to the gods, it does not mean that the owner profits a whit the less on account of the oblation, but only that he may not kill it at a funeral, and must allow it to die a natural death.

Even the slaughter of animals at the funeral ceremonies appears to be managed so as to interfere as little as possible with the profits obtained from the sale of the milk. I think there is little doubt that it is an established custom to kill old and barren buffaloes on these occasions. An animal is not sent to the next world till its owner has got the utmost out of it in this.

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Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas.

Other Animals

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence which I possess concerning their relations with animals in general.

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

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174 to the Nilgiris, and the extensive slaughter of sambhar which
262 followed it, that the Todas have thought of eating the flesh of this animal, and as no prohibition against the eating of its
825 flesh has been handed down to them, they have no reluctance in satisfying in this way the liking for animal food which the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony keeps in existence, if it does not actually stimulate it.

231 *The Cat.*—This animal, which is called *koti* or *kwoti*, is domesticated by the Todas. The cat is mentioned in the
825 legend of the tiger recorded in this section, and the earliest writers on the Todas speak of them as keeping these animals. I have seen them on the walls of the dairies, and believe that they are allowed to go wherever they please. The only occasion on which they come into ceremonial is at the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, where the spleen is specially put aside to be given to the cat, and is on this account called *kwotinerûf*.

The dog occurs in the story of Kwoten and several other animals are mentioned in the prayers and incantations, chiefly as sources of danger to the buffaloes. In the incantation for the relief of headache given on p. 265, the names of many animals are uttered, probably with the intention that their heads may acquire the pain which is being charmed away from the head of the sufferer.

Trees and Plants

778 The most sacred tree of the Todas is undoubtedly the *tudr*
824 (Fig. 58). This name is given by the Todas to two species, *Meliosma pungens* and *M. wightii*, the two trees resembling one another closely.

The bark is largely used in the dairy ceremonial, and especially in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol* and other dairymen drawn from the Teivaliol and Melgarsol. Its use is especially connected with the people of these sections of the Toda community, but the rest of the Tartharol undergo a ceremony at the second funeral in which *tudr* is used, and this was said to have the purpose that every Toda should be purified with *tudr* before he enters on the future life.

A log and leaves of *tudr* are also used in the ceremony of

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778 *erkumptthpimi*, and here it is used by both Teivaliol and
824 Tartharol alike.

The leaves of *tudr* used in any of these ceremonies must be perfect, and the bark must be knocked off the tree by means of

FIG. 58.—BOUGH OF THE 'TUDR' TREE. (From Marshall.)

a stone, this being one of the Toda practices which show the persistence of stone implements in ceremonial. The identity of this sacred tree is important, for it may furnish a clue to the home of the Todas. So sacred a tree would almost certainly have been already known to the Todas when

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they reached the Nilgiris, though it is, of course, possible that it might have been chosen on account of its resemblance to some tree sacred in their past history. The tree has, however, a wide distribution in India. 778 824

Pope has suggested that *tudr* is connected with *tulasi*, *Ocymum sanctum* or holy basil. This is a small flowering plant, and it is improbable that there is any connexion between the two plants except a resemblance in name.

Another tree which appears to be especially sacred is the *kiaz* tree (*Litsæa Wightiana*). Whenever a tree is used to mark the spot where the *mani* is laid during purificatory and other ceremonies, the tree must be of this kind. The wood of this tree is used when making fire for most sacred purposes.

The leaves of trees and shrubs are used in various branches of the dairy ritual. Those in most frequent use are various kinds called generically by the Todas *muli*, three of which belong to the genus Rubus. The young shoots of the same plants are used in the ordination ceremonies.

Grasses are also used in Toda ceremonial, and one of these, a slender grass called *kakar* (*Eragrostica nigra*) is used on several occasions, those of especial importance being the ordination of the Teivali *palikartmokh* and the sweeping of the threshold of the dairy by a girl at the migration ceremony. The same grass is also used in one of the methods adopted to promote speedy delivery in childbirth.

Of the various kinds of grain used by the Todas, that called *patm* or *samai* (*Panicum miliare*) seems to be in most frequent use in connexion with ceremonial, but it cannot be said to be sacred in any way. Barley (*kodj*) seems to have a peculiar place in Toda belief. The *tòratthadi* or cooking-vessel of the dairy may not be used for this grain, although any other kind may be boiled in it. On the other hand, three grains of barley are put into the mouth and three into the hair of a boy at the naming ceremony. In explanation I can only offer the surmise that barley is not cooked in the dairy vessel because its use by the Todas is an innovation, and that similarly the use of barley in the naming ceremony is also an innovation borrowed from the Badagas or some other tribe. 824 177

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The Sun, Light, and Fire

778 There is no doubt that the sun is an object of reverence to
788 the Todas. It is the duty of every man when first he leaves his hut in the morning to salute the sun by raising his hand
821 to his face in the *kaimukhti* salutation. The sun is also saluted by the *palol* as he comes out of his dairy to milk the buffaloes. All my informants were unanimous in saying that the salutation of the *palol* was both to the buffaloes and to the sun. The doors of the great majority of the dairies faced more or less in an easterly direction, so that the dairyman, on coming out of his dairy in the morning, would see the sun, and when the dairy had a different orientation, as at Mòdr, the *palol* had to turn so that he would perform the salutation looking eastward. At the afternoon ceremonial the salutation was performed in the same direction as in the morning, so that, so far as the salutation is performed to the sun, it would appear that it is to the place of the sun-rise rather than to the sun itself.

The sun plays a part in the ceremony which takes place when a woman goes to the seclusion-hut after childbirth, but there was some reason to think that this was due to the belief in the noxious influence of the mysterious body, Keirt, which is near the sun, and not to the influence of the sun itself. When performing the ceremony on leaving the seclusion-hut the woman faces the sun, and this may be an act of reverence, since now Keirt is no longer feared. It seemed quite clear that the moon is not saluted in the same way as the sun with the *kaimukhti* salutation. No salutation is paid at all to the new moon when it is first seen, but after a day or two, usually on the third day, it is the custom to bow down the head, so that the forehead rests on the corner of the *putkuli* lying on the ground. The salutation is that called *nersatiti* shown in Fig. 44. I only heard of one custom indicating reverence to the full moon. When the Todas throw away water on the day of the full moon, they do not throw it towards the moon, but away from it. Thus, if the moon is opposite the door of the hut, the people will go round to the back in order to throw the water there.

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water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light it gives are also undoubtedly reverenced, and lighting the lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character. 778 788 373 354

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not reverenced merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces, one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light the sacred lamp directly from it. 372 778 354

The fire of the *tòratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, and especially at those called *teutütusthchi* and *erkumptthpimi* and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman conducting the ceremony. At the *azaramkedr* of a man the fire is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this 372

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372 is probably also the case at the first funeral ceremony. I did not definitely ask whether fire by friction is ever made by a woman, but I am fairly confident that this would never happen.

I only heard of one case in which men were prohibited from making fire. The Kidmadol and Karshol, who suffer under several disabilities, are not allowed to make fire by friction, and this is due to a quarrel with their parent-clan many years ago.

Whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose[1] the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call *kias* or *keadj*, except in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which the wood of *muli* is used.

There are also definite regulations as to the kind of wood which is to be burnt in the fires of all ceremonial occasions. In various ceremonies I have recorded the Toda names of the woods prescribed, and if more were known about their identity, it is possible that some light might be thrown on the original home of the Todas, in the same way as has been suggested in the case of the sacred *tudr* tree.

STONES

778 The Todas have many stones which may be held to have
487 some degree of sanctity; certainly many have their place in
211 the religious ceremonial. All these stones have names, either general or individual, but two stones with the same name need not necessarily have the same function.

At the *ti* there are stones marking the spots where the dairy vessels are taken up and put down during the migration ceremonies, but the most interesting stones at these dairies are those called *neurzülnkars*. At several dairies these stones are anointed, and their appearance indicates that they have undergone the process for very long periods of time; at other places they are so weathered and worn away that they must obviously be of great antiquity. At some dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* these stones take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh* in the ceremonies accompanying migration, but at other places they are said to have different uses.

[1] For the special method employed see p. 581.

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At an ordinary village the stones usually belong to one of the following classes:— 778

(*a*) Stones to mark off boundaries or places, such as the *majvatvaikars*, marking the path or spot used by the women in fetching buttermilk from the dairy. 487 211

(*b*) Stones used in the ceremonies in which offerings are made, the *irnörtkars* and the *pilinörtkars*.

(*c*) Funeral stones, at which the buffaloes are killed. These are, of course, only found at funeral villages, but there are certain other stones, such as the *imudrikars*, which may be found in any village. Such a stone may mark the spot where the body is laid, or may even, as in the case of the *imudrikars* of Kars, form a mound on which the body is laid.

(*d*) Stones in or near the *tu* or buffalo pen, such as the *mutchudkars* and *pudothkars*. I do not know the origin or use of these, but in some villages there are stones in the pen marking the places where the *mu* or dairy vessels are buried, and it is possible that the above stones are in some way connected with the buried dairy-vessels.

(*e*) The lifting stone or *tukitthkars*. This is usually a large round stone which sometimes resembles in appearance stones of a ceremonial character.[1]

(*f*) Commemorative stones. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 13), and certain stones with the same name lying between Nòdrs and Teidr, had their origin in events connected with the death of a man belonging to the village of Teidr who was once *wursol* at Nòdrs. When he was told to milk one of the buffaloes, he replied, "If I milk it, the milk will not fill this place," pointing to a small depression on his thumb. Still the people told him to milk, and when he did so the milking-vessel was completely filled. Then the *palikartmokh* was very angry, and, taking the wand which the *wursol* was carrying, he struck him so that he flew in the air and fell down midway between Nòdrs and Teidr. When the people came to the place they found that the man was dead, and they tried to take up his body and carry it to the funeral place. But 211 778 773

[1] Burton (*Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 316) brands the Todas as inveterate liars, because, evidently owing to some misunderstanding, he was told that a "putting stone" was the "grandfather of the gods."

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211 the body would not move and so they held the funeral on the
773 spot and made a *tu*. At the entrance of the *tu* they placed
two women carrying pounders[1] in place of the posts or *tüli*,
778 and these women were changed into stones and their pounders
became the *tasth* of the entrance of the pen. The stones
which are now found on the spot are the remains of the pen
and the *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs marks the spot where the *wursol*
milked the buffalo.

In the village of Tovalkan there is a mound shown in Fig.

FIG. 59.—THE MEMORIAL OF KEIREVAN.

59 which is much like the *imudrikars* of Kars, but it is of modern origin, having been made to mark the spot where Keirevan (20) fell out of a tree and was killed.

(*g*) Stones connected with special features of the dairy ceremonial. I only know of one stone of this kind at a village, the *pârsatthkars* of Nidrsi, on which the *palikartmokh* puts milk every morning and evening.

778 Stones are often used for more than one purpose; thus, the

[1] It will be remembered that at the *azaramkedr* of a woman, two women stand at the entrance of the *azaram* one of whom holds a pounder in her hands.

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irnörtkars of Umgas (see Fig. 72) is also a boundary stone, and the *menkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 12) used for the game called *narthpimi*, and the *teidrtolkars* at the same village are also funeral stones at which buffaloes are killed. 778

I have given a brief list of the chief stones which may be called sacred owing to their coming in one way or another into Toda ceremonial, but I should like to make it clear that no great idea of sanctity attaches to these stones, and in no case are they shown any definite signs of veneration or worship. They, and many of the other objects described in this chapter, are not sacred in the same sense in which the *etudmad* or the *mani* are sacred.

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buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grandfathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence. 769 771 776

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men. [775]

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personifications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence whatever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces. 771 776

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neur-sülukars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual 776 778

[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

776 process of transference of sanctity from the buffalo to the
778 object worn by it, and I think it not unlikely that this transference may have reached its full development in comparatively recent times.

If my view be accepted, it would still leave open the religious status of the buffalo, and especially of the bell-buffalo, and here, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to me probable that the buffalo was never regarded as a god in the same sense in which this word is used for the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops. In the oldest legends, in which the buffaloes spoke like men, it is clear that they were in subjection to the gods, and were in no way regarded as themselves divine.

776 Some writers on the Todas have supposed that the *palol* is regarded as a god, but at the present time it is certain that
793 he is in no way divine. He is treated with respect, but nothing of the nature of worship or adoration is paid to him. His position among the Todas is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity. That his isolation is not a sign of divinity is, I think, shown by the results of infringement of his isolation. If the *palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches incurs no penalty. The sacrilege, according to Toda ideas, would attach not to him, but to the *palol* who, in spite of being touched, should persist in performing the duties of his office.

174 Whether the *palol* may ever have been more sacred in the past I cannot say. An indication that he may at one time
776 have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special
793 clauses of the Kiudr prayer which are uttered on the occasion of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*. Here the *kwarzam* of the *palol* is *eupalol*, which stands for *teupalol*, or "god palol," but in the next *kwarzam* the same prefix is given to his garment, the *tuni*, and I have little doubt that these *kwarzam* simply refer to the sanctity which attaches to the *palol* and his garment as part of the sacred institution of the *ti*. There is no doubt, however, that, according to tradition, the gods held the office of *palol* and that the *palol* of the

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In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village. 776 234

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas. 776 787 177

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods. 776 778 823

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are 776

by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this 771
domination has taken a form in which ritual has become 788
all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarzam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degener- 771
ated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason 778
to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly 782
present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the 786
gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of 182
the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I
182 made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been
784 recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudskmarn* is also burnt at the *azaramkadr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
● 778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

Weapons

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nawnakad* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkadr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkadr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *koltiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursûtpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *teramptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
174 when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments, and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
178

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

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One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, 526
and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good performance.

At many villages there is a large globular stone called 147
tukitthkars (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games 526
this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some 778
of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nödrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukitthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings.

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed 517
by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of 526
such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking 211
the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, 525
one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream 177
called Kavageir, winning eighteen *mekh* (three-year-old

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people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts, so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum. 621 351 234

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*. 211 621 778

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among 234 621

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man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English soldiers came to Pām and insulted the women and how Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at Wellington.

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Pām for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members.

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo.

There are two *wasi*, called *Eshkiakudr* and *Eikudr*, each with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pinaipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvali*.

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of these seems to be of any importance.

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the 778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion 609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsiködri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of 618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a 234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the 554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Ödr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
● 778 sacred than Kuudr.

[342] It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the huts to the dairy a shallow stream flowing over broad flat stones is crossed. This stream is called *Keikudr*, and is of some ceremonial importance (see p. 307). 234 621

The dairy which is called *Kilpoh* is shown in Figs. 20 and 31, and is a large, well-built structure of the ordinary shape. It is situated within a high wall, which is much thicker than usual, and in front it must be several yards across, so that it is possible to walk about on the top of it. On this wall, on the right hand side, are two old stones (shown in Fig. 31), called *neurzülnkars*. Close to the dairy there are two ancient and weatherworn stones, shown in Fig. 32, to which the same name is given. 778

There are six bells in the dairy. Two are kept on the *patatmar* and are called *patatmani*, the individual names of the bells being *Mudrani* and *Kerani*. The other four are called *ertatmani*, and are kept on the *ertatmar*; their individual names are *Pongg*, *Nongg*, *Pundrths*, and *Pan*.

Kiudr is one of the villages which was said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. In favour of this is the fact that its dairy is called *poh* and that there are stones called *neurzülnkars* which are usually found at a *ti mad*. The people have also to play a part during the procession of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, and there seems to be little doubt that the village is in some way especially connected with the *ti* institution, though exactly how is uncertain.

Kiudr is certainly a village especially revered not only by the Kuudrol, but by all Todas. It is a *sati mad*, and any Toda will be believed if he speaks in front of its dairy. Another sign of the sanctity of the dairy is the fact that the ceremony of *pilinörtiti* may be performed here not only by members of the Kuudr clan, but also by any other Toda.

Molkush. This is a recently established village, little more than a quarter of a mile from Kiudr. The scenes shown in Figs. 16 and 17 were taken at this village. It has no dairy and the milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut. This village may be regarded as an adjunct to the sacred village of Kiudr, at which the ordinary buffaloes are tended. At the time of my visit the wife of one of the men who usually lived at Kiudr gave birth 621

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
184 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two
divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tâzâr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

CHAP. XII.

action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see, confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to any personal God, of whose attributes or power they entertain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[1] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

I am not prepared to say that these people have actually no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[2] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

[1] See Chapter VIII.

[2] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

000 think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'[1]

322 Our friends appear to *dream* buffalo. Sitting, apparently
532 'thinking of nothing at all,' a man will pick up a bit of cane or forked twig from the ground, and like the typical Yankee is supposed to whittle a stick while he speculates, so the Toda will employ himself for an hour at a time, splitting his bit of cane or rounding the little branches of his twig into the likeness of buffalo horns, as he muses. Children may be seen coming in from cattle-driving, with strings of these small horns. And these treasures are found lying about their houses and haunts. Two of them are shown in Photograph No. 15.

182 In the history of most, if not of all nations, savage and
771 civilised alike, we may trace the alliance, more or less intimate,
234 of religion, in its various rites and performances, with food; in its nature, source, or care, or in the occasions or symbols of its use. This correlation is certainly a marked feature in Toda customs. Though the Todas have no actual religion or system of faith leading to the performance of duties to a God, yet they hold to certain practices and certain habits in daily life, which are to them in the place of a religion; being performed with all the strictness and certainty that should be bestowed on sacred observances.

234 These performances or habits are intimately allied with
778 the care and distribution of the *divine fluid*—milk. The buffalo is to a certain degree held sacred, as being the

[1] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 21.

CHAP. XIII.

234 778 [198]

chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

177 234 262 431

But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

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There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[9] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

[9] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, mani dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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cows of the sacred herds only, which are attached to the holy Mands, termed tiriêri.[3] The size of the droves varies, from accidental circumstances, between the numbers 10 and 60: and somewhat in proportion to the dimensions of the herds, from one to three bell-gods belong to a tiriêri.

The bell-cows, for whom, by the way, the Todas have no specific name, are not selected on account of their good milking qualities, their size or beauty, but are the descendants in direct female line from certain originals whose early history has been lost. I have the following information on the subject from the highest authority; viz., a priest of the tiriêri, styled pâlâl, retired from the active business of his calling. He told me that no matter how old and worthless the bell-cow might become, the bell belonged to her till she died: when, without fail, it was transferred to her daughter. Moreover, that if the mother should have left no such female issue, a bell-cow would be procured from one of the other tiriêris: or the holy Mand would itself be broken up, and the entire herd amalgamated with that of some tiriêri still possessing a bell-cow.

The bell-god is never worn by the bell-buffalo, but is always kept in the priest's house; no one but a man of that office being permitted to touch or even to see it.

The same holy man who gave me the above information, also described the installation of a new bell-cow. Twice a day, morning and evening, for three successive days, the priest waves the bell with his right hand, round and round the head of the bovine heiress, talking to it the while, much as follows:

> What a fine cow your predecessor was!
> How well she supported us with her milk!
> Won't you supply us in like manner?
> You are a God amongst us!

[3] Tiriêri = *holy place.* Tira or tiri is the recognised Drâvidian corruption of the Sanskrit shrî = *holy, sacred.*

Ari or iri, from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist.* Ur = *a village*, is from the same root. [POPE.]

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Don't let the tirièri go to ruin!
Let one become a thousand!
Let all be well!
Let us have plenty of calves!
Let us have plenty of milk!

During three days and nights the bell is kept fastened round the cow's neck. On the morning of the third day it is removed from her neck, and lodged in the priest's house. It is never worn again during that cow's lifetime.

The entire tirièri herd is far more sacred than any of the ordinary village droves of buffalos, and the bell-cows are infinitely more sacred than any other cows of the sacred drove. So far as I could ascertain: whilst the bell-cow is the direct lineal descendant, from mother to daughter, from some remote but sacred ancestor, the remainder of the tirièri herd are the offspring of some original drove, whose members are probably related to the bell-cows.

A certain number of bulls are retained in the sacred herd; those male calves which are not wanted being given away to the Kotas. The finer animals are retained. When a young bull has arrived at mature age, and has proved his vigour, he undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed; by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the tirièri, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. He is not a very sacred character. In fact it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove, after due sanctification.

174 234 611

It appears to me as somewhat remarkable that a people so fond of simple regulation and undeviating rule, should permit the principle of female succession amongst their cattle, whilst maintaining agnate law amongst themselves. I cannot admit the contrast between the two systems to be merely the result of accident. Knowing the direct simplicity and good sense of

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

234 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The
778 pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tirièri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tirièri.

554 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

No. 15
opp. p. 138

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THE TUDE OR SACRED BUSH.
WEAPONS, BOW & ARROW, USED AT WEDDINGS & FUNERALS.
IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

137 Though the proper meaning of the word tûde, is simply a bush; yet taken in connection with its use for sanctifying purposes, it may be held to imply that it is *the* bush above all others. It is a very common little tree on these hills, fragile, and by all accounts, possessing no remarkable properties in flower, seed, or sap. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel Beddome, Conservator of Forests, for its botanic names, viz., *Meliosma simplicifolia*, alias *Millingtonia*. CHAP. XIV.

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Dr. Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, has obliged me with the following valuable information as to the diffusion of the tree; a point on which I have been desirous to obtain the most reliable account, hoping that the localities might form geographical links by which the Todas might be traced to other tribes within or beyond the boundaries of Hindustan. 'The distribution of the plant,' Dr. Hooker is so good as to write, 'is Western and Eastern Himalaya, from Simla eastward. Khassia, Silhet, and Mishmi hills in Assam. From the Concan to Courtallam in the western Peninsula. It certainly does not inhabit Persia, the Caucasus, or South Russia, and probably not even Beluchistan.'

174 It was important to establish, if the race of which the Todas form a tribe, brought with them from Western Asia the use of the tûde, the *Millingtonia*. It would now seem probable that they brought with them, merely, the already established practice of self-purification with a sacred plant, and not finding in the country of their adoption that which they had been accustomed to use when in their own land, they elected the tûde in its place. If the views expressed in the last chapter, as to the antiquity of the rules of cattle inheritance—making the bell-cow a descendant by the female line from some remote ancestor—be considered of value, then some degree of support is also afforded to show the collateral practice of purification by the use of a sacred plant, to be also very ancient.

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000 It would be interesting to know if other broken tribes of the pre-Âryan—Drâvidian—race, now living in various tracts

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XV.

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is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

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'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the names of the following Gods :—

Ânmungâno Godingâtho
Beligoshu Dekulâria
Kazudâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

[1] Nin arzbini = *I adore thee.* See Chapter XVII., on the 2nd Mand, for the application of these words.

776 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and
793 not Gods of my tiriêri only. I have never seen them. They are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk.
793 After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tiriêri. He
442 said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in
793 none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tiriêri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in
372 saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tiriêri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

778 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by
793 anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his
234 priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tûde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 146

No. 18

The Tiriêri. The 'Holy Place' or Toda sanctum.
"Here live the Gods of our Fathers"

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2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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Having ascertained that the tiriêri, with its sacred herd and its mapi dêr, was indeed the mainspring of the entire religious faith and social system of the Todas, it became a matter of great moment to ascertain by personal inspection the secrets of its penetralia. Our *ex*-pâlâl had indeed with great apparent sincerity divulged the whole of the hidden mysteries, even to the extent of naming the Gods of his forefathers; names held in great veneration: when spoken, only pronounced in an under-tone: and which no European, and probably no native beyond the tribe, had ever previously been allowed to hear. Here would be the test of his veracity both on this subject and in other cognate matters on which we had consulted him.

We must see the inside of a tiriêri: we must view the relics, the Gods. Such was the programme: and money would of course perform the work of the magic words 'open sesame.' Calling therefore at our friend's Mand, we readily induced him to accompany us to view his old tiriêri. 'But you must not go close to the dairy' he said. Oh no!

We strolled along the pretty slopes of the verdant hills together, and he guided us over the squashy bogs, and through the ever-silent woods: and again out on the green wild, and through further nestling woods, with the cheery spring sun overhead; all in the direction of his tiriêri.

No one to overhear us out on this prairie! Now is the time! 'Bâltaben'—such was his mundane name—'we want to go into the dairy of the tiriêri. You are an old pâlâl. Here is money.' 'Just to peep in at the door from a distance?' he asked. 'No, but to look at the relics in the inner room.' He stopped short, tucked his stick under one arm, and pressing the tips of all his fingers to his eyes, exclaimed, 'May both my eyes drop from their sockets, but I cannot do such a thing.' After a pause, 'The Gods would vacate the tiriêri Mand if anyone unsanctified entered it, and its pâlâl would be ruined.'

This was awkward. Another suggestion: Let us see the relics. Let the pâlâl bring them outside that we may view

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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them. We won't go near.' Ah! that is feasible! The bargain is struck forthwith.

On we went again, much refreshed by our success, cross-questioning our guide on points of religion till he was fuddled.

'On he fares and to the border comes.'

Rising to the ridge of a prolonged knoll, he stopped and pointed below: 'There!'

Down we go into the sacred hollow. The solemn Toda, still more grave, some enthusiasm kindling his dark eye as he looks across at the place where for half a lifetime he had been a God. Over some little burns, past a group of sacred calves, looking in their dirt and stolid impudence, anything but reverential towards the *ex*-pâlâl—they were of this year's growth, and did not recognise him—up again out of the hollow: when, as we near the rounded crest of a long hillock, we find ourselves opposite two neat, but undersized houses, with a dilapidated buffalo pen. 'The tiriêri Mand! Don't go near!' So, like shying horses we circle round the spot, till we reach the ridge.

We are at the sanctuary, and in the middle of the holy domain. The pâlâls and kâvilâls are out. We will sit down and note the place till they return.

A pure green cameo of wide extent! the edge formed by an amphitheatre of hill, crowning

'with her enclosure green
As with a rural mound, the champain head.'

The arena filled with ceaseless undulations of grazing land; winding through which, a noble stream, and a score of sparkling rivulets cascading down the distant hills. A long tongue of grass land projects from one side of the hilly margin into the weald. At the root of the tongue, a wood; on the margin of which the sanctuary, near which we sit, 'taking notes.'

Wood, water, herbage, in combination with a seclusion so complete, as to include a deep sense of perpetuity. Surprising rest and peaceful beauty!

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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778 Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

124 'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us.
773 Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are ap-
778 proaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline,
234 and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!' shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls remain behind, and you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[3] had come up to about [481] ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the maṇi from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

778 Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

[3] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

An axe, a sort of hatchet-knife, and a small knife. These latter certainly did not appear old; they were kept tolerably bright, and did not look worn, either by use or from the effects of polishing. The two last had wooden handles. 'These be your Gods'!

In reply to the enquiry, if the bells had clappers, the answer was instantaneous, energetic and simultaneous; that they had not clappers: if they had, they would have been cattle-bells—konku—but these were Gods—Dêr. The question must have been asked before.

No. 19.

RELIC GODS—MAJI DÊR.

'Gods of our Fathers.'

. . . . Of thee
Therefore entreat I, Father, to declare
If I may gain such favour, as to gaze
Upon thine image by no covering veil'd.

DANTE, *Paradise.*

It should be remarked that the Toda name for a bell, is konku—deep-sounding—whilst that of the common cow-bell of the district, now worn by village cattle on certain occasions, is called getti—a small tinkling thing. Hence I deduce from the sounds and sizes, that these holy bells are really national relics.

'Now,' they said, 'the Gods must not be kept out any

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longer;' which being interpreted, meant that the kâvilâls would be coming. So, having taken a sketch of them, we threw some money to the pâlâls.

'Don't tell the kâvilâls when you pass them, that you have paid us money.' I promised; at which they chuckled. 'And don't tell any one you have seen the relics.' Phew!!

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234 793 618 unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 621 It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are [782] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 793 788 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up.* [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

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Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[8] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiriêri; the holy of holies, already described.

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In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

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[8] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master* or *superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

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lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

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It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, êtud Mands should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mands, and why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an êtud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu[6] or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet

[6] Kurpu. Drâvidian. Tamil has kuri = *indicate, point out.* Kurippu

or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell—konku. That many of these êtud Mands contain kurpus, I have ascertained by direct enquiry. That they all do so, or are supposed by the people to do so, is my belief. Hence we see the êtud Mands are *shrines;* the shrines of a race which burns its dead.

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Now the Badaga name for such a village is mui Mand.[7] And as the very intimate knowledge which this cognate tribe possesses of Toda practice, would probably cause the word mui to be descriptive; it would materially assist us in our enquiries if we knew exactly what it does mean.

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It has been ascertained that the Todas often settle disputes amongst themselves at these places—the tirîêri being too sacred to be approached for such purposes—challenging one another to make good their word, by repeating it at the êtud Mand. By joining all these notes together, I can frame an explanation that appears to me quite reasonable, and in consonance with my knowledge of the people's habits and mode of thought. They evidently consider the dairies containing kurpus, or relics of their ancestors, in the light of shrines; and in consequence, the precincts and presence to be holy ground; so holy that men would be restrained from lightly uttering a falsehood at such spots.[8] Hence it is, that these 'great' Mands are used for

—verbal noun = *a sign, indication, memorial.* The Kanarese uses guri. [POPE.]

Maṇi. Sanskrit maṇi = *jewel, bell.* Used in all the Drâvidian languages. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz draws a distinction between kurpu and maṇi; the latter is specific and implies a *metal ring* or *bell.* Thus although a maṇi is with this people always a kurpu, every kurpu is not a maṇi. It may be an *axe* or *staff.*

To me it seems that the word maṇi is a refinement introduced through contact with the Hindus; giving a more distinctly religious, sacred or holy meaning to the sentiment implied in the kurpu.

[7] Mui. In old Kanarese Muyyi is *retaliation.*

Mû in Tamil is *old, venerable.* [POPE.]

[8] Mr. Metz tells me that an oath is taken, by removing the mantle, and stepping over it, in the presence of the êtud Mand.

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778 627 the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families. This belief is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that throughout the East the practice is common, to hold similar meetings at shrines of holy men; Pirs, Jogis, Fakirs, &c.

234 782 That an êtud Mand should have larger herds of cattle than ordinary, may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy.

000 It is important that we arrive at some decision on the object and use of a dairy which occupies a position so manifestly conspicuous amongst their social institutions: to enable us to clear our minds as to all the components of the Toda faith. So long as we do not know what an êtud Mand is, we should always feel that some material portion of their religious system remained unexplained.

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CHAPTER XIX.

THE BOATH.

External appearance of the Boath—Night visit—Inside of the Boath—Where are the Relics?—The Boath an exceptional curiosity—Speculations regarding it; a Bethel? connected with the Bothan?

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On a previous visit to the village close to which this temple—one out of only three or four in the whole tribe—is situated,[1] I had been able to reconnoitre it at my leisure whilst talking to the naked vorshâl seated on the surrounding-wall.

He told us with Toda solemnity and such an air, that there were very sacred relics in it, handed down from past generations. Here a turn in the wrist of his upraised arm implied the pre-historic antiquity I was hunting for! How did he guess my secret? But he was lamentably hazy when I strove to turn his observations to practical account. Nor could I get from him a clear description, even of his daily occupations. To sit naked on the wall and look like a scarecrow was the feat he seemed to accomplish best.

'I want to go in,' I said, advancing towards the temple.

'No,' he replied, backing towards the door of the sacred edifice, and shaking the palms of both hands and outspread fingers in alarmed delirium.

'What will happen if I go in?'

'The Gods will tear you to pieces.'

He would not agree to the proposal, though backed by a little offering, so after taking a sketch I retired.

[1] At the top of the Sigôr Ghat.

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find; but a slight groan of disappointment, followed by rapid movements, as of rats in an empty bucket, told the melancholy tale—nothing.

The pitch darkness of the inside, and blackness of the roof and walls, absorbing nearly all the light of our candles, it was with difficulty we satisfied ourselves of the value and form of our possession.

346 The temple is divided by a thick wooden partition wall—
● 778 which extends from the earthen floor in which it is buried, to the full height of the roof—into two compartments of equal size. There is a small doorway in this wall of the same dimensions as the first. Midway between the two doorways, at the level of the floor, is a vat or basin of about a half cubit square, made of stone.

We look through the interstices between the clumsy slabs of the dividing-wall, into the next room. That at any rate is not empty. It is the *sanctum sanctorum*, where the relics are kept.

Once more! In through the little door of the dividing wall. Quite easy now! First squat square opposite to it, like a frog. Next supple the whole body. Then go in cornerwise with *élan*! Don't attempt to rise till you are five feet off on the other side. This feat can be practised through a window-frame at ground level.

Just looking round at the little door, more in sorrow than in anger, we proceed to business. Earthenware pots, honnus, and a whirl with which to churn butter by revolving between the palms of the hands. No bell, no hatchet, neither ring nor relic of any kind, no niche for lights, no altar, no stone, no phallus or lingum. No snakes! Everyone has been telling us lies, and the world is full of sawdust!

Back through the two doors quickly, like prairie dogs. Out into the open air. The transition was as if we had been born again.

Now to philosophise. This is a very simple religious faith! How many negatives go to prove a positive! One thing is

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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dear, every priest must be long in the back and very fond of milk! But why were the doors so unusually small, and why locked, and why these fusty lies about relics?

Some time subsequent to the events just described, an excellent opportunity occurred of making further enquiry regarding relics—the belief in which had now become much shaken—and particularly as regards those which this building had been said to contain, and whose non-discovery haunted me still.

'The people of the village say there are relics—mani—in that temple—dêrmane,[2] or gudi'[3]—I remarked as casually as I could to our old friend, the *ex*-pâlâl, 'do they bury them in the ground?'

Âha,' with a Toda grunt and shake of the head.

'Then where are they?'

Now this Toda had told us many things, and all he had said had proved to be true. Moreover neither he nor any one else had the slightest conception that a visit had been paid to the inside of the dêrmane, or that we entertained any particular interest in it. He must merely have thought to himself from the question, this is another of Paul Pry's 'I only wanted to know.'

He glanced up sideways at me, and

> By his countenance
> Enjoin'd me silence.

With his hand to the side of his mouth, he said in a low voice 'Under the stone on the top of the roof.'

Sold!!

I look on this dêrmane as an exceptional curiosity, possessing for our purposes an interest peculiarly its own. In the first place, it is unique in contour, though *constructed as to plan*

[2] Dêrmane = *Gods-house—residence of the Gods.*

[3] Gudi—*a temple*; a word probably borrowed from the Badagas. In Sanskrit, kudi is a *house* and a *curve*. In Telugu, it is used for a *circle* and a *temple*. In Kanarese it is a *temple*, and is written gudi. [POPE.]

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under the same general ideas, and apparently for similar purposes as the dairy of a tirièri or the pâlthchi of any Mand. Then it holds a vat—which no other building does—whose use is not understood by the vorshâl in charge, and whose very existence is, I feel nearly certain, unknown to the people. If the vat was constructed for sacrificial purposes, then its use has been discontinued and forgotten, though the priest in charge is a vorshâl or sacrifice man.[4]

It is situated on an exposed site bearing the outlines of stone walls, built on a largeness of scale, and in a form, nowhere else found amongst these people—with a Kromlech and numerous Kairns dotted close about.

The specific name by which it is known—boath[5]—is peculiar, and applicable solely to that style of structure.

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Now it should be borne in mind, if we would form an opinion on the origin of this edifice, that the Todas are unimaginative creatures of one idea; having one way of doing everything: intolerant of change or deviation from custom, unless for some manifestly practical advantage. How then do we find such a race in occupation of an eccentric building which does not fit in with any of its other institutions? Not a tirièri—for it is of lower grade in Toda estimation; its servant a vorshâl, not a God. Not an ordinary pâlthchi, for one of the largest size exists apart, within a few paces of it.

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As there is nobody who can give an explanation of the phenomenon, I will submit a theory of my own for consideration. May the boath not be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to, the Todas, which, taking refuge like them on these hills, died out in their presence—

[4] See Note 4 of Chapter VIII.

[5] Boath. An enclosed Jain temple is basti.

It may be deemed fanciful to refer to booth or bothy. The Welsh is bwth, the Gaelic is both. This word is of very extensive use. The Tamil viḍ and Kanarese biḍ = *house*, may be compared.

The Todas and Drâvidians generally, have much in common with the Celtic tribes. [POPE.]

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pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration, into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pátkuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tunni*, made
234 specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanēri.

"The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the "exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in "some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without "a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is "at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fūr or Tūr, the "botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed "off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted "to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâls*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pâlâls*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peikis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokvali*. There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tārnāt mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpuli*. There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl*.

V. *Pâlikārpâls* may be of any clan, but Peiki and Pekkan mands must have Peiki and Pekkan Pâlikārpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

● 778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

346 II. *Pâlthchi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but larger. Of *Pâlthchis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every
793 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas
621 *Etadmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthchis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikārpâl*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl*.

234 There are four *Boas*:—

(1.) Called *Mânboa*; at Muttanâd *mand*, about four miles from Cotacamund on the
778 left of the Segūr road.

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* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.

778 (3.) Called *Tirzhva*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.

(4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mutterzhva*.

346 Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding

103 God and Bell, where there is one.

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Peiki Muimands (*Etadmands*).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasâri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mirzhan. Ertâtu. Kirzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu.
	2. Karzhaldf	Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

* Measurements:—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	8′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eaves to ground	3′ 5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

103
621
776
● 778

Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Músdshyâld	Kérahandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tírzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nirzh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kárzhtith	Kátêtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângŭar. Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérkŏarzh	Musdshyâldf.	
6. Kúramárzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor; Têkva; Pêshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kúërsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Párzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

776 Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bêtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

771 In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun
788 (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasion-
778 ally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be
782 well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Bad. Tarnât. *Pl.* vm.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Ao60 Toda Aw60

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Toda

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and supreme Spirit, and in a future state, though this they seem to regard as one of a somewhat mundane character, inasmuch as buffaloes and abundance of milk are to be the portion of the faithful. They also pay reverence to, though they do not worship, inferior objects, such as hills and forests and the rising sun, precisely as did the ancient Celts. In connection with the adoration of light, they also make an obeisance to their evening lamps on lighting them. The observance of this custom in Europe is mentioned by Edward Spencer, who, writing in 1596, states that, "at the kindling of fire and lighting of candles, the Scots and Irish use superstitious rites."*

The presence in their temples of large stones, which have, by superficial observers, been regarded as gods, has led to the belief that these people are idolaters; but this is certainly not the case. There is no doubt that the shapeless symbols are merely representatives of an unseen power, and not in themselves actual objects of worship; though with other races, preserving less strictly their primitive character, this original use has degenerated into idolatry. The fact, therefore, that this tribe has so preserved to the present day, in the midst of a heathen country, the primary object and intention of such symbols, is one worthy of notice; and leads to the supposition that the Todas may be equally unchanged in all other respects since the earliest days of their corporate existence as a people.

It would be a most interesting point to determine satisfactorily whether or not the early progenitors of the Todas were the erectors of the numerous Druidical circles and remains found on their hills, and which crown the summit of almost every peak throughout the Nilgiri range. Several of the cromlechs have, rather against the wishes of the hill-tribes, been examined at different times, and found to contain urns of clay filled with black earth, charred fragments of human bones, and roughly made clay figures of buffaloes, and in some instances bells; the whole lying under large flat stones within the circle. It is to be noted, too, that these urns, as well as the bells, very closely resemble those that have been found in Great Britain.

Within the last few months, "a set of iron implements" has been found in a cromlech on the southern side of the Nilgiri

* *Early Races of Scotland.*

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346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nilgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanâd mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholûr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanâd mand (or Nôdrs), at the top of the Sigûr ghât, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [184] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swâmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 178 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [164] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall* that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

[113]

* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

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about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkûlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikâra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikâra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkûli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikâra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

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778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikára river.

733 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

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Avalanché to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanché-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

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551 patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions
[614] the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondurıdz. One of these is the daughter of ɪmuxfum (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxŭuɪr (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondur to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary
771 to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of
234 munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and
[192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as tŏŭ "god" or ɪ̆ɪr "sacred place" or by the compound tŏŭnoɪr, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and
776 noɪr when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some
778 extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the
[179] gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god ŏm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the tŏŭnoɪr, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–62, 1937).

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It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the kūarm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kūarm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toirθarsoij moiety, but not among the tθθfiljoij), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tir-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of kūarm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kūarm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kūarm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kūarm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and kūarm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. ūursoir of the melgairoij (48, Uskadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. pairg (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maikair of the kairoij (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tir-places of this sib. tourjaij of the kairoij (15, Tarsiolv) has the name of the kurpoij dairy at the mund kair. komθūir of the tourorroij (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogloij dairy at the mund tourorr. pepoib of the melgairoij (44, Pupob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuirair, a mund of the sib. kūrserrūirtr of the kūrrorroij (26, Kersdrkutan) has as his name the second kūarm of the people of the sib. ortjarr of the purgorroij (34, Athers) has the second kūarm of the people of the sib. munombirštj, son of hortsiθj (12, Kacholil) has one of the kūarm of the buffaloes of his sib.

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778 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this
551 is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has
614 been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæröj in §12 and tæröjxæm, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tuɪpuɪxüuɪṭṇ, son of tæɪpɑx (20, Teipakh), and tuɪfnuɪ (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoʃj dairy at the mund toɪroɪɣ, which is named tuɪpuɪsfoɪü. In the case of one man pɑnuɪ (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is koɪnuɪ, which is the first küɑsm of the mund pɑʃtɑɪr of the toɪroɪṛoɪʃ, but that a real küɑsm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name pɑnuɪ is based on the second küɑsm of this mund, pɑɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged küɑsm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. öɪkjɑʃf (24, Irkiolv) after the küɑsm öɪṛṇuɪ, öɪkjɑʃf, and oɪxüuɪḷṇ (24, Orguln) after the küɑsm oɪṛṇuɪ, oɪxüuɪḷṇ; the küɑsm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
776 existent is clear, for kiɪṛṇuɪ of the niṛjoɪʃ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second küɑsm of the mund niṛj, and oṛjxɑɪ of the
614 möɪroɪʃ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second küɑsm of the mund pan. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always
551 clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of
103 compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. töümod (24, Teimad) < a valley (pɑʃ) called töümodʃɑʃ. mogoj (24, Mogal) < mogojnæɪs "cubit (mogoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtsüuɪ of his sib.[9] kukɑɪr (20, Kakar) < kukɑɪrxüut, an open place in the middle of thickets (küut) near the mund toɪroɪɣ. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiröjmuṛj (20, Kidimudri) < kiröjmun, a mountain; mun is the peak of a hill and muṛj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

[9] Rivers (p. 623) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

[114]

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551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæibj, daughter of öiknuɪ (8, Arkners), < "baby;" pentʃ, daughter of koɪxüuɪṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæisn; a woman's name tæis is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kajniɪ, 3, Kainir).

[177] §30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiɪfj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amondiɪfj, daughter of küuɪlpax (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 614 778 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and küusm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. öingüuṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 193 614 §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[12] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

[177]

[12] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the küusm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

[562] [533] [778]

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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷo:ḷ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töuθut and the töunoɣ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the *uṛfoḷ̃ṭṭ*, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. *kaɣθum*, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying *hõ:* at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as *ṛo:t-n*, after it as *ṛuṛ*.

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθuṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tuṭ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called *mod*, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiṣj created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noṭ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθuṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 776 114 794 [777] [791] [688] 794

The töunoṭ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoṭ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as aṭ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noṭ "sacred place." Within the noṭ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noṭ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noṭ "sacred place" or töunoṭ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which 776 234 [36] [782] [783] [562] 776 234 778 794 [192]

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is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːʈ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noːʈoːselm	kuːtjuθnoːʈ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tōuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːʈ), the sacred place to which the goddess tōːkiɲj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθarm	kumʈtmθnoːʈ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mɨreθarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noːʈexuːḍtk	pɨːmθnoːʈ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tōuenoːjtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tōuθɯt, the tōunoːʈ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tōunoːʈ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tōunoːʈ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; paːrnaːnθōu, puːʈpaːrθōu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kaɲm)" of the mund myːnj, which is paːrnaɲ, said to mean "the standing-place (nam) of the 1600 gods (represented by paːr for paːrnaːr)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are töunoːṭ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the tiː. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not töunoːṭ. Some munds also which have dairies are not töunoːṭ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a töunoːṭ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the töunoːṭ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the töunoːṭ, which are mtumḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a töunoːṭ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the töuθuṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation.

[342] [178] [793]

When a töunoːṭ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the töunoːṭ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a töunoːṭ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

[791] [614]

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the töuθuṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nódrodchi, i. e. noːroːḍci-, means "(the deity, i. e. the töuθuṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (mtumḍmoḍ or töunoːṭ) was created, as we have said, by a töuθuṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

[614]

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of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative so·mi: as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

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will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies ; the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known ;

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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [193] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 118 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of [462] stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [361] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [178] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [196] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period. 841 778 234 [793]

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poɣ). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoɣ, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper. 764 841 778 [614]

One mund, kuu:sy of the sib called mö:ɾ was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti :-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti :-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund. 778 183 562 [841]

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle). [113]
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōng. This is etymologically connected with Kota kogg in the same meaning, Tamil kōṅku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koggu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koṅgu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōng and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
177 tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
433 horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
[241] to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
[427] to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
511

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[773] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[352] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
• 718 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
718 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[352] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[975] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER X

PRAYER

In the chapters in which the ritual of the dairies has been described, one of the most important features of the ceremonial has been passed over which must now be fully described. This feature is the prayer which is always offered at certain stages of the dairy operations. In the village dairies, of whatever kind they may be, no prayer is offered at the morning ceremonial. In the evening the prayer of the dairy is recited twice—once when lighting the lamp, and once when shutting the buffaloes in their enclosure for the night, the prayer on this occasion being said in front of the entrance to the pen.

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At the *ti* dairy the *palol* prays both morning and evening. In the morning he prays when lighting the lamp and after he has finished milking; in the evening prayer is offered on both these occasions, and also when shutting up the buffaloes for the night. The *palol* also repeats a few clauses when going out to milk. Prayers are said on certain other ceremonial occasions, and clauses from the prayers are frequently uttered during the many ceremonies of the dairy.

At the evening ceremonial of the village dairy the prayer is said when the lamp is lighted, while during the morning ceremonial, at which the lamp is usually not lighted, there is no prayer. This suggests that the prayer is especially related to the lamp-lighting, and that some idea of worship of the light is involved, but occasionally for some special reason, such as unusual darkness, the lamp may be lighted in the morning, and on these occasions the prayer is not used. Nevertheless, the relation between lamp-lighting and prayer

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation
373 of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and
771 its sources which may at one time have formed a more
782 marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to
788 be the case.

The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is
234x common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the
782 dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently
788 killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pakvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195] In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Môdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could
184 ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village;
768 thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used
782 in both *kwgwali* and *tarwali*. This is not, however, a point
621 on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

refused to discuss it. One point seemed quite clear, at any rate among the Teivaliol, viz., that the different villages of a clan had different prayers, though often with many clauses in common. 234 x 184 621

In general, the prayer of the *ti* is longer and more elaborate than that of the village dairy. Different prayers are used at different dairies of the same *ti*, though here again they may have many clauses in common. 782 788

In all cases the prayer consists of two distinct parts: a preliminary portion consisting chiefly of names known as *kwarzam*, followed by a portion which may be regarded as the prayer proper.

The prayer proper should be the same in every dairy, but it seemed to me that there was a good deal of laxity as regards this portion, and there is no doubt that it is often slurred over hastily and is less strictly regulated than the preliminary portion of the prayer.

The following is the most generally accepted form: 788

Tîwawad; may it be well or may be blessed;	*Ûrwâwad;* may it be well or may be merciful;	*Ir- kurâ tîwawad;* with the buffaloes and calves may it be well;
ashin ârâ wâ; may there be no disease;	*karsan ârâ wâ;* may there be no destroyer;	*wudrî ârâ wâ;* may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects);
kîrsî ârâ wâ; may there be no wild beasts (tigers, &c.);	*per kîrt pâ wâ;* may be kept from (falling down) steep hills;	*pustkî kîrt pâ wâ;* may be kept from floods;
ist ârâ wâ; may there be no fire;	*wâ wa wâ;* may rain fall;	*maj ca wâ;* may clouds rise;
pul pâw wâ; may grass flourish;	*ale ûr wâ,* may water spring.	

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence, followed by the words:

Ittâm thou	*kîrî* for the sake of	*wâ* for (or to) us	*tîwawad.* may it be well.

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of the 782 788

782 given above were omitted, while others were added, especially
788 requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *pîrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

234 X It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

192 "May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer
782 from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals
788 and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

234 X The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several
184 groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes,
782 of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels
788 and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence
621 given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place

192 [1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate. 234x 184

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated. 782 788 621 192

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer. 234x 192 788

Prayer of Kuudr

Ankkir	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
kuurs	Kuudr village.
pelitidrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*tidrpali*).
pelitidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*tidpali*).
tidrpalikpelk	lamp (*pelk*) of large dairy.
tidpalikpep	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

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the *kwarzam* appears to refer to some incident of legend in which a three-year-old calf and a cloud were concerned, but I could obtain no record of the incident, nor of the legend of which the incident was a feature.

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I have treated these formulæ of the dairy as prayers, and I think there can be very little doubt that they are of the nature of supplications, and are believed to invoke the aid of the gods in protecting the sacred buffaloes. It must be confessed, however, that there is no actual evidence in the formulæ of direct invocation of the gods. The name of no god is mentioned in the vocative form. In some prayers there is barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' be limited to the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops.

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The exact relation between the formula and the gods largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is not quite clear. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is evident that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned, followed by the words *âtham idith emb thuemud*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

There is little doubt that the Todas offer prayers to their gods in their ordinary daily life, altogether apart from the dairy ritual. I was told by one man that when anyone leaves an *etudmud* he should pray that he may return safely, and in this case my informant said that he prayed to Teikirzi. Unfortunately I did not ask the exact form of the prayer, and do not know whether the goddess was invoked by name or whether *kwarzam* were uttered of the same form as in the prayer of the dairy. We may, however, be confident that the idea of supplication to the gods is not foreign to the Toda mind.

We shall see later that in the formulæ used in Toda sorcery, the names of gods are mentioned, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formulæ. In the magical formulæ the evidence of appeal to deities is somewhat stronger than in the case of the dairy formulæ,

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which are certainly of a religious character. It seems most likely that the word *idith* was at one time used especially in connexion with the names of gods, and carried with it some idea of supplication. Gradually other sacred objects were included in the prayer, the same form being used for them as for the gods, this inclusion being prompted by the belief that the mention of any sacred object might help to promote the efficacy of the prayer. Later, when any mysterious and seemingly miraculous incident occurred at a village, it seems to have become the custom to commemorate it in the prayer.

It is quite clear that at the present time the earlier portion of the prayer, consisting of the *kwarzam*, is regarded as more important than the latter portion, which reads like the actual prayer. I suspect even that in practice the prayer proper is often omitted, or that only the first two words, *tanenma*, *tarmama*, are said. There certainly seemed to be no very rigorous laws as to the exact number or order of the clauses of this part of the prayer. The earlier portion, on the other hand, is very strictly regulated, and the order in which the *kwarzam* are to be uttered is definitely prescribed. Certainly there is far more reticence in connexion with the *kwarzam*, and this may safely be taken to indicate that a higher degree of sanctity attaches to them than to the words of the prayer proper.

It is probable that the alteration in the relative importance attached to the two parts of the prayer would have to go little further in order to produce a state of things in which the Toda dairyman would use the first parts of the formulæ only, and an anthropologist visiting the Todas at this stage would find them using formulæ which would not be recognisable as prayer.

If, at the same time, the process of forgetting their mythology should also have advanced, the Todas would then provide an excellent example of a people using in their religious ritual meaningless forms of words, and the Toda *kwarzam* seem to furnish one way in which people may come to use such meaningless forms.

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CHAPTER XIII

SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS

782 IN this chapter various ceremonies will be described which may all be regarded as examples of propitiation of the higher powers by sacrifices or offerings. We shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies buffaloes are killed, but it is clear that there is no idea of propitiation or atonement connected with this slaughter, the animals being killed so that they may go to the next world for the service of the dead.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI CEREMONY

123 In this ceremony a young male calf is killed and eaten.
124 The ordinary name is *erkumptthpimi* (" male buffalo we kill ") or
782 *erkumptthiti*, but at the *ti* the ceremony is called *ernudrtipimi*.
786 I met with great obstacles in obtaining a satisfactory account, the men who had told me all the details of the dairy ceremonial denying at first all knowledge of any ceremony among the Todas in which a calf was killed or eaten. As soon as they found that I knew positively of the existence of the ceremony, they acknowledged that they killed a calf, but said they could not tell me anything about it. I succeeded at last in obtaining a record of the ceremony from Teitnir, and when I was endeavouring to identify the various parts into which the sacrificial animal is divided, we met with such difficulties[1] that Teitnir agreed to allow me to see the ceremony on the condition that I would provide the cost of the calf.

[1] Our final difficulty, the laughter over which seemed to overcome Teitnir's scruples, was in the identification of the spleen, which was described as "a little tongue."

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumpthpini* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village in October, soon after the ceremony of *teuttusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etodmod*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[278] The place at which the sacrifice is performed[1] is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary
[293] village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over
372 small firewood the people place several logs about three feet in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *maiu* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pokvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf -- the Erkumptshpini Ceremony -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

372 The first stage of the ceremonial is to make fire by friction,
782 which should be done by the *palikartmokh*. The only occa-
796 sion on which I saw fire made by friction during an actual ceremony was when I witnessed the sacrifice at Karia, and on this occasion both Punatvan and his chief assistant, Pichievan (69) of Keadr, twirled the firesticks alternately, but though they soon produced some smoke, they failed to light the rag

FIG. 37.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN ATTEMPTING TO MAKE FIRE AT THE 'ERKUMPTTHPIMI' CEREMONY.[1]

used as tinder. My constant attendant, Kodrner, was called in, and with his more powerful manipulations was almost immediately successful, and the lighted rag was carried by Punatvan to the heap of firewood, which was soon in a good blaze.

782 As soon as the fire is alight the calf is brought to the
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[1] This and the succeeding photographs were taken in a badly lighted wood, and represent the actual ceremony.

782 *ernkar*, and the *palikartmokh* goes to cut a log of *tudr* wood
79% and three small branches of *tudr* leaves. The calf should be fifteen days old and must be without blemish. Its ears must not be split, its tail must not be cut, and its eyes must be clear.

The log of *tudr* wood is for the killing of the calf and is about four feet in length and about three inches in thickness. Such a log is usually called *tudrkud*, but on this occasion is named *erkumptthkud*. The three branches of *tudr* must consist of perfect leaves. Such branches are usually called *tudrkwunak*, but on the occasion of this ceremony they receive the name *toashtitudr*.

The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the calf, holding
[192] the log and leaves in his right hand. He raises the log and leaves to his forehead as a salutation, and then recites the appointed prayer. This prayer is different for each clan and consists of clauses in each of which the *kwarzam* of one of the villages of the clan is followed by "——*k per md*." Thus the first clause of the Kuudr prayer is *atthkârk per md*; *atthkâr* is the *kwarzam* of Kuudr, *k* is the suffix, meaning "to," and *per md* is "may increase" or "may there be increase." All the clauses of the prayer are of this form except the last two, which are *karsêram parsêram*; *Nòtîrzk êr usht md*; the first of which is a *kwarzam* of Kulinkars, *êram* probably meaning buffaloes, while the second means, "may the buffalo appear to Nòtirzi." The calf is supposed to appear to Nòtirzi and then to go from the hill of this goddess to the hill of Kulinkars. The complete prayers of Kuudr and Kars are given on pp. 288, 289.

The *palikartmokh* touches the head of the calf with the *erkumptthkud* (Fig. 38) as he utters each *kwarzam* till he comes to the penultimate clause of the prayer, at which point he begins the following series of actions. He draws the three branches of *tudr* leaves along the back of the calf from head to tail and then drops one of the three *toashtitudr* on the ground behind the calf. The two remaining branches are drawn along the back of the calf from tail to head in the reverse direction to the first, and on reaching the head one of the two branches is dropped on the ground at the head of the animal.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

782 The remaining branch is drawn from head to tail and dropped
796 on the ground by the side of the first (see Fig. 39).

The animal is then killed by striking it on the head with the *erkumptthkud*. The *palikartmokh* then takes up the three *toashtitudr*, and, taking them in his right hand with the log, passes them round the calf three times. In doing this, the

FIG. 38.—PUNATVAN UTTERING THE 'ERKUMPTTHPIMI' PRAYER. HE IS HOLDING THE 'ERKUMPTTHKUD,' AND ONE OF THE 'TUDR' LEAVES IN HIS HAND CAN BE DISTINCTLY SEEN.

body of the calf rests on its side, while the log and leaves are passed between the two fore-legs, then between the two hind-legs, round the hind-quarters, and forward over the back and head, so that they make a complete circuit of the animal, and this circuit is twice repeated, so that the log and leaves are passed completely round the calf three times.

The *palikartmokh* then proceeds to cut up the calf (Fig. 40),

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

782 796 beginning with a complete incision round the neck. The knife used is of the ordinary kind called *turi*, but on this occasion it is called *ab*, or "arrow." On the occasion on which I saw the ceremony, the calf seemed to have only been stunned by the blow on the head and began to kick as soon as this incision was made. The animal was, in con-

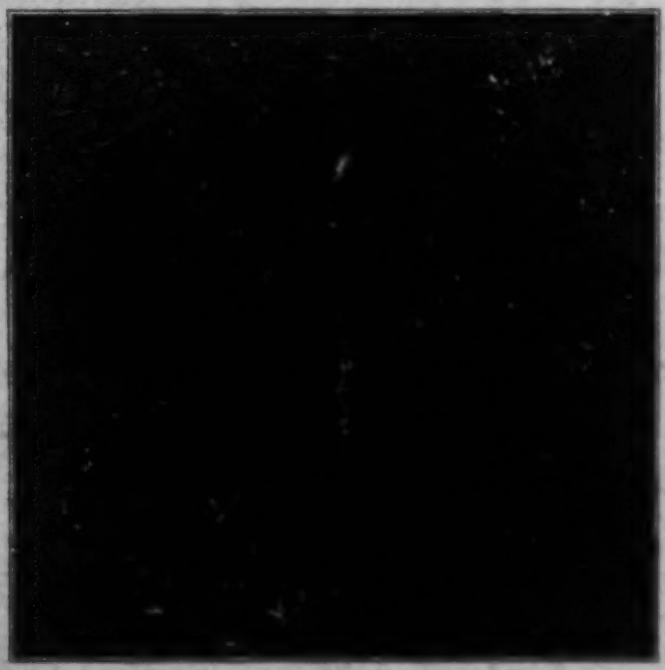

FIG. 39.—STROKING THE BACK OF THE CALF WITH THE 'TOASHTITUDR.' PUNATVAN IS BEGINNING THE THIRD MOVEMENT, AND ONE OF THE BRANCHES OF LEAVES CAN BE SEEN ON THE GROUND BEHIND THE CALF.

sequence, vigorously belaboured over the testicles with the log of *tudr* wood, and this was repeated till the movements of the animal ceased.

The next incision is down the mid-ventral line; incisions are made through the skin above each hoof, and the *palikartmoki* then removes the skin of the whole animal except the head and feet, beginning at the right fore-limb.

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782 When the skin (*tars*) is removed, it is laid on the ground
796 with its outer surface downwards a few yards from the spot at which the animal is being cut up, and the *palikartmokh* proceeds to cut the animal into the following parts:—

Kwelthkh, hoof and attached skin and bones.

Mogâl, lower segment of fore-limb (metacarpus).

FIG. 40.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN CUTTING UP THE CALF. IN THE BACKGROUND KÖDENER IS SHARPENING UP THE 'KO.'

Kemal, or *kemalth*, upper segment of fore-limb corresponding to fore-arm.

Kanâdri, shoulder.

Mîdrkwalv, trachea and larynx.

Tôdrthars, lower segment of hind-limb (metatarsus).

Pewttk, upper segment of hind-limb (leg).

Ôrâf, liver.

Puttk, gall-bladder.

Puskk, kidneys.

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Kwur, small intestine.
Tütkwur, large intestine.
Mulikudri, urinary bladder.
Agelv, pelvis, including thigh bones.
Mudri, sternum and part of ribs attached.
Nüdz, heart.
Püth, lungs.
Kwotinerûf (*kwotinûrûf?*), spleen.
Pâlvîr, stomach full of milk, called *pâlvetâr* when emptied of milk.
Mutelf, lower part of backbone with parts of lower ribs attached.
Nodi, upper half of backbone with parts of upper ribs attached.
Mad, head.

The parts of the calf are removed approximately in the order in which they are given above. The *palikartmokh* first cuts off the four feet of the animal, beginning with that of the right fore-limb and the four *kweltkkh* are placed under the skin, one at each corner.

The next part to be removed is the right *mogâl*, and then the three other corresponding parts. Up to this point, everything must be done by the *palikartmokh* himself, but after the *mogâl* have been removed any one may help, and on the occasion when I witnessed the ceremony, several operations were going on simultaneously after this point of the proceedings, and it became difficult to ascertain exactly what was being done and the exact order in which the parts were being removed. The cutting up of the calf was performed chiefly by Pichievan, while the *palikartmokh*, Punatvan, occupied himself with other operations.

After the removal of the *mogâl*, the remaining parts of the two fore-limbs are removed and placed on the skin. The larynx and windpipe are taken out together, and in doing this the large vessels of the neck are divided. The body of the animal is then taken up and held over the skin, so that the blood runs out over the parts placed on the skin, and these parts are then moved about, so that they become smeared with blood, and are then placed on the stakes (*ko*).

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782 and each *ko* with its part of the animal is stuck in the ground
796 on one side of the skin. Some of the other parts when removed are rubbed in the blood on the skin.

When the different parts have been impaled in this manner, the *palikartmokh* cuts from each part a small piece of flesh called *mlis* and puts the pieces on a stake.[a] From the ribs and sternum, he cuts a part called the *tütmlis*, much larger

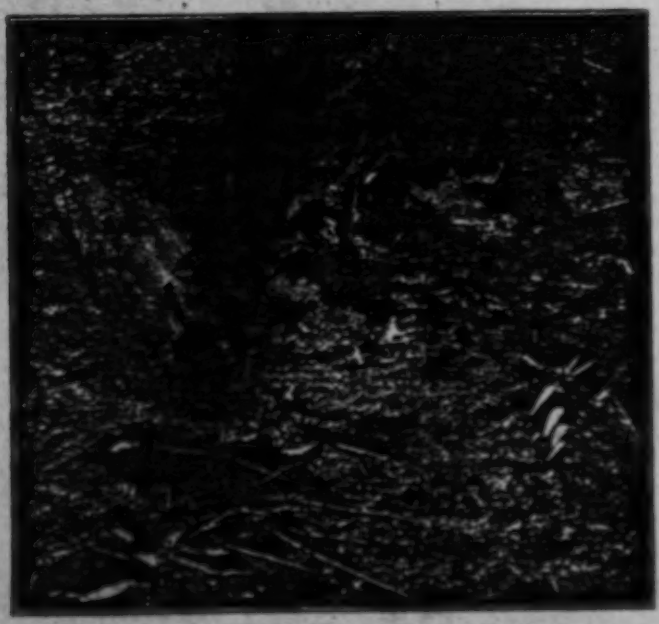

FIG. 41.—ROASTING THE PIECES OF THE CALF.

than the other fragments, and puts this on a stake. I could not ascertain exactly of what the *tütmlis* consisted, but it seemed to be the lower end of the sternum with some of the diaphragm attached to it.[1]

After cutting off the *mlis*, the *palikartmokh* begins to put the parts round the fire (Fig. 41), beginning with the *mogdl*,

[1] The importance of the omentum in Indian animal sacrifices suggests that the *tütmlis* might have been the omentum, or have included part of the omentum. At this stage of the proceedings, so many operations were going on simultaneously that exact observation became very difficult.

782 which are placed, one on each side, about the middle of the
796 fire, but rather nearer that end at which the head is to be placed later. The *mogdl* must be put in this position by the *palikartmokh* himself, but the other parts may be arranged in any order. While the *palikartmokh* is manipulating the parts first cut off and placing them round the fire, his assistants will be continuing the division of the animal. When the liver is taken out, the gall-bladder is cut from it and thrown on one side. The intestines are removed and put on stakes by transfixing every few inches of their length.

The small intestine is placed on more than one *ko*, while, so far as I could see, the large intestine is put on one stake. The urinary bladder is thrown on one side. The ribs are cut through nearer the back than the front, and the sternum and anterior parts of the ribs form one part, the *mudri*. It was from this part that the *tütmlis* was taken. The spleen is put on one side in order that it may be given to a cat, and its name is derived from this fact. The stomach when taken out of the body is filled with milk and in this state is called *pdlvtr*. Its contents are poured out and it then receives the name *pdlvetdr*.

As soon as the cutting up is completed and all the other parts have been placed round the fire, the head is put on a *ko*, and this is stuck in the ground at one end of the fire and about half a yard from it, and the four *kwelthkh* are placed on the ground round the head. Some of the parts placed round the fire may by this time have charred, and they are turned round so as to expose the opposite side to the flames.

The next step is to take up the head on its *ko* and place it in the middle of the fire for about a minute, after which it is replaced. The object of this is to singe the ears, which the *palikartmokh* then pulls off. He also takes certain fragments (*mlis*) from some of the other parts and throws them, together with the ears, into the fire, standing at one end, the opposite end to that at which the head is placed. He then takes three charred pieces of wood from the fire, and throws them over the fire and over the head, so that they fall beyond the latter, saying as he throws each time, "*Nötlrak per mä, mat!*" the

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

last exclamation being the sound which is ordinarily uttered when calling a calf. 712 796

When the flesh is sufficiently roasted the *palikartmokh* eats the *tütmlis*, while the others present may eat any portion. When enough has been eaten, the remainder of the cooked flesh is carried to the village. The *mogdl*, *agrův*, *mad*, and *kuwithkh* are carried to the dairy by the *palikartmokh* and kept there. The flesh of these parts is eaten by the dairyman or by other men, but may on no account be eaten by a woman. The other parts are taken to the hut and given into the keeping of the women, and the flesh of these parts can be eaten by any one—man, woman, or child. Butter is often put on the flesh before it is eaten. 262

The Sacrifice at the Ti

The sacrifice at the *ti* is called *crundrtipini*, and is performed at every *ti* three times in the year. The first occasion is about fifteen days after the ceremony of *tuntutwithki* in October. The second occasion is about January, when the buffaloes of the *ti* migrate to the Kundahs or elsewhere for the dry season. The third occasion is after the ceremony of giving salt, which is known as *kirup* (see p. 175). The ceremony may take place at any *ti mad* except Anto. 834 712 796

The appointed days are Sunday and Wednesday. On the day before the ceremony wood is taken by the *palol* and *kaltmokh* to the sacrificial spot, called *crukar* as at the village. At Módr the wood in which the sacrifice takes place is called Turikipil.

The sacrifice may be performed either in the morning or evening, and takes place, in either case, before *kaishwniti*, the ceremonial pouring of buttermilk. This means that the sacrifice takes place during and not after the dairy ceremonial, and thus forms part of the dairy ritual. Each *palol* wears the *pidrdtwi*, while the *kaltmokh* is naked throughout except for the *kuru*. The *kaltmokh* arranges the firewood and the chief *palol* (at the Nódrs *ti*, the *ti palol*) lights the wood with fire brought from his dairy. The calf is then killed and cut up with exactly the same ritual as in the village ceremony.

[of a young male calf, sacrificed during the Crumpthipini Ceremony — Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol* return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *erukar* to look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then returns to the *erukar*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him. At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tatmelu* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kokwd*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *erukar*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogdi*, *agulv*, *mud*, and *kwilkki* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mirol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mud* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

234 In connexion with the *erkampttipini* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kuch*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kuch* are spread some of the grass called *nerd*[1] and some leaves of the *kiars*[2] tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pen*, *i.e.*, he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

[1] *Andropogon Schoenanthus*, a strongly-scented grass.
[2] ? *Elæo*.

When Teitnir performed the *erkumptikpini* ceremony for my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful. 234

The *erkumptikpini* ceremony was first mentioned by Harkness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gumpti*." A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Murry in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kusa shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Murry, and myself. 114 782 786

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf. 773 782 786

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
785 know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tadr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Ekkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

192 This consists of classes of the form *Atikhard per ses* in
782 which the following *kwarsins* of villages are mentioned:
781 *Atikhdr* and *Ôsers* (Kundr), *Kidadrs* and *Tsarskdri* (Ars),
601 *Mudur* and *Mrathi* (Ôdr), *Keikhdr* and *Karsalh* (Melhôdr), *Kwatsiners* and *Kwatpaskel* (Kundr), *Tsakkdkhsuk* (Pirsish), *Kwatirbwing* (Kwirg), *Tsarskdris* (Kasis), *Pdrsers* and *Thiadrsh* (Mizzi). These are followed by the final two classes, *karsbrum parstrum*, *Nôdrsh ir wskt ond*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kundrol have each two *kwarsins* and that two *kwarsins* of Ôdr, a Nôdrs village, are included (see p. 627).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brâhmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 89, note 12.

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The Kars Prayer

This consists of the *kwarzaw* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per ud*, as in *Mutashkitik per ud*, but in this case only one *kwarzaw* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzaw* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkini* (Kars), *Karudrners* (Kushu), *Kingners* (Keshker), *Kulukars* (Tarathkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmikdr), *Edsters* (Toshtars), *Kosikdrs* (Kerkars), *Kashkrudsdri* (Ishaudr), *Pidskners* (Pidskwar), *Pidrners* (Pelatkwar), *Tarshidr*, *Tili*, *Sing*, *Kestas*. In the last four cases the *kwarzaw* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzaw* are followed by *ekkrzaw mesidjam*, *Nitirzk ir ushi ud*. The place of *karstraw parstraw* in the Kundr prayer is taken by *ekkrzaw mesidjam*, the *kwarzaw* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tarthavol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karstraw parstraw*, for it is the *kwarzaw* of their *mirdrudshi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzaw* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzaw*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzaw*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *paikartsudk* says, "*Teikdrzk ir ushi ud*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nitirzk ir ushi ud* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nilgiri (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *ershmpitkini* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

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it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"[1] and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumptthpini* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

The Teutütusthchi Ceremony

782. This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the foot of a hill by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The name *teutütusthchi* or *teutütusthtiti* means "god fire he lights." It

[1] I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.

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is performed in the month which the Todas call Tai, beginning with the new moon in October. 782 796

The two *palol* and the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* perform the ceremony on the first or second Sunday after the new moon, and make the fire in alternate years at the hills called Kòti and Puthi. The two *palol* of the Kars and Pan *ti* set fire together at the hill Kònto on the following Tuesday. This ceremony is not performed by the *palol* of either the Kwòdrdoni or the Nidrsi *ti*. In 1902 the Nòdrs *palol* went to the hill Kòti on the second Sunday after the new moon (October 12th).

The hills of Kòti, Puthi, and Kònto are said to be chosen because they are very high, and have the highest *teu*, who are spoken of as elder brothers.

The *palol* and *kaltmokh* set out when they have taken buttermilk after the morning work, abstaining from other food till the ceremony is over. They take with them the *nirsi* or fire-sticks, some leaves of *kakud*, a piece of *tuni*, and some dried grass from the thatch of the dairy. Each *palol* wears both the *pòdrshtuni* and the *kubuntuni*.

When they reach the foot of the hill they make a heap of firewood. They then spread the *kakud* leaves on a stone and powder the thatch of the dairy on the leaves, and each *palol* makes fire with the fire-sticks and lights the powdered thatch. Then the *kaltmokh* says, "*Teutütusthtkina?*"—"Shall I light the god (or sacred) fire?"—and both *palol* answer "*Teutütustht!*" Then the *kaltmokh* takes the lighted thatch and applies it to the heap of firewood. As soon as the fire burns well, each *palol* takes off his *kubuntuni* and, standing some little distance from the fire, the two dairymen pray, using the usual prayer of the *ti* with the following additions:

Kòr	*pův*	*mů;*	*tein*	*pův*	*mů;*	*pom*
Young grass	flower	may;	honey	flourish	may;	fruit
purzh	*mů.*					
ripen	may.					

After the prayer the dairymen and their attendant return to their dairies so as to be in time for the afternoon work.

The object of the ceremony is to make the grass and honey

173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
782 told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony* was of great
796 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem
574 to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
796 offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Teutiitusthchi* is
783 certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though now it may be performed several times in the year. Even now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

782 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
kwadrthpimi—*i.e.*, we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably
234 means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death, but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk

*[The Teutiitusthchi Ceremony; See pp. 290-291. — Analyst]

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given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—*i.e.*, as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo. 782 234

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

Irnörtiti to the Ti

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *teuol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310). 234 782 688 [123]

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become 234 431 782

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234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their atten-
796 dant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
618 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
673 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
688 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

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the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance. 782 796

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pölu* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*. 618 673 688

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed :— 234 782 796 673 688

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy.

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time.

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

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782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*;
234 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
689 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuniwörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[781] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuniwörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol*, or day

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 623 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *piliuörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

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753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
792 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the ceremony which has been ordered. The following is probably a typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*, who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *waduol* or sacred days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*. The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv) and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following vow at each :—

Ir kur	*ulilmk,*	*pirsk*	*ulilkk en,*	*irnörtkin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."[1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
792 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
783 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
673 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
796 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recovering from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
796 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

618 "*Tuniörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
796 *tuniörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuniörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
688 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
796 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
618 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
621 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*. If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
618 which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
796 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

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in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food.

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr[1] which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinôrtpel ban!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pilinôrtpel* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:—

Tîmemd,	*Ômmdmd;*	*atch*	*kar*	*tâ*	*md,*	*atch*	*makh*	*tâ*	*md;*	*kar*	*kulîth,*
May it be well,	may it be well;	little	calf	give	may,	little	son	give	may;	calf	not refuse milk,
kar	*kulîti*	*tâ*	*md,*	*kar*	*mudîk,*	*mûtîl*	*tâ*	*md;*	*ôpath*	*ôtm*	*âthi*
calf	take milk	give	may,	calf	not kick away,	stand	give	may;	once	meal	it is
panerd	*hmar*	*ardi*	*mudî;*	*nâ*	*ârk md;*	*nudri*	*ârk md;*	*kasun*	*ârk md;*	*par*	*ârk md.*
twelve	years	vow	will;	may there be	no disease;	may there be	no trouble;	may there be	no *kasun;*	may there be	no Tamil.

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kasun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

[1] This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 290).

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The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted!

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
193 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
796 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
69 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123. Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of
777 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

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Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *tererstki* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

[1] According to a later finding of the *tasol*, the death of Tersvell was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

753 his *pis*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *halmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
688 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

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the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of *pilinörtiti* to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

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social regulations exist without anything which can clearly be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than that they now possess.

If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the religious sanction has been added to the system of social punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the goda.

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There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnidr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1] 764 234 782 775

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *paiol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *ourol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *ouwi*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *kaivir* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tadr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *ourol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present. 764 234 793 778

Among the Teivalioi, the *palidertmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *ouwi* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palidertmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nôdrs clan.

The facts that the *ourol* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 764 234 793

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognized custom to use such animals. Fidevar's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the chorus, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Fidevar's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

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Nidrs *ti* is the direct successor of the god On, but to whatever extent On may have passed on his divine character to his immediate successors, there is little doubt that at present the *pulol* has lost any divinity which may at one time have been ascribed to him. 194 776 793

It is very difficult to ascertain how far at the present time, according to Toda belief, the gods intervene in human affairs. Each clan is believed to have its *nidrodidi*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nidrodidi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler. Thus Teipakh is connected with both Piedr and Kusharf, Atioto with both Kwidrdoni and Pedrkars, while Etepi, who is the *nidrodidi* of Keradr, and Kuskarv, the *nidrodidi* of Keadr, are almost certainly one and the same deity. In the two latter cases a Tarthar clan has the same god as a clan of the Tarsaliol. 776

Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nidrodidi* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo. The Todas certainly believe that misfortunes are due to the anger of the gods. It is clear that the various offerings described in Chapter XIII are piacular and propitiatory. They are designed to atone for wrong done and to avert any future evil consequences of the offence which has been committed. 776 782

The power of the gods is believed to show itself in various ways. In several cases dairies have been disused because the dairymen have died in office, and this was said to have happened because the gods of those places were severe. It was apparently believed that they had visited infringements of the laws regulating dairy ritual with death.

The various misfortunes which befell different members of the community as the result of my visit were all ascribed to the anger of the gods. Again, the untoward incidents of the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 391) were ascribed to the anger of the gods because there had been an infringement of funeral custom. These and other cases show clearly that

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
782 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are
788 the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual. In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
787 the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed
791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teuol*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

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by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this 771
domination has taken a form in which ritual has become 788
all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarzam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degener- 771
ated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason 778
to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly 782
present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the 788
gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of
the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground 182
than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of
182 old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and
784 several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

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is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional *kwarzam* uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti. 771 776

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Ön who rules the world of the dead.

Influence of other Religious Systems

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,[1] whose temple is near Mettapollayam. 177 771 776

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At the present time there is no doubt that their temples are visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas from 40 TO 100 RUPEES. 776 782 842

[1] These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

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776 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however
782 much money they take away with them from their villages, all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been
776 worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the
782 Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums
771 were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The
797 Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one
771 of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

302 rolls," and the second man in Fig. 61 is wearing his hair in
765 this fashion, a girl of his clan having died not long before, whose second funeral ceremonies had not yet taken place.

302 Another method of wearing the hair is shown by the third man in Fig. 61. This method is called *mad nadrk vai*,
782 "head (or hair) long to who." It is adopted by anyone who

FIG. 62.—TILIPA (12) WEARING HIS HAIR LONG ON ACCOUNT OF A VOW MADE AT A HINDU TEMPLE.

has made a vow. In Fig. 62 another man is shown in the same condition, but his head has a different appearance owing to the fact that he has tied two locks behind in order to keep the long hair away from his face. This tying back has no other significance.

302 Women wear their hair as shown in Figs. 3 and 11, in long ringlets, and there do not appear to be any differences in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Malabar it is probable that they came by one or other of these paths.

There are two other districts which have some claim to be considered as possible places from which the Todas may have migrated—*viz.*, Mysore and Coorg.

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The Todas regard with some reverence a Hindu temple at Nanjankudi in Mysore, and visit it to pay vows, and there is little doubt that they have done this for a long time. Further, Nòdrs, one of the oldest and most sacred of the Toda villages, is close to the present road from Mysore and may have been near the most convenient route from Mysore in ancient times. I think, however, that, though not recent, the relations with the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi are not of very great antiquity, and I am inclined to ascribe the Toda reverence for it to their association with the Badagas, who almost certainly came from Mysore. I have not been able to find many parallels to Toda customs in Mysore. In one case, however, the resemblance is very close. Among the Gollavalu of Mysore[1] a woman after delivery is turned out into a leaf or mat hut, about 200 yards from the village, and on the fourth day a woman of the village pours water over her. In this case the woman lives in the hut for three months, her husband also living in a special hut. Again, among the Kadu (or forest) Gollas of Mysore[2] the mother and child remain in a small shed outside the village for seven to thirty days.

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The other district which has customs especially resembling those of the Todas is Coorg. Among the people of Coorg cloth-giving appears at one time to have formed the essential marriage ceremony, and there still exist what are called 'cloth-marriages,' in which a man becomes the husband of a woman merely by giving her a cloth. There is also some evidence that polyandry has been practised in Coorg, and I have already referred to the resemblance between the *pursûtpimi* ceremony of the Todas and the Coorg custom of giving a little bow and arrow to a newly born boy. The bow is made of a stick of the castor-oil plant and for the arrow

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1889, vol. i. p. 535.
[2] *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, Pt. i. p. 521.

231 [For the association of buffaloes with Toda funeral rites, see
234 category 116, pp. 174-185.]
782

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

young mother—infanticidal, polyandrous—is sitting on the earthen floor, just within the doorway, enveloped in a mantle of unbleached cotton. On her left arm, snuggling next her bare body, inside the garment, lies something like a comic doll, with long black hair, cream-coloured skin and pink points. The palm of the woman's right hand, uppermost, is directed towards the child. Her body, foreshortened by reason of the lowness of the door. The nut brown gipsy face, all eyes and teeth, just a bit delicate, is upturned towards the visitor: and speaking volumes by look and by attitude of hand, appeals for a present for the one-month-old. The inside of the room—such as remains visible—pitch-dark. There she was, smiling away, little knowing of my groundless suspicions.

846

A boy is named—peru or pesru or hesru=a name—and his ears are bored some time within about three months of his birth.

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The child appears to be kept out of sight until the naming day; when the father, unaccompanied by the mother, takes it, hidden in the folds of his mantle, up to one of the sacred buildings of his Clan: and standing in front of the door, but outside of the surrounding wall, salutes the sanctuary with hand to forehead. Then kneeling on the ground, he for the first time opens out the infant's head to vision, and pressing its little forehead down till it touches the soil, names the child, reciting the following prayer; 'dânenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama;' the meaning of which is: 'Be beneficent: may it be well with the children, the people, the cattle, the calves, and everyone.'[5]

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I see now before me, a woman who had accompanied her husband till *within sight* of the building, standing on an eminence, witnessing from a distance, with hand shading

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[5] Strictly speaking, the prayer means, 'May it be well with the *male* children, the *men*, the *cows*, the *female* calves'—in fact, all that is useful—'and everyone;' in which latter category are probably included the women and girls.

CHAP. XII.

771 776 action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see, confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

773 They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

771 782 778 They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to any personal God, of whose attributes or power they entertain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[2] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

771 776 I am not prepared to say that these people have actually no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[3] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

[2] See Chapter VIII.

[3] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

CHAP. XVII.

778 627 the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families. This belief is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that throughout the East the practice is common, to hold similar meetings at shrines of holy men; Pirs, Jogis, Fakirs, &c.

234 782 That an êtud Mand should have larger herds of cattle than ordinary, may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy.

000 It is important that we arrive at some decision on the object and use of a dairy which occupies a position so manifestly conspicuous amongst their social institutions: to enable us to clear our minds as to all the components of the Toda faith. So long as we do not know what an êtud Mand is, we should always feel that some material portion of their religious system remained unexplained.

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor [illegible] pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Mûsdshyâld	Kérshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tîrzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nirzh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârzhtith	Kâtĕtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângŭar. Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérkŏärzh	Musdshyâldf.	
6. Kúramârzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarär*	Terpivor, Tĕkva, Pĕshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kúĕrsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Párzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bĕtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthohi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

* Bad. Tarnât. *Pl.* vin.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
765 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that
174 of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āzārams*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the
224 chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
776 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bêtikhân,
● 782 who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?
174 a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris
441 are still expert archers.

The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel
224 Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pútkuli*, *tharp*, *kónu*, *&c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tōr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

As Tekudi came from Tarnât Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air. 539 773

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikâra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Tarnât Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotên went to a Kurumba village in Bâni Shîma,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swâmi ‡ woman, by name Têrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotên returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotên slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring § and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Têrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotên and Têrkosh, on the Sissapâra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Têrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotên.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanâd. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanâd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ên's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Mands. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swâmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ên one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ên's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bâni Shima, the country of the Bhawâni (Bhowâny) river.

‡ Swâmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nirvên, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotên's ring. Nirvên claims to be a direct descendant of Kotên. He professes to have lost the spear.

‖ Thus five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodâtha, Pûrsh, Kotên, and Têrkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Maleswaramalli. 776 782

¶ This seems to have been connected to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanâd Mand.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

616 others, I cannot recal, undergo a shorter and less severe period
793 of initiation. Both are often dairymen, an office of great honour and importance; but a *Khoota* is equally eligible, provided he goes through certain preparatory rites in order to purify himself for it. The especial duties of the priests are to tend the sacred herds just mentioned; to conduct the periodical sacrifice of a calf to invoke fruitfulness among their herds; to present the daily offering of milk at their temples; and to superintend the funeral rites. Of actual or of assembled worship, they have none, so far as I could discover, though, individually, they offer up occasional prayers to an Invisible Being for recovery or preservation from sickness.

346 Their temples differ but little in appearance from the ordinary huts. One of them, standing in a pretty little glen, near the road between Jakatalla and Coonoor, I made an examination of at a time when the *mund*, about half a mile off, to which it belonged was deserted by its inhabitants. Creeping in on all fours, I discovered, as well as the darkness permitted, that it contained nothing whatever but a square metal bell and a shapeless black stone, about twice the size of a man's head, the latter placed alone on the floor at the end furthest from the entrance. Being unwilling to bring this out to the light, I could not ascertain whether its colour was natural or artificial. The size precluded the notion of its being an aerolite, although it is well known that meteoric stones have been, in the early history of many countries, regarded with religious awe. To this temple, I
782 had often previously seen the priest from the neighbouring *mund* bring, in the early morning, a vessel of new milk; but whether the offering was poured out, as some say it is, as a libation, or merely presented and taken away again, I had no means of ascertaining without the risk of giving annoyance.

000 It will be borne in mind that black stones have, from the earliest times, been objects of reverence or actual adoration from east to west; as, for instance, in Mecca, also among the ancient Romans, and even in the western islands of Scotland, where, moreover, milk was offered to them. Bells, too, have been, in past ages, regarded with veneration, and as having mysterious powers over demons and evil spirits, not only by various Eastern races and castes, but in ancient Britain.

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

766 the whole were clad in clean, white, soft-looking mantles, and wore ear-rings and necklaces of gold and silver. A plaintive monotonous wail was sustained while each man arriving passed before and bowed towards the dead man's ashes.

766 All the males, except one or two grey-headed old patriarchs
541 who sat with great dignity a little aside, now danced together in
231 a circle holding hands, the Khota musicians accompanying them
782 with tom-toms and pipes. 1

When this was concluded half-a-dozen young men, evidently selected for their strength and activity, came forward, each carrying a long heavy club made of dark wood and pointed at the thicker end. Having thrown off the usual mantle, they stood in a kind of kilt of thick white cloth, having a red border round the lower edge, or skirt, the upper part of their bodies, as well as the legs, being bare. In this picturesque and most becoming costume they looked exceedingly handsome fellows, models as they were of muscular symmetry. At once advancing towards the cattle enclosure, with all the women and children running after them in the greatest excitement, these combatants leaped in among the buffaloes, the crowd instantly closing round and completely covering the wall, each endeavouring to get as good a view as possible of the coming spectacle.

The buffaloes were, as may be supposed, alarmed by these unusual proceedings, and their alarm became all the greater when the clubmen dancing wildly in their midst commenced striking them with their clubs. When their panic was at its height the men, watching their opportunity, sprang two together on the necks of three of the largest animals simultaneously, seizing them by the horns and nostrils and endeavouring to bear them to the ground, and affix a collar and bell round their necks. This bell is of the kind usually worn by one or more animals in every herd when grazing, and is of the ancient four-sided form, made of a single plate of metal and roughly riveted.

Marvellous was the agility displayed by these gladiators, as we may term them, in avoiding the savage thrusts of the huge sharp-pointed horns and in getting in behind them on to the animal's neck, wrestling in desperate strife as they were borne here and there among the trampling feet, now dashed against the wall, now on the ground.

To escape unhurt in such a combat was impossible, and it was

1 [Second funeral rites -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AU60 Toda AU60

not long before we saw one of the men receive a dangerous wound in the neck from the thrust of a horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. He at once became an object of the greatest solicitude among the women, and was led away as a hero to the small tent, where he received every care and attention at their gentle hands.

766 541 231 782

As, one after another, fresh animals were attacked and borne to the ground with terrific struggles, those already belled and liberated turned on the common enemy, angrily tossing their formidable horns and butting so savagely that, had it not been for the extreme quickness and coolness of these men, some of them must have been killed. Their clubs now swung round and aloft with greater rapidity, and the heavy blows fell thicker and faster, the loud shouts and excited gestures of the male spectators, the exulting *Hau, hau* of the combatants, the weeping and occasional shrieks of the women, the stamping and rushing in the arena, the bellowing of the buffaloes, whose nostrils were covered with blood and foam, and the circling clouds of dust half-hiding the writhing mass, formed a whole more easily pictured in the mind than in words. A bag of the deceased's ashes was now laid at the entrance to the kraal, and the high priest, taking a handful or two of earth, threw some of it on the ashes, and some into the kraal amongst the buffaloes. One of these lay dead in the enclosure, and the rest were one by one led, or rather dragged out to their final doom, struggling violently, and plunging right and left in vain endeavours to escape from their brawny captors, who still clung to their necks. Forced up to a post fixed in the ground, at the foot of which lay the robe, ornaments, and ashes brought from the temple, the battered, bleeding animals were at length despatched there by the high priest's sacrificial axe as an offering to the dead.

Though the women had beheld with interest and excitement the torture of these unfortunate brutes, they now exhibited the greatest grief at their death, sitting and kneeling round the carcases with clasped hands and streaming eyes, addressing them in the most affectionate terms, as "Are you happy?" "Is it well with you?"

The mourners, male and female, next drew near to each other in couples, the man putting out first the right foot and then the left towards the woman he approached, who, dropping on one

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7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

765 pause ensued, broken eventually by the arrival of the other funeral party, the men advancing in several lines, with arms linked, and crying out U, hah! U, hah, hah! in regular time. This party brought with it pieces of the skulls of a woman and two men, which were placed, wrapt in cloths, on the ground, saluted, and mourned over by the assembled multitude. At this [648] stage a small party of Kotas arrived, and took up their position on a neighbouring hill, waiting, vulture-like, for the carcase of the buffalo which was shortly to be slain. Several young men now went off across the 765 hill in search of buffaloes, and speedily re-appeared, 782 driving five buffaloes before them with sticks. As soon as the beasts approached a swampy marsh at the foot of the hill on which the expectant crowd of men was gathered together, two young men of athletic build, throwing off their putkûlis, made a rush down the hill, and tried to seize one of the buffaloes by the horns, with the result that one of them was promptly thrown. The buffalo escaping, one of the remaining four was quickly caught by the horns, and, with arms interlocked, the men brought it down on its knees, amid a general scuffle. In spite of marked objection and strenuous resistance on the part of the animal—a barren cow—it was, by means of sticks freely applied, slowly dragged up the hill, preceded by the Kota band, and with a Toda youth pulling at its tail. Arrived at the open space between the kraals, the buffalo, by this time thoroughly exasperated, and with blood pouring from its nostrils, had a cloth put on its back, and was despatched by a blow on the poll with an axe deftly wielded by a young and muscular man. On this occasion no one was badly hurt by the sacrificial cow, though one man was seen washing his legs in the swamp after the preliminary struggle with

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

the beast. But Colonel Ross-King narrates how he saw 765
a man receive a dangerous wound in the neck from a 782
thrust of the horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. With the death of the buffalo, the last scene, which terminated the strange rites, commenced; men, women, and children pressing forward and jostling one another in their eagerness to salute the dead beast by placing their hands between its horns, and weeping and mourning in pairs; the facial expression of grief being mimicked when tears refused to flow spontaneously.

The ceremonial connected with the final burning of the relics and burial of the ashes at the stone circle (azaram) are described in detail by Dr. Rivers.

A few days after the ceremony just described, I was 764
invited to be present at the funeral of a young girl who had died of smallpox five days previously. I proceeded accordingly to the scene of the recent ceremony, and there, in company with a small gathering of Todas from the neighbouring mands, awaited the arrival of the funeral cortége, the approach of which was announced by the advancing strains of Kota music. Slowly the procession came over the brow of the hill; the corpse, covered by a cloth, on a rude ladder-like bier, borne on the shoulders of four men, followed by two Kota musicians; the mother carried hidden within a sack; relatives and men carrying bags of rice and jaggery, and bundles of wood of the
kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*) for the funeral pyre. [824]
Arrived opposite a small hut, which had been specially built for the ceremonial, the corpse was removed from the bier, laid on the ground, face upwards, outside the hut, and saluted by men, women, and children, with the same manifestations of grief as on the previous occasion. Soon the men moved away to a short distance, and engaged

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764 in quiet conversation, leaving the females to continue mourning round the corpse, interrupted from time to time by the arrival of detachments from distant mands, whose first duty was to salute the dead body. Meanwhile a near female relative of the dead child was busily engaged inside the hut, collecting together in a basket small measures of rice, jaggery, sago, honey-comb, and the girl's simple toys, which were subsequently to be burned with the corpse. The mourning ceasing after a time, the corpse was placed inside the hut, and followed by the near relatives, who there continued to weep over it. 764 A detachment of men and boys, who had set out in 782 search of the buffaloes which were to be sacrificed, now returned driving before them three cows, which escaped from their pursuers to rejoin the main herd. A long pause ensued, and, after a very prolonged drive, three more cows were guided into a marshy swamp, where one of them was caught by the horns, and dragged reluctantly, but with little show of fight, to the strains of Kota drum and flute, in front of the hut, where it was promptly despatched by a blow on the poll. The corpse was now brought from within the hut, and placed, face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of the buffalo, whose neck was decorated with a silver [301] chain, such as is worn by Todas round the loins, as no bell was available, and the horns were smeared with butter. Then followed frantic manifestations of grief, amid which the unhappy mother fainted. Mourning 764 over, the corpse was made to go through a form of 588 ceremony, resembling that which is performed during pregnancy with the first child. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a certain grass [824] (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*) and a twig of a shrub

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(*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkūli, and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb, and butter in the pocket of the putkūli, which was then stitched with needle and thread in a circular pattern. The boy's father then took off his son's putkūli, and replaced it so as to cover him from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. [On the occasion of the funeral of an unmarried lad, a girl is in like manner selected, covered with her putkūli from head to foot, and a metal vessel filled with jaggery, rice, etc., to be subsequently burnt on the funeral pyre, placed for a short time within the folds of the putkūli. Thus covered, the girl remains till next morning, watched through the dreary hours of the night by relatives. The same ceremony is performed over the corpse of a married woman who has not borne children, the husband acting as such for the last time, in the vain hope that the woman may produce issue in heaven.] The corpse was borne away to the burning-ground within the shola, and, after removal of some of the hair by the mother of the newly wedded boy, burned, with face upwards, amid the music of the Kota band, the groans of the assembled crowd squatting on the ground, and the genuine grief of the nearest relatives. The burning concluded, a portion of the skull was removed from the ashes, and handed over to the recently made mother-in-law of the dead girl, and wrapped up with the hair in the bark of the tūd tree (*Meliosma pungens*). A second buffalo, which, properly speaking, should have been slain before

764 588 [824]

764 [765]

[765] [588] [824]

[782]

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764 the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and
[782] jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother
[765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of
[293] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife.
[576] On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkūli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candollesna*) in the putkūli of the corpse;

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(2) Tying balls of thread and cowry shells on the arm of the corpse, just above the elbow; 764

(3) Setting fire to the funeral pyre, which was, on the present occasion, done by lighting a rag fed with ghi with a match.

The buffalo capture took place amid the usual excitement, and with freedom from accident; and, later in the day, the stalwart buffalo catchers turned up at the travellers' bungalow for a *pourboire* in return, as they said, for treating us to a good fight. The beasts selected for sacrifice were a full-grown cow and a young calf. As they were dragged near to the corpse, now removed from the arbour, butter was smeared over the horns, and a bell tied round the neck. The bell was subsequently removed by Kotas, in whose custody, it was said, it was to remain till the next day funeral. The death-blow, or rather series of blows, having been delivered with the butt end of an axe, the feet of the corpse were placed at the mouth of the buffalo. In the case of a male corpse, the right hand is made to clasp the horns. [It is recorded by Dr. Rivers that, at the funeral of a male, men dance after the buffalo is killed. In the dancing a tall pole, called tadri or tadrsi, decorated with cowry shells, is used.] The customary mourning in couples concluded, the corpse, clad in four cloths, was carried on the stretcher to a clear space in the neighbouring shola, and placed by the side of the funeral pyre, which had been rapidly piled up. The innermost cloth was black in colour, and similar to that worn by a palol. Next to it came a putkûli decorated with blue and red embroidery, outside which again was a plain white cloth covered over by a red cotton cloth of European manufacture. Seated by the side of the pyre, near to which I was courteously invited to take a seat on the stump of a rhododendron,

764 782

764 [535]

[531]

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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut"—throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhutkina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

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We did our work according to his orders, and this excellent order was an ample one. Now this ———, a chief of the Todas, son of———, a deceased Toda, the above man joined with the moniagar of ——— village, joined together, and, dealing with bribes, now they arose against us, and doing this great troubles on us, and also, by this great trouble, one day Mr. ——— came for shooting snapes (snipe) by that side. By chance one grazing buffalo came to him, push him by his horns very forcely, and wounded him on his leg. By the help of another gentleman who came with him he escaped, or he would have die at the moment. Now the said moniagar and ——— joined together, want to finish the funeral to his late father on the 18th instant. For this purpose they are going to shut the buffaloes without food in the kraal on the 18th instant at 10 o'clock. They are going to kill the buffaloes on the 19th instant at 4 o'clock in the evening. But this is a great sin against god. But we beg your honour this way. That is, let them leave the buffaloes in the grazing place, and ask them to catch and kill them at the same moment. And also your honour cannot ordered them to keep them in the kraal without food. And, if they will desire to kill the buffaloes in this way, these buffaloes will come on us, and also on the other peoples one who, coming to see funs on those day, will kill them all by his anxious. And so we the Todas begs your honour to enquire them before the 18th, the said funeral ceremony commencing, and not to grant the above orders to them." 648 764 782

A Whit Monday at Paikâra was given up to an exhibition of sports and games, whereof the most exciting and interesting was a burlesque representation of a Toda funeral by boys and girls. A Toda, who was 51 536 764

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[791] etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
[197] "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
302 A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[782] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[788] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[765] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

797 has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ultz), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuuuɪʀ] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanuɪs] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfuɪsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiʃkeɪn] (14, Küshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnuɪs] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paɪuɪ:ʒfiɪj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfuɪsodj]. Her brother [noɪnmuʀj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfuɪsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnuɪs] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noɪnmuʀj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfuɪsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoɪn] (20, son of [teɪpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfuɪsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noɪnmuʀj] should pay to [kanfuɪsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
585 and five rupees; these are the [kökuuɪlj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [aʀpum] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθuṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tuṭ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiṣ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noṛ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθuṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 776 114 794 [777] [791] [688] 794

The töunoṛ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoṛ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as aṛ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noṛ "sacred place." Within the noṛ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noṛ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noṛ "sacred place" or töunoṛ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which 776 234 [361] [782] [783] [562] 776 234 778 794 [192]

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nörnmę (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son sirjar; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a töu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief already mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is so:mj (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmę (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress. 177 778 791

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies ; the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution. 782 114 [124] [262] [564] [177]

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known ; 177 [771]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *warsir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Bati*," and the Tarthar man replies "*¿Ir kaṅdà*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarzam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 793 576

793 576 *kûtmeil ten idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches, the *palol* says "*Pekein*," but all the Teivaliol reply with the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil*, *i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was said that he might not approach the *palol*. I had an interesting example, however, of the way in which a regulation of this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil*, owing to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol*. He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol*.

576 783 788 793

437 439 784 793 There are several regulations concerning the food of the *palol*. Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir*. He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pokvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *mani*. He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh*. If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

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called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kôli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*. 234 314 322 415

It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day. 793

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*Oh*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kôghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday. 234 412 415 783

The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tôrzum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *idrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not
412 purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel
415 all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the
outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.
778 All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are
783 thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

THE FIVE TI

173 At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to
234 the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The
621 Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was
773 spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tîkîrs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

234 described is performed at certain stones called *neurzülnkars*.
773 At Mòdr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably
796 by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *palol* takes a *mòrkudriki*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *nei*, as when rubbed on the *kaltmokh*). The two *palol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kaltmokh* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kaltmokh*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *neurzutpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *neurzülnkars*.

778 The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* which follows the migration to the dairies of Anto and Ödrtho is one of the most
783 extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of
789 the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kaltmokh*,
793 followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony
796 from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kaltmokh* is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the very sacred dairies of Anto and Ödrtho. The *kaltmokh* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.

It is possible that the *kaltmokh* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kaltmokh* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kaltmokh* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mani* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Ȯdrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234x At some time during the day following the arrival at the new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nȯdrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nȯdrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—*i.e.*, "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that *erdpunrs* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER VII

ORDINATION CEREMONIES

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BEFORE a dairyman enters upon office he has to undergo certain initial rites, which may fitly be spoken of as "ordination ceremonies." These ceremonies vary greatly in their elaborateness, according to the dairy in which the candidate is to serve.

In the case of the ordinary dairyman, or *palikartmokh*, the proceedings are simple and may be accomplished in a few minutes, while for the highest grade of the priesthood they are extremely elaborate and prolonged over more than a week.

The essential feature of all the ordination ceremonies is a process of purification by drinking and washing with the water of a stream or spring used for sacred purposes only (*palinipa* or *kwoinir*). In every case the water is drunk out of certain leaves, and the body is rubbed with water mixed with the juice of young shoots or bark.

A general name for ordination is *pelkkodichiti* or *pelkkatthtiti*, "lamp he lights." This name is derived from the fact that the first act in connexion with the dairy work which a new dairyman has to perform is to light the lamp of the dairy. The former of the two names given above was used especially in the case of the ordinary dairy and the latter in the case of the *ti*, but I am doubtful whether there is any strict limitation of the terms in these senses.

Another general name used for the ceremony of ordination is *nirôditi*, which in a more limited sense is applied to the drinking and purification at the dairy stream or spring which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is the essential feature of the ceremony. This term was very often used for the ceremony of ordination to the office of *palol*.

234 × 783 ● 793

THE PALIKARTMOKH

The ceremony of ordination of the *palikartmokh* is called *pelkhodichiti* and very often *mulinirôditi*, the latter being derived from the *muli* leaves used in the ceremony. The ordination may take place on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday. On the day before the ceremony the candidate goes to the dairy, takes his food there, and sleeps at night in the outer room. His food is prepared and given to him either by the outgoing *palikartmokh* or by some other man holding this office.

234 × 793

On the morning of the ceremony the candidate washes his hands in the *pali nipa* and goes to the front of the dairy, having a piece of the ordinary mantle round his waist. The assisting *palikartmokh* will have placed a small piece of the dark cloth called *tuni* on the threshold of the dairy, this small piece being called *petuni*. The candidate bows down (*nersatiti*), as in Fig. 20, at the threshold to the *petuni*, which he then raises to his forehead and puts in the string of his *kuvu* on the left side.

The candidate then plucks seven leaves of the kind called *muliers*—*i.e.*, leaves of a plant called *muli* (*Rubus ellipticus*). This plant is also often called *pelkhodithmul*, after the ceremony in which it is used. He also plucks a handful of young shoots or *nau* of the same plant, and takes the leaves and shoots to the dairy stream. At the stream he pounds the shoots with water on a stone, takes up some water from the stream with the pounded shoots, drops this water into one of the leaves three times, raises the leaf to his forehead, drinks (see Fig. 34), throws the leaf over his head and puts the shoots down on one side. When he squeezes the water from the shoots into the leaf-cup he holds the former in his right hand and the latter in his left, but when about to raise the leaf-cup to his forehead and drink he transfers it to his right hand. The candidate then takes a fresh piece of the pounded shoots and repeats with a second leaf, and so on till the seven leaves are

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234* 783 793 I was especially told that if the candidate for the office of *wursol* wishes to scratch his head during his ordination ceremonies he must do so with a stick, but this is probably a feature of all ordination rites.

In the case of the *wursol*, it seemed that there is a difference in the ceremonial according to whether the dairy is occupied or not when the new dairyman enters upon office. The foregoing account applies to the case in which the dairy is already occupied and the new dairyman replaces another, so that there is no break in the continuity of the dairy proceedings. If the dairy should be unoccupied, I was told that the candidate would have to sleep for two nights in the wood, and there would almost certainly be additional purifications, but I did not learn the exact nature of the proceedings in this case.

Though I was only told of this difference of procedure in the case of the *wursol*, it is not unlikely that there is a corresponding difference of procedure in the case of other dairies when the dairy has been unoccupied. There will certainly be a ceremony of purification of the dairy, such as takes place when the buffaloes migrate to a new village, and probably the dairy vessels will also have to be purified.

THE KUGVALIKARTMOKH OF TARADR AND THE POHKARTPOL OF KANÒDRS

234* 778 793 The ordination ceremonies of these two dairymen appear to be almost identical. So far as I could ascertain, the feature which the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs have in common is that they serve institutions to which a high degree of sanctity is attached. The ritual of both dairies bears some resemblance to that of the *ti* and, as we have already seen, the regulations for the conduct of the *pohkartpol* are, in some respects, even more stringent than those of the *palol*.

234* 793 The *kugvalikartmokh* is ordained either on Wednesday or Sunday, the *pohkartpol* on Tuesday. On the night preceding the ordination the candidate sleeps in the wood. Seven

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x (if there are two, as at the Nòdrs *ti*) sleep in the hut of the *ti mad*.

793 The next day (Thursday) the new *palol* goes to the stream and performs the *tudr* ceremony three times in the morning and nine times in the afternoon; *i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three and nine times seven. On this day the *kaltmokh* milks the *punir*, takes the milk to the *pül*, churns there and gives buttermilk, butter and other food to the new *palol*. On that night all sleep in the *karenpoh* or calf-house.

The proceedings of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are the same as those of Thursday, except that the new *palol* may now drink the milk of the *punir* like the full *palol*.

234x 793 292 783 796 On Monday morning the new *palol* enters on his office. In the morning he bathes and then takes off the temporary *pennar* and *kuvn* he has been wearing and replaces them by others made in the same way. A Badaga (the *tikelfmav*) then brings one of the two cloaks of the *palol*, that called *pòdrshtuni*, and lays it down at the outskirts of the dairy. It is taken up by the *kaltmokh* and given to the new *palol*, who spreads it out on the place where the buffaloes are milked. He then takes pounded *tudr* bark, says the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the *ti* and of the buffaloes (see Chap. X) and throws the pounded bark on the garment. He turns the garment over so as to expose the other surface and purifies this in the same way. He then asks himself, "*Pòdrshtuni tutkina?*"—"Shall I tie the *pòdrshtuni*?"—and throwing off the *mad tuni* he has been wearing hitherto, he puts on the *pòdrshtuni*. The *kaltmokh* returns the *mad tuni* to the Nòdrs people, who come on this day and stand on the outskirts of the place.

The new *palol* then purifies his dairy by sprinkling it with water and *tudr* bark in the same way as is done when going to a new dairy (see p. 136). He next takes the *uppun*, puts into it water and *tudr* bark, and turning towards the Nòdrs people with the vessel to his forehead, says three times to them, "*Poh pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the dairy?" All the Nòdrs people cry "*Pûkh!*" and the new *palol* enters his dairy with the full rights of his position.

000 At some period before entering into office as full *palol*

234^x 793 and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234^x 184 783 778 788 793 The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli*; the dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *poh* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark, while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *mu*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tasth*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmokh* also touches a *mu* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

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this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy. 234x 184 783

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both *wursol* and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmokh*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed. 778 788 793

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER VIII

SPECIAL DAIRY CEREMONIES

234x 796 I HAVE so far dealt with the organisation and ritual of the dairy, with the ceremonies accompanying the movements of the buffaloes from one place to another, and with the ceremonies attendant on the entrance of the dairymen into office. There remain ceremonies which accompany certain events in the course of the dairy ritual or in the lives of the buffaloes. One of these, the *pepkaricha* ceremony, is performed whenever any evil befalls a certain dairy vessel which is buried in the buffalo pen. Another ceremony celebrates the birth of a calf, and a group of ceremonies are connected with the act of giving salt to the buffaloes.

THE PEPKARICHA CEREMONY

234x ●783 796 In the account of the daily work of the dairy, it will be remembered that whenever the dairyman goes out to milk for the first time he puts some buttermilk into his milking vessel. This is done in every dairy, and the buttermilk so added is called *pep*. The milk of every day has mixed with it some of the buttermilk from the milking of the day before, and in this way continuity is kept up in the dairy operations. Under certain conditions this continuity is broken and new *pep* has to be made, and the process of doing so is the ceremony called *pepkaricha*, *pepkarichti*, or *pepkarichanudr* —*i.e.*, "*pep* he purifies," or, "if *pep* is purified."

In some cases new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan

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(*madol*); in other cases it has only to be made for one of the dairies of the clan.

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The ceremony is performed for the whole clan whenever anything goes wrong with a certain dairy vessel called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen at the chief village of the clan. We have seen that this vessel is used in the ordination to certain dairy offices, and it is also inspected as a matter of routine about once a year. If it is broken or has been stolen or tampered with in any way, it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

Among the Tartharol, new *pep* has also to be made after the funeral of a male on account of the defilement of the *mani* involved in its exposure to the ordinary people at the funeral ceremonies.

The conditions which necessitate the making of new *pep* for a single dairy are, (1) if a Tamil or other "foreigner" has entered the dairy, (2) if an ordinary Toda (*perol*) has gone into the dairy at night, (3) if the dairyman has used tobacco. In these cases the people of the village at which the offence has been committed procure a new *mu*, and, after purifying it, go to some other dairy of the clan, where they procure some buttermilk to act as *pep* and take it to their own dairy. It is only when new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan that the prolonged ceremony of *pepkarichti* has to be carried out. This ceremony differs in its details for each clan, and is more complicated in some cases than in others. As an example, I will give the proceedings for the Kuudr clan.

When it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole group of dairies belonging to the clan it is necessary to take the buffaloes to one special dairy. The Kuudr people go to the dairy of Kwirg near Sholur. On the day of going to Kwirg, a feast is held at which the food called *ashkkartpimi* is eaten.

Whenever new *pep* is made it is necessary to have a new *palikartmokh*, and the man who is to undertake the duties goes to Kwirg with the milking buffaloes of the *pasthir* and is accompanied by a number of Kuudr men. The men take with them a new and complete set of dairy vessels, and reach Kwirg in the early morning of a Sunday after the new moon.

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The buffaloes are at once penned in the *tu*. The first business is the ordination of the new *palikartmokh*, which is carried out as usual. When at the stream for the purification ceremony, the *palikartmokh* has with him a new *mu*, which he fills with water at the stream. He takes this vessel to the *tu* in which the buffaloes are penned, and knocks one of the buffaloes on the back with his wand (*pet*), so that it moves to one side. Then with the wand he digs some earth from the spot where the hoof of the buffalo had been resting, and mixes this earth with *tudr* bark. He places part of the mixed earth and bark in the *mu*, and puts the rest on one side; this part of the ceremony is called *mukatchkudrspini*, or purification of the *mu*,[1] literally "*mu* purification I have purified."

The *palikartmokh* then brings all the other dairy vessels and implements, beginning with the *patat*, and purifies them by throwing on them mixed earth and *tudr* bark, sprinkling them with water from the *mu* three times, saying "*On*" each time. The things of the *patatmar* are purified first and then the things of the *ertatmar*, and the purified objects are placed in the dairy. Fire is made by friction and the *palikartmokh* goes out to milk. Buttermilk is not put into the milking-vessel as usual, and the lamp is not lighted. The milk is poured into the *patat*, and the *palikartmokh* then prepares food, which he gives to the people who have come with him, but he himself fasts. All the men then go away except one or two, who are to remain as companions of the dairyman. In the evening the *palikartmokh* takes off some of the cream,[1] which has risen to the top of the milk, and puts it into the lamp which he lights, and then prays, using the *kwarzam* of Kwirg[2] and the *kwarzam* of the *pep* only.

If the milk has coagulated it is now churned, and then the buffaloes are milked as usual, but if the milk has not coagulated, it is left till next morning. In the evening the dairyman takes food as usual.

On the following day, it seems that the milk has always

[1] This is the only occasion on which this cream is used by the Todas. It is used because there are now neither butter nor ghi at the dairy. Its use here is an indication that the process of coagulation is less rapid than usual.

[2] See p. 222.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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become solid and is churned. Immediately after churning and without taking food, the dairyman puts together the dairy things according to the usual method followed when going from one village to another, and goes with his buffaloes to the village of Kiudr. The dairy vessels are carried in the usual manner, the new buttermilk called *puthpep* being in the *patat* and the butter in the *mu*.

The people living at Kiudr leave the village, and the man who has been filling the office of *palikartmokh* there throws away all the old dairy things and takes the *mani* to the stones by the side of that dairy called *neurzilnkars* (see p. 129). After leaving the bells there for a little time, the dairyman takes them to the *pali nipa*, and then his office ceases and he becomes *peral*.

The new *palikartmokh*, who has come from Kwirg, purifies the dairy and his new dairy vessels and the *mani* in exactly the same way as when reaching a new dairy, and then places the bells, vessels, and other objects in the dairy. During the next month, till the following new moon, the dairyman and his companions stay alone at Kiudr doing the ordinary business of the dairy. During this time they may be visited by men of the Kuudr clan, but neither by women nor by men of other clans. At the end of the month, on the Sunday after the new moon, the *palikartmokh* drives the buffaloes (now called *ponir*, festival buffaloes) to Kuudr, taking with him the *puthpep* and the dairy vessels. When the people at Kuudr see the dairyman coming with the *ponir*, they leave the village and all go to Kiudr, which the buffaloes have just left. There they hold a feast to which many people of other clans, both men and women, are invited.

When the *palikartmokh* reaches Kuudr, he purifies the dairy as he had done at Kiudr and puts the vessels in their places.

Certain men of the clan then come, each with a new *mu*, and these vessels are laid by the side of the stones called *krinkars* and *tashtikars* in the wall of the pen. At Kuudr fifteen new *mu* should be brought by the fifteen heads of families of the Kuudr clan. The *palikartmokh* then purifies each *mu* with *tudr* bark in the usual way and places the

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vessels on the *patatmar* of the dairy, after which he gives food to those who have provided the vessels.

The *palikartmokh* with his companion or companions then stay at Kuudr for a month, when, again on a Sunday after the new moon, all the Kuudrol assemble at Kuudr and hold a feast. On that day a new *palikartmokh* is appointed for each dairy of the Kuudr clan. Each man goes through the usual ordination ceremony and then receives one of the new *mu* containing some of the new *pep*, which he takes to his dairy. Each new dairyman also provides new dairy vessels, and, when he reaches his dairy, purifies the *mu* and the new dairy things in the way already described. He puts the vessels into the dairy and then goes to milk, taking some of the new *pep* in his milking-vessel, and thereafter matters go on as usual. Each new dairyman fasts while going to his dairy with the new *pep*, although the rest of the people are feasting.

Those who remain at Kuudr bury the *mu* in which the *pep* was brought from Kwirg. It is buried by the side of the pen, under a tree called *teikhkwadiki*.

The ceremony of making new *pep* is carried out on the same lines in all dairies, but usually it is less complicated and fewer villages have to be visited than in the case of the Kuudrol. It seems that there is a tendency in some clans to perform the ceremony less rigidly than of old. Thus, the Kars people used to go to Keshker for new *pep*, but now they perform the ceremony at Kars itself, so that the migration to a new place with its attendant ceremonial is avoided.

There are certain differences in the procedure in the case of Teivali and Tarthar clans. One, the necessity for new *pep* after the funeral of a male, has been already mentioned.

Another difference is that there is a buried *mu* for each kind of dairy, so that a clan which has two or three kinds of dairy will have two or three *mu* buried in the pen. If it is the *mu* belonging to the *wursuli* which is broken or tampered with, the ceremony is performed by the *wursol*, who takes earth from the footprints of one of the *wursulir*. If the *mu* of the *kudrpali* is injured, the *kudrpalikartmokh* performs the ceremony, taking earth from the footprints of one of the other

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kinds of sacred buffaloes. Thus at Kars he takes it from the prints of the *martir*. 234x 783 796

At Kanòdrs new *pep* has to be made at a place called Kautarmad, which I could not identify. It is a long way from Kanòdrs, but the people have to go there because the god Kwoto used to make *pep* there. There is one feature peculiar to the ceremony for this clan. Earth has to be taken from a certain spot from which it was taken by Kwoto, and this earth is mixed with that taken from the footprints of the buffalo.

Another special feature of the Kanòdrs dairy is connected with the buried *mu* and is probably the result of the fact that this dairy is now only occupied occasionally. When the *polikartpol* leaves the dairy on vacating office, he takes up the buried *mu*, pours into it a small quantity of *pep*, and reburies the vessel, covering it on the top with a stone. When he resumes office, he takes up the *mu* and purifies it with the two kinds of earth used in the full ceremony, and puts the *pep* which has been buried into his milking-vessel when he goes out to milk for the first time. As in other Tarthar clans, the full ceremony of *pepkaricha* is only carried out when the *mu* is broken or stolen, and after the funeral of a male.

A characteristic feature of Toda dairy procedure is the coagulation of the milk before it is churned. This coagulation occurs in a few hours without the addition of rennet or other special coagulating agent, the milk drawn in the morning being nearly always solid at the time of the afternoon churning. This rapid coagulation of the milk is almost certainly assisted by the added buttermilk or *pep*, the curdling being probably an acid coagulation set up or hastened by the addition of the sour buttermilk. If this were the case, it might be expected that habitual failure of the milk to coagulate might be regarded as a reason for making new *pep*, and I therefore inquired carefully into this point. It was quite clear, however, that delay in the coagulation was not looked upon as a reason for the ceremony. If there was habitual delay, it was customary to consult the diviners, and they always gave one of two reasons for the delay: either that it was due to the action of a sorcerer, or that the dairyman had committed one 234x 754 787

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seemed that *peiaspiti* was merely the *ti* form of *kaiaspiti*, "he washes the hands." 234 x 796

The following day is called *ápkárvnol*. On this day small Badaga children go to the *ti mad* and the *palol* gives them clarified butter on a leaf. On this day also any one who has been a *pahol* (*patol*) may go to the *ti mad* and receive food unless the funeral ceremonies for one of his clan should still be uncompleted.

The ceremonies of *ponup* were said to be designed to invite the gods to be present by means of the clay vessels. The *tudr* bark and leaves were said to be used in order to purify these vessels after their defilement by human hands in the process of making. [783]

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CHAPTER XI

THE DAIRY RITUAL

In the preceding chapters I have given an account of an elaborate ritual wholly connected with the buffalo and with the dairy. This ritual is certainly of a religious character, and, though there is much in the nature of the dairy formulæ which is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Toda deities. 182 771 783 788 796

It seems most probable that the general idea underlying the dairy ritual is that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance, the milk of the buffaloes. This sacred substance is to be converted into other substances, butter and buttermilk, which are to be used by the profane. At the present time much of the butter goes to those who are not even Todas and are regarded by the Todas as inferior beings.

It seems most probable that the elaborate ritual has grown up as a means of counteracting the dangers likely to be incurred by this profanation of the sacred substance, or, in other words, as a means of removing a taboo which prohibits the general use of the substance.

Similarly the migration ceremonies have the general underlying idea of counteracting any possible evil influence which may accompany the passage of the buffaloes through the profane world from one sacred place to another. During the migration, objects may be seen by the multitude which under ordinary circumstances are strictly screened from the general gaze, and objects may be touched, or be in danger of being touched, by people who ordinarily may not even see them.

182 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
783 him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
776 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

Comparison of the Procedure of Different Dairies

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
788 the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy, we already meet with the

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separation. All the vessels are kept in the same room, but in different parts of the room, the *patatmar* and the *ertatmar*, and this distinction between the two sets of objects is kept up in the migration ceremonies where they are carried by different men.

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There are no striking differences in this respect between the lower grades of dairy, whether *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, or *wursuli*; in all, the two sets of vessels are separated, but no strict measures are taken to prevent a vessel of the *patatmar* from coming into contact with a vessel of the *ertatmar* during the dairy operations. It is only on reaching the *kugvali* of Taradr that we find an intermediate vessel, the *kuvun*, used to transfer substances from a vessel of the more sacred to one of the less sacred kind, and to prevent possible contamination of the former by the latter.

It is in the *ti* dairy that these precautions reach their highest degree of development. Here the two sets of vessels are kept in different rooms, separated by a screen, and the dairy products are never transferred directly from a vessel of one kind to a vessel of the other, but always by means of an intermediate vessel. The butter and buttermilk produced by the churning operations in the inner room are transferred to the vessels of the outer room by means of the *idrkwoi*, which is kept on the dividing line between the two compartments. Similarly the vessels into which the butter and buttermilk are received are never allowed to come into direct contact with objects from the outside world, but their contents are transferred to vessels used outside the dairy by means of intermediate vessels, the *uppun* or the *mòrpun*.

In the migrations of the *ti* buffaloes this strict separation between the two kinds of vessel is still kept up. The things of the inner room are carried by the *palol* himself, while the things of the outer room are carried by others. The *idrkwoi*, though carried by the *palol* on the same staff as the things of the inner room, is kept apart from the rest, and is not allowed to touch them.

The fires of the *ti* dairy furnish another interesting example of the principle by which sacred objects are prevented from coming directly into relation with objects which may have

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234 778 788 783 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The lamp is not lighted directly from the *tòratthwaskal*, which is probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an intermediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[437] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any money to the *palol* at Mòdr, I placed it on a stone from which it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol* and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the *kugvali* of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of intermediate links, but there is such an example during the ordination of the *wursol*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candidate milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches ceremonially the *majpariv* and the *patat* at the beginning of the afternoon churning, while at the *wursuli* this is done both morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kabkaditi*, in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

234 the same occasion, and it is only followed regularly in certain
778 dairies of the *wursuli* grade, viz., Nòdrs, Nasmiòdr, Òdr, and
783 Kozhtudi. The first has a conical dairy, and Nasmiòdr and Òdr are especially ancient and sacred places. At the *kugvali*
788 and the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, the dairy ceremonial is always performed *kabkaditi*. At one ceremony, that of *irpalvustki*, the work of the dairy is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy of whatever grade.

The lamp-lighting is another feature which becomes more frequent and more ceremonial in the higher grades of dairy. In all the village dairies, including the *kugvali* of Taradr,[1] the lamp is only lighted ceremonially at the afternoon churning, the lighting being made the occasion of prayer. If the morning is dark, the lamp may be lighted, but it is clear that this is not done ceremonially, and the lighting is not accompanied by prayer. At the *ti* we have already seen that the lamp is lighted in a more ceremonial manner and in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

Some of the details of the ritual are definitely associated with the *mani*, and since the presence of a *mani* implies a higher grade of dairy, this leads to an increase in the elaboration of the ritual. The *mani* is treated in much the same way in all the grades of dairy which possess this sacred object.

Another feature in which the increasing sanctity of the dairy is shown is the frequency with which prayer is offered. At all the village dairies the dairyman only prays at the afternoon ceremonial when lighting the lamp, and when shutting up the buffaloes in their pen for the night. As already mentioned, there is a definite association between prayer and the ceremonial lamp-lighting.

234 In the *ti* dairy, prayer is offered both morning and evening;
778 at the morning ceremonial twice and in the afternoon three times. On both occasions the first prayer begins when
788 the lamp is being lighted and is continued while the *palol* knocks on one of the *persin* with the *persinkudriki*. The second prayer in each case is offered at the conclusion of the milking, and the third prayer of the afternoon corresponds to

[1] I am doubtful about this point at the *pol* of Kanòdrs.

234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
415 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was there-
788 fore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan. It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

Purity and Impurity

234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
783 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised: (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

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from actual contact either with dairies or dairymen of the higher grades. He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure. The definite impurity which is the condition of those who have attended funeral ceremonies or have been in relation with a woman in the period of seclusion after childbirth is something very different. Such a man is not merely unsanctified, he is unfit to hold any sacred office; even the prolonged ceremonies of ordination would not fit him to hold office in the dairy or to perform any part in the tendance of the sacred buffaloes, and he is not allowed even to approach the members of the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood.

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Women and the Dairy

Women take no part in the dairy ritual, nor in the milking and churning operations which are carried on in the hut. It is said that at one time the women took charge of the buffaloes at the time of calving, but this is not the case at the present time.

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Women go to the dairy to fetch buttermilk, using an appointed path and standing at an appointed spot to receive it.

Females enter dairies under two conditions only. They may enter the outermost rooms of those dairies which are used as funeral huts while the bodies of men are lying in them. Here they may sit only on one side of the room, and only when the dairy operations are not in progress. Women also enter the temporary funeral huts of men which are called *pali*, or dairies.

The other condition under which a female enters a dairy is at the migration ceremony of the village, in which a girl, seven or eight years of age, is given food in the dairy of the village which the buffaloes are leaving, and sweeps the front of the dairy of the village to which they are going. This ceremony is one in which a girl seems to take a definite part in dairy ceremonial, but the girl chosen for this office must be below the age of puberty.

The relations of women with the different grades of dairymen have already been considered; a point which may again

173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
782 told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
796 nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony was of great
574 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
796 offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Tentütusthchi* is
783 certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though now it may be performed several times in the year. Even now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

782 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
284 *kwadrthpimi*—*i.e.*, we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death, but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk

[The Tentütusthchi Ceremony; See pp. 290-291 — Analyst]

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753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
792 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the ceremony which has been ordered. The following is probably a typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *tesal*, who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madasl* or sacred days of Kars and Kushu. They had also driven their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatsnol*; there had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatsnol*. The *tesal* said they must do *irnürtiti*, and on the following Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *hadrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv) and then to the *wurzali* (Karziolv) and made the following vow at each :—

Ir kur	*ushtuel,*	*pirsi*	*ushtiá an,*	*irnürtiti*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	Illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."[1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
792 *irnürtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
● 783 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
673 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
796 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recovering from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
796 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörthars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
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618 "*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
688 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
796 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
618 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
621 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*. If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
618 which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
796 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

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in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food.

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr[1] which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtpol bon!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pilinörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:—

Tûncumd,	*tîrmûmd;*	*atch*	*kar*	*tâ*	*mâ,*	*atch*	
May it be well,	may it be well;	little	calf	give	may,	little	
math	*tâ*	*mâ;*	*kar*	*kulâth,*	*kar*	*kuleiti*	*tâ*
son	give	may;	calf	not refuse	milk,	calf	take milk	give
mâ,	*kar*	*mezâth,*	*mezeiti*	*tâ*	*mâ;*	*opath*	*ûtm*
may,	calf	not kick away,	stand	give	may;	once	meal
âthi	*pûnerd*	*kwar*	*arki*	*mâdi;*	*nâ*	*ârk mâ;*	
it is	twelve	years	vow	will;	may there be	no disease;	
undri	*ârk mâ;*	*kuzun*	*ârk mâ;*	*per*			
may there be	no trouble;	may there be	no *kuzun;*	may there be			
ârk mâ.							
no Tamil.							

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kuzun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

[1] This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
193 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
796 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
618 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of
777 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

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Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, 123
and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the 253
flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and 777
searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] 753
The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* 761
ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife 688
to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and 782
had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done 783
this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *tererstki* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *ernörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

[1] According to a later finding of the *teuol*, the death of Tersveli was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
688 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

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the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. 783
When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to 782
regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as 688
if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it 796
seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo 782
is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most 783
nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in 688
going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded 618
as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of 796
pilinörtiti to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

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782 social regulations exist without anything which can clearly
783 be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people
688 whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than that they now possess.

618 If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the
796 religious sanction has been added to the system of social punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the gods.

846 and bows down at the threshold of the imitation dairy, after which she goes into the seclusion-hut. During the whole of the proceedings she is careful not to turn her face towards the sun.

Among the Teivaliol there is no imitation dairy and, as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, only two reeds are used as *ertatpun*. A fire is made on an improvised fireplace of three stones, and lighted by means of thatch brought from the hut,[1] and food is put on a fragment of an earthenware vessel and placed over the fire.

After the woman has drunk of the water which has been poured over the back of the calf, she breaks the earthenware fragment over the fire, saying, *Namavku*, "to Namav," this rite being called *Namavtur kwudrtpimi*, "to Namav we give." [783] The woman then goes to the seclusion-hut, being assisted by her husband, who now acquires the impurity which is called *ichchil*, and any one else who touches the woman after this ceremony also becomes *ichchil*.

776 I saw the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* on two occasions, the woman each time belonging to the Teivaliol. 784 The most striking feature of each occasion was the obvious 846 and intense dread of Keirt. In one case, soon after leaving the hut, the woman, Sintagars, called out for another umbrella as she feared that the *tòrikwadr* was not sufficient to shelter her from Keirt, and during the rest of the proceedings she held over herself both the leafy umbrella and one of the ordinary kind.

I was told that all the chief incidents of the ceremony—the rubbing on of ashes, the holding of the leaf umbrella, the pouring of water over the calf and the giving to Namav—were all designed to avert the evil influence of Keirt, which they call *Keirtpudrtvuti* (see p. 269).

846 After the woman has gone to the seclusion-hut she is visited by relatives and friends, who stand at a distance, just as they did after the hand-burning ceremony. They bring rice with them as a present and call out

Marzut	*sivu*	*mikh*	*mokh*	(or *kugh*)	*mipatia?*
Confined	life	remaining	son	(or daughter)	had you?

I am doubtful whether this is essential.

1 [of the seclusion of a woman following the birth of a Child -- Analyst]

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral
783 become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a
783 funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw
616 earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *puzhut*, and
618 incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *puzhut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

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etvainolkedr. At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind. 765

As the buffalo dies, the *narskedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakhudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakhudri erspimi*, or *kudri erspimi*,[1] "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartmokh* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

The Kooṭiti Ceremony

Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male which is called *kooṭiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this purpose. 234 765 177 783

[1] *Kudri* is the generic word for creeper.

765 According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about
234 four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another
177 buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place
783 and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes. It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol* made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called *kegampkwûdr* (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of *tudr* leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the name *kobtiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments, including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain (*tagars*), necklace (*keiveli*), earrings (*kevthveli*), and bracelet (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only, are carried by two women to the place where the calf is standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the former throwing before and behind him as he walks the mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol* comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs adikina?*"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to move all present, Tartharol and Teivaliol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*" and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads. The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed, but is allowed to go free.

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but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for another funeral. 177 765 783

The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *ârtârverutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—*i.e.*, funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narskedr*.

One of the most important features of this *kodtiti* ceremony is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used [778] The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*.

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnòdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi poua*," "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.[1] It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

[1] See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii. p. 4.

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the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the 533
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the 539
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and 765
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to *you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In* your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing."

Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of 234
the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*. 783
At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred 793
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred 765
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral 778
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *potatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

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234 second funeral, and it is at Ȯdr that the purification takes
765 place.

Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to
783 Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
793 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
778 among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *azaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnȯdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnȯdr-vusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *azaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *azaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nȯdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

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After a funeral, the members of the Tarthar clans, except the Melgarsol, shave their heads, but this is not done either by the Melgarsol or Teivaliol. I did not inquire fully into this matter, and do not know what regulations there are in connexion with the practice, or whether it is regarded as purificatory. 765 783

The Funerals of Children

The body of a still-born child is buried at the same time as, and together with, the afterbirth, without any ceremonial. In one case which occurred during my visit, this was done by the woman who assisted at the delivery. The body was buried in the early morning on the day on which the mother underwent the ceremonies attending removal to the seclusion-hut. 766

If a child less than two years of age dies, both funerals are held on one day. The *etvainolkedr* takes place in the morning, the *marvainolkedr* in the afternoon; a buffalo is killed at each, and the *azaramkedr* is held on the following morning as usual. If the child is very young, less than a month old, a male buffalo only may be killed, but if the father chooses, two buffaloes may be killed as at the funeral of an adult.

Thus, the child of Piliag and Sintagars (52) died while the mother was in the seclusion-hut, and two ordinary buffaloes were killed. On this occasion, the two funerals were held on the same day as that on which the child died, owing to the death having taken place on one of the appointed days for a funeral of the clan. When the youngest child of Podners (47) died, only one male buffalo was killed for both ceremonies.

When a male child dies who has not cut his teeth nor been through the ear-piercing ceremony, the funeral is not held at the usual funeral place for males, but at another. Thus the Karsol do not take the body of such a child to Taradrkirsi but to a place called Punpall.

When I attended the funeral of a girl named Sinerani (32), the daughter of Kuriolv of Kuudr, both ceremonies were performed on the same day, and a number of incidents occurred which were very interesting as illustrations of many of the practices which have been described throughout this chapter. The child was about two years 766 588

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a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen. 764

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man. 174

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kasun* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kasun*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.[1] That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies. 764 775 765 783

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tersampipini*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolkedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be 765 775

[1] In Teknir's lament for Pidrvan (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kars *kasun*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kasun*.

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
184 and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo call for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *puthali tòdr òòni* (see p. 503), a man

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through life, amongst his fellow-men, a large amount of respect, as having once been a God.

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The following description of the process, which *all* men undergo in the course of being sanctified to the performance of *any* holy duty, will prove interesting.

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For the space of a week—eṭṭnâl; literally speaking, eight days, and corresponding to *in acht tagen* in German—the novitiate must remain day and night alone in the woods of the tiriêri, without a particle of clothing and with only a fire to protect him from the severity of the climate. He beats with a stone, the bark off a branch of the tûde[3] tree, which he collects. Then three times each day, morning, noon, and evening, he performs the following ceremony. Squeezing some of the juice of the bark, into a leaf-cup containing water from the stream or spring, he raises the cupfull with the right hand to his forehead, in token of respect: then lowering it to his mouth and drinking off the contents, passes the empty leaf round over his head and left shoulder, then depositing it behind his right side. This formula is repeated three times, using a fresh leaf each time. Next, he takes the remainder of the bark, and rubs his naked body all over with it, washing himself immediately in the fresh water. On the eighth day he is competent to assume charge of his office.

The week's ordeal has been extremely severe, both in point of exposure and of solitude, and one well calculated to make a suitable impression on a man who is about to undertake a solemn duty. The kâvilâl has supplied him with food from the tiriêri all this time, and there is reason for believing that the pâlâl and kâvilâl see that the novitiate does not slur the proper performance of the rites.

The Todas have no distinctive word to express purification, but describe the effect by saying sari[4] wâll, "he is right," by the process.

[3] Tûde, tûrs, tûdrs, tûrs—a thicket of small shrubs. Tamil. [Pope.]
[4] Sari. In Dekhinian qari—right. [Pope.]

137 778 824 Though the proper meaning of the word tôde, is simply a bush; yet taken in connection with its use for sanctifying purposes, it may be held to imply that it is *the* bush above all others. It is a very common little tree on these hills, fragile, and *by all accounts, possessing no remarkable properties in flower,* seed, or sap. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel Beddome, Conservator of Forests, for its botanic names, viz., *Melissma simplicifolia*, alias *Millingtonia*.

Dr. Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, has obliged me with the following valuable information as to the diffusion of the tree; a point on which I have been desirous to obtain the most reliable account, hoping that the localities might form geographical links by which the Todas might be traced to other tribes within or beyond the boundaries of Hindustan. 'The distribution of the plant,' Dr. Hooker is so good as to write, 'is Western and Eastern Himalaya, from Simla eastward. Khassia, Silhet, and Mishmi hills in Assam. From the Concan to Courtallam in the western Peninsula. It certainly does not inhabit Persia, the Caucasus, or South Russia, and probably not even Beluchistan.'

174 783 824 778 It was important to establish, if the race of which the Todas form a tribe, brought with them from Western Asia the use of the tôde, the *Millingtonia*. It would now seem probable that they brought with them, merely, the already established practice of self-purification with a sacred plant, and not finding in the country of their adoption that which they had been accustomed to use when in their own land, they elected the tôde in its place. If the views expressed in the last chapter, as to the antiquity of the rules of cattle inheritance—making the bell-cow a descendant by the female line from some remote ancestor—be considered of value, then some degree of support is also afforded to show the collateral practice of purification by the use of a sacred plant, to be also very ancient.

000 It would be interesting to know if other broken tribes of the pre-Aryan—Drâvidian—race, now living in various tracts

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkûlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkûli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

794 184 563 177 [867] The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 184 564 783 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

564 648 186 [574] [184] [894]

[15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit. [113]

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷoːḷ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the tiː. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nȯdrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nȯdrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nȯdrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töuθmṭ and the töunoːṭ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the mṛfaːlfmat, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. kaːnθum, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hõː at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as noːn, after is as mṛ.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθuṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tuṭ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiṭ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noṛ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθuṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 776 114 794 [777] [791] [688] 794

The töunoṛ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoṛ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as aṛ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noṛ "sacred place." Within the noṛ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noṛ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noṛ "sacred place" or töunoṛ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which 776 234 [361] [782] [783] [562] 776 234 778 794 [192]

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is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːṭ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noːṭoːselm	kuːtjuθnoːṭ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tōuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːṭ), the sacred place to which the goddess tōːkiṇj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθaṛm	kumṛtuθnoːṭ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mṛeθaṛm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noːṭxuːḍtk	pimθnoːṭ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tōuenoːṭk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tōuθut, the tōunoːṭ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tōunoːṭ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tōunoːṭ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; paṛsuṛθu, puṛṭuṛθu "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kuṛam)" of the mund myːnj, which is paṛsuṛu, said to mean "the standing-place (nuṛu) of the 1600 gods (represented by paṛ for paṛsuṛ)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite un-
[865] orthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[783] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quick-
[793] est way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
●784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
778 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of

FIG. 2[illegible]—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Oh*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
513 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,

● 784

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvalikartmokh*.

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*, [834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may [558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters. 562 784 793

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursol* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *pal* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms. 234 343 778 788

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi.*"

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 343 352

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnòdr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
793 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/4 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

234 554 778 784 793 When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 25.—THE 'POH' OF KANODRS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tün*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pohkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

292 793

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuwi*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudaipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wurudir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

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234 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oñ*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
793 times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

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ti was not allowed to do so and had to use a ford nearer to the dairy at Mòdr. 784 793

The *palol* must be celibate, and if married, he must leave his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers. According to the account given by Finicio in 1603, the *palol* could send for his wife and meet her in a wood every week or so and might also send for the wives of any other Todas. It is possible that this may still happen, but I failed to obtain an account of it and understood that the *palol* was really celibate. According to Finicio the restriction to which the *palol* is subject is that he may not touch a woman in the house. We have seen that in the lowest rank of the dairyman-priesthood intercourse with women in the house is allowed at any time and in the higher ranks only on certain days of the week. It is quite consistent with this that in the highest rank intercourse in the house should be altogether forbidden, but might still be allowed in the forest, and it is quite possible that Finicio is correct. I was unacquainted with his account at the time of my visit, and all other writers had been so unanimous as to the complete celibacy of the *palol* that I did not press my inquiries on this point very closely. 785 833

If a death occurs in the clan of a *palol*, he cannot attend any of the funeral ceremonies unless he gives up his office. If he resigns he is not again eligible for the office till the second funeral ceremonies have been completed. When a man of one clan gives up his office in this way, his place must be taken by a man of some other clan. Karkievan of Piedr was *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* eighteen years ago and resigned when his wife died, his place being taken by Tulchievan of Kusharf. Two years later Karkievan resumed office and has been *palol* continuously since that time. Though there have been many deaths among the Piedrol, he has not attended a funeral, and has not, therefore, had to resign his post again. 234 463 784 793

In old times, it seems probable that it was usual to give up the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan. According to tradition, the division of the Keadrol into the Keadrol and Kwaradrol by Kwoten (see Chap. IX) was ordained in order that there might still be men to undertake the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan, the men of the

234 Keadrol taking office when there was a death among the
463 Kwaradrol and *vice versa*.

It has been stated by several writers on the Todas that the
556 *palol* does not profit in any way by his sacred office. I made
784 most careful inquiries on this point, and there seemed to be no
793 doubt that the *palol* may often make a considerable income from the sale of the ghi made from the milk of the herd under his charge; one *palol* was stated to make six rupees a week in this way, and while he has been in office is said to have increased his own herd (*i.e.*, that of his own family) by no less than twenty-five buffaloes. In one recent case, a man has resigned the post of *palol* to the Pan *ti* because he found the income was too small.

234 According to my informant, Kaners, a man used always to
463 accept the office of *palol* unwillingly. When the offer came
554 to him, he would say, "I cannot leave my buffaloes; I cannot
556 leave my wife and my children." Then the people would say,
793 "You are born for the *ti*; it is your birthright; you must not refuse"; and the man would reluctantly consent. Now the Todas are in more need of money than they used to be, and there is no difficulty in obtaining candidates for those dairies at which the pecuniary advantages are sufficiently great, so that people will now beg to be appointed as *palol* to certain dairies, and it is even whispered that bribes have been offered in order to obtain office. There is no doubt whatever that the pecuniary reward is the chief inducement to people to undertake the charge.

234 The Nòdrs *ti* has the largest herd of buffaloes, and I was
463 told that this *ti* is very much coveted, while others which
554 have few buffaloes are unable to obtain a *palol* at all. My
793 Teivali friends invariably talked about the *ti* in exactly the same kind of way that an Englishman talks about a benefice.

At the present time there are several instances in which the office of *palol* is vacant, and there seems to be a growing difficulty in filling many of these places. There is little doubt that the chief reason for this is that the herds have become very small, so that the resulting profit does not offer sufficient inducement; but there is also no doubt that the exclusion from the home and the limitation of intercourse

793 *kâtmcii ten idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches,
576 the *palol* says "*Pakein,*" but all the Teivaliol reply with the same formula as the Tarthaol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ickchil, i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was
576 said that he might not approach the *palol.* I had an interest-
783 ing example, however, of the way in which a regulation of
788 this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ickchil,* owing
793 to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol.* He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ickchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol.*

437 There are several regulations concerning the food of the
439 *palol.* Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was
784 formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but
793 nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *pusir.* He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pakwilkars,* outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *mosi.* He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *thratthmukhal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmakh.* If food is prepared by the *kaltmakh,* the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

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The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *tikelfman*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pidrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kwemarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pidrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuwu* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*. 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the day-time with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

[1] According to Brooks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakanari. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upharvnol*, after the *ponsp* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

The Kaltmokh

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pûl* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kwm*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Môdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tuwitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuwi* called *petuwi* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558 784

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 793

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234 554 558 784 773

the forbidden things, or even if he is likely to be in such a position that he may have to do these things, he becomes *perkursol*. This he does by throwing off the *petuni* and dipping one leg either into the pool of water called *tarupwkndi* (see p. 177) or into the dairy stream (*pali nipa*) of an ordinary dairy (if he dipped his leg into the *ars nipa*, or part of a stream used for ordinary household purposes, he would at once lose his office entirely and become an ordinary person). As soon as he has dipped his foot, he becomes *perkursol* and may do the following things summed up in the general expression *tarskwardrkddkodi*. He may pass a village where there is a woman in the seclusion-hut (*pushars*), or where the relics of the dead are being kept between the two funeral ceremonies; he may go to a place where the people have been in communication with a village in which either of these conditions exist; he may pass a river by a bridge, and he may go to the *wursali* of a Tarthar village. If the full *kaltwokh* does any of these things, even unwittingly, he would at once become an ordinary person (*perol*). The *kaltwokh* degrades himself to the rank of *perkursol* even when there is merely the danger that he may infringe any of the restrictions; thus, one day when there was a woman at Karia who was in seclusion after childbirth, the *kaltwokh* at Mòdr, Katsog (55), was going to the hut of the forest guard near Paikara. He would not have to pass Karia, but there was a chance that the forest guard might have been in communication with the people of Karia, and therefore Katsog became *perkursol*. A *perkursol* is regarded as of the same rank as a *wursol*, and the people spoke of *perkursol* as a *ti* word for *wursol*—*i.e.*, a *wursol* at the *ti* was called *perkursol*, just as a *madth* (churn) at the *ti* was called *kighlag*. In order to regain his rank as full *kaltwokh*, the *perkursol* has to perform the same ceremony as that which takes place at the end of the ordination to this office (see Chap. VII).

While the *kaltwokh* is degraded to the rank of *perkursol* he may not touch any dairy vessels; he may not pour buttermilk for the *palol*, nor may he blow the horns—*i.e.*, he may do none of the most important and sacred duties of his office.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pokkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Os*" each time.

The *pokkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pokkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

284 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the most important feature here is the use of the garments called
292 *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
178

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also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other examples have been given.

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitün* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

The Sanctity of Milk

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that

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234 the milk of buffaloes belonging to the more sacred dairies has
778 a higher degree of sanctity than that churned in the lower
272 grades.

784 The milk of ordinary buffaloes may be drunk by anyone,
[432] man, woman, or child. The Todas do not ordinarily sell milk, but if they do so, they may only use the milk of ordinary buffaloes for this purpose. I have a note that anyone may also drink the milk of buffaloes belonging to the *tarvali*, but I suspect that this only applies to men who must drink it at the dairy.

The milk of the *kudrpali* may only be drunk by the *kudrpalikartmokh* himself. It is believed that any other person or animal who should drink milk from this dairy would die.

At the *wursuli* milk may be given to men at the dairy, but it must be mixed with buttermilk. At the *kugvali* of Taradr the milk of the *kugvalir* themselves is not drunk by anyone, the dairyman having certain ordinary buffaloes for his own use, and this is also the case at the *ti*. I believe that not even the *palol* would drink the milk of the *persinir*, the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*.

There is one exception to the rule that ordinary people may not use the milk of the sacred buffaloes of the village dairies (except in the form of butter and buttermilk). At the *irpalvusthi* ceremony at all the village dairies, including the *kugvali*, food is prepared with the milk of one of the sacred animals and this food is given to the people of the clan to which the dairy belongs and also to members of other clans.

In the case of the *wursuli*, I was especially told that this is the only occasion on which the milk of *wursulir* is used by people in general. At the *kugvali*, people of other clans are only given this food on the second day of the proceedings, and the distribution of the food is preceded by a ceremony in which some of the food is thrown into the fire. The milk used on this occasion is the milk of the buffalo which has recently calved, the ceremony being in celebration of this event.

At the *wursuli* it is noteworthy that the food is cooked by the *wursol* himself, the ceremony of *irpalvusthi* being the

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only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremonially as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken.

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed.

Special Dairy Customs

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to

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from actual contact either with dairies or dairymen of the higher grades. He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure. The definite impurity which is the condition of those who have attended funeral ceremonies or have been in relation with a woman in the period of seclusion after child-birth is something very different. Such a man is not merely unsanctified, he is unfit to hold any sacred office; even the prolonged ceremonies of ordination would not fit him to hold office in the dairy or to perform any part in the tendance of the sacred buffaloes, and he is not allowed even to approach the members of the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood. 234 783

Women and the Dairy

Women take no part in the dairy ritual, nor in the milking and churning operations which are carried on in the hut. It is said that at one time the women took charge of the buffaloes at the time of calving, but this is not the case at the present time. 234 562 784

Women go to the dairy to fetch buttermilk, using an appointed path and standing at an appointed spot to receive it.

Females enter dairies under two conditions only. They may enter the outermost rooms of those dairies which are used as funeral huts while the bodies of men are lying in them. Here they may sit only on one side of the room, and only when the dairy operations are not in progress. Women also enter the temporary funeral huts of men which are called *pali*, or dairies.

The other condition under which a female enters a dairy is at the migration ceremony of the village, in which a girl, seven or eight years of age, is given food in the dairy of the village which the buffaloes are leaving, and sweeps the front of the dairy of the village to which they are going. This ceremony is one in which a girl seems to take a definite part in dairy ceremonial, but the girl chosen for this office must be below the age of puberty.

The relations of women with the different grades of dairymen have already been considered; a point which may again

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234 784 562 be mentioned is that the emblems of womanhood, the pounder, sieve, and broom, may be removed from the hut while the dairyman is present, though the women themselves remain.

During certain dairy ceremonials, women must leave the village altogether, and during the passage of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* near the village of Kiudr, the women leave the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

Although women are thus excluded from all participation in the dairy ceremonial, we shall see later (Chapter XIV) that an artificial dairy plays a part in some of the ceremonies connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

History of the Dairy

173 234 778 The Todas can give very little information which throws any light on the development of this complex organisation of the dairy with its elaborate ritual. According to tradition, the most sacred dairies, and especially that of the Nòdrs *ti*, date back to the time when the gods were active on earth and were themselves dairymen.

Beyond the belief that buffaloes of different kinds were assigned to the different clans by Teikirzi, I could obtain no account of beliefs about the origin or growth of the other grades of dairy. One fact as to the past which seemed clear was that *ti* dairies were at one time more numerous than at present, and several places now possessing village dairies of the ordinary kind are said to have been at one time the seats of *ti* dairies. Thus it is believed that Kiudr was formerly a *ti* place, and the old weatherworn stones shown in Figs. 31 and 32, which are still called *neurziilnkars*, seem to provide evidence that tradition is here correct. The village of Teidr is said to have been at one time a *ti*, and here again two stones called *neurziilnkars* are to be seen about a quarter of a mile from the village.

There is another feature of the Kiudr dairy which suggests that it may at one time have been a *ti* dairy. It contains six bells called *mani*, which clearly differ in nature from the *mani* of the other village dairies, especially in the fact that they

846 and bows down at the threshold of the imitation dairy, after which she goes into the seclusion-hut. During the whole of the proceedings she is careful not to turn her face towards the sun.

Among the Teivaliol there is no imitation dairy and, as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, only two reeds are used as *ertatpun*. A fire is made on an improvised fireplace of three stones, and lighted by means of thatch brought from the hut,[1] and food is put on a fragment of an earthenware vessel and placed over the fire.

After the woman has drunk of the water which has been poured over the back of the calf, she breaks the earthenware fragment over the fire, saying, *Namavku*, "to Namav," this rite being called *Namavtur kwudrtpimi*, "to Namav we give." [113] The woman then goes to the seclusion-hut, being assisted by her husband, who now acquires the impurity which is called *ichchil*, and any one else who touches the woman after this ceremony also becomes *ichchil*.

776 I saw the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* on two occasions, the woman each time belonging to the Teivaliol. 784 The most striking feature of each occasion was the obvious 846 and intense dread of Keirt. In one case, soon after leaving the hut, the woman, Sintagars, called out for another umbrella as she feared that the *tòrikwadr* was not sufficient to shelter her from Keirt, and during the rest of the proceedings she held over herself both the leafy umbrella and one of the ordinary kind.

I was told that all the chief incidents of the ceremony—the rubbing on of ashes, the holding of the leaf umbrella, the pouring of water over the calf and the giving to Namav—were all designed to avert the evil influence of Keirt, which they call *Keirtpudrtvuti* (see p. 269).

846 After the woman has gone to the seclusion-hut she is visited by relatives and friends, who stand at a distance, just as they did after the hand-burning ceremony. They bring rice with them as a present and call out

Merivut	*iten*	*mikk*	*mokh*	(or *kugh*)	*udpatia?*
Confined	life	remaining	son	(or daughter)	had you?

I am doubtful whether this is essential.

1 [of the seclusion of a Woman following the birth of a Child -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
405

CHAPTER XVII

SACRED DAYS AND NUMBERS

WE have seen that nearly every Toda ceremony has its appointed day or days, and that the choice of these is often dependent on another Toda institution, the sacred day, either of the village or of the dairy. Every clan has certain days of the week on which people are restricted from following many of their ordinary occupations, although they are not the occasions of any special ceremonies. These sacred days are the *madnol* or village day, and the *palinol* or dairy day. Another occasion to which the same kinds of restriction apply is the *arpatnol*, the day of the week corresponding to that on which the father of a man has died. 527 796

THE MADNOL AND PALINOL

The *madnol* is literally the village day. Each village has its *madnol*, and in some cases it would seem that different villages of a clan might have different *madnol*, but in general the *madnol* is the same for the whole clan. 527 784 621

Certain things may not be done on the *madnol*:—

(i) *panhichkgadi*, a feast may not be given (lit. feast may not divide, *i.e.*, food must not be shared out).

(ii) *kldvtlkgadi*, funeral ceremonies may not be performed.

(iii) *kwadrlkgadi*, nothing may be given (from the village). Since buying implies the departure of money from the village, a secondary consequence is that nothing may be bought on the *madnol*, but if anything is given to an inhabitant of the village, he may bring it into the village on this day.

527 (iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women
784 from other places come to the village.

621 (v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

234 Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of
527 the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day
784 or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *polinol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

527 There are various recognised methods of evading the rules
784 for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

183 Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law. 527 784 183

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules[1] are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days. 527 784 688 626 787

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*, 527 769 787

1 [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days. -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing that the act shall or shall not be done on that day. 527

There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations connected with certain days of the week which have probably arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days. 777

There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays, on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol* is visited by Todas other than the *mòrol*. Such facts suggest that the three days on which the rivers should not be crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday. The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to the whole community may be connected with the belief in lucky and unlucky days. [784]

Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas evidently regard the first half of the month as most auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for the period of the full moon or for the second half of the moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may take place in the second half of the month, but I have no doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity. 527 796

The definite values assigned to different days of the week is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madnol* we have an institution very closely resembling that of the Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the existence of different *madnol* for different clans of the community would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on the business of life, and such a community would probably agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At present the *madnol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other 527 621

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

778 There are doubtless other places where the same sign of
788 reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

778 There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the
788 Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and
823 there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda
784 crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

778 The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at
784 certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary
788 people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas
823 habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the
793 restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the rank of *perkursol*. 778 784

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 788 823 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue to be treated with some degree of reverence. 778 621 788

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be.
778 When going from Ootacamund to Paikarà by the bridle path
788 the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *naim* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages,"
621 where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually
778
784
788

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *ishnidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them. 562 621 778 784 788

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kalolmad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die. 621 627 761 778

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of
182 old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and
784 several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *uwrsol* goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. Probably the behaviour of the *kalmakk* in the sleeping hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous custom.

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them, may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration of religion.

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were

114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to dis-
173 cover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same com-
pleteness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.
601 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to
551 whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the
names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they
789 had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Ködrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead. 124 173 601

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure. 551 784 [616]

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect. 124 173 601

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres* 128 601

[1] [pp. 749-786]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601 171 The Toda system appears to be closely related to that of the Dravidians of Southern India. In several cases the names for certain kin are identical with or closely resemble those of other South Indian languages.

The three most characteristic features of the Toda system are (i.) the use of the same term for mother's brother and father-in-law, &c.; (ii.) the marked development of vocative forms of the kinship terms; (iii.) the marked development of distinctions according to age. These three features are also found in Tamil, and as far as my information goes in Telugu and Canarese. The Toda system appears to be a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity. The resemblance between the Toda and the Tamil names seems certainly to be closer than that between the Toda names and those of the Telugus and Canarese.

I do not wish here to consider these resemblances and differences in any detail, but in the Table on the opposite page I have given a list of those kinship terms in which the Todas resemble other inhabitants of Southern India. The Tamil terms I owe to Mr. K. Rangachari of Madras; the others I have taken from Morgan's *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race.*

Kinship Taboos

601 551 784 A man never mentions the name of his *mam*. If he wishes to make clear of whom he is speaking he will give the name of the place at which his *mam* lives, as "*Tedshteiri itkuai en mam pudchi*," "My uncle who lives at Tedshteiri." This restriction only applies to the own brothers of his mother. Other more distant *mam* may be spoken of by name, and as we have already seen, if a man wishes to make it clear of whom he is speaking, he mentions the name in addition to the kinship term.

A man is also prohibited from uttering the name of the man from whom he has received his wife—*i.e.*, to whom he has done *kalmelpudithi* (see p. 502). This man, who is called the *mokkadrmmal*, is usually the father of the wife and would normally be also a *mam*, but sometimes the place of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

mokhadrtuaid is usurped by somebody else and in such a case there might be no restriction on the name of the wife's real father. In the only case of this kind of which I have a record, the marriage of Siriar (20) and Pupidz, the place of *mokhadrtuaid* was taken by Kuriolv, who was living with Pilimurg (7), the girl's mother, and though he was no real

	Toda.	Tuma.	Telugu.	Canarese.
Son	mokh	maghan		
Elder brother	an (anna)	appan (appa)	anna	anna
Elder sister	akhan (akha)	akhal (akha)	akha	akka
Mother's brother	mam (mamai)	mamma or mamam (mama)	mama, mamai	mava
Father-in-law	mam (mamia)	mammaer (mama)	mama	mava
Father's sister	mami (mimia)	atial		
Wife of mother's brother	mami (mimia)	amimami		
Wife's mother	mami (mimia)	mamiper (mammami)		
Sister's son	mamamokh	marumon or marumakan		
Mother's brother's son	mamhami	maitunan (?)		
Father's sister's son	mamhami	amat or maitunan		
Wife's brother	mamhami or pulal	mamhimon or maitunan		

relative of the wife, Siriar might not mention his name. In spite of the fact, however, that Kuriolv had become his *mokhadrtuaid*, Siriar went privately to Patirsh (35), the real father of his wife, and did *kalmalpadithi* and would also refrain from saying the name of this man.

A man is prohibited from saying the name of his wife's mother (*mami*), but my notes do not make clear whether he is also prohibited from saying the names of other *mami*—*i.e.*,

601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this
551 restriction only applies to near relatives.

A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

● 784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr aithavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,
576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *nun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

174 mittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow, but when they found that they could obtain from the 411 cultivators a share of their produce, such an idle race as the Todas would naturally abandon the toilsome and precarious occupation of hunting.

224 The disuse of the bow is thus, to a certain extent evidence of an improvement in the material condition of the Todas, though unaccompanied by any advance in civilization: still, as they themselves admit that it would be convenient to supplement their food by samber* flesh, their present inability to procure it, shows how easily a semi-savage race may lay aside and forget† arts of obvious utility as soon as the pressure of absolute necessity is withdrawn.

174 It is noteworthy that this indication of a still wilder life than that of the modern Toda, should occur side by side with traces of so much higher a religious condition.

764 The disposal of the body is suggestive. Col. Dalton, in an account‡ of somewhat similar funeral rites among the Kols, observes that some of the accessories of their 765 ceremonial suggest the idea that their dead were originally buried, not burnt. The Toda ceremonies convey this impression with still greater clearness. The *Berrkvur* probably represents an actual bier, and the sprinkling of earth on the body and in the circle, as before described, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that the body was formerly buried, *and that the stone circle was the original burying place.*

● 924 The minor observances present coincidences interesting, but of little ethnological importance, such as the dread of looking back, as old as Orpheus and Eurydice; and the three handfuls of earth which recall our own funeral rites.

000 It would be desirable to obtain detailed accounts from eye-witnesses of the ceremonies of other Indian Hill tribes, and of the Low Castes of the plains. It seems to me that it is in such observances, rather than in the every-day life of these tribes, that the most valuable indications of their previous condition are to be found; because, while circumstances necessarily affect their ordinary life, customs of this kind may remain unchanged for centuries.

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* Samber, commonly known as the Indian Elk, a large kind of deer.

† Vide—Sir J. Lubbock *On the origin of civilization and primitive condition of Man*, page 331:—

"The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet "would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known"!

Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, page 451:—

"Many again, of the ruder arts, as for instance the manufacture of pottery, and of bows, are so useful, "and at the same time, however ingenious in idea, so simple in execution, as to render it highly "improbable that they would ever be lost, when they had once been acquired"!

‡ Col. Dalton's *Kols of Chota Nagpore. Transactions Ethnological Society, Vol. VI., New Series, page* 37.

He says that among the *Hos* and *Mundahs* a corpse is burnt in a very stout coffin furnished with projections as if to facilitate transport. With the body are burnt all the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and what money he had with him at his death. The larger fragments of bone are afterwards selected (the rest being buried at once) and hung up for some time in a place where they may be constantly viewed by the mother or widow. After some time a large monumental stone is brought to the family burying ground. The bones are carried in procession to the houses of relatives, who mourn over them, and to the favourite haunts of the deceased, preceded by men with drums, and girls carrying empty and half broken pitchers, which from time to time they reverse. Ultimately the procession circles round and round a large hole at the burying place, the bones are placed in a new earthen vessel, and deposited with a quantity of food in the grave, which is covered by the monumental stone.—Compare the reversed pitchers and interment in an earthen vessel with the account of colens at the end of this volume.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed, going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally [178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghāt, is known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is [184] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus, and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani). The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In 178 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but [164] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested 346 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not 174 a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, which, taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their presence."

[113]

* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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887 764 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmę (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kuuṛjaṛt, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemodz (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the tortjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[34] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjuɪr (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister eɛŋg (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[35] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[34] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's tortjfoj-od. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Moknir (Makner), wife of tuɪkiːθj of the nors patrilineal sib (Tuskesh, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tθθferm (Tevè), looked like his mother's tortjfoj-od, nobras of the pitoɔ̃ patrilineal sib (Nobum, 64), also called kwtj (he reared the children after tuɪkiːθj died). In a quarrel tθθferm might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobras-mon "son of nobras" or kwtj-mon "son of kwtj," or as nobras or kwtj.

[35] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannada language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Pugina Dandanāyaka, of the Hoysala king Vīṣṇuvardhana (Bittiga Hoysala Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the tribes occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeeveram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvalirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

To 595 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

To 836 784 154 618 123

interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154

I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595

Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 595 wTi 595

As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ti was not allowed to do so and had to use a ford nearer to the dairy at Mòdr. 784 793

The *palol* must be celibate, and if married, he must leave his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers. According to the account given by Finicio in 1603, the *palol* could send for his wife and meet her in a wood every week or so and might also send for the wives of any other Todas. It is possible that this may still happen, but I failed to obtain an account of it and understood that the *palol* was really celibate. According to Finicio the restriction to which the *palol* is subject is that he may not touch a woman in the house. We have seen that in the lowest rank of the dairyman-priesthood intercourse with women in the house is allowed at any time and in the higher ranks only on certain days of the week. It is quite consistent with this that in the highest rank intercourse in the house should be altogether forbidden, but might still be allowed in the forest, and it is quite possible that Finicio is correct. I was unacquainted with his account at the time of my visit, and all other writers had been so unanimous as to the complete celibacy of the *palol* that I did not press my inquiries on this point very closely. 785 833

If a death occurs in the clan of a *palol*, he cannot attend any of the funeral ceremonies unless he gives up his office. If he resigns he is not again eligible for the office till the second funeral ceremonies have been completed. When a man of one clan gives up his office in this way, his place must be taken by a man of some other clan. Karkievan of Piedr was *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* eighteen years ago and resigned when his wife died, his place being taken by Tulchievan of Kusharf. Two years later Karkievan resumed office and has been *palol* continuously since that time. Though there have been many deaths among the Piedrol, he has not attended a funeral, and has not, therefore, had to resign his post again. 234 463 784 793

In old times, it seems probable that it was usual to give up the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan. According to tradition, the division of the Keadrol into the Keadrol and Kwaradrol by Kwoten (see Chap. IX) was ordained in order that there might still be men to undertake the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan, the men of the

284 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family
778 and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tirièri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tirièri.

554 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *iikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*. 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the day-time with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

[1] According to Brooks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakanori. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

786 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns
793 to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining
833 wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia*!" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *pohvelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *papun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Karkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*.
554 It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his
998 sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social importance from having held the sacred office. I could find
234 no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women only refer to this ceremony.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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of this, the rule was made that the body should always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

764 [763] [73] 764 786 [196] [191]

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near 766

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

kinds of sacred buffaloes. Thus at Kars he takes it from the prints of the *marfir*.

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At Kanödrs new *pop* has to be made at a place called Kautarmad, which I could not identify. It is a long way from Kanödrs, but the people have to go there because the god Kwoto used to make *pop* there. There is one feature peculiar to the ceremony for this clan. Earth has to be taken from a certain spot from which it was taken by Kwoto, and this earth is mixed with that taken from the footprints of the buffalo.

Another special feature of the Kanödrs dairy is connected with the buried *ses* and is probably the result of the fact that this dairy is now only occupied occasionally. When the *pokkarjpal* leaves the dairy on vacating office, he takes up the buried *ses*, pours into it a small quantity of *pop*, and reburies the vessel, covering it on the top with a stone. When he resumes office, he takes up the *ses* and purifies it with the two kinds of earth used in the full ceremony, and puts the *pop* which has been buried into his milking-vessel when he goes out to milk for the first time. As in other Tarthar clans, the full ceremony of *pokkarjicka* is only carried out when the *ses* is broken or stolen, and after the funeral of a male.

A characteristic feature of Toda dairy procedure is the coagulation of the milk before it is churned. This coagulation occurs in a few hours without the addition of rennet or other special coagulating agent, the milk drawn in the morning being nearly always solid at the time of the afternoon churning. This rapid coagulation of the milk is almost certainly assisted by the added buttermilk or *pop*, the curdling being probably an acid coagulation set up or hastened by the addition of the sour buttermilk. If this were the case, it might be expected that habitual failure of the milk to coagulate might be regarded as a reason for making new *pop*, and I therefore inquired carefully into this point. It was quite clear, however, that delay in the coagulation was not looked upon as a reason for the ceremony. If there was habitual delay, it was customary to consult the diviners, and they always gave one of two reasons for the delay: either that it was due to the action of a sorcerer, or that the dairyman had committed one

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of the offences against the dairy of which a list is given on p. 295.

If delay were said to be due to the first cause, the sorcerer would be invited to the village, entertained with food, and induced to remove his spell; if to the second cause, the dairyman would have to perform the *irsirtiti* or similar ceremony; but there was never any question of making new *pip*, the necessity for this ceremony being entirely dependent on the condition of the buried dairy vessel.

The Irpalvustiki Ceremony

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The ceremony of *irpalvustiki* (buffalo milk he milks) is performed about the fifteenth day after the birth of a calf. It only takes place when one of the sacred buffaloes has calved, and is not performed in ordinary villages for *putir*, nor at the *ti* for *punir*. It is performed after the birth of both male and female calves. The ceremony is carried out in the same fashion at the *uurvali*, the *kudrpali* and the *tarvali*, but has different features at the *kugvali* of Taradr and at the *ti*.

There are special days for the ceremony. At the *tarvali*, it must be performed on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday; at the *kudrpali* and *uurvali*, on Sunday or Wednesday; at the *kugvali*, on Saturday. The ceremony is performed at the *ti*, but I omitted to obtain any account of the proceedings at this grade of dairy.

When this ceremony is held at the village of Kuudr, a man from Ôdr belonging to the Nodrsol must attend, and similarly a man from Kuudr must be present when the ceremony is performed at Kuudr, this regulation being the result of certain events in the histories of the buffaloes of these places (see p. 647).

At each of the three kinds of dairy which follow the same procedure, the chief part is taken by the dairyman. At the *uurvali*, the *uurvol* officiates, and at the *kudrpali* and *tarvali*, the *palthardmokh*.

The first appropriate occasion after the fifteenth day from the birth of the calf is appointed and the dairy is purified with

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Kwoten, however, insisted on finding out from whom the hair came, so they went along the stream. Kwoten went first and Erten had to follow him. As they went they met the bird called *karpáli* going from the right side to the left,[1] uttering its cry. Kwoten asked Erten why they met the bird, why it went from right to left, and why it made a cry. Erten replied as follows:—

"*Ñáli-nábi*	*Iwudipudrshai; Nirashin ravi kaipudrshai.*"
"Country (God) if there is	you will die; Nurshin will kill you."

In spite of this warning, Kwoten persisted in going on, and finally they came to Terkosh, who said to Kwoten, "Do not come near me, I am a *ñrw*." Kwoten paid no heed to this, but said, "You are a beautiful woman," and went and lay with her. Then Terkosh went away to her hill at Pôni, where she is now, and to this day the Kurumbas go there once a year and offer plantains to her and light lamps in her honour.

Kwoten and Erten returned home. Kwoten went to Kepurs, a village now in ruins, close to Nanjanad, and Erten went to a village called Kapthôri belonging to the Keadrol. Kwoten had about five hundred buffaloes grazing at Pashmokh, near Kepurs. That night Kwoten slept on the *ûfrtal* over which he had spread a sambhar skin. He had on his finger a thick silver ring, which may still be seen at Naters and is used in the funeral ceremonies of men of the Pan clan. When the people awoke next morning they found that Kwoten had disappeared and that there only remained, lying on the sambhar skin, the silver ring and some *pug*.[2] Kwoten had been carried away by Terkosh and it was found that his five hundred buffaloes had also disappeared.

When Erten got up next morning he went to Kepurs and called out to the *wursol* of that place, "*Wwwolin, tar ûrs-kaiñthrshi*"[3]—"O *wursol*, is the man up yet?" The *wursol*

[1] To meet this bird going from right to left is a bad omen; if going from left to right, it is a good omen.

[2] I could not find out the exact meaning of this word, but it appeared to be a name for the blood-stained flesh which may come from the mouth of a dying man. In a sentence which occurs later the word appears as *pigá* (blood), but my informants were certain that *pug* itself is not blood.

[3] See p. 600.

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CHAPTER XII

DIVINATION AND MAGIC

THIS chapter will furnish a very good example of specialisation of religious and magical functions among the Todas. We shall find that certain Todas have the power of divination, others are sorcerers, and others again have the power of curing disease by means of spells and rites, while all three functions are quite separate from those of the priest or dairyman. The Todas have advanced some way towards specialisation of function in this respect, and have as separate members of the community their prophets, their magicians and their medicine-men in addition to their priests.

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DIVINATION

Certain men among the Todas are reputed to have special powers as diviners, and are known as *teudifjal*, "god-gesticulating men," or more commonly as *teual*. Samuel, my interpreter, always spoke of their performances as devil-dancing and evidently regarded the *teual* as like those whom he called the devil-dancers of his own people.

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In several cases these men are said to have inherited their powers from some near relative, often a grandfather, but it seems that anyone who showed evidence of the necessary powers might become a *teual*. All but one of the present diviners are Teivaliol, but the divining power is not limited to this division. There is no relation between the various offices of the dairy and the power of divination, and, in

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fact, a diviner necessarily gives up his divining if he becomes a *palol*.[1]

Each of the *tenol* is believed to be possessed by a special god when he falls into the divining frenzy, and when in this state it is said that the diviner does not, as a rule, speak in his own language, but in some other, most commonly in Malayalam or one of its dialects. The following are those who are at present credited with the power of divination :—

Midjkudr (63) of Piedr, who is inspired by the gods Kulinkars and Petkon. He speaks in Malayalam, and he does not appear to have succeeded anyone else as *tenol*. He is the most successful of those who are at present practising the art, and played the chief part in all the divining which took place during my visit.

Tadrners (60) of Kuudr, inspired by Ethrol and Arivili, succeeded his mother's father, Kasorivan (66) of Kusharf. He is said to speak the language of people whom the Todas call Mondardsetipol living in the Wainad, a language which appears to be a dialect of Malayalam.

Pangudr (66) of Kusharf, also succeeded Kasorivan, his grandfather, and is inspired by Petkon and Meilitars. There was some doubt as to the language used by him.

Ethgudr (52) of Kuudr is inspired by Arivili, and, like Tadrners, speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

Terkudr (63) of Piedr, inspired by Teipakh, the river god, succeeded his grandfather Keitolv. When inspired, his speech is like the babbling of a running river, "like the river's voice," and cannot be understood.

Kangudr (62) of Piedr, who lives at Kavidi in the Wainad, is inspired by Meilitars and speaks Malayalam. He succeeded Tarsvan (62), his father, and Tarsvan had succeeded his father Keithiolv.

Kobrv (61) of Kuudr, is inspired by Meilitars and Kuderol and speaks Malayalam.

Pöterners (54) of Kuudr, is inspired by Petkon and speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

[1] From the account of Fleicio (Appendix I), it would seem that at one time the *palol* and *tenol* possessed the power of divination.

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Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a *teuol*, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 191 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a god connected with the division to which the majority of the diviners belong. 787 791

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas. 177 787 791 198 776

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobuv is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda 787 791

787 or of any of his family; sickness or death of a buffalo;
791 failure of milk in a buffalo and persistent kicking of its calf; failure to make a buffalo go to the spot at which it is to be killed during a funeral ceremony; failure of milk to coagulate; burning down of a dairy; disappearance of the bells of a dairy; loss of a *tukitthkars* or lifting stone. In this last instance the stone at the village of Nidrsi was carried away some years ago by a party of English people who came to picnic near the village while the people were away. They carried the stone for some miles and then threw it down. The Nidrsi people could not find it, and consulted Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, who were able to reveal where the stone was to be found, and it was restored to the village, where it can now be seen.

[754] The diviners usually work in pairs, though occasionally it would seem that one only may be consulted. If they are asked for an explanation of some misfortune which has befallen a man, the *teuol* usually find either that the sufferer has committed an offence against the dairy or that he is the subject of spells cast on him by a sorcerer. In the former case, they prescribe the ceremony which must be performed in order to expiate the offence. In the latter case, they name the sorcerer so that the sufferer may know with whom to make his peace.

I have already said that towards the close of my visit a number of misfortunes befell the Todas; one man fell ill, the wife of another died, and the dairy of a third was burnt down, and these events kept the diviners busy, but probably because I was implicated I was not allowed the chance of observing the diviners at work.

787 The only occasion on which I saw the process of divining
791 was at a funeral. The buffalo which was to be killed had been caught at some distance from the place appointed
158 for its slaughter. The animal was unusually refractory and at length lay down and all the natural efforts of the Todas failed to make it move. Midjkudr and Mongudrvan were then called upon to discover the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo. Mongudrvan first began to dance slowly to and fro, away from and towards the buffalo. He had

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taken off his cloak and was only wearing the *tadrp*. As I already knew the man, I was able to observe that his general appearance was unaltered and that he did not appear to be in any abnormal mental condition. He was soon joined by Midjkudr, who danced up and down much more wildly (Fig. 36). His general appearance was very different to that usually presented by a Toda man. His hair seemed to stand out from his head, although it shook with each of

FIG. 36.—MIDJKUDR AND MONGUDRVAN DIVINING AT A FUNERAL.

his violent movements; his eyes were abnormally bright and his face gave every appearance of great mental excitement. I had not previously known the man, but when he came to see me a few days later I could hardly believe that the quiet, self-possessed man whom I saw before me was the same individual whom I had seen dancing at the funeral. It was obvious that he had been in a distinctly abnormal condition of frenzy during the divining process. After dancing for a time Midjkudr began to utter broken sentences in a loud and almost chanting voice, while Mon-

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gudrvan remained silent throughout. After Midjkudr had in these sentences given the reason for the obstinacy of the buffalo, and had prescribed what was to be done, he took a red cloth and dancing more violently than ever waved the cloth before the buffalo and pushed against the body of the animal. Then after the people had dragged the buffalo a little way, it rose and went quietly to the place where it was to be killed.

I had much difficulty in finding out exactly what Midjkudr had said. When he came to see me a few days later he stated that he did not know at the time what he was saying, and that his only knowledge was derived from those who had heard him, and I am inclined to believe that he was speaking the truth. His appearance during the divining was remarkably different from that of ordinary days, and strongly suggested a semi-hypnotic state, during which he might well have had no knowledge, or only a very vague knowledge, of anything he said.[1] In his ordinary condition he professed to be ignorant of Malayalam, the language which he was said to use in his frenzied condition.

My ignorance of Malayalam, and the obvious difficulties of the investigation, make me hesitate before expressing any decided opinion as to the real nature of Midjkudr's condition when divining, but I have a very strong leaning towards the idea that the man was in a genuinely abnormal condition, allied to the hypnotic state, and I am disposed to accept the statement of the Todas that he was speaking in a language of which he had only a very vague knowledge when in a normal condition. It is, of course, quite possible that the abnormal appearance of Midjkudr was merely due to the exercise of dancing and to mental excitement, and that he knew perfectly well what he was doing and saying. I can but record my impression that there was something more, and I only commit myself to this extent in regard to the special occasion on which I saw Midjkudr divining; even if I saw a genuine hypnotic or semi-hypnotic phenomenon, it does not follow that all Midjkudr's performances are wholly, or even partly,

[1] For an account of what Midjkudr seems to have said and the consequent proceedings, see p. 392.

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of this nature, and still less does it follow that the performances of all the *teuol* are of this kind. Nothing struck me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of Midjkudr and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongudrvan, his fellow diviner. 787 791 158

In the case I have described the necessity for the intervention of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously. [764]

Sorcery

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite certain that there were men called *piliutpol* (sorcery praying people), or *pilikòren*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *piliutvichi* or *piliutiti*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he professed total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *piliutpol*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false. 124 754 791

One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

124 It was not until my last week on the Nilgiris that I was
754 told of some of the magical rites by Teitnir, who had previously
791 denied all knowledge, though he was said by others to be a sorcerer, and he knew that I was aware of his reputation. He was not a trustworthy informant, but his account was consistent in itself and was in agreement with fragments which I had picked up elsewhere, and I believe it is correct, though I cannot guarantee its accuracy with the same degree of confidence which I feel in regard to most of my information.

754 The following men were said by various people to be
791 *pikkòren* :—

Kaners, Kudrievan, and Teikudr (63), Ishkievan (60), Keinkursi (54), Puthion (64), and Teitnir (52), among the Teivaliol ; Keitan (6), Mudrigeidi (1), Kiunervan and Usheidi (14), and Karseidi (8), among the Tartharol. Pushteidi, the elder brother of Keitan, was a noted sorcerer who paid for the belief in his magical powers with his life. It will be noted that magical powers appear to be fairly evenly distributed between the two divisions and do not greatly predominate in one as in the case of divination.

[868] The power of sorcery was said to belong to certain families, and I was told that it was inherited. It seemed probable that a sorcerer only communicated his methods to his sons, and usually only to one of his sons, or if he communicated his knowledge to all, it was often one of them only who obtained the credit for magical powers.

754 We have already seen that when a man sustains a mis-
787 fortune of any kind, he consults the diviners, and they find whether the misfortune is due to a fault committed by the
791 sufferer or whether it is the result of sorcery. In the latter case, they say by whose magic the misfortune has been produced, and the sorcerer is then propitiated and removes the spell, the nature and details of the process varying according to the method of sorcery used and the offence which had led the sorcerer to exert his powers. Thus when Pirsners (9) fell ill, he consulted Midjkudr, who said that Kudrievan had bewitched him. Pirsners went to Kudrievan and gave him food, and asked him to remove the spell, and Pirsners became well soon after.

754 thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my
789 children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears only a ragged
539 cloth.

791 When he has uttered the incantation, the sorcerer takes the hair and stones in their cloth to the village of the man upon whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall, and hides them secretly in the thatch of the roof of the man's hut.

It seemed that this method of sorcery is only justified when the sorcerer is a poor man, and the references in the incantation to the poverty of the sorcerer confirm this.

[787] When a man who has prevaricated with the request of a sorcerer suffers any evil fortune, he consults the diviners, and they may tell him not only who has produced the misfortune, but why the sorcerer has brought the misfortune upon him and they may advise the sufferer to become reconciled with his enemy and to give him what he has asked. The man goes to the sorcerer, who is usually only too ready to take the credit of the affair, and it is arranged that he shall come to the village of the sufferer. Whenever he comes a third person must be present, who is called the *nedrvol*, or intermediate man.[1] The *nedrvol* brings about the reconciliation, and arranges the terms, and then the sufferer bows down before the sorcerer and performs the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. The sorcerer then utters the following formula while his foot is resting on the head of the man:—

ā tem uālnudār, an nādr uālnudār; tanad pau mā; term
Those gods if there be, his country if there be; cold go may; mercy

ai pau mā; in tr kark elm ullāmā; en mans elm
become, go may; this buffalo calf to all be well; my mind all

tūbvithpini, tan mansm tūli mā.
cleared from guilt have I, his mind also clear may.

Teitnir rendered this freely as follows:—

By those gods if there be gods, and by their country if there be a country; as water is cold, so goes my anger; as mercy comes, may my anger go; may his buffaloes and

[1] The middle room of a three-roomed dairy is the *nedrāursh*.

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portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffr misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death. 124 ;4 578

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain. 177 754 787

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs (6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Kanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account. 177 754

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes 234 787 754

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234 that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I
787 have no information, however, as to the method which the
754 sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any one who has offended him.

124 The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came
754 to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

177 The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than
754 that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub* = Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied.
[721] If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

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time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions, and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of function, though the means used continue to show a close resemblance. 771 788 754 793

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

Omens

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meeting certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird called *karpūḷs*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus. 787 925 778 177

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvicki*;
234 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
689 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartwokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[787] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *tewol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *tewol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatsnol*, or day

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 673 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
782 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the offender goes on the following Sunday to the [illegible] or dairies of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the ceremony which has been ordered. The following is probably a typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *tewol*, who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madwol* or sacred days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*. The *tewol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv) and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following vow at each :—

Ir kur	*ultûnd,*	*pörnâ*	*ultûth en,*	*irnörthin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."[1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
782 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
783 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
673 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
796 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recovering from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells
541 were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The
765 remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner,
787 and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals,
627 having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

Funeral Laments

533 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the
539 dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising
765 the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

766 old and had not yet been betrothed, but as soon as she
589 was dead it was arranged that she should marry her *mutrkuni*, Keinba (68), a little boy about four years of age, the son of her mother's brother, and this boy occupied a prominent position among those taking part in the funeral rites. Owing to the marriage of the dead child to this boy, the dead child would come to be one of his clan, the Keadrol, and there seemed to be no doubt that, according to strict custom, the funeral should have been held at the funeral place of this clan. Kuriolv, however, arranged that the funeral should take place at Kurkalmut, the funeral place for women of the Kuudrol, but as the girl did not properly belong to this clan the funeral hut was not erected within the circle of stones at this place, but outside it.

The beginning of the funeral ceremonies was delayed for some time because the little boy, Keinba (Fig. 57), had to be taken by his father, Perpakh, in search of the wood and grass out of which to make the bow and arrow to be used in the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and they had to go far to find the proper plants for the manufacture of the mimic weapon.

766 After this delay the ceremonial[1] took its natural course till
787 the buffalo which had been caught by the Taradr men was being taken to the place appointed for its slaughter by the
791 side of the funeral hut. The people had great difficulty in making the buffalo move, and at last it lay down on a boggy piece of ground, and the efforts of all failed to make it go further. The diviners, Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, were then called upon to ascertain the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo, and then followed the performance which I have already described (see p. 252).

The reasons given by Midjkudr were not very clear, and there seemed to be a good deal of doubt as to what he had really said, but the following appeared to be the chief reasons given:—

The buffalo, Kursi, which had delayed the proceedings, was the property of Kuriolv and was descended from a buffalo which had belonged to Teitchi, Kuriolv's grandfather. Since this buffalo was thus family property, it should go to the sons, and ought not to be killed for a daughter, and especially for

1 [i.e. funeral rites for a two-year old girl -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 190[illegible]-02)1906 Toda

766 one who now belonged to another clan. Kuriolv ought to
787 have used a buffalo which he had acquired in his own life-
791 time. Midjkudr went on to say that Kuriolv, having done wrong, must pay compensation to the dead, and told him to give the buffalo named Perov. As a sign that he would do

FIG. 57.—KEINBA AND PERPAKH; THE FORMER IS HOLDING IN HIS HAND THE IMITATION BOW AND ARROW AND HAS HIS CLOAK OVER HIS HEAD.

so, Kuriolv performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of Keinba and also through Sintharap, of the dead girl.

Another reason given was that the buffalo had been caught at the wrong place—viz., at the place where it ought to be

766 caught at the funeral of a male. I only heard of this reason
● 767 a few days later, and I do not know whether it was one of
771 the reasons given by Midjkudr or whether it was a later
surmise. A third reason was that Perner and Tebner, his
brother, had been on bad terms; and to put this right
Tebner, the younger, performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation
to Perner.

766 The next special feature of the ceremony took place after
588 the buffalo had been killed and before the *kachittiti* cere-
mony. Keinba knelt down before Kuriolv and Piliag and
the two men touched the head of the boy with their feet, thus
accepting him as the husband of Sinerani. Then followed
the *parsitpinsi* ceremony. The mantle covering the dead
child was opened, her right hand unclenched, and Keinba
placed the little bow and arrow in the hand, and the fingers
of the dead child were closed over the bow so that they held
it as they would have done in life. Then the bow was taken
out of the hand, placed on the breast of the child, and the
mantle was again folded over her. Teitnir, the half-brother
of Kuriolv, who had now become the *paiel* of Keinba, came
up and covered the head of the boy with his *putkuli* as a sign
that he was a widower, and then Teitnir and Keinba put their
foreheads together and cried. After crying together for a
while, Teitnir touched Keinba's head with his foot. Then
Sintharap, the mother of Sinerani, gave grain and jaggery
and limes to Keinba, who put them in the pocket of the
mantle of the dead child. Sintharap and Keinba then cried
together, and Sintharap touched Keinba's head with her
foot.

After the cloth-giving ceremony, the body was taken to the
burning place, and Keinba mixed honey and grain in a metal
bowl; when Keinba began to stir the grain and honey he
put his right arm out from above his cloak as usual, but was
speedily corrected and made to put out his hand from below
the cloak in the manner proper for a widower.

The wrists of the girl were burnt as in the *urvatpinsi* cere-
mony, the burning being done by Silkidz (53), the wife of a
younger brother of Perpakh, Keinba's father, and, before her

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law. 527 784 183

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days. 527 784 688 624 787

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palnol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*, 527 769 787

1 [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days. -- Analyst]

527 Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and
769 the *teuol* found that the desecration of the *arpatznol* was one of
787 the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday, the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that
764 funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days.
796 There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *wursulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *wursulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
782 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are
788 the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual. In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
787 the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed
791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teuol*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village. 776 234

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas. 776 787 177

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods. 776 778 823

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are 776

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common. 762

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas. 177 754 787

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the Nilgiri Hills. Breeks[1] states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes. 177 174

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

Todas and Kotas

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kuv*. The relation between the two people is very different from that between Toda and [101] 177

[1] P. 4.

TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kuruh*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them. 101 609

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood. 177 437

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge. 177 754

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *teuol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners. 177 787

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf; 177 773

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is [77] devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and [535] sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other [60] guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws [70] off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bēti Khān, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's [578] dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

[535] The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now [536] and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kéd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kédmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! ēr kar ultamā*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kéd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kéd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *manigakāran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchāyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1/2 [of the second or "dry" funeral — Analyst]

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

 But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I
614 judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find
[197] at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal
sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[26] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[27] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

197 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
174 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the
[79] Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[28] that the model house
or dairy used in the u:r-fo:t ceremony, and called po:l-po:j (Rivers' pūlpali), has some con-
[787] nection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyḷj) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
595 fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be
[114] trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Furthermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas
[171] of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[29]

174 The to:tjfoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women
837 that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[26] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123–47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611–40, 1907). [27] Pp. 693–718, especially pp. 698 ff. [28] Rivers, p. 702.

[29] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 374–83, 1938).

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertilkh*, the raised earthen
[515] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

291 more fully described in Chapter XXIV. It will be sufficient to say here that when showing reverence, a Toda bares his right arm, this method of wearing the cloak so that the arm is exposed being called *kevenarut*. It is shown in Figs. 1 and 10.

The Daily Life of the Todas

234 The daily life of the Toda men is largely devoted to the
463 care of their buffaloes and to the performance of the dairy
512 operations. As we shall see later, much of the dairy work is the duty of certain men set aside to look after the sacred buffaloes and the sacred dairies connected with them. A large proportion, however, of the Toda buffaloes are not sacred, and their care falls on the ordinary Todas. The milking and churning is chiefly the duty of the younger men and boys, but the older men also take their part, while the head of the family exercises a general superintendence.

FIG. 10.—KÒDENER PERFORMING THE SALUTATION CALLED 'KAIMUKHTI.' HIS RIGHT ARM IS BARED ('KEVENARUT'), AND HE HAS REMOVED HIS TURBAN.

512 On rising in the morning, the men salute the
788 sun with the gesture called *kaimukhti*, shown in Fig. 10, and then they turn to their work of milking the buffaloes and churning the milk.

512 When the dairy operations of the morning are over, the buffaloes are driven to the grazing ground, the people take their food and go about any business of the day. Some may

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

574 576 called *kalmelpudithti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

234 512 788 In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

616 I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

618 Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddiken*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtul*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

23 5 788

mp in the morning unless it is dark, nor does he pray. The milk poured into the *patat* overnight will have coagulated, so that it forms a solid mass called *adrpars*. The dairyman puts the churning-stick into the *patat* and churns for a little time till he has broken up the *adrpars*.[1] Then he pours off most of the semi-fluid milk into another vessel (also a *patat*), leaving about one *kudi*[2] in the churning-vessel. He adds to this some butter from a previous churning, which he takes from the *parskadrvenmu*, adds also some water, and churns the mixture till butter is formed. He pours out the buttermilk into the *majpariv*, keeping the butter in the *patat*, adds more coagulated milk and water, and churns again, transferring the buttermilk to its vessel when butter is formed. He continues in this way till all the milk has been churned, and he then transfers the butter which has been formed to the vessel called *penpariv*, also putting a small portion in the *parskadrvenmu*.

The *palikartmokh* then goes out to milk, with the *irkarthpun* and the wand called *parskurs* or *ularwurthkurs*. He puts into the milking-vessel some buttermilk, the buttermilk used for this purpose being called *pep*, and he also smears some butter on the edge of the vessel to put on the teats of the buffaloes. When he goes out, he salutes by raising the *irkarthpun* and *parskurs* to his forehead in the same manner as is shown in Fig. 27. When he has filled the milking-vessel, he goes into the dairy and empties the milk into the *patat* and returns to the buffaloes. This is repeated till all the buffaloes have been milked, after which the dairyman takes food and buttermilk, but with no prescribed ritual as in the case of more sacred dairies. He also gives out buttermilk to the people of the village. After the work of the morning is over, the *palikartmokh* may go out to look after the buffaloes, or may collect firewood, leaves, or other things necessary for his work. During the later hours of the morning the *palikartmokh* may often be seen lying down taking a rest before he begins the work of the afternoon, which is more ceremonial than that of the morning.

[461]

[1] This is literally 'cooked milk.' It probably receives this name because the coagulation is often hastened by heating.

[2] About four pints.

234 About three o'clock in the afternoon he goes to the dairy,
512 bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead
788 (*pavnersatiti*, Fig. 20), enters and touches a vessel on the *patat* side, and then a vessel on the *ertat* side. He then lights the fire and inspects the milk drawn in the morning. If it has not become solid, he puts it on the fire for a few minutes to hasten the coagulation. He lights the lamp and prays,

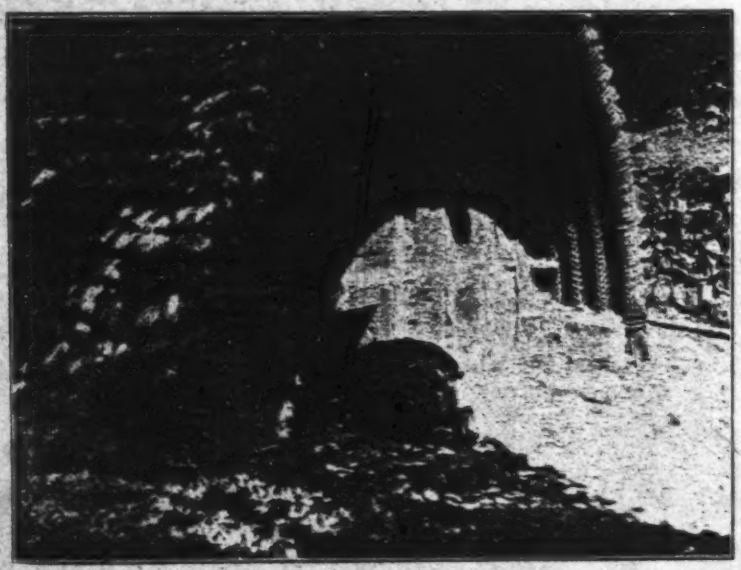

FIG. 20.—THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' SALUTING THE THRESHOLD OF THE DAIRY AT KIUDR 'PAVNERSATITI.'

using the prayer of the dairy (see Chap. X), and then churns as in the morning. When he has finished churning, he clears the churning-stick of the butter clinging to it, and after holding it to his forehead and uttering the sacred word "*Om*," he puts it in the stand called *agar*. He then goes out to milk as in the morning, taking buttermilk in the milking-vessel. When the milking is over, he shuts up the buffaloes in the pen for the night, and as he does so, he repeats the prayer of the dairy, the prayer being exactly the same as that used when lighting the lamp. He then takes food and

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

788 Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

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234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
798 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of

FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Oh*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
513 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,
784

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters. 562 784 793

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursoi* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms. 234 343 778 788

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 343 352

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 352 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made by Kodrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.

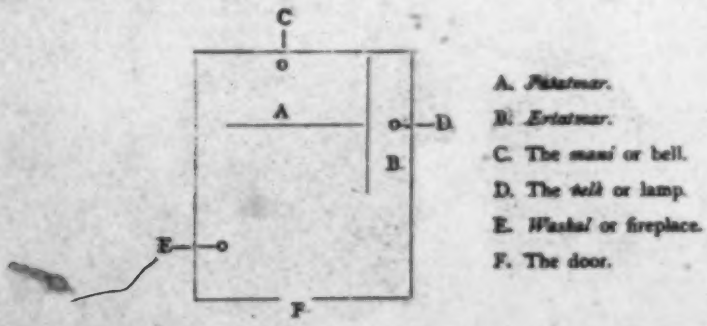

FIG. 22.

354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagurspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 512 788 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same general lines as that of the *polikartmokh*, but the order and method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 272 415 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipaw*, hand vessel.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *uarsol*
and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes.
788 Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPHI (56), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *uarsol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *uarsol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahmin engaged in prayer.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 512 ●788 In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*, touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursali* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

The Kugvali of Taradr

234 618 621 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village and the institution to be described in the next chapter—the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*pôlu*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmokh*. This dairyman must be a

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
●788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oñ*" each time. 234 415 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *penpariv* by means of the same vessel.

The Dairy of Kanòdrs

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph. 343

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *inartir* from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those called *nashperthir*. 234 463 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used. 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

THE TEIVALI DAIRY

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *hudipir* or *hudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

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234 354 other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkafttwaskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

The Daily Life at the Ti

234 512 788 793 The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say "*ekirzam meidjam*."[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *tòratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *pòdrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the Pan *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

234 prayer, but after I had settled on the foregoing description as
512 correct I was allowed one day by the *kaltmokh* to go near
788 the dairy while the *palol* was praying, and was able to hear
793 the beating on the earthenware vessel with each word of the prayer.

The next step is to take up the *pohvet* and place it against the wall, and then the *palol* begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle *persin*, milk in this state being here called *kudabpol* instead of *adrpars*, as in the ordinary dairy.

In those cases in which the *mani* is 'fed,' the *palol* puts *kudabpol* on the bell shortly after beginning to churn. This is done three times, the syllable *On* being uttered each time. When the *palol* does anything three times in this way, he says that he does it *mushtiu*. This expression for 'thrice' is not used in the ordinary dairy.

The next steps are to pour into the *kwoi* and *karitòrzum* most of the coagulated milk which has been broken up by the churning, to add to the milk remaining in the *persin* some *persinpeu*, or butter especially kept for the purpose in the *peptòrzum*, to add water, and to churn the mixture of coagulated milk, water, and butter in the middle *persin*. When the new butter is formed, the *palol* pours out the buttermilk into the vessel called *idrkwoi*, keeping back the butter with his hand. The buttermilk is transferred from the *idrkwoi* to one of the *alug* in the outer room. Some of the milk which had been put into the *kwoi* or *karitòrzum* is then poured back into the middle *persin*, more water is added, and the mixture is churned, after which the buttermilk is again transferred by means of the *idrkwoi* to the *alug*, while the butter is kept in the *persin*. This procedure is repeated till all the milk of the middle *persin* has been churned.

The *persin* on the right-hand side of the *palol* is then taken, and its position exchanged with that of the vessel hitherto used, and the churning is continued in exactly the same manner. The buttermilk is transferred to the *alug*, but the butter when formed is transferred to the *persin*, which had been originally in the middle. When the contents of the second *persin* have been churned, the third *persin* is placed in the middle and the same procedure is followed, so that when

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the churning is over all the butter which has been formed will be in the *persin* which was originally in the middle. Some of this butter is put into the *peptòrzum* to act as *persinpen* on another occasion, and the remainder is transferred to the butter *alug* by means of the *idrkwoi*. The two *tòrzum* are then put on the tops of two of the *persin* as covers, the *peptòrzum* being placed on the middle *persin* and the *palol* takes the milking-vessel (*kwoi*) and wand (*kwoinörtpet*) in his right hand and goes out to milk, having first put some buttermilk, called *pep*, into the *kwoi*.

When the *palol* leaves the dairy, he raises the milking-vessel and wand to his forehead and salutes in the way shown in Fig. 27. The Todas say that he is saluting the sun and the buffaloes. It is probable that, in general, the *palol* faces approximately east as he salutes, but there is no doubt that, at the present time, his salutation is chiefly to the buffaloes. He salutes in the same direction both morning and evening, and certainly pays no attention to the direction in which the sun lies.

This salutation is now often done in a very perfunctory manner. The vessel and wand may be raised hastily to the forehead for a few seconds only as the *palol* goes towards his buffaloes, and I am doubtful whether the salutation is ever performed exactly as shown in the figure, for the vessel contains some of the buttermilk called *pep*, which might be spilt if the vessel were held quite horizontally.

When the *palol* salutes, he says "*Oñ*" three times, and repeats two or three clauses of the dairy prayer, usually the *kwarzam* of the more important gods of the dairy.

When going to milk and when going from one buffalo to another, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* are always held together in the right hand. When the *kwoi* is filled, it is taken into the dairy. If it is the custom of the dairy to put milk on the *mani*, this is now done three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and then the milk is poured into the middle *persin*, the *kwoi* being held in the left hand, and the *palol* goes out again to refill the *kwoi*. When all the *persinir* have been milked, the milk of the three *persin* is mixed together by pouring from one to the other. The reason for this is that the buttermilk, called *pep*,

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234 is only taken out in the *kwoi* on first going to milk, and
512 in consequence the *pep* would affect the milk of the middle
788 *pexsin* only if its contents were not mixed with those of the vessels filled later.
793 The *palol* next goes out to milk the *punir*, taking for this

FIG. 27.—THE 'PALOL,' KARKIEVAN, SALUTING AT MÒDR. HE IS STANDING IN THE 'PEPKARMUR.' THE BUILDING NEXT TO THE 'PALOL' IS THE 'TI POH'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'KARENPOH,' AND BETWEEN IT AND THE 'TI POH' CAN BE SEEN THE HUT WHERE THE INHABITANTS OF THE 'TI MAD' SLEEP.

purpose the vessel called *karpun* and an ordinary wand, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* being only used for the more sacred buffaloes. There was some difference of opinion as to what should be done with the milk of the *punir*. According to

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some it may be used to fill the *persin* if these are not filled by the milk of the *persinir*; according to others it is wrong to do this, and the milk of *punir* should on no account be put in the more sacred vessels of the inner room. I think there is no doubt that at the Nòdrs *ti* at any rate the first procedure is followed. At this *ti* the *punir* outnumber the *persinir* by far, and it is probable that the milk of the former is used to supplement that of the more sacred buffaloes, although it is contrary to tradition that this should be done.

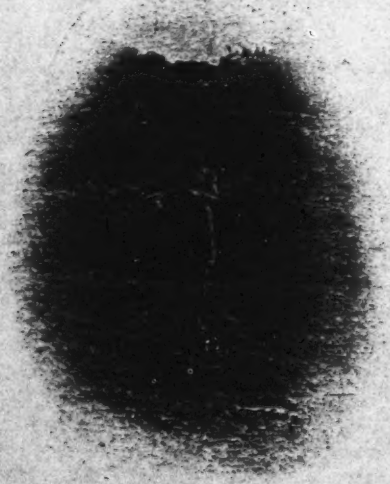

FIG. 28.—TO SHOW THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE 'PALOL' WHEN PRAYING.

The three *persin* being filled, the *tòrzum* are again put on as covers, and the *palol* takes up the wand called *pokvet*, and prays, standing in front of the screen (*patun*) with his hands lying over one another crosswise on the top of the stick as shown in Fig. 28. He recites the full prayer of the *ti*, then replaces the *pokvet* between the *persin* and the *patun* and this act of replacing the wand marks the end of the more sacred part of the dairy operations. If a Toda wishes to ascertain if the work of the dairy is over, he asks, "Has he taken the *pokvet*?"

The *palol* now unties his hair, sees to anything necessary in connexion with his food, fills the *uppun* with buttermilk, and then leaves his dairy and goes to sit on the seat called *pokvelkars* on one side of the door of the dairy, viz., on the opposite side to that on which the *mani* is placed. At Mòdr he sits on the stone on the right side of the door when going

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in (K in Fig. 26), and the fact that he does so is one of the reasons which make it probable that the arrangement of the *pok* of that place is as I have given it in the plan.

When the *palol* has seated himself on the *pokvelkars*, he calls out to the *kaltmokh* "*Kaizkvatitva*," "Come here and pour buttermilk!" When the *kaltmokh* comes, the *palol* gives the *uppun* to the boy, who says three times "*Kaizkvatkina*," "Shall I pour buttermilk?" and the *palol* replies each time, "*Vat*!" The *kaltmokh* pours from the *uppun* into a cup made of the leaf called *kakuders* held by the *palol*, who drinks after raising to his forehead. This is repeated till the *palol* is satisfied, when the leaf-cup from which he has been drinking is thrown away,[1] and he goes again into the outer room to get food. He gives food to the *kaltmokh*, who eats it in the sleeping-hut, while the *palol* himself eats sitting on the *pokvelkars*. If any *mòrol* (see p. 107) are present, they are fed at this stage with buttermilk and food by the *kaltmokh*, who gives them the buttermilk out of the *mòrpun*, pouring it into leaf-cups as when giving to the *palol*.

The rest of the morning is passed in looking after the buffaloes, cutting firewood, plucking leaves used as cups and plates, or doing any other work connected with the *ti*.

In the afternoon the *palol* returns to his dairy and goes through the same operations as in the morning, except that he fetches water from the *kwoinir* early in the proceedings, usually bringing enough for the work of that afternoon and of the next morning. He churns the milk drawn in the morning, and when the time for milking has arrived, the buffaloes will have returned to the milking-place, and as soon as they arrive their calves are let out from the house (*karenpok*) in which they have been kept.

When the churning and milking are over, the buffaloes are shut up in the *tu* for the night. The *palol* then takes buttermilk as in the morning, and both he and the *kaltmokh* take their food. The latter eats his food in the sleeping-hut as in

[1] In the story of Kwoto and the Kenadr *ti* (Chap. IX) the *kaltmokh* has to pour away buttermilk at an appointed spot. It is probable that this buttermilk is that unfinished by the *palol*, and possibly this custom is still followed but was not mentioned by my informants.

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234 the morning, and the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oh*" thrice,
takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
● 788 times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and
then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.
793

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

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793 *kûtmcii teu idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches,
576 the *palol* says "*Pekein*," but all the Teivaliol reply with the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil*, *i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was
576 said that he might not approach the *palol*. I had an interest-
783 ing example, however, of the way in which a regulation of
● 788 this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil*, owing
793 to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol*. He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol*.

437 There are several regulations concerning the food of the
439 *palol*. Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was
784 formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but
793 nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir*. He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pohvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *mani*. He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh*. If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pül* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 784 793

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CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

At certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

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234* Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
778 Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
783 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
795 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
621 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]
234* My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
221 from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
796 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Ȍdrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234x At some time during the day following the arrival at the new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nȍdrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nȍdrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—*i.e.*, "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that *erdpunrs* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

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thighs and, holding it there, depresses it so that he can pour buttermilk into his leaf-cup; from this he pours into the leaf-cup of the candidate who then drinks, and this is repeated till the latter is satisfied. The *palikartmokh* brings food and fire from the dairy and both stay in the wood for the night, being allowed to have companions. The place where they sleep is called *tavarpali*. 234x 793

In the morning the candidate again goes for *tudr* bark and leaves, and carries out the whole ceremony seven times as on the previous evening. He then goes to the *tavarpali* and waits there till the *palikartmokh* has finished his morning work, when the candidate again receives buttermilk and food. Then both go out together to look after the buffaloes.

When they return in the afternoon the candidate goes to the dairy stream and bathes from head to foot. This bathing is called *tudraspipini* (*tudr* I have washed), its object being to wash off the *tudr* bark previously used. After this he takes a piece of the cloth called *twadrinar* and, using it as a girdle in addition to that he already wears, he goes to the wall of the dairy while the *palikartmokh* digs up a vessel called *mu* which is buried in the buffalo pen. (At Kars the *mu* which is used is that of the *tarvali*.) The *palikartmokh* then puts the *mu* on the ground and stands by it. The candidate asks three times, "*Muvatkina?*" "Shall I touch the *mu?*" and the *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Muvat!*" The candidate then touches the *mu*, and by doing so becomes a full *wursol*. The *mu* is reburied by the *palikartmokh*.

All the ceremonies so far have taken place at or near the ordinary dairy, either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, or at the stream belonging to one or other of these dairies. The candidate now for the first time goes to the dairy in which he is to be *wursol* (the *wurswli*) and prostrates himself at the threshold. He next enters and prostrates himself to the *patatmar* and then to the *ertatmar*. He takes up and puts in its place one of the vessels of the *ertatmar* and then one of the vessels of the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), lights the fire and the lamp and prays, using the prayer of the village. He then cleans the vessels and goes to milk, doing *mavi tuzantirikiti* with the first milk as usual. 234x 788● 793

234x 793 and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234x 184 783 778 788 793 The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli*; the dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *poh* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark, while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pokkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *mu*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tasth*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmokh* also touches a *mu* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

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this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy.

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both *wursol* and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmokh*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

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CHAPTER IX

THE TODA GODS

● 788 THE ceremonies which have been described in the last five chapters make up a large part of the ritual of the Toda religion, but there is one important feature of this ritual which has so far been left on one side, or only cursorily mentioned, because its full consideration only becomes possible after an account has been given of the Toda gods.

In describing the ritual of the dairy and the various ceremonies connected with the buffaloes, it has been mentioned that at certain times the prayer of the dairy or the prayer of the village is used. In these prayers there are references to various incidents in the lives of the gods, and many of the clauses would be unintelligible without a knowledge of these lives. It therefore becomes necessary to consider this branch of Toda mythology before dealing with the prayers in detail.

776 The typical Toda god is a being who is distinctly anthropomorphic and is called a *tey*. In the legends he lives much the same kind of life as the mortal Toda, having his dairies and his buffaloes. The sacred dairies and the sacred buffaloes of the Todas are still regarded as being in some measure the property of the gods, and the dairymen are looked upon as their priests. The gods hold councils and consult with one another just as do the Todas, and they are believed to be swayed by the same motives and to think in the same way as the Todas themselves.

●●● At the present time most of the gods are believed to

173 replied, "*Pölmdv tarz pögh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin
773 blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Arvth pun pdrz Pölmän*
776 *kunrk putvai, nadrtivadr*"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wurzol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakkudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wurzol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk
[762] also strangled themselves with *kakkudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pöni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seindr zon, Kwotzu dr zon, Seindr zon, Terkosh dr zon.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *dr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Tarsdr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that
[735] place were sent to him. Very little is related about the third brother, Elnäkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

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CHAPTER X

PRAYER

In the chapters in which the ritual of the dairies has been described, one of the most important features of the ceremonial has been passed over which must now be fully described. This feature is the prayer which is always offered at certain stages of the dairy operations. In the village dairies, of whatever kind they may be, no prayer is offered at the morning ceremonial. In the evening the prayer of the dairy is recited twice—once when lighting the lamp, and once when shutting the buffaloes in their enclosure for the night, the prayer on this occasion being said in front of the entrance to the pen.

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At the *ti* dairy the *palol* prays both morning and evening. In the morning he prays when lighting the lamp and after he has finished milking; in the evening prayer is offered on both these occasions, and also when shutting up the buffaloes for the night. The *palol* also repeats a few clauses when going out to milk. Prayers are said on certain other ceremonial occasions, and clauses from the prayers are frequently uttered during the many ceremonies of the dairy.

At the evening ceremonial of the village dairy the prayer is said when the lamp is lighted, while during the morning ceremonial, at which the lamp is usually not lighted, there is no prayer. This suggests that the prayer is especially related to the lamp-lighting, and that some idea of worship of the light is involved, but occasionally for some special reason, such as unusual darkness, the lamp may be lighted in the morning, and on these occasions the prayer is not used. Nevertheless, the relation between lamp-lighting and prayer

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234x 373 771 782 788 both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

234x 782 788 The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195] In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

234x 184 788 782 621 Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

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refused to discuss it. One point seemed quite clear, at any rate among the Teivaliol, viz., that the different villages of a clan had different prayers, though often with many clauses in common. 234 x 184 621

In general, the prayer of the *ti* is longer and more elaborate than that of the village dairy. Different prayers are used at different dairies of the same *ti*, though here again they may have many clauses in common. 782 788

In all cases the prayer consists of two distinct parts: a preliminary portion consisting chiefly of names known as *kwarzam*, followed by a portion which may be regarded as the prayer proper.

The prayer proper should be the same in every dairy, but it seemed to me that there was a good deal of laxity as regards this portion, and there is no doubt that it is often slurred over hastily and is less strictly regulated than the preliminary portion of the prayer.

The following is the most generally accepted form: 788

Tânenmâ;	*tîrmâmâ;*	*t- kark tânenmâ;*
may it be well	may it be well	with the buffaloes and calves
or	or	may it be well;
may be blessed;	may be merciful;	
nîv ârk mâ;	*kazun ârk mâ;*	*nudri ârk mâ;*
may there be no disease;	may there be no destroyer;	may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects);
kâvel ârk mâ;	*per kârt pâ mâ:*	*pusthi kârt pâ mâ;*
may there be no wild beasts (tigers, &c.);	may be kept from (falling down) steep hills;	may be kept from floods;
tîit ârk mâ;	*mâ un mâ;*	*maj eu mâ;*	*pul pâv mâ;*
may there be no fire;	may rain fall;	may clouds rise;	may grass flourish;
nîv âr mâ.			
may water spring.			

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence, followed by the words:

âtham	*âdith*	*emk*	*tânenmâ.*
them	for the sake of	for (or to) us	may it be well.

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of the 782 788

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782 given above were omitted, while others were added, especially
788 requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *ptrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink erdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

234 X It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the
192 buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

"May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer
782 from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals
788 and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

234 X The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several
184 groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes,
782 of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the
788 *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence
621 given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place
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[1] *Ird* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

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consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate. 234x 184

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated. 782 788 621 192

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer. 234x 192 788

Prayer of Kuudr

Atikhòr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
ànerz	Kuudr village.
palithdrpali	large dairy at Kuudr (*thdrpali*).
palikidpali	small dairy at Kuudr (*kidpali*).
thdrpalikpelk	lamp (*pelk*) of large dairy.
kidpalikpep	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

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tûtîdrtho	large buffalo-pen (*tû*) at Kuudr.
tûkidtû	small buffalo-pen (*tû*) at Kuudr.
kadrtorikkadr	calf enclosure (*kadr*) at Kuudr.
keishkvet	sacred buffaloes (*pasthîr*) of Kuudr.
tarskivan	ordinary buffaloes (*putilr*).
kûnpep	portion of buttermilk (*pep*) originally given by Teikirzi for *pasthîr*.
âtthpep	portion of *pep* for *putilr*.
mutchudkars	stone in buffalo-pen at Kuudr where the vessels of the large dairy are purified.
tarskikars	stone in pen where the vessels of the small dairy are purified.
nîrkizutr	sacred dairy spring of Kuudr.
Eikirion	a buffalo whose milk was the origin of the spring.
Pûlmâlpûl	a hill near Kuudr.
Emalpûv	a buffalo which once lived at Kuudr.
Kchathûmûk	a hill near Kuudr.
Karstum	a buffalo which once died on this hill.
teikkkwadiki	a tree by which the dairy vessel called *mu* is buried (see p. 170).
manikiars	the *kiars* tree by which the sacred bell (*mani*) is laid when the dairy things are being purified.
Keikars	a hill near Kuudr.
keitnâdi	hill near which the *erkumptthiti* ceremony is performed (see Chap. XIII).
petût pati pethût ir	chief buffaloes given when Teikirzi divided the buffaloes with wand in hand (see p. 186). Literally, "wand with divide chief buffaloes."
pûthion nâkk tarzâr maj	calf which was the ancestor of the Kuudr *putilr*.

Thus, the prayer would run, "*Atthkâr idith; ôners idith; palitûdrpali idith;* . . . . . and the translation would run, "For the sake of the village and clan of Kuudr; for the sake of the village of Kuudr; for the sake of the large dairy of Kuudr; . . . ." as far as the end of the *kwarzam* given above, and then would follow the prayer proper, "*tanenma, tarmama,* . . . ."

This prayer begins with two *kwarzam* of the village or clan, followed by others referring to the dairies and dairy vessels, buffalo pens and buffaloes. Then follow certain *kwarzam* of the *pep* or buttermilk which is of so much importance in the dairy ritual, and those of stones which play a part in the ceremonies attending purification of the dairy vessels. After the *kwarzam* of the dairy spring, there follow a number of *kwarzam* referring to certain incidents in the history of the dairy.

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histoy of the dairy. *Eikisiov* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuudr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground becane swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring and is callei *kisnîr*. The two following *kwarzam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. *Karstum* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathûmûk wher it began to bellow and could not be induced to stop; the people tried to take it back to the pen, but it would not go and died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarzam* are followed by two referring to tees of ceremonial importance—one the tree by which is burid the *mu* on the integrity of which the continuity of the dair procedure depends, while the other is connected with the acred bell.

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Then follow the *kwarzam* of a hill on which there are cairs and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarzam* of a different kind. The firstrefers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi, who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing we lave seen that she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the forn, "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes witl the wand." The last *kwarzam* is that of the calf, from whih the ordinary buffaloes or *putitr* of Kuudr are desended, but I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the wors, except *nakh*, which is the name of a three-year-old bufalo.

In the Kuudr prayer several of the *kwarzam* refer to incilents of a more or less miraculous nature which are believed to iave happened at the village where the prayer is used, whie the last *kwarzam* but one refers to one of the chief evets of Toda mythology.

It will be noticed that many of the *kwarzam* used in this praver correspond very closely to the names in ordinary use. Sose, such as *keitnôdi* and *teikhkwadiki*, are the same wods as those in general use, while others differ from

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234x the ordinary words in the reduplication of part of the
192 name, *tûdrpali* becoming *palitûdrpali* and *kiznîr* becoming
788 *nîrkiznîr*.

PRAYER OF KIUDR

234x The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used at
192 Kiudr, which is one of the most sacred of Toda villages.

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	K'warzam of
K'ibôh	the dairy at Kiudr.
kerûni	one of the *palatmani* of Kiudr.
môdrûni	the other *palatmani*.
pongg	one of the *ertatmani*.
nongg	another *ertatmani*.
pelteirzi	the lamp of the dairy.
frîlrzi	also the lamp.
kînmûv	the way by which the dairyman goes from the dairy to milk; the *punetkalvol*.
nîrtâkh	the dairy stream.
nîrtîrzhki	also the dairy stream.
keitu	the buffalo-pen.
tûlivaners	the posts at the entrance of the buffalo-pen
taskîpâlîv	the bars of the entrance of the pen.
hadrtâlikkadr	the calf enclosure.
arhatchar	the household stream.
inerti	also the household stream.
ârzvûchkârs	the house (*arz*) at Kiudr.
civitchâv	also the house.
nersâdrvol	the milking place.
keikâ.ir	the stream which runs between the house and the dairy (see 307).
kwoteiners	
kwalthipushol	
atamâdri	all of Kiudr village.
eraikin	
kîrmus	
pîrvakâdr	
arzpem	slope of hill (*pem*) near Kiudr.

The special features of the Kiudr prayer are the large number of *kwarzam* of the village and the inclusion of the *kwarzam* of the house and household stream. The prayer of Kiudr is the only Toda prayer in which either the house or household stream is mentioned, and this fact is in accordance with the high degree of sanctity which has become attached to this village. It will be noticed also that

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the buffaloes are not mentioned, and that nearly all the clauses of the prayer apply to the buildings and their contents or to other parts of the village or to the village itself. Only the last *kwarzam* of the prayer applies to a place not actually in the village itself, and I could not ascertain why this place was so favoured. With this exception, the Kiudr prayer is one in which the *kwarzam* are entirely limited to those of the village and the dairy.

It will be remembered that when the buffaloes of the Nódrs *ti* migrate from Mòdr to Anto they pass by the village of Kiudr, and that the occasion is observed in various ways by the people of the village (see p. 135). I was told that certain *kwarzam* referring to this occasion are used in the Kiudr prayer. According to one man, these *kwarzam* are always recited in the prayer before those which have been already given, but others denied that they were so used. It is possible that these *kwarzam* are only said on special occasions, such as the day of migration, or it may be that they were formerly used, but are now being forgotten.

These *kwarzam* are as follow:

ṱmar pḷgit mòdr	*ti* buffaloes, come near country.
mòkw pḷgit mòdr	bell of *mars* dairy, come near country.
eupalol pḷgit mòdr	god *palol*, come near country.
eutuni pḷgit mòdr	god *tuni*, come near country.
eitòt pḷgit mòdr	hair done up, come near country (this has reference to the practice of tying the hair which is followed by the *palol* when engaged at his sacred work (p. 92).
Teigun ùrpit mòdr	horn (of *marsir*) blow country.
Kiudkudr ùrpit mòdr	horn (of *tiir*) blow country.

Then follow the *kwarzam* already given.

These *kwarzam* are of a different form from those used in the general form of prayer, and the various persons or objects mentioned are referred to either by their usual names or by slight modifications of them, as in *eupalol* or *euvalol* and *eutuni*. There seemed to be no doubt that these words were abbreviations of *teupalol* and *teutuni*, the omission of an initial *t* being not uncommon in the Toda language. Thus in this prayer the dairyman is called "god *palol*," and his garment "god *tuni*."

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Prayer of Kwirg

234 X 192 ●788 Kwirg is one of the villages of the Kuudrol and is the place to which their buffaloes go when it is necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

K'watakwirg	Kwirg village.
kûlpudshol	Kwirg village.
palikeithiolv	the dairy.
tûmadshû	the pen.
kadrkeiri	the *kadr* (calf enclosure).
nîrtiûdsh	the dairy stream.
pinpunîv	a hill.
pilkârs	a hill.
âtthpep	see Kuudr prayer.
kânpep	see Kuudr prayer.
mutchudpep	see Kuudr prayer.
keishkvet	see Kuudr prayer.
tarskivan	see Kuudr prayer.
petût pati pethût îr	see Kuudr prayer.
pûthion nâkh tarsâr maj	see Kuudr prayer.

It will be seen that many of the clauses are common to this prayer and that of Kuudr.

The three *kwarzam* of *pep* were said to be used in every dairy of the Kuudrol, but it did not appear that they were used at Kiudr. The third, *mutchudpep*, is not included in the Kuudr prayer, but *mutchudkars* appears in its place. Two hills are mentioned in the Kwirg prayer, but there are none of the references to special events connected with the village such as exist in the prayer of Kuudr.

The Prayer of the Kanòdrs Dairy

When I was staying at Pishkwosht and visited the conical dairy at Kanòdrs with Neratkutan, he told me that the prayer of this dairy had forty *kwarzam* referring to the gods, as well as many of other kinds, but on going into detail I could only obtain the following:—

Pûr nâr teu	the 1600 gods.
pût nâr teu	the 1800 gods.
K'woto	Kwoto or Meilitars (see p. 203).

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Atioto	Atioto (see p. 210).
Kurindei teu	Kurindo (see p. 192).
Konteu	Konteu or Konto (see p. 211).
Anteu	Anto (see p. 188).
Pòrzo	Pòrzo
Kòdrtho	Kòdrtho } see p. 211.
Kàrzo	Karzo
Teikhunteu	Teikhun
nànpkh	Kanòdrs village.
mutlrshpkh	ditto.
tùnertù	the pen.
kàndr	the sun ? (see p. 206).
kuteikurs	the stone chain used by Kwoto (see p. 207).
anerz	Kuzhu village.
tùtashki	Pishkwosht village.

This prayer is quite unlike those of the other village dairies and was much more like that of a *ti* dairy. As we have seen, the *poh* of Kanòdrs resembles a *ti* dairy both in the elaborateness of its ritual and in the high degree of sanctity of its dairyman, and this resemblance is now seen to extend to the prayer used in the dairy ritual. [778]

Other dairies of the Tartharol which have an especial degree of sanctity are the *kugvali* of Taradr and the conical dairy of Nòdrs. I made great endeavours to obtain the prayers used in these places, but without success.

The ti Prayer

The prayers offered at the *ti* dairies are as a general rule longer and more complex than those of the ordinary village dairy. The latter portion of the prayer, or the prayer proper, does not seem to differ from that of the ordinary dairy, the differences being in the *kwarzam* recited at the beginning. The different dairies of the same *ti* may have different prayers; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti* there is a special prayer for the dairy at Anto which is longer and more complicated than that used at Mòdr, but it is probable that this is exceptional and is owing to the great antiquity and sanctity of Anto. The other dairies of this *ti* probably use much the same prayer as at Mòdr, though there may be certain slight modifications at each.

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The Anto Prayer

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This prayer is characterised by a very large number of *kwarzam* referring to the dairy, its contents and surroundings. On ordinary days a shortened form of the prayer is used which consists wholly of *kwarzam* of this kind. On special days, such as the occasions of *ponup* and *irnödrthiti*, other *kwarzam* are said, including those of gods and buffaloes.

The following *kwarzam* are those in daily use, each being followed by the word *idith* as in the village prayer :—

	Kwarzam of
Anto	the *ti*.
eithipôh	ditto.
mödrpôh	the *ti pok*.
pôhtirzh	the *wars pok*.
ôv	the milking place (*pepharnus*).
pero	the special pen used on the night before the *ponup* ceremony.
keirv	the pen used on the night before the migration of the buffaloes.
hâtô	the ordinary pen.
Teirz	a hil near the dairy on which Anto lives.
tilkav	the back of the dairy (*pokpalikef*).
irbdr	the way by which the *kaltmokh* goes to and from the dairy.
Pithipôh	the cave where Pithi was born (see p. 184).
nersôvul	sacred path to the dairy by which the *mani*, *pep*, &c., are taken.
karkadr	path by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadipûl	ditto.
einpûl	path by which the *palol* goes to draw water.
panpûl	path by which the *palol* returns from drawing water.
Kôôin	a hil near the dairy.
Keini	another hill.
tithin	stream at which the *palol* bathes and washes his garments.
tîtôr	stone by this stream marking the spot by which the *palol* bathes, &c.
teirpûl	spot at which the *palol* halts and prays for the third time during the procession to Anto (see p. 135).
teirpôh	ditto.
nirkôli	place at which *palol* and *kaltmokh* defecate.
Katthnai	hil near Anto (see p. 188).
Kubul	ditto.
Kôdrs	place near Anto (see p. 188).
Tusirz	ditto.
teibithiars	stone rolled by Anto.
teibithival	lower part of the hill *Katthnai* (see above).

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On ordinary days these *kwarzam* are followed by the prayer *tanenma tarmama*, &c. On special occasions the following *kwarzam* are inserted between those already given and the prayer proper :—

	Kwarzam of
Ekîrzam meidjam	Teikirzi, Tirshti.
Kûdreij	Kudreiil dairy.
tîdj	ditto.
Kûldrtho	Kuladrtho dairy.
Perithi ti vaners	*ti* dairy at Perithi in the Wainad.
Kôti	One of the hills at which fire is lighted by the *palol* at the *tentûtnsthchi* ceremony (see p. 291).
pagrôth	ditto.
Pûthi	another hill at which fire is lighted.
ûnul	ditto.
Kûlinkârs	Kulinkars (see p. 188).
Nôtirzivan	Nôtirzi (see p. 189).
Kuzhâru	Korsteu (see p. 190).
uuir	one group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
unbeu	*mani* of *wars* dairy.
Perzin	*mani* of *ti* dairy.
kûdrs mani	bells of *pauir*.
tadrth	axe which came from Amnôdr with the buffaloes.
tîpûr	an iron bar.
âter	the second group of *tiir* (see p. 112).
teiter	the third group of *tiir*.
Kûirz	the buffalo which has the *mani* called Keu put on its neck.
pîlîl	buffaloes (*uuir*).
perzu	ditto.
Keirv	buffalo which drinks *pep* on day of migration (see p. 135).
Kîthi	buffalo which wears the *kudrs mani*.
kudrôdrs	the path at Môdr by which ordinary people approach the dairy.
tadrpôrs	place near Môdr at which the *palol* and *kaltmakh* defecate.
tarikipal	place near Môdr where the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony is performed.
kûlmadr	calves' hut (*karumpak*) at Môdr.
pumpûh	*ti* dairy at Môdr.
kûlpûh	*wars* dairy at Môdr.
Ôdrtho	*ti* dairy at Ôdrtho.
Kûdreiil	*wars* dairy at Kudreiil.
uumûrten	a *ti* dairy.

The following is all I was able to obtain of the prayer used at Môdr :—" *Ekîrzam meidjam idith, Anto eithipôh idith, Kûlinkârs idith, Nôtirzivan idith, Kûldrvan idith, Teukuteithi idith, Kûdreij tîdj idith, Kuzhâru idith, Alvoi Kalvoi*

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idith, tanenma tarmama," &c. Two of these *kwarzam*, "*Teukuteithi idith*" and "*Alvoi Kalvoi idith*," are not mentioned in the Anto prayer. I have no doubt that the list of *kwarzam* is very incomplete.

The Prayer of Makars

The following is the prayer used at Makars, the chief dairy of the Kars *ti*. The *kwarzam* of the dairy are here comparatively few in number, but the prayer is especially rich in the *kwarzam* of gods and buffaloes, and it furnishes a very good example of the relation of the prayer formulæ to the Toda legends.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer run as follow :—

Anto	The god Anto.
Nôtirzivan	Nôtirzi.
Kôlinkârs	Kulinkars or Teikhars.
Kuakârv	Koeateu.
Onkonm	Onkonm who lives on a hill in the Kundahs.
Ettrzan moigjam	Teikirzi and Tirshti.
Aso / *Mazo*	Aso and Mazo.
Kotadrumpah	place near Kûlinkars.
Poigma	god living on hill near Makurti Peak.
Karmunten	Karmunten.
Ketagârth	the Paikara river (Teipakh).
Kondilten	Kondilten, a god opposite the hill of Kôti.
Mûndilten	a god on a hill near the last.
Ondhpah	place near Majodr.
Kâlthâraventen	god on a hill near Kuladrtho.
kahan ôdi ortan ten	"iron door shut god."
kahan hâl oiten ten	"iron stick held god."
mêrz ver ortan ten	"*mêrz* tree under event god."
kâgâtr kâdr hanten ten	"crooked horned buffalo horn cut god."
tokkâtar ai, ten mum madrith ten	"imitation buffalo horns took, his mother's brother's lap god."
mâwel hâritan ten	"sambhar from calved god." (The last six *kwarzam* refer to the story of Kuakarv (see p. 190).
pâhwarkârs	buffaloes of *ti* called *pârsfr*.
tawirkan	ditto.
pirsh mumati potirth ir	"sun to facing that came buffalo."

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nerk munski potitth ïr	"bell to facing that came buffalo."
putïdr mun kakitth ïr	"*tïdr* tree back (face?) rubbed buffalo."
Kithari kitk athkitth ïr	"Kitheri stream to jumped buffalo."
pïthsk kaltith ïr	"desolate pen from made buffalo."
Warwark athkitth ïr	"Warwar (stream) to jumped buffalo."
ö khuberam kitj erditth ïram	"seven heaps buffalo-dung fire set buffaloes."
pïrnïr	bell (*mani*) or *pürs* dairy.
unïr	ditto.
persagun	*mani* of *pars* dairy.
talg	ditto.
nïrvtïls	lamp.
poikar	*pürs* dairy.
pïrsvïk	*pars* dairy.
tïnundri	pen.
kakïnundri	ditto.
nïrkar	dairy spring.
tïlinïr	ditto.
pünpïk	dairy at Enòdr.
kïtk	pen at Enòdr.
pünnïr	spring at Enòdr.
Enòdr	Enòdr *ti mad.*
mïdrpïk	dairy at Pars.
pcitk	pen at Pars.
tïlïnïr	spring at Pars.
Pars	Pars *ti mad.*
dïïrundri	dairy at Neradr.
mïrieners	pen at Neradr.
Neradr	Neradr *ti mad*
pïlnïk	dairy at Kòn.
aners	ditto.
tadrds	pen at Kòn.
pïnïrnïr	spring at Kòn.
Kòn	Kòn *ti mad.*

Then follow "*tanenma tarmama*," &c.

The *kwarzam* of the prayer given above are arranged in a definite order. First come the *kwarzam* of sixteen gods or of hills or places closely connected with gods, then follow six *kwarzam* referring to various incidents in the life of the god Korateu. These are followed by two *kwarzam* of buffaloes, and then follow six referring to various features of the founding of Makars, of which an account has been given on

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p. 116. Then follows a *kwarzam* relating to an incident which is probably recent. The *palol* of this *ti* used to make seven heaps of the dung of the buffaloes. There is a law that the dung should not be sold, which the *palol* disobeyed, and soon after a fire broke out suddenly from the seven heaps, and this event is commemorated in the prayer by means of the *kwarzam* meaning "seven heaps of buffalo-dung, fire set buffaloes," and is included among the *kwarzam* relating to buffaloes, probably because there was a belief that the anger of the buffaloes was the cause of the fire.

The buffalo *kwarzam* are followed by eleven referring to the bells of the *ti* and to the dairy, pen and spring of Makars, and these are followed by *kwarzam* referring to the other places of the *ti*—viz., Enòdr, Pars, Neradr, and Kòn. In each case there are said the *kwarzam* of the dairy, pen, spring, and place except in the case of Neradr, where for some reason the *kwarzam* of the spring is omitted.

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The feature of the Makars prayer which is especially interesting is the reference to legend in the *kwarzam*. This reference occurs in the Kuudr prayer and in those of Kanòdrs and Anto, but the references are far more elaborate in the Makars prayer. These references were very useful in providing incidental confirmation of the details of legends previously obtained, while in other cases they put me on the track of stories which I might otherwise have failed to obtain. One point of interest connected with them is that, in the absence of the legends, they might easily be supposed to be meaningless sentences. We have seen that there is reason to believe that the Todas are forgetting much of their mythology, and if the legends referred to in the Makars prayer should be forgotten, these *kwarzam* would become meaningless formulæ. This appears to have happened already in some cases; there were certain *kwarzam* of which I could obtain no translation; thus, all the *kwarzam* of the clans and villages were of this nature and could not be explained, though they almost certainly had a definite origin. A good instance of a *kwarzam* which is on its way towards a similar fate is that at the end of the Kuudr prayer. The meaning of only one word was clear —viz., *nâkh*—while *maj* was probably the word for cloud, and

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the *kwarzam* appears to refer to some incident of legend in which a three-year-old calf and a cloud were concerned, but I could obtain no record of the incident, nor of the legend of which the incident was a feature.

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I have treated these formulæ of the dairy as prayers, and I think there can be very little doubt that they are of the nature of supplications, and are believed to invoke the aid of the gods in protecting the sacred buffaloes. It must be confessed, however, that there is no actual evidence in the formulæ of direct invocation of the gods. The name of no god is mentioned in the vocative form. In some prayers there is barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' be limited to the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops.

The exact relation between the formula and the gods largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is not quite clear. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is evident that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned, followed by the words *ithem idith eub tâneund*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

There is little doubt that the Todas offer prayers to their gods in their ordinary daily life, altogether apart from the dairy ritual. I was told by one man that when anyone leaves an *etudnaf* he should pray that he may return safely, and in this case my informant said that he prayed to Teikirni. Unfortunately I did not ask the exact form of the prayer, and do not know whether the goddess was invoked by name or whether *kwarzam* were uttered of the same form as in the prayer of the dairy. We may, however, be confident that the idea of supplication to the gods is not foreign to the Toda mind.

We shall see later that in the formulæ used in Toda sorcery, the names of gods are mentioned, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formulæ. In the magical formulæ the evidence of appeal to deities is somewhat stronger than in the case of the dairy formulæ,

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which are certainly of a religious character. It seems most likely that the word *idith* was at one time used especially in connexion with the names of gods, and carried with it some idea of supplication. Gradually other sacred objects were included in the prayer, the same form being used for them as for the gods, this inclusion being prompted by the belief that the mention of any sacred object might help to promote the efficacy of the prayer. Later, when any mysterious and seemingly miraculous incident occurred at a village, it seems to have become the custom to commemorate it in the prayer.

It is quite clear that at the present time the earlier portion of the prayer, consisting of the *kwarsaw*, is regarded as more important than the latter portion, which reads like the actual prayer. I suspect even that in practice the prayer proper is often omitted, or that only the first two words, *tanawa*, *tarisawa*, are said. There certainly seemed to be no very rigorous laws as to the exact number or order of the clauses of this part of the prayer. The earlier portion, on the other hand, is very strictly regulated, and the order in which the *kwarsaw* are to be uttered is definitely prescribed. Certainly there is far more reticence in connexion with the *kwarsaw*, and this may safely be taken to indicate that a higher degree of sanctity attaches to them than to the words of the prayer proper.

It is probable that the alteration in the relative importance attached to the two parts of the prayer would have to go little further in order to produce a state of things in which the Toda dairyman would use the first parts of the formulæ only, and an anthropologist visiting the Todas at this stage would find them using formulæ which would not be recognisable as prayer.

If, at the same time, the process of forgetting their mythology should also have advanced, the Todas would then provide an excellent example of a people using in their religious ritual meaningless forms of words, and the Toda *kwarsaw* seem to furnish one way in which people may come to use such meaningless forms.

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CHAPTER XI

THE DAIRY RITUAL

In the preceding chapters I have given an account of an elaborate ritual wholly connected with the buffalo and with the dairy. This ritual is certainly of a religious character, and, though there is much in the nature of the dairy formulæ which is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Toda deities. 182 771 783 788 796

It seems most probable that the general idea underlying the dairy ritual is that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance, the milk of the buffaloes. This sacred substance is to be converted into other substances, butter and buttermilk, which are to be used by the profane. At the present time much of the butter goes to those who are not even Todas and are regarded by the Todas as inferior beings.

It seems most probable that the elaborate ritual has grown up as a means of counteracting the dangers likely to be incurred by this profanation of the sacred substance, or, in other words, as a means of removing a taboo which prohibits the general use of the substance.

Similarly the migration ceremonies have the general underlying idea of counteracting any possible evil influence which may accompany the passage of the buffaloes through the profane world from one sacred place to another. During the migration, objects may be seen by the multitude which under ordinary circumstances are strictly screened from the general gaze, and objects may be touched, or be in danger of being touched, by people who ordinarily may not even see them.

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132 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
783 him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvastki* ceremony seems to be of the
776 nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *poosp* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pop* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

Comparison of the Procedure of Different Dairies

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
788 the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the

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separation. All the vessels are kept in the same room, but in different parts of the room, the *pudatmar* and the *ertatmar*, and this distinction between the two sets of objects is kept up in the migration ceremonies where they are carried by different men.

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There are no striking differences in this respect between the lower grades of dairy, whether *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, or *wavrali*; in all, the two sets of vessels are separated, but no strict measures are taken to prevent a vessel of the *pudatmar* from coming into contact with a vessel of the *ertatmar* during the dairy operations. It is only on reaching the *kugvali* of Taradr that we find an intermediate vessel, the *kwwa*, used to transfer substances from a vessel of the more sacred to one of the less sacred kind, and to prevent possible contamination of the former by the latter.

It is in the *ti* dairy that these precautions reach their highest degree of development. Here the two sets of vessels are kept in different rooms, separated by a screen, and the dairy products are never transferred directly from a vessel of one kind to a vessel of the other, but always by means of an intermediate vessel. The butter and buttermilk produced by the churning operations in the inner room are transferred to the vessels of the outer room by means of the *ishrmei*, which is kept on the dividing line between the two compartments. Similarly the vessels into which the butter and buttermilk are received are never allowed to come into direct contact with objects from the outside world, but their contents are transferred to vessels used outside the dairy by means of intermediate vessels, the *appuu* or the *mirpuu*.

In the migrations of the *ti* buffaloes this strict separation between the two kinds of vessel is still kept up. The things of the inner room are carried by the *pudol* himself, while the things of the outer room are carried by others. The *ishrmei*, though carried by the *pudol* on the same staff as the things of the inner room, is kept apart from the rest, and is not allowed to touch them.

The fires of the *ti* dairy furnish another interesting example of the principle by which sacred objects are prevented from coming directly into relation with objects which may have

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234 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The
778 lamp is not lighted directly from the *tòratthwaskal*, which is
● 788 probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is
783 transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an intermediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[437] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any money to the *palol* at Mòdr, I placed it on a stone from which it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol* and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the *kugvali* of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of intermediate links, but there is such an example during the ordination of the *wurzal*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candidate milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches ceremonially the *majpariv* and the *patat* at the beginning of the afternoon churning, while at the *wurvali* this is done both morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kakkaditi*, in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvathi* ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

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234 the same occasion, and it is only followed regularly in certain
778 dairies of the *wursuli* grade, viz., Nòdrs, Nasmiòdr, Òdr, and
783 Kozhtudi. The first has a conical dairy, and Nasmiòdr and Òdr are especially ancient and sacred places. At the *kugvali*
788 and the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, the dairy ceremonial is always performed *kabkaditi*. At one ceremony, that of *irpalvusthi*, the work of the dairy is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy of whatever grade.

The lamp-lighting is another feature which becomes more frequent and more ceremonial in the higher grades of dairy. In all the village dairies, including the *kugvali* of Taradr,[1] the lamp is only lighted ceremonially at the afternoon churning, the lighting being made the occasion of prayer. If the morning is dark, the lamp may be lighted, but it is clear that this is not done ceremonially, and the lighting is not accompanied by prayer. At the *ti* we have already seen that the lamp is lighted in a more ceremonial manner and in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

Some of the details of the ritual are definitely associated with the *mani*, and since the presence of a *mani* implies a higher grade of dairy, this leads to an increase in the elaboration of the ritual. The *mani* is treated in much the same way in all the grades of dairy which possess this sacred object.

Another feature in which the increasing sanctity of the dairy is shown is the frequency with which prayer is offered. At all the village dairies the dairyman only prays at the afternoon ceremonial when lighting the lamp, and when shutting up the buffaloes in their pen for the night. As already mentioned, there is a definite association between prayer and the ceremonial lamp-lighting.

234 In the *ti* dairy, prayer is offered both morning and evening;
778 at the morning ceremonial twice and in the afternoon three times. On both occasions the first prayer begins when
788 the lamp is being lighted and is continued while the *palol* knocks on one of the *persin* with the *persinkudriki*. The second prayer in each case is offered at the conclusion of the milking, and the third prayer of the afternoon corresponds to

[1] I am doubtful about this point at the *pak* of Kanòdrs.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*On*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

284 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the most important feature here is the use of the garments called
292 *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
178

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The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth of the same kind, called *ān*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual. 234 292 793 178

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the *tarvali* it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses *tudr* in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*. 234 778 788

[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

234 The use of *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies is only allowed
778 to the members of the Teivali division and of the Melgars
788 clan of the Tartharol.

Special kinds of dairy or special dairies may have features peculiar to themselves; thus the *pepeirthti* ceremony, in which the dairyman beats on the *patat* with a piece of *tudr* bark, is only performed at the *kudrpali*; the prescription of nakedness when milking is confined to the *kudrpalikartmokh*; the special method of wearing the *putkuli* open in front when going to the buffaloes is only practised by the *wursol*, and the method of taking food sitting on the wall of the dairy and throwing the food into the mouth is peculiar to the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs.

One feature of interest in the dairy organisation is the existence of different names at different dairies for the dairy products, and for the various objects used at the dairy or in connexion with the dairy ceremonies. The chief differences are found on comparing the village dairy with the *ti*, nearly every object having a different name in the two places, though occasionally a peculiarity of nomenclature may be confined to one dairy, as at Kanòdrs, where milk is called *persin*, the name of the churning vessel of the *ti*. As a general rule it seems that the name used in the village dairy is the same as that in ordinary use; thus, the dairy vessels used in the house for the milk of the ordinary buffaloes are known by the same names as those of the village dairy.

192 The use of special names in the more sacred dairies is
234 probably connected with their high degree of sanctity. The
778 names of the dairy vessels of the village are in common use,
788 and it would doubtless seem sacrilegious that the names of the vessels of the *ti* should be thus in everyone's mouth. Consequently nearly every object used in the ceremonial of the *ti* dairy has a special name, and in the ordinary life of the Todas these words are probably never uttered.

One striking feature of the dairy ritual is the use of the syllable *On*. With one exception (p. 177) this word is always uttered thrice, and it seems to be especially connected with the act of putting curds or milk on the bells. It has a suggestive resemblance to the mystical syllable *Om* of the Hindus. It is

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also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other examples have been given. [92] 234 778 788

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitön* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

The Sanctity of Milk

234 778 272 784

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over
[262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
415 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
778 *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
788 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

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partly as a receptacle for the milk which is about to be churned, and partly to fetch water from the stream. It is highly probable that there was at one time a third *mu* in the dairy, which was a receptacle for the buttermilk added before milking.

At the especially sacred dairy of Kanòdrs, where ancient procedure is likely to have lingered, the buried *mu* is still used as a receptacle for buttermilk. When this dairy is unoccupied, a certain amount of buttermilk is kept in the buried *mu*, and when the dairy is again occupied, this buttermilk is used to add to the milk. In this case the continuity of the dairy procedure is directly kept up by means of the buried vessel, and this procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy is strongly in favour of the view that the buried vessel was formerly a receptacle for the *pep*.

There are other indications that the *mu* is the most sacred of the dairy vessels. It is this vessel which is touched by the *wursol* the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pokkartpol* of Kanòdrs, as the final act which gives them their full status at the ordination ceremonies, and we shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies at Taradr a temporary building is made to represent a dairy by placing in its inner room a *mu*. In this last case, it would seem that the *mu* is regarded as the emblem of the dairy, and that placing a *mu* in the inner room of the temporary building makes it a dairy.

The representative of the *mu* at the *ti* dairy is the *peptòrzum*, but it does not seem that this vessel is specially distinguished from the rest, and it does not appear to have the sanctity and importance which attaches to this kind of vessel at the village dairy.

There seem to be two chief possibilities in explaining the existence of the buried *mu*. It may be that it was at one time the custom to bury the *pep* while the village was unoccupied, and that this custom now only persists at Kanòdrs, the *mu* at other places being no longer used for this purpose, though it has continued to be of ceremonial importance. The other possibility is that, as the *pep* acquired increased importance in the dairy ritual, the sanctity of the buttermilk was transferred to the vessel which contained it, and the

234 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought
445 right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the
778 dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was there-
788 fore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan. It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

261 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than
788 can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

Purity and Impurity

234 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the
783 whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised: (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this chapter have the same general form as the prayers of the dairy ritual. They consist of sentences ending in *mil*, which seem to be of the nature of supplications that certain things may come to pass, preceded by the names of certain deities followed by the word *idith*, occasionally with other sentences allied in meaning to these. The two parts of the prayer are represented, but the first part, consisting of the *kwarzam*, does not appear to have acquired the same degree of importance as in the prayer. Thus the magical formulæ of the Todas have precisely the same general form as those used in their religious ritual. In the case of the prayer, I have pointed out that the actual words leave one in doubt as to whether there is anything of the nature of a direct appeal to the gods. In the magical formulæ, on the other hand, the case for an appeal to the gods is stronger. In all the formulæ, whether used by sorcerers to bring evils on their enemies or by medicine-men to remove sufferings of various kinds, the names of the same four deities are mentioned, and these four deities, Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi, and Tirshti, are undoubtedly four of the most ancient and sacred of the Toda gods. It is noteworthy that the sorcerer does not say the names of these gods when he is removing his spells, but simply refers to them as "those gods," and it is clear that he does this because he does not wish his victim to learn the names of the gods by whose power his misfortunes have been brought about and are now to be removed. This procedure leaves little room for doubt that it is through the active intervention of the gods that the sorcerer is believed to work.

There still remains the question whether the words of the magical formula imply anything of the nature of supplication, or whether the sorcerer is not rather using forms of words which will compel the gods to exert their powers in the way the sorcerer wishes. I have no definite information as to the belief of the Toda sorcerer on the point, but the almost contemptuous tone of the two clauses which follow the names of the four gods might perhaps be held to point to the latter conclusion, and to indicate that the sorcerer can use the gods as his instruments of wrath much as seems to have been the case with the magicians of our mediæval times.

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On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the words, "*ā teu sati udâsnûdr, an nòdr nòdr udâsnûdr*," may have originally had a meaning very different from that which the bare translation seems to give to them. A similar formula occurs in the story of Kwoten (p. 194) in the curse uttered by Kwoten's mother, which has the proviso, "*on sati udairnûdr*," which was translated, "if I have reverence to the village." This makes it possible that the translation of the words of the magical incantation should rather be, "if I have proper reverence to the gods and to the gods' country." The interpretation on page 257 is that which was given to me by Teitnir, but it is not at all improbable that it is wrong, and that a translation on the lines of that given for the curse of Kwoten's mother would be more correct.

The nature of the words used makes it clear that the remedies employed by the Toda *utkòren*, or medicine-men, are of a magical kind. The words are essentially the same as those used by the *pilikòren*, or sorcerers, to remove the evils they have brought about by their previous magical incantations. The same formulæ are used to remove ills supposed to be due to natural causes as are used to remove those due to the workings of magic. It seems clear that the Todas have advanced beyond the stage of human culture in which all misfortunes are produced by magic. They recognise that some ills are not due to human intervention, but yet they employ the same kind of means to remove these ills as are employed to remove those brought about by human agency. The advance of the Todas is shown most clearly by the differentiation of function between *pilikòren* and *utkòren*, between sorcerers and medicine-men, and we seem to have here a clear indication of the differentiation between magic and medicine. The two callings are followed by different men, who are entirely distinct from one another, but both use the same kind of formula to bring about the effect they desire to produce. It seems that the powers of the *utkòren* are less definitely passed on from father to son than in the case of the *pilikòren*. There is no doubt that these powers depend largely on a knowledge of the words to be used, and especially on a knowledge of the names of the four gods, but it

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to ary other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

788 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these
234 formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
754 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

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time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also 771
possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell 788
points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer 754
were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which 793
hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it
became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions,
and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of
function, though the means used continue to show a close
resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

Omens

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meet- 787
ing certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The 925
most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird 778
called *karpāls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If 177
a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the
left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the
right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice
in Toda legend. It warned Pův, the son of Ön, and in the
last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left
to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting
the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who
is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole
incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends,
and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the
Badagas or other Hindus.

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773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
796 know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Erkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned:
788 *Atthkâr* and *Ôners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
601 *Moskar* and *Manlthi* (Òdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Tlindenk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karstram parstram*, *Nòtlrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Òdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

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The Kars Prayer

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per md*, as in *Mutashkitik per md*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kingners* (Keshker), *Kûlnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Edstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòdshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tûli*, *Sing*, *Keitaz*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ektrzam meidjam*, *Nòtlrzk êr usht md*. The place of *karstêram parstêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ektrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karstêram parstêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârzk êr usht md*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtlrzk êr usht md* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

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the kind called *kwadrikurs*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*achok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatits*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties. 846

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *terigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol. [431]

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf. 846 234 853 788

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

1 [The ceremony after childbirth -- Analysis]

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846 suggested is the most probable one; but this can only be con-
234 jecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have
853 now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

788 The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however,
174 has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *ān*. As we shall see later, the *ān* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madwni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *ān* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

000 A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

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527 sacred days, and if the latter were then to be neglected, we
621 should have a community in which various activities were prohibited on one day of the week, and the institution so arising would differ very little from the Hebrew Sabbath. It is possible that the Todas show in an early stage the institution of a Sabbath in which the whole community has not yet settled on a single and joint holy day.

Sacred Numbers

788 Certain numbers recur with great frequency in the dairy
801 ceremonial, and may be regarded as having a special sanctity on this account. There seems to be a general preference for uneven numbers, and this preference comes out very strongly in the *teskirst* ceremony, in which an uneven number of men must take part on any one occasion. The number of men performing this ceremony together must be three, five, seven, nine, &c.

In the dairy ritual the numbers which occur chiefly are three, seven and nine, but other numbers have also been singled out in other branches of Toda lore. The numbers which occur in ceremonial may now be considered in detail.

Three.—A large proportion of the ritual acts of the dairy are performed three times, usually with the accompaniment of the sacred syllable, *Om* uttered thrice, once with each performance of the act. This three-fold performance is especially marked in the ceremony of putting milk or curds on the sacred bells and in the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk. In the ordination ceremonies, the number occurs less frequently. The purificatory drinking is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, but after drinking, the candidate rubs himself three times with the shoots or bark, and, at the ordination of a *palol*, the candidate drinks three times seven on several occasions. Other acts during the ordination of the *palol* are also performed thrice, and the same number occurs in the ordination of the *kulmukh*.

Acts are performed thrice with special frequency in the ceremonial of the *ti*, and, at the ordinary dairy, this number is especially connected with the 'feeding' of the sacred

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bell, and there is no doubt that it is a number regarded as especially sacred. Whenever the sacred syllable *Om* is used, it is nearly always uttered thrice, and there seems to be a special association between the number three and this word. 788 801

In the *erkumpittipimi* ceremony three branches of *tudr* leaves are used, and they and the log with which the calf is killed are passed round the body of the animal thrice. Later in the ceremony three pieces of wood are thrown over the fire.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth, the woman drinks thrice on various occasions, in the *parsitpimi* ceremony the name of the bow is asked and the answer given three times, and in the ceremony of name-giving three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the child and three into his hair.

At the funeral ceremonies, earth is thrown three times on the corpse and three times into the pen, the body is swung on the fire three times, and at the final scene of the *asarawkedr* the man who rings the bell goes round the burial place of the ashes thrice. Three *ovikeikdrs* are thrown by the man who crosses the pathway of the dead. The number three is not limited to the dairy ritual, but is of frequent occurrence in the whole of Toda ceremonial.

The number three also appears in connexion with magical or semi-magical practices. The various methods of treatment used by the *ashkrus* are carried out three times and never more frequently than this, and the sufferer who drinks hot water to allay the effects of fright also does this thrice. A remedy is probably held to be more potent if repeated the same number of times as in the case of so many sacred acts. [755]

Five.—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial except in certain ceremonies at the Nôdrs *ti* which are repeated five times because there are five groups of buffaloes belonging to this dairy. The number in this case has, however, no ceremonial significance, and is merely a consequence of the fact that one *paiol* at this *ti* has three groups and the other two groups of buffaloes. The only other occurrence of the number is at the Kars *ti*, where the ancient lamp probably had five cavities, but even this is doubtful.

The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The

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754 801 sorcerer, who wishes to injure one who has not granted his request, hides five stones tied together with hair in the thatch of his enemy's hut.

782 801 *Six.*—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial, but it seems to be regarded as an auspicious number in some ways. In Teitnir's lament for his wife, reference is made to the hope that they might have had six children and six buffaloes, and in the prayer on the occasion of the ear-piercing ceremony, one clause runs "may he have six sons."

Six sticks are used to make the artificial dairy of the hand-burning ceremony, but this is an obvious result of the fact that the dairy has to have two rooms.

Seven.—This number is especially prominent in the ordination ceremonies. The purificatory drinking out of leaf-cups is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, the *palikartmokk* drinking seven times only, the *wursal* seven times seven, and the *paial* three times seven, seven times seven and nine times seven at different periods of his prolonged ordination ceremonies. At the dairies of Taradr and Kanödrs, the number occurs in a different form, seven different kinds of leaf being used in the purificatory ceremonies.

The number occurs again in connexion with the lamp. At the *Nödrs ti* and at the *Pan ti*, and possibly at other dairies, there used to be lamps, each of which had seven cavities and seven wicks. Some of these lamps have been lost, but two remain at the dairies mentioned. I have already referred to the fact that some of the ancient lamps were said to have had five wicks, but it seems clear that in the only two examples which survive there are seven wicks, and it is possible that this was the number in all.

Another occurrence of the number seven is in the old dairies of the *Nödrs* clan which had seven rooms. The funeral dairies, which are undoubtedly very ancient institutions, have three rooms, and the *Nödrs* dairies, also undoubtedly ancient, had seven, but I heard of no case in which a dairy had four, five, or six rooms.

Outside the dairy ceremonial, the only occurrence of this number is in the lament of Teitnir for his wife, in which he speaks of their visiting seven courts and seven ships.

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It is perhaps significant that the number seven should be a sacred number to a people who have so highly developed the cult of different days of the week. It is possible that the purificatory drinkings of the ordination ceremonies were at one time performed seven times with the idea that the candidate was sanctifying himself for each day of the week, but at the present time it is clear that the act is performed seven times because this number is prescribed by custom. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the sanctity of the number seven occurs predominantly in the religious cults of peoples who have a seven-day week. 788 801

Nine.—This number only occurs in the dairy ceremonial during the ordination of the *paiol* when the seven-fold purification with *tudr* is performed nine times.

Twelve.—I only met with this number once, in the prayer at the *pilinirtiri* ceremony, when the expression "12 years" is used as if it were equivalent to "for ever."

Sixteen and *Eighteen.*—The chief interest of these numbers is that they are used in connexion with the gods. There are said to be 1600, 1800 gods, and these numbers are mentioned in the prayer of the Kanodrs dairy and in the legends. The numbers are probably used in the way in which we should use the word 'infinite,' but there must be some reason why they should have been chosen. 776 801

The number 18 occurs in another connexion in the rule that the *paiol* should perform a certain ceremony after eighteen years of continuous office. 801

I have one possible clue to the choice of the number eighteen. The Todas say that a species of Strobilanth growing on the Nilgiris as a shrub only flowers once in eighteen years. They call this shrub *pirshar*, and it was in flower during the year of my visit. Albert, my interpreter, had only seen it in flower once or twice, but had not paid special attention to the duration of the flowering period. The number of times that several Todas had seen the flowers agreed approximately with their probable ages. Thus, Kutadri saw the flowers in 1902 for the third time, having seen them for the first time when he was twelve years old. This would make his age forty-eight, which seemed from other sources of information to be 824 801 806

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CHAPTER XVIII

SACRED PLACES AND OBJECTS

THE Todas show undoubted signs of reverence to various material objects. Many of the objects so reverenced have been mentioned incidentally in the account of the dairy ritual and in other places, and in this chapter I propose to consider how far these objects are regarded as sacred, and to give an account of some sacred objects not hitherto noticed. 778

Of the various objects of reverence the following are the most important: hills and rivers; villages, dairies, their thresholds and contents; bells; the buffalo and its milk; trees and plants; the sun, fire and light; and stones.

HILLS AND OTHER PLACES.

Any place connected with the gods is reverenced by the the Todas, and this is especially the case with the hills where they dwell. Only some hills, however, are shown reverence by means of the *kaiwakki* salutation. One of these is the hill of Nêtirsi (Snowdon), and every Toda visiting this hill salutes with hand to forehead in all directions. Another place where a similar salutation is performed is a spot at Avalanche Top. When I visited this place with Kutadri he saluted in all directions with both hands to his face, and told me that a man who once omitted to do this was killed soon after by a tiger. In this case I could not learn that Kutadri was saluting any particular hill or other spot. He seemed to be saluting the region of the Kundahs on which he was about to enter. 778 823 788

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778 There are doubtless other places where the same sign of
788 reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

778 There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the
788 Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by
823 gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and
784 there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

778 The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at
784 certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary
788 people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas
823 habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the
793 restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the rank of *perkurzal*. 778 784

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 788 823 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue to be treated with some degree of reverence. 778 621 788

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called '*kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kesenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdmer was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be.
778 When going from Ootacamund to Paikarà by the bridle path
788 the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *mein* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages,"
621 where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually
778
784
788

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *isknidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them. 562 621 778 784 788

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimbhi* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kaloimad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die. 621 627 761 778

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kindr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

621 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is
627 also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there
778 to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

The Dairy

234 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the
621 reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole
778 or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy
788 draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites. Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.
[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

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This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room. 234 778

In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irwirtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops. [114]

The Threshold

As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination. 234 778 788

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kakar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *kwainirtiti* and *pilinirtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

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778 Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind,
534 and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

778 Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to
788 them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell
234 called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan
534 *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

771 Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the
778 Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a
534 definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent, regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

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objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes by which they were borne. 234 778

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one time to have been more sacred, or to have received more definite signs of reverence than at the present time. The evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mad* at Makars was a very human animal. [773]

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *palol* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals. 234 778 788

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world. 234 778

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the

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THE SUN, LIGHT, AND FIRE

778 There is no doubt that the sun is an object of reverence to
788 the Todas. It is the duty of every man when first he leaves his hut in the morning to salute the sun by raising his hand
821 to his face in the *kaimukhti* salutation. The sun is also saluted by the *palol* as he comes out of his dairy to milk the buffaloes. All my informants were unanimous in saying that the salutation of the *palol* was both to the buffaloes and to the sun. The doors of the great majority of the dairies faced more or less in an easterly direction, so that the dairyman, on coming out of his dairy in the morning, would see the sun, and when the dairy had a different orientation, as at Mòdr, the *palol* had to turn so that he would perform the salutation looking eastward. At the afternoon ceremonial the salutation was performed in the same direction as in the morning, so that, so far as the salutation is performed to the sun, it would appear that it is to the place of the sun-rise rather than to the sun itself.

The sun plays a part in the ceremony which takes place when a woman goes to the seclusion-hut after childbirth, but there was some reason to think that this was due to the belief in the noxious influence of the mysterious body, Keirt, which is near the sun, and not to the influence of the sun itself. When performing the ceremony on leaving the seclusion-hut the woman faces the sun, and this may be an act of reverence, since now Keirt is no longer feared. It seemed quite clear that the moon is not saluted in the same way as the sun with the *kaimukhti* salutation. No salutation is paid at all to the new moon when it is first seen, but after a day or two, usually on the third day, it is the custom to bow down the head, so that the forehead rests on the corner of the *putkuli* lying on the ground. The salutation is that called *nersatiti* shown in Fig. 44. I only heard of one custom indicating reverence to the full moon. When the Todas throw away water on the day of the full moon, they do not throw it towards the moon, but away from it. Thus, if the moon is opposite the door of the hut, the people will go round to the back in order to throw the water there.

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water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light it gives are also undoubtedly reverenced, and lighting the lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character. 778 788 373 354

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not reverenced merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces, one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light the sacred lamp directly from it. 372 778 354

The fire of the *tòratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, and especially at those called *teutütusthchi* and *erkumptthpimi* and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman conducting the ceremony. At the *azaramkedr* of a man the fire is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this 372

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
782 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are
788 the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual. In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
787 the frenzy into which the *tawal* or diviners fall they are believed
791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *tawal*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

776 very vague. On the other hand, certain gods of obviously more recent origin seem to be replacing, to some extent, the older gods. The lives of Kwoten and Meilitars can be related by many in great detail, but though they seem to inspire more interest among the Todas I cannot say that I observed anything to show that they receive any special worship or reverence. [773] Meilitars is especially mentioned in the Kanòdrs prayer, but this would only put him on a level with many objects of no great amount of sanctity. The attitude of the Todas towards these two beings seemed to me to be rather that of people towards heroes than towards gods, though the mythology has raised them to the level of the gods.

771 776 Nevertheless, the idea of "god" is highly developed among the Todas and I am inclined to believe that the most satisfactory explanation of the Tòda deities is that the people came to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes have been raised to the ranks of the gods and that the lives of these heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the progress towards complete obliviscence; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods.

The Todas, then, show us a stage of religious belief in which gods once believed to be real, living among men and intervening actively in their affairs, have become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible and intervening in the affairs of men in a mysterious manner and chiefly in the case of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given.

771 788 The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this 771
domination has taken a form in which ritual has become 788
all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarzam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degenerated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason 771
to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly 778
present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the 782
gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of 786
the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground 182
than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
● 788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of
182 old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and
784 several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *maalsw* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *maalsw* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *maalsw* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *uwrsal* goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. Probably the behaviour of the *kaithaldi* in the sleeping hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous custom.

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them, may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration of religion.

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Male matokwi have also to go through a ceremony when they pass in company over either of the two sacred rivers of the Todas, the Paikara (Teipakh) and the Avalanche (Pakhwar). As the two men approach the river, they pluck and chew some grass, and each man says to the other "*pò tûdrikina, pò kudrikina?*"—"Shall I throw the river (water), shall I cross the river?" or, instead of the second sentence, they may say "*pò pâkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the river?" They then go to the side of the river and each man dips his hand in the water and throws a handful away from him three times and then they cross the river, each with the right arm outside the cloak as is usual when crossing these sacred streams.

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If the *matokwi* cross on a Tuesday, Friday or Saturday[1] they do not throw water, but are content with chewing the grass, and if the funeral ceremonies of a person belonging to the clan of either are not complete the water will not be thrown.

This ceremony performed by *matokwi* when crossing a sacred river was said to be connected with the legend given on p. 592, in which two *matokwi* are concerned.

[1] Properly the river should not be crossed at all on these days (see p. 418).

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
237 material called *tundrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordination of a Teivali *polikartmokk*, it may take the place of the
292 *pawai*; at that of a *nwrsal*, *tundrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *paiol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *hawa* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both division of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear the turban called *maidhri*, but there is no doubt that this is
292 an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
569 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kodmer, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

Methods of Wearing the Hair

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
965 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mud tatrni*, "bind (or hair) who

172 furnishes us with another example of material objects which
174 have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and
here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken
182 place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas have had no enemies, either
human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious
an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of
degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains
doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is
shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that
the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature
of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded
by all.

174 In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration
the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with
182 an example of a people who once have possessed a higher
771 culture of which some features have undergone degeneration.
788 If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that
the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the
Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district,
and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have
been on much the same general level as that of the dominant
castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it
seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion
of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual
coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because
in their very simple environment this was the most accessible
object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the
extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must
have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris;
and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most prob-
able that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a
consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect
of their religion.

171 If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of
174 one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have
in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation,
the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of
the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a
higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swami! Swami![1] then places it on the ground as a present to Bhumi tai[2] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors.

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonized the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[3]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffaloes, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere stripling armed with light wands; knowing that the animals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe.

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of

[1] Swami = *God.*

[2] Bhumi tai = *earth mother.* It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[3] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog.* May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (pest)*?

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGION.

Prayers to Sun and Moon—The Mysterious coupled with Godhead—No clear conception of a Supreme Being—The use of a God—Toda Belief—Amulets—Ju'ars situated—Sin, Punishment, little Gods, Spirits, Witchcraft—Toda Religious Belief, whence derived.

CHAP. XII.

If by the word religion, we mean to imply devotion, piety, duty, as applied to the worship of God, Creator and Ruler; then the Todas are most certainly an irreligious people, judging of them, as we can alone judge, by their actions; whether we compare them by our own standard or through the rites and performances of simple races more in keeping with themselves.

They salaam to the rising and setting sun—binh—and the moon—tiggala [1]—at night, reciting the one formula of prayer which they use on all devout occasions; daneenna, mokh ultama, ñi ultama, ñr ultama, kurr ultama, eliom ultama, the meaning of which has already been translated in note 5 of Chapter VII. To see a man amongst his family, stand out on a moonlight night with hand to forehead, asking most gravely this blessing on his house, from one of the givers of light, is an impressive spectacle, though the address may have been made only to the moon.

We see from this formula what they acknowledge to be the fact; that they look on these luminaries as Gods, Lorrie—Dir, Swami—not that they are, in the least degree, clear on the subject of their power, or the mode or limits of their

[1] See note No. 3 of Chapter VII.

CHAP. IV. fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God*.

Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impertinacity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of *relief*.

The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive the existence of any very mystic rites among them. Whatever is done in these tiriêris, is known to every intelligent

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

284 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is
234 such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The
778 pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

534 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XV.

PRIESTLY DUTIES.

Pâlâl's daily routine—Salutes the sacred Herd—Milks the Cattle—Libations to the Bell-gods—Names of Toda Gods—Does the conception of invisible Gods arise from deficient organ of Form?—Todas revere Light, not Fire—Who is the Kôvilâl?—Pâlâl demonstrates that he is never touched—Milk held in religious regard—Pâlâl collects Kâtu for his Mand.

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THE daily routine of the pâlâl's mysterious office was described to me nearly in the following words. 'On rising in the morning, I wash face, hands, and teeth, with the left hand.' In daily human life he had invariably used the right hand for this purpose; such being the custom with all Orientals certainly, who, eating with their fingers, find it necessary to reserve the right hand for that especial object. But remember the pâlâl is now a God, and to the pure all things are pure—fact!

'Then entering the inner room—ulg ârsh—of the house,' which is reserved for dairy purposes, the outer room—porram âlg ârsh—being the pâlâl's sleeping apartment, 'I make a leaf-lamp, into which I put clarified butter and 5 wicks, thus,' spreading out his fingers. I could not ascertain if the number 5 is essential, but it appeared to me to be so. 'The lamp is put into a niche in the wall, opposite the bells, which hang on the separate prongs of a stick thrust into the thatch of the roof. And I light in silence, nor salute either light—belak—or relics—maṇi.'

'Having taken up my wand and honnu or milk-pail, which

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opp. p. 142

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THE PÂLÂL SALUTES THE SACRED CATTLE.

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is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzhini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the names of the following Gods:—

Ânmungâno	Godingâtho
Beligoshu	Dekulâria

Kamdâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

[1] Nin arzhini—*I adore thee.* See Chapter XVII., on the final Mand, for the application of these words.

CHAP. XVII.

unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tirièri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up*. [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

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Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[1] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiriêri; the holy of holies, already described.

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In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

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[1] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have tarave = *the order of a master or superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Dravidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [Pope.]

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saunter into the fold: the rest chew the cud in an indolent group outside.

512 The people sit about watching. And whilst some lads stand round the herd, to quiet the nervous with their voices, and to stop flirtations with their sticks, lest any disturbed cow should withhold a portion of her milk; the naked pâlkarpâl with honnus in hand, and pushing forward the mope-eyed sucking-calves, eases each mother in turn, of her oppressive load. Over all, the ripe glow of the declining sun; hallowing the innocent domestic scene which his rich beams have just ceased from glorifying.

Faces cheer up as the man returns to his dairy: and talking is resumed. We understand now their late anxiety and their present ease; the evening's *supply of food has been assured to them.*

Shortly, the mistress of the house may be observed through the little door of her cabin, squatted on the hearth inside; deftly feeding the fire in the vorshkâll, stick by stick, as she cooks the evening meal: head thrown back, eyes half-closed, with a hand outspread, warding the heat from her face. Outside, the family sit about or occupy themselves in shutting up the calves.

512 788 We note a man leaning against the village wall, mutter 'ekarvashk'—sunset. He rests his wand against the stones, and taking both arms out of his mantle, maintaining it in place with the elbows, leisurely puts feet to the ground. Bending slightly, and with joined hands to forehead, he says in a low tone, 'Êyan, appn! danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama!' Then readjusting his cloth, steps back again to his seat. He quietly watches the luminous God as it subsides in oriental glory behind the hill: then resuming the *sotto voce* conversation, enquires after the health of the new born calf, and if the mother has begun giving milk. An innocent grave smile plays on his face when told that both are doing well. 'A good cow!' he remarks, slowly nodding.

Long looked for dinner appears to be ready; for the heated woman now emerges into the open air, and the men and boys enter the hut, leaving the females to prolong the talk. When each member of the community has in turn, eaten, and the offerings to bhumi tai have been swept out of doors, the whole family in the village join grouped about in primitive dinginess, and quiet unconspicuous attitude; some under the veranda eaves, others on the tûar, or under its quiet shelter: and there rehearse the day's events. The naked pâlkarpâl also, having completed his separate cooking, squats apart upon the wall, whence he can hear the news and add his distant note to the conversation.

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And thus the shades of evening close in upon them. The air grows chill, and the careful mother of the smallest, rises to take the infant she has kept under her dress, into the well baked house. She stops a moment: looks round to the sky where the Blushing moon, ascending vertically through the trees in hot pursuit of the now vanished sun, illumines her womanly face. 'Swâmi, Swâmi!' she mutters, with hands to forehead, supporting the while, her young one in the bend of her arm, 'Mokh ultama, ellam ultama:' and stoops in at the little doorway. Two or three sleepy-headed children soon stagger in after her. Note the pretty daughter in her teens, plump and white teethed, with hair tightly curled, and eyes that brilliantly catch the sparkle of the moon. She has been taught to say her prayers: but unmarried and without a care, the sense of responsibility is not strong upon her; she has no child to shiver for. She gives a rather hurried salute, bringing her head down to her hands, rather than take the young arms out of their envelope in the chill: a quick 'Êyan, appa!' and in she ducks, shutting the door after her. A prolonged rustle may be heard as the brood settle themselves in the dark, to rest on the warm hearth; with a mantle on the floor and another covering all their nakedness. The healthy baby, with eyes wide open, trying in vain to penetrate the gloom, disturbs the mother on the raised bed, who is now

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heard hushing and patting, hushing and patting, hushing and patting. A few nursery skirmishes, and all is still, within.

'Îrzhtâshk' says a man outside in the dark, yawning, 'it is night—bed time.' 'Îrzhtâshk' is repeated by these men of few words, rising. They separate for their different huts. Two to join our family party, stopping before the door, quietly make their short address to the moon, asking *it*[1] to be gracious, and that all may be well with the cattle and with the village. Again the door shuts. A little more settling: the snatch of a song: the low mutter of talk: the cry of the disturbed baby, and all again is hushed.

Îrzhtâshk, I iterate, and impressed with the lonely and exceptional beauty of the position, mount the hill; to see and to think. Not a sound is to be heard over the vast expanse, save the curious tick ticking of nature at work in the short grass. Overhead, the dear moon, now brilliant, pursuing her serene course in the transparent ether,

> 'this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestic
> roof fretted with golden fire,'

illumines hill and dale, close prospect and far distant view, miles away down in the plains below: now showing the rounded outlines of tracts of forest, and the spurs of receding hills: now throwing a brilliant dart through the poor man's woods close by; bringing out each stick of the gnarled trees with the free hand of an accomplished artist, and sheening gracefully into the women's secluded bathing place: then resting firmly and fully, but softly, on the roof of his humble dwelling in the open patch of hill side—the home, the sanctum—and counting his cattle in their pen; tinting each horn and moving shiny back of the living group, the better to see them. She traverses all his free domain; the undulating pastures and the lonely tarn: examines the single tree out on the wild,

[1] Some savage races reverence the moon as a god, ever in pursuit of the sun goddess; but the Todas are very ignorant, and do not know to what sexes these luminaries belong.

Kuttam Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Mûslehyâld	Kérahandk.
2. Pangôd	Pérgûrsh.	
3. Âr	Tirsh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nirsh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorsh	Mudershva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârshtith	Kâtêtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângûar. / Kânj.
4. Térahdêr	Korshaldf.	
5. Kérkôërah	Musdahyâldf.	
6. Kûramârsh	Marshaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirsâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor / Têkva / Pêahhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârah	Mânboa. / Ârialdf.	
10. Kûërsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Pârshtâr	Karshaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bêtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Bud. Târaka. *Pl.* VIII.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539

At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.

At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793

He lights the lamp.

At eight he milks his buffaloes.

He puts on no cloth.

He places butter and ghi before the god.

Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.

Then he puts on his cloth.

At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.

He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.

He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.

He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.

He alone *may* sleep in the temple.

At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.

At seven he milks them.

The woman's house is down the hill.

The priest must not go in unto the woman.

He may not marry.

When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.

Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, ETC. 771 114 771 197 788

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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[191] etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
[197] "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
[302] A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[182] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[185] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[165] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

8:Emeeeeen L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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It is said that the mounds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the kharm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mound (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kharm, as also for the people of the nîlh as a whole (among the tourkanof moiety, but not among the tôdî[illegible]), for the buffaloes of the nîlh, and for the funeral-mounds, tîr-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nîlgiris have similar pairs of kharm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kharm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mound, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mound there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kharm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kharm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each nîlh then has associated with it a large number of names and kharm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. Ôuqoy of the [illegible] (48, Uthadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the nîlh. pang (47, Pungg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the nîlh. [illegible] of the kanof (10, Makan) has the name of one of the tîr-places of this nîlh. [illegible] of the kanof (15, Tarnîolv) has the name of the kurpof dairy at the mound kan. [illegible] of the tourqof (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kuglof dairy at the mound tourqo. pepeth of the [illegible] (44, Pepoth) has the name of a snake said to live at kanerr, a mound of the nîlh. [illegible] of the [illegible] (26, Kerudrkutan) has as his name the mound kharm of the people of the nîlh. [illegible] of the [illegible] (34, Athurr) has the mound kharm of the people of the nîlh. [illegible], son of [illegible] (12, Kachold) has one of the kharm of the buffaloes of his nîlh.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the *poḷol*, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the tḷ. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nōdrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nōdrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nōdrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the tōṇṇut and the tōṇnoṛ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the *vaṇḍiṇṇut*, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 178) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. *hanṇṇu*, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying *hṇ̄* at each stroke (p. 179 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is cleaned up (e. g., other in no way).

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nōrumg (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son sirjay; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1930 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a tōv and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief already mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is *sunj* (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit *svāmin*), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmg (Rivers' genealogical table 38; one

3 [*Amoeba*, R. O. R. L.]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. The takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term *of polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad'i*, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *warsali* (for the *warsalir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kalimokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikarmokh*, while the *warsali*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *warsol*, a *kurpalikarmokh* and a *kugvalikarmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at Ooti alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kavn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

described is performed at certain stones called *nerrtildars*. At Mídr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *paiol* takes a *mirkadzili*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *ner*, as when rubbed on the *kulmadi*). The two *paiol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kulmadi* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kulmadi*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *nerrtipol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *nerrtildars*.

The ceremony with the *kulmadi* which follows the migration to the dairies of *Anto* and *Ódethu* is one of the most extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kulmadi*, followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kulmadi* is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the very sacred dairies of *Anto* and *Ódethu*. The *kulmadi* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.

It is possible that the *kulmadi* is chosen as the person to be made responsible *merely* because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kulmadi* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kulmadi* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *ment* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

ordinarily touch, and it may be that the curing and other features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred dairies of Anto and Ödrthe the ceremony is still carried out in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the anointing of the *newtiikers*, which take the place of the head of the *kulmudi*.

When the *kulmudi* comes into the sleeping hut on the first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kulmudi* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

At some time during the day following the arrival at the *new ti mand*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung. Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at the Nödrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—a special ceremony called *pawp* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nödrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *ordpawr*—*i.e.*, "two *pawrs*." One *pawr* is a day and its next day, so that *ordpawr* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

1: Rivers K-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There are two chief reasons which induce a sorcerer to work his magic on another. One is when a request by the sorcerer for assistance has been met by deception. If the sorcerer asks a rich man for a buffalo, or for money, and the rich man refuses point-blank, it does not appear that the sorcerer proceeds further; but if the rich man promises a gift and does not give it, or if he delays giving a positive answer and puts off a decision from day to day, it is a clear case for the application of occult measures. The other chief motive for sorcery is a quarrel with a sorcerer. The methods are different in the two cases. In the first case the sorcerer procures some human hair—it may be the hair of any one, even his own hair. It is not the hair of the man he wishes to injure because it would be impossible to get it. Five small stones are taken and tied together by means of the hair, and both hair and stones are tied up in a piece of cloth. Then, holding the stones and hair in his hand, the sorcerer utters the following incantation:—

Pithiroon the elder, Pithiroon Pirakoto eldr; A ton and nathiroolir; thou gods power if there be;

on ... nathiroolir; on ... country country if there be; his calf ... go away; his buffaloes wings grow ... fly away; as I drink ... drink water drink away; I thirsty ... thirsty be away; I hungry ... hungry away; my children ... my children ... my ... wrapped cloth ... wrapped cloth water away.

This incantation was freely rendered by Teitnie as follows: For the sake of Pithiroon, Ön, Teikirol, and Tirokti; by the power of the gods if there be power; by the gods' country if there be a country;[1] may his calves perish; as birds fly away may his buffaloes go where the calves come to suck; as I drink water, may he have nothing but water to drink; as I am thirsty, may he also be

[1] I am very doubtful whether the meaning of this and the preceding clause is correctly given in these words.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

754 thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my
717 children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears
539 only a ragged cloth, so may his wife wear only a ragged cloth.

791 When he has uttered the incantation, the sorcerer takes the hair and stones in their cloth to the village of the man upon whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall, and hides them secretly in the thatch of the roof of the man's hut.

It seemed that this method of sorcery is only justified when the sorcerer is a poor man, and the references in the incantation to the poverty of the sorcerer confirm this.

[711] When a man who has prevaricated with the request of a sorcerer suffers any evil fortune, he consults the diviners, and they may tell him not only who has produced the misfortune, but why the sorcerer has brought the misfortune upon him and they may advise the sufferer to become reconciled with his enemy and to give him what he has asked. The man goes to the sorcerer, who is usually only too ready to take the credit of the affair, and it is arranged that he shall come to the village of the sufferer. Whenever he comes a third person must be present, who is called the *nadrool*, or intermediate man.[1] The *nadrool* brings about the reconciliation, and arranges the terms, and then the sufferer bows down before the sorcerer and performs the *kulmeipadithti* salutation. The sorcerer then utters the following formula while his foot is resting on the head of the man:—

ô ton ashtodâ, on nâdo ashtodâ; tonod pon nd; tern
Those gods if there be, his country if there be; cold go may; mercy

ôl pon nd; ên ir kurk ôn ashtond; on mann ôn
becomes, go may; this buffalo calf to all be well; my mind all

ashtodpond, ton mannon ôll nd.
cleared from guilt have I, his mind also clear may.

Teitnir rendered this freely as follows:—

By those gods if there be gods, and by their country if there be a country; as water is cold, so goes my anger; as mercy comes, may my anger go; may his buffaloes and

[1] The middle room of a three-roomed dairy is the *nadkurak*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

calves be well; I have now nothing evil in my mind, you must also have no evil in your mind. 754

Food is then given to the sorcerer, who also obtains the object for which he had originally asked. Later the sorcerer goes secretly to the hut of the man and takes out the stones and hair which he had hidden in the thatch. 789 539 791

In removing the spell the sorcerer does not mention the names of the four gods, but speaks of them as "those gods." The object of this is that the names of the four gods whom the sorcerer invokes shall not become generally known.

If any one quarrels with a sorcerer, the method adopted by the latter is different. He obtains a bone of a man, buffalo, or some other animal, or if unable to obtain a bone, he may use a lime. He sits, holding the bone or lime in his right hand, and utters the following incantation:—

Pithiatu Ön idith, Tethirsin Tirshtin idith; a teu sati uddnudr, an nödr uddnudr; ank pudru pirsk pat mâ; ank ud ulthkhith
to him will destroy disease come may; to him one incurable

pun pâ mâ; an hal muri umâ; an hai mâri âmâ;
sore come may; his leg broken may be; his hand broken may be;

an has pudri âmâ; an ârz ubrzk an hâthpal âvodinâ
his eye destroyed may be; his house into his family to all

uddinu pâ mâ; ith ank uhitan harwai agi ankn
trouble come may; he to me troubles did who accordingly to him also

uhitan ö mâ; ain nödr udi ed ariken â
troubles occur may; his country there is that we shall know those

ku udi ed kanken; i elv melt alain
gods there is that we shall see; this bone into the ground what happens,

ed kîkw alâ mâ.
that man to also happen may.

The only clause of this incantation of which the meaning is not clear is the penultimate, and the free rendering of this was said to be "as there are undoubtedly gods, we shall see all this happen"; it seems that *ariken*, which means literally "we shall know," is often used in the sense "without doubt." If he is using a lime, the sorcerer substitutes *irsimitch* for *elv* in the last clause.

The bone or lime is then buried in a wood near the village of the man who is to suffer the misfortune.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *nedrvol* as in
the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
539 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer.
791 When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of
the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpudithti* to the sorcerer,
and the spell is removed with the following words :—

tan udānudr, an udr udānudr ; tanad pen ud ; tern ai pen ud[1] ; *molk*
madrik an kūdipel elmk ; in mel en mans elm tulvolmem
children to his family all to ; this after my mind all cleared from guilt
in uli agi dmd ; nův put, undri put pen ud.
(as I) this well be may ; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
754 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most
578 intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide.
In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mani kudupol*; "it is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

which are eaten; (iv) those of trees which give pungent substances like chillies and pepper. 755 824

There were various other complaints for which the *uthèrew* are consulted, such as:—*elptâkswâdr*, depression in the chest of a child when it breathes (*elp* or *elv* = bone); *tukhpkâdathvûdwâdr*, pain in the side; *kankpudithnâdr*, if anything gets into the eye; *erutâthtinâdr*, if cut or wounded in any way; *pohersnâdr*, if snake bites. 755

Each of these has its appropriate treatment, but the only method of which I obtained an account was the last. Certain men have a special reputation for the treatment of snake-bite. A cord is made of woman's hair and this is bound tightly round the bitten limb in three places. The doctor takes a piece of *pathanwal* and strikes the bitten limb while he utters the appropriate incantation.[1] The ligature is kept on the limb for two or three days and the incantation is repeated three times a day during that period. Anyone whom a snake has bitten must not cross a stream. If it is absolutely necessary that he should cross, he must be carried over it. 752 755

If wild animals attack the buffaloes, a procedure which closely resembles those already described is carried out by the *uthèrew*. The procedure is called *kâdrkatinamâdr*—*i.e.*, "wild beast tie mouth if." It is also carried out if a buffalo is lost, and in this case the charm will keep the animal from injury by wild beasts. The *utpal* takes three stones secretly and goes at night to the front either of the dairy or hut and utters the following incantation:— 834 755 789

Pîthâtwu Ôn âdîth, Tâthîrdan Tîrshtin âdîth; pof phrai hôt tarv nil
big tiger teeth fastened stand

nil; hôth harwain nuka tarv nil nil; pudr kanai ambu tarv
way; black bear face crowd red dog other side

nil nil; pot tarv tarv nil nil; pof pur tarv nil nil; pof pu
snake great head big hill big river

pô tarv nil nil; pof phôl nail[2] tarv nil nil.
stream big porcupine quills

[1] I did not obtain this formula.

[2] *Nâl*, which means bramble and thorn, is here used for the porcupine's quills.

234 Then come the names of Pithioteu and Ön, followed by
755
789

ith *trobdin* *hati* *vaiawd.*
these all before tie keep may.

The *utpol* then takes a piece of ragged cloth in which he ties the three stones and hides them in the thatch of the hut. If a buffalo has been lost it will come back the next day, and even if it remains in the wood no tiger would touch it while the stones are in the thatch. When the buffalo returns the stones are taken out and thrown away.

755 All the remedies so far described resemble one another
789 in that they are applied by one of the people called *utkòren.* The following remedy is applied by the sufferer himself. If a man is frightened in any way, as by a sudden noise when he is passing along a road, he will go home and put the hoe (*kudali*) and a stone called *neilikal* into the fire till the hoe is red hot. He puts the hoe and stones into a brass vessel called *tirg* and pours on water. He then covers himself entirely with his cloak and remains covered till the water in the vessel ceases to bubble, when he opens his cloak, drinks water from the vessel three times, and throws the rest away.

[372] There was some difference of opinion as to the use of the stone called *neilikal* at ordinary times. It was said first to have been used for making fire before matches were introduced, and there seems to be no doubt that fire was sometimes made in this way. Others said that the *neilikal* was used for sharpening iron tools. The only *neilikal* I saw was at Nidrai and this was a large piece of quartz, and there seemed to be no doubt that this had at one time been used for making fire.

362 In one of the methods of sorcery which have been described
754 it will be remembered that human hair is used. The Todas take the same kind of precautions about hair and nail-parings which are so widely spread throughout the world, but the reasons for the precautions differed from those usually given. I was told that the Todas do not ordinarily cut their hair, but the heads of children are shaved and adults also shave their heads on special occasions. The hair removed

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Kars Prayer

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per md*, as in *Mutashkitik per md*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrnars* (Kuzhu), *Kingnerz* (Keshker), *Kulukars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Edstdrs* (Tashtars), *Keiikdrs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhdrmddri* (Isharadr), *Pòdzkwars* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleinars* (Peletkwur), *Tarzkidt*, *Tùli*, *Sing*, *Keitaa*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ektrzam meidjam*, *Nòtlrzk tr uskt md*. The place of *karstram parstram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ektrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karstram parstram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhdrzk tr uskt md*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtlrzk tr uskt md* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *ertamptikpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

4: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of
782 promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual
•787 words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase
796 to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"[1] and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumpthpini* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

The Teutütubthchi Ceremony

782 This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the
798 foot of a hill by the *poal* and *kalwodá*. The name *teutütubthchi* or *teutütubthchi* means "god fire he lights." It

[1] I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

know that, three centuries ago, priests visited the Todas and preached to them, and it is stated (see p. 720) that one chose the Hebrew story of the creation for his lesson, and it may be that the incident, striking the fancy of the people, was incorporated into their own tradition of the origin of man. The resemblance between the Toda *madsal* and the Sabbath may also excite the suspicion that the former institution is founded on ideas borrowed from Christians or Jews. I think we may be confident that, if this has been the case, the borrowing took place very long ago. I hope to show in the last chapter that it is probable the Todas came from Malabar, and it is possible that their migration to the hills took place after the settlement of Christians or Jews in that district. If Christianity has affected the religious beliefs or practices of the general body of the Todas, I think it is certain that this influence has not been recent. 177 771 797

Magic and Religion

A word may be added, at the end of this chapter, on the relation between the magic and the religion of the Todas. I have already pointed out reasons for believing that the Toda religion is one in process of degeneration, and we must not therefore expect to find among this people material for the study of the evolution of religion from magic or for the method of divergence of the two from some original stem which was neither magic nor religion. 771 787

The chief interest of the Todas from this point of view is that they show how side by side with a relatively high form of religion there may exist a body of beliefs crystallised in magical formulæ which bear a very close resemblance to the formulæ of the religious ritual. Their aim and their general nature leave no doubt that the formulæ given in the latter part of Chap. XII are magical in nature, and yet they show more distinct evidence of appeal to deities than is to be found in the definitely religious formulæ of the dairy. These magical formulæ of the Todas seem to show us a stage of magic in which religion has been called

771 to its aid. The sorcerer does not endeavour to effect his
789 purpose merely by the belief in the efficiency of like producing like, or other ideas which dominate the lower forms of magic, but has called to his aid the power of the gods and uses a form of words almost identical with that used in the religious ritual. Magic and religion are here closely allied, but it is possible that this alliance is but one of the products of the degeneration to which I believe the Toda religion is subject. It is possible that we have here evidence that during the process of degeneration of religion, religion and magic may approach one another—an approach which recalls their common origin from those low beliefs and ideas of the savage to which the name of neither magic nor religion should perhaps be properly applied.

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

887 724 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanme (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumrjalf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kenodn (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 179 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [242] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go 234 inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XII

DIVINATION AND MAGIC

This chapter will furnish a very good example of specialisation of religious and magical functions among the Todas. We shall find that certain Todas have the power of divination, others are sorcerers, and others again have the power of curing disease by means of spells and rites, while all three functions are quite separate from those of the priest or dairyman. The Todas have advanced some way towards specialisation of function in this respect, and have as separate members of the community their prophets, their magicians and their medicine-men in addition to their priests.

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Divination

Certain men among the Todas are reputed to have special powers as diviners, and are known as *teakelijol*, "god-gesticulating men," or more commonly as *tewal*. Samuel, my interpreter, always spoke of their performances as devil-dancing and evidently regarded the *tewal* as like those whom he called the devil-dancers of his own people.

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In several cases these men are said to have inherited their powers from some near relative, often a grandfather, but it seems that anyone who showed evidence of the necessary powers might become a *tewal*. All but one of the present diviners are Teivaliol, but the divining power is not limited to this division. There is no relation between the various offices of the dairy and the power of divination, and, in

fact, a diviner necessarily gives up his divining if he becomes a *paiol*.[1]

Each of the *tnal* is believed to be possessed by a special god when he falls into the divining frenzy, and when in this state it is said that the diviner does not, as a rule, speak in his own language, but in some other, most commonly in Malayalam or one of its dialects. The following are those who are at present credited with the power of divination :—

Midjkudr (63) of Piedr, who is inspired by the gods Kulinkars and Petkon. He speaks in Malayalam, and he does not appear to have succeeded anyone else as *tnal*. He is the most successful of those who are at present practising the art, and played the chief part in all the divining which took place during my visit.

Tadrners (60) of Kuudr, inspired by Ethrol and Arivili, succeeded his mother's father, Kasorivan (66) of Kusharf. He is said to speak the language of people whom the Todas call Mondardsetipol living in the Wainad, a language which appears to be a dialect of Malayalam.

Pangudr (66) of Kusharf, also succeeded Kasorivan, his grandfather, and is inspired by Petkon and Meilitars. There was some doubt as to the language used by him.

Ethgudr (52) of Kuudr is inspired by Arivili, and, like Tadrners, speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

Terkudr (63) of Piedr, inspired by Teipakh, the river god, succeeded his grandfather Kaitolv. When inspired, his speech is like the babbling of a running river, "like the river's voice," and cannot be understood.

Kangudr (62) of Piedr, who lives at Kavidi in the Wainad, is inspired by Meilitars and speaks Malayalam. He succeeded Tarsvan (62), his father, and Tarsvan had succeeded his father Keithiolv.

Kobur (61) of Kuudr, is inspired by Meilitars and Kuderol and speaks Malayalam.

Pöteners (54) of Kuudr, is inspired by Petkon and speaks the language of the Mondardsetipol.

[1] From the account of Pinion (Appendix I), it would seem that at one time the *paiol* and *tnawal* possessed the power of divination.

Karkievan (63), the *pulal* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a *tanal*, but gave up divining when he became *pulal*. 191 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a god connected with the division to which the majority of the diviners belong. 787 791

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of Nòdrs, are said to have been *tanal* at one time, but they have ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances as a lame man. This custom is repeated to have come down from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas. 177 787 791 198 776

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Pethon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondarchetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kudarol, by whom Kolsev is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *tanal* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *tanal* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a Toda. The following are various instances in which I have records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda 787 791

787 or of any of his family; sickness or death of a buffalo;
● 791 failure of milk in a buffalo and persistent kicking of its calf; failure to make a buffalo go to the spot at which it is to be killed during a funeral ceremony; failure of milk to coagulate; burning down of a dairy; disappearance of the bells of a dairy; loss of a *tukittkhan* or lifting stone. In this last instance the stone at the village of Nidrsi was carried away some years ago by a party of English people who came to picnic near the village while the people were away. They carried the stone for some miles and then threw it down. The Nidrsi people could not find it, and consulted Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, who were able to reveal where the stone was to be found, and it was restored to the village, where it can now be seen.

[754] The diviners usually work in pairs, though occasionally it would seem that one only may be consulted. If they are asked for an explanation of some misfortune which has befallen a man, the *tesal* usually find either that the sufferer has committed an offence against the dairy or that he is the subject of spells cast on him by a sorcerer. In the former case, they prescribe the ceremony which must be performed in order to expiate the offence. In the latter case, they name the sorcerer so that the sufferer may know with whom to make his peace.

I have already said that towards the close of my visit a number of misfortunes befell the Todas; one man fell ill, the wife of another died, and the dairy of a third was burnt down, and these events kept the diviners busy, but probably because I was implicated I was not allowed the chance of observing the diviners at work.

787 The only occasion on which I saw the process of divining
791 was at a funeral. The buffalo which was to be killed had been caught at some distance from the place appointed
158 for its slaughter. The animal was unusually refractory and at length lay down and all the natural efforts of the Todas failed to make it move. Midjkudr and Mongudrvan were then called upon to discover the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo. Mongudrvan first began to dance slowly to and fro, away from and towards the buffalo. He had

787 taken off his cloak and was only wearing the *tadep*. As I
791 already knew the man, I was able to observe that his
158 general appearance was unaltered and that he did not appear to be in any abnormal mental condition. He was soon joined by Midjkudr, who danced up and down much more wildly (Fig. 36). His general appearance was very different to that usually presented by a Toda man. His hair seemed to stand out from his head, although it shook with each of

FIG. 36.—MIDJKUDR AND MONOTHERAN DIVINING AT A FUNERAL.

his violent movements; his eyes were abnormally bright and his face gave every appearance of great mental excitement. I had not previously known the man, but when he came to see me a few days later I could hardly believe that the quiet, self-possessed man whom I saw before me was the same individual whom I had seen dancing at the funeral. It was obvious that he had been in a distinctly abnormal condition of frenzy during the divining process. After dancing for a time Midjkudr began to utter broken sentences in a loud and almost chanting voice, while Mon-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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158

guardian remained silent throughout. After Midjkode had in these sentences given the reason for the obstinacy of the buffalo, and had prescribed what was to be done, he took a red cloth and dancing more violently than ever waved the cloth before the buffalo and pushed against the body of the animal. Then after the people had dragged the buffalo a little way, it rose and went quietly to the place where it was to be killed.

I had much difficulty in finding out exactly what Midjkode had said. When he came to see me a few days later he stated that he did not know at the time what he was saying, and that his only knowledge was derived from those who had heard him, and I am inclined to believe that he was speaking the truth. His appearance during the divining was remarkably different from that of ordinary days, and strongly suggested a semi-hypnotic state, during which he might well have had no knowledge, or only a very vague knowledge, of anything he said.[1] In his ordinary condition he professed to be ignorant of Malayalam, the language which he was said to use in his frenzied condition.

My ignorance of Malayalam, and the obvious difficulties of the investigation, make me hesitate before expressing any decided opinion as to the real nature of Midjkode's condition when divining, but I have a very strong leaning towards the idea that the man was in a genuinely abnormal condition, allied to the hypnotic state, and I am disposed to accept the statement of the Todas that he was speaking in a language of which he had only a very vague knowledge when in a normal condition. It is, of course, quite possible that the abnormal appearance of Midjkode was merely due to the exercise of dancing and to mental excitement, and that he knew perfectly well what he was doing and saying. I can but record my impression that there was something more, and I only commit myself to this extent in regard to the special occasion on which I saw Midjkode divining; even if I saw a genuine hypnotic or semi-hypnotic phenomenon, it does not follow that all Midjkode's performances are wholly, or even partly,

[1] For an account of what Midjkode seems to have said see the subsequent paragraphs, on p. 500.

of this nature, and still less does it follow that the performances of all the *ewed* are of this kind. Nothing struck me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of Mélkuth and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongadrvan, his fellow diviner.

In the case I have described the necessity for the intervention of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously.

Sorcery

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite certain that there were men called *pilicqêl* (sorcery praying people), or *pilikiren*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *pilicrcêl* or *pilikiri*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he produced total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *pilicqêl*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false.

One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

It was not until my last week on the Nilgiris that I was told of some of the magical rites by Teinnir, who had previously denied all knowledge, though he was said by others to be a sorcerer, and he knew that I was aware of his reputation. He was not a trustworthy informant, but his account was consistent in itself and was in agreement with fragments which I had picked up elsewhere, and I believe it is correct, though I cannot guarantee its accuracy with the same degree of confidence which I feel in regard to most of my information.

The following men were said by various people to be *pálálvow* :—

Kanen, Kadrieran, and Teikudr (Sy), Ishkieran (So), Keinkarvi (Sy), Puthinn (Sy), and Teinnir (Sy), among the Teivalliol; Kettan (S), Modrigoidi (I), Kinnerran and Uthaidi (Sy), and Karwidi (S), among the Tarthavol. Pudnoidi, the elder brother of Kettan, was a noted sorcerer who paid for the belief in his magical powers with his life. It will be noted that magical powers appear to be fairly evenly distributed between the two divisions and do not greatly predominate in one as in the case of divination.

The power of sorcery was said to belong to certain families, and I was told that it was inherited. It seemed probable that a sorcerer only communicated his methods to his sons, and usually only to one of his sons, or if he communicated his knowledge to all, it was often one of them only who obtained the credit for magical powers.

We have already seen that when a man sustains a misfortune of any kind, he consults the diviners, and they find whether the misfortune is due to a fault committed by the sufferer or whether it is the result of sorcery. In the latter case, they say by whose magic the misfortune has been produced, and the sorcerer is then propitiated and removes the spell, the nature and details of the process varying according to the method of sorcery used and the offence which had led the sorcerer to exert his powers. Thus when Firmere (2) fell ill, he consulted Midjkudr, who said that Kadrieran had bewitched him. Firmere went to Kadrieran and gave him food, and asked him to remove the spell, and Firmere became well soon after.

1: Rivers K-S (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There are two chief reasons which induce a sorcerer to work his magic on another. One is when a request by the sorcerer for assistance has been met by deception. If the sorcerer asks a rich man for a buffalo, or for money, and the rich man refuses point-blank, it does not appear that the sorcerer proceeds further; but if the rich man promises a gift and does not give it, or if he delays giving a positive answer and puts off a decision from day to day, it is a clear case for the application of occult measures. The other chief motive for sorcery is a quarrel with a sorcerer. The methods are different in the two cases. In the first case the sorcerer procures some human hair—it may be the hair of any one, even his own hair. It is not the hair of the man he wishes to injure because it would be impossible to get it. Five small stones are taken and tied together by means of the hair, and both hair and stones are tied up in a piece of cloth. Then, holding the stones and hair in his hand, the sorcerer utters the following incantation:—

Pithisiwa On tithi, Tethiroti Tiwdoti tithi; A ten ant nathiwdoti; thoon gods power if there be;

on ether ethi nathiwdoti; on for nawdoti pow nat; on to thyi pitti his country country if there be; his calf sheep go may; his buffaloes wings grow pitti nat; with on with nat pudi thiton with on nat; on nithi on pudi fly may; he I water drink on he also water drink may; I thirsty am on thiton nithiwd nat; on ether pudi thiton drink nat; on nathiton he also thirsty be may; I hungry am he also hunger may; my children nawdi pudi on nathiton fair nat; on nawdoti thiton pitti pudi on may on his children my may; my with ragged cloth wear on his nawdoti thiton pitti nat with ragged cloth wear may.

This incantation was freely rendered by Tolmie as follows: For the sake of Pithisiwa, On, Tethiroti, and Tiwdoti; by the power of the gods if there be power; by the gods' country if there be a country;[1] may his calves perish; as birds fly away may his buffaloes go where the calves come to such; as I drink water, may he have nothing but water to drink; as I am thirsty, may he also be

[1] I am very doubtful whether the meaning of this and the preceding clause is correctly given in these words.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

754 thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my
789 children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears
539 only a ragged cloth, so may his wife wear only a ragged
791 cloth.

When he has uttered the incantation, the sorcerer takes the hair and stones in their cloth to the village of the man upon whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall, and hides them secretly in the thatch of the roof of the man's hut.

It seemed that this method of sorcery is only justified when the sorcerer is a poor man, and the references in the incantation to the poverty of the sorcerer confirm this.

When a man who has prevaricated with the request of a sorcerer suffers any evil fortune, he consults the diviners, and they may tell him not only who has produced the misfortune, but why the sorcerer has brought the misfortune upon him and they may advise the sufferer to become reconciled with his enemy and to give him what he has asked. The man goes to the sorcerer, who is usually only too ready to take the credit of the affair, and it is arranged that he shall come to the village of the sufferer. Whenever he comes a third person must be present, who is called the *nadwal*, or intermediate man.[1] The *nadwal* brings about the reconciliation, and arranges the terms, and then the sufferer bows down before the sorcerer and performs the *kadwaipadithi* salutation. The sorcerer then utters the following formula while his foot is resting on the head of the man:—

[illegible]
Those gods if there be, his country if there be; cold go away; enemy
[illegible]
humanity, go away; this buffalo call to all be well; my mind all
[illegible]
cleared from guilt have I, his mind also clear may.

Tolmie rendered this freely as follows:—

By those gods if there be gods, and by their country if there be a country; as water is cold, so goes my anger; as enemy comes, may my anger go; may his buffaloes and

[1] The middle room of a three-roomed dairy is the *nadwarsh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

calves be well; I have now nothing evil in my mind, you must also have no evil in your mind. 754

Food is then given to the sorcerer, who also obtains the object for which he had originally asked. Later the sorcerer goes secretly to the hut of the man and takes out the stones and hair which he had hidden in the thatch. 789 539 791

In removing the spell the sorcerer does not mention the names of the four gods, but speaks of them as "those gods." The object of this is that the names of the four gods whom the sorcerer invokes shall not become generally known.

If any one quarrels with a sorcerer, the method adopted by the latter is different. He obtains a bone of a man, buffalo, or some other animal, or if unable to obtain a bone, he may use a lime. He sits, holding the bone or lime in his right hand, and utters the following incantation:—

Pikiten On idith, Tuikirim Tirkiin idith; a tan sati uktsudir, an nidr uktsudir; anh pudra pirsh pat ud; anh ud ultikkith
to him will destroy disease come may; to him one incurable

pan pi ud; an kal nuri uud; an kai udri ûud;
man come may; his leg broken may be; his hand broken may be;

an kan pudri ûud; an kra ubrsh an kûûpal ûvûdinh
his eye destroyed may be; his house into his family to all

uktiam pi ud; ûik ank uktiam kavai agi ankn
trouble come may; be to me troubles did who accordingly to him also

uktiam ŝ ud; an nidr udi ed ariken ê
troubles occur may; his country there is that we shall know those

kan udi ed kanken; i elv nuts alain
gods there is that we shall see; this bone into the ground what happens,

ed ölkin ald ud.
that man to also happen may.

The only clause of this incantation of which the meaning is not clear is the penultimate, and the free rendering of this was said to be "as there are undoubtedly gods, we shall see all this happen"; it seems that *ariken*, which means literally "we shall know," is often used in the sense "without doubt." If he is using a lime, the sorcerer substitutes *irsimitch* for *elv* in the last clause.

The bone or lime is then buried in a wood near the village of the man who is to suffer the misfortune.

754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *uedrvol* as in
539 the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
791 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer. When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpudithti* to the sorcerer, and the spell is removed with the following words:—

ten udâsnûdr, an nôdr udâsnûdr; taned peu mâ; term ai peu mâ[1]; *molh*
son

madrik an kûdûpel elmk; in mel en mans elm tûlsvlnem
children to his family all to; this after my mind all cleared from guilt

in uli agi âmâ; nûv pul, mudri pul peu mâ.
(as I) this well be may; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
754 removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
578 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide. In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mani kudupel*; "it is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

766 old and had not yet been betrothed, but as soon as she
588 was dead it was arranged that she should marry her *matrhuni*, Keinba (68), a little boy about four years of age, the son of her mother's brother, and this boy occupied a prominent position among those taking part in the funeral rites. Owing to the marriage of the dead child to this boy, the dead child would come to be one of his clan, the Keadrol, and there seemed to be no doubt that, according to strict custom, the funeral should have been held at the funeral place of this clan. Kuriolv, however, arranged that the funeral should take place at Kurkalmut, the funeral place for women of the Kuudrol, but as the girl did not properly belong to this clan the funeral hut was not erected within the circle of stones at this place, but outside it.

The beginning of the funeral ceremonies was delayed for some time because the little boy, Keinba (Fig. 57), had to be taken by his father, Perpakh, in search of the wood and grass out of which to make the bow and arrow to be used in the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and they had to go far to find the proper plants for the manufacture of the mimic weapon.

766 After this delay the ceremonial[1] took its natural course till
787 the buffalo which had been caught by the Taradr men was being taken to the place appointed for its slaughter by the
791 side of the funeral hut. The people had great difficulty in making the buffalo move, and at last it lay down on a boggy piece of ground, and the efforts of all failed to make it go further. The diviners, Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, were then called upon to ascertain the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo, and then followed the performance which I have already described (see p. 252).

The reasons given by Midjkudr were not very clear, and there seemed to be a good deal of doubt as to what he had really said, but the following appeared to be the chief reasons given :—

The buffalo, Kursi, which had delayed the proceedings, was the property of Kuriolv and was descended from a buffalo which had belonged to Teitchi, Kuriolv's grandfather. Since this buffalo was thus family property, it should go to the sons, and ought not to be killed for a daughter, and especially for

1 [i.e., funeral rites for a two-year old girl. -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

one who now belonged to another clan. Kuriolv ought to have used a buffalo which he had acquired in his own lifetime. Midjkudr went on to say that Kuriolv, having done wrong, must pay compensation to the dead, and told him to give the buffalo named Perov. As a sign that he would do

FIG. 57.—KEINBA AND PERPAKH; THE FORMER IS HOLDING IN HIS HAND THE IMITATION BOW AND ARROW AND HAS HIS CLOAK OVER HIS HEAD.

so, Kuriolv performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of Keinba and also through Sintharap, of the dead girl.

Another reason given was that the buffalo had been caught at the wrong place—viz., at the place where it ought to be

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

766 caught at the funeral of a male. I only heard of this reason
787 a few days later, and I do not know whether it was one of
791 the reasons given by Midjkudr or whether it was a later surmise. A third reason was that Perner and Tebner, his brother, had been on bad terms; and to put this right Tebner, the younger, performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner.

766 The next special feature of the ceremony took place after
588 the buffalo had been killed and before the *kachütthti* ceremony. Keinba knelt down before Kuriolv and Piliag and the two men touched the head of the boy with their feet, thus accepting him as the husband of Sinerani. Then followed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. The mantle covering the dead child was opened, her right hand unclenched, and Keinba placed the little bow and arrow in the hand, and the fingers of the dead child were closed over the bow so that they held it as they would have done in life. Then the bow was taken out of the hand, placed on the breast of the child, and the mantle was again folded over her. Teitnir, the half-brother of Kuriolv, who had now become the *paiol* of Keinba, came up and covered the head of the boy with his *putkuli* as a sign that he was a widower, and then Teitnir and Keinba put their foreheads together and cried. After crying together for a while, Teitnir touched Keinba's head with his foot. Then Sintharap, the mother of Sinerani, gave grain and jaggery and limes to Keinba, who put them in the pocket of the mantle of the dead child. Sintharap and Keinba then cried together, and Sintharap touched Keinba's head with her foot.

After the cloth-giving ceremony, the body was taken to the burning place, and Keinba mixed honey and grain in a metal bowl; when Keinba began to stir the grain and honey he put his right arm out from above his cloak as usual, but was speedily corrected and made to put out his hand from below the cloak in the manner proper for a widower.

The wrists of the girl were burnt as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, the burning being done by Silkidz (53), the wife of a younger brother of Perpakh, Keinba's father, and, before her

776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
782 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are
788 the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual. In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
787 the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed
791 to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teuol*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

124 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference
616 in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

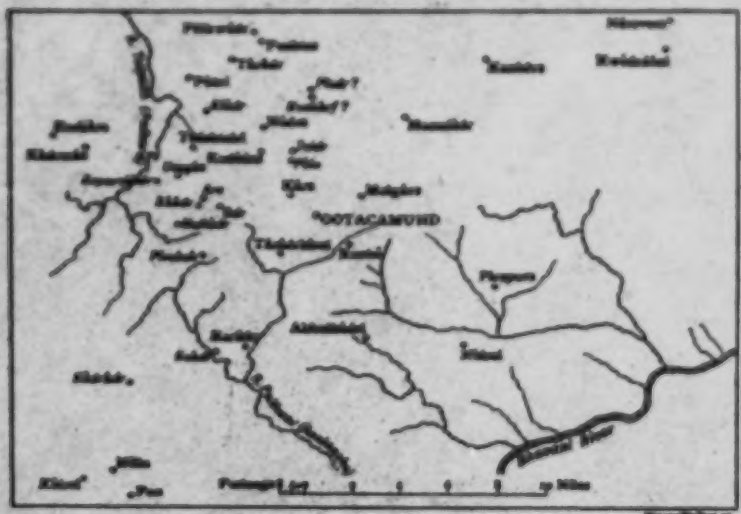

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnòdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a com-
616 munity, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards of the community. At the present time the majority of the
● 791 *tanol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other. 184 616 791

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills. 174 184 616

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out some interesting differences between the two divisions. The data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1] would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol. 174 184 616 847 177

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθuṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tuṭ) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called *mod*, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tökiṭj created most of the Toda institutions at the mund noṭ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθuṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 776 114 794 [777] [791] [688] 794

The töunoṭ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localised at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoṭ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as aṭ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noṭ "sacred place." Within the noṭ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noṭ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noṭ "sacred place" or töunoṭ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which 776 234 361 782 783 562 776 234 778 794 192

The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunoṭ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the ti·. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not tōunoṭ. Some munds also which have dairies are not tōunoṭ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunoṭ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunoṭ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the tōunoṭ, which are utumḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunoṭ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuθuṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation.

When a tōunoṭ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunoṭ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunoṭ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōuθuṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nódrodchi, i. e. noṭoḍoi-, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōuθuṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (utumḍmoḍ or tōunoṭ) was created, as we have said, by a tōuθuṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

of the older men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative *sumi* as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the *munda*, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

19:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274–290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti:r-dairies: the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti:r-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti:r-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known;

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

But, since they
174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannada and Tamil, and more closely, as I
614 judge provisionally, with Kannada, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
[197] background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[28] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[29] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
197 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
174 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the
[79] Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[30] that the model house
[787] or dairy used in the ur-fott ceremony, and called pod-pul (Rivers' pālpuli), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyḷi) has no possible connection.

Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
174 some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
595 fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
[114] ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Fur-
[171] thermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[31]

The toṛṛṛoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
174 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women
837 that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[28] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123-47, 1938); sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611-40, 1907). [29] Pp. 693-718, especially pp. 698 ff. [30] Rivers, p. 702.

[31] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 576-83, 1938).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form
234 the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the
771 Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their
772 buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial.
773 The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

special directions, and there are special features of the organization of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed.

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organization, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life.

The Dairy Organisation

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putsir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *peral*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products.

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tarthaiol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*.

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *palli* and was usually pronounced *palthli*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened forms of *kartthi*, milking or milked.

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234 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages
621 where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess
778 dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of the *ti* or the *tiir*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mund*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mund* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who
778 is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmodd* or, more rarely,
463 *kavalol*. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti*
● 793 should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mund* had two dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmodd* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *pok*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palkartmodd*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tiriori*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

Melgars people could hold the office of *uwrsal*, but had no
234 *uwrsals* themselves. At the present time the majority of
963 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
559 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *uwrsal*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *uwrsal* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikarwadi*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *uwrsal* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tawi*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkali*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *uwrsal* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *uwrsali* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kadrpali*, [534] and at Nôdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may [558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *mask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

as if these three objects are removed because they are used by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters. 562 784 793

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursol* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokli* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the *poh* at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms. 234 343 778 788

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 343 352

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnòdr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.
834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

234 554 778 784 793 When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion

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FIG. 25.—THE 'POH' OF KANÔDES. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tün*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pohkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 264 554 784 788

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwòto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX). 793

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies. 192 234

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank. 184 234 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *tarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*. [292]

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudeipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 234 621 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER V

THE TI DAIRY

THE *ti* is the name of an institution which comprises a herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing districts tended by a dairyman-priest or priests called *palol* with an assistant called *kaltmokh*. Each dairy with its accompanying buildings and pasturage is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village. 234 793

In most cases there are two kinds of buffaloes at each *ti*, and each kind should properly be tended by its own *palol* and *kaltmokh*. There is, however, only one *ti* which possesses two *palol* at the present time, and they share a *kaltmokh* between them, though a second is appointed on certain ceremonial occasions. In other cases one *palol* tends both kinds of buffalo, and in others, again, the dairies are unoccupied for the greater part of the year and the office of *palol* is only filled for certain limited periods.

Each *ti* is regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, but the *palol* has to be taken from the Teivaliol, the choice being in some cases restricted to one or two Teivali clans; thus, the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must belong either to Piedr or Kusharf. The *palol* is chosen by the Tarthar owners, but the latter do not seem to gain any material advantage from their possession. In fact, it involves them in some expense owing to the necessity of giving certain feasts, and this expense was put forward as one reason why a *ti* is often unoccupied. Never- 184 234 616

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *kavenpuk*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

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The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people.

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There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pil*, and there is a special part of the *pil* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwainir*, and at Môdr, where there was a *kwainir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwainir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

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There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mahadr*, and for the calf-pen, *kilikadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 354 other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkafttht-waskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

THE DAILY LIFE AT THE TI

234 512 788 793 The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say "*ekirzam meidjam*."[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *tòratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *pòdrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the Pan *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

234 prayer, but after I had settled on the foregoing description as
512 correct I was allowed one day by the *kaltmokh* to go near
788 the dairy while the *palol* was praying, and was able to hear
793 the beating on the earthenware vessel with each word of the prayer.

The next step is to take up the *pokvet* and place it against the wall, and then the *palol* begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle *persin*, milk in this state being here called *kudabpol* instead of *adrpars*, as in the ordinary dairy.

In those cases in which the *mani* is 'fed,' the *palol* puts *kudabpol* on the bell shortly after beginning to churn. This is done three times, the syllable *On* being uttered each time. When the *palol* does anything three times in this way, he says that he does it *mushtiu*. This expression for 'thrice' is not used in the ordinary dairy.

The next steps are to pour into the *kwoi* and *karitòrzum* most of the coagulated milk which has been broken up by the churning, to add to the milk remaining in the *persin* some *persinpen*, or butter especially kept for the purpose in the *peptòrzum*, to add water, and to churn the mixture of coagulated milk, water, and butter in the middle *persin*. When the new butter is formed, the *palol* pours out the buttermilk into the vessel called *idrkwoi*, keeping back the butter with his hand. The buttermilk is transferred from the *idrkwoi* to one of the *alug* in the outer room. Some of the milk which had been put into the *kwoi* or *karitòrzum* is then poured back into the middle *persin*, more water is added, and the mixture is churned, after which the buttermilk is again transferred by means of the *idrkwoi* to the *alug*, while the butter is kept in the *persin*. This procedure is repeated till all the milk of the middle *persin* has been churned.

The *persin* on the right-hand side of the *palol* is then taken, and its position exchanged with that of the vessel hitherto used, and the churning is continued in exactly the same manner. The buttermilk is transferred to the *alug*, but the butter when formed is transferred to the *persin*, which had been originally in the middle. When the contents of the second *persin* have been churned, the third *persin* is placed in the middle and the same procedure is followed, so that when

234 the churning is over all the butter which has been formed will
512 be in the *persin* which was originally in the middle. Some
788 of this butter is put into the *peptòrzum* to act as *persinpen* on
● 793 another occasion, and the remainder is transferred to the butter *alug* by means of the *idrkwoi*. The two *tòrzum* are then put on the tops of two of the *persin* as covers, the *peptòrzum* being placed on the middle *persin* and the *palol* takes the milking-vessel (*kwoi*) and wand (*kwoinörtpet*) in his right hand and goes out to milk, having first put some buttermilk, called *pep*, into the *kwoi*.

When the *palol* leaves the dairy, he raises the milking-vessel and wand to his forehead and salutes in the way shown in Fig. 27. The Todas say that he is saluting the sun and the buffaloes. It is probable that, in general, the *palol* faces approximately east as he salutes, but there is no doubt that, at the present time, his salutation is chiefly to the buffaloes. He salutes in the same direction both morning and evening, and certainly pays no attention to the direction in which the sun lies.

This salutation is now often done in a very perfunctory manner. The vessel and wand may be raised hastily to the forehead for a few seconds only as the *palol* goes towards his buffaloes, and I am doubtful whether the salutation is ever performed exactly as shown in the figure, for the vessel contains some of the buttermilk called *pep*, which might be spilt if the vessel were held quite horizontally.

When the *palol* salutes, he says "*Oñ*" three times, and repeats two or three clauses of the dairy prayer, usually the *kwarzam* of the more important gods of the dairy.

When going to milk and when going from one buffalo to another, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* are always held together in the right hand. When the *kwoi* is filled, it is taken into the dairy. If it is the custom of the dairy to put milk on the *mani*, this is now done three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and then the milk is poured into the middle *persin*, the *kwoi* being held in the left hand, and the *palol* goes out again to refill the *kwoi*. When all the *persinir* have been milked, the milk of the three *persin* is mixed together by pouring from one to the other. The reason for this is that the buttermilk, called *pep*,

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234 is only taken out in the *kwoi* on first going to milk, and
512 in consequence the *pep* would affect the milk of the middle
788 *perxin* only if its contents were not mixed with those of the
vessels filled later.

793 The *palol* next goes out to milk the *punir*, taking for this

FIG. 27.—THE 'PALOL,' KARKIKVAN, SALUTING AT MÒDR. HE IS STANDING IN THE 'PEPKARMUS.' THE BUILDING NEXT TO THE 'PALOL' IS THE 'TI POH'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'KARENPOH,' AND BETWEEN IT AND THE 'TI POH' CAN BE SEEN THE HUT WHERE THE INHABITANTS OF THE 'TI MAD' SLEEP.

purpose the vessel called *karpun* and an ordinary wand, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* being only used for the more sacred buffaloes. There was some difference of opinion as to what should be done with the milk of the *punir*. According to

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some it may be used to fill the *persin* if these are not filled by the milk of the *persinir*; according to others it is wrong to do this, and the milk of *punir* should on no account be put in the more sacred vessels of the inner room. I think there is no doubt that at the Nòdrs *ti* at any rate the first procedure is followed. At this *ti* the *punir* outnumber the *persinir* by far, and it is probable that the milk of the former is used to supplement that of the more sacred buffaloes, although it is contrary to tradition that this should be done.

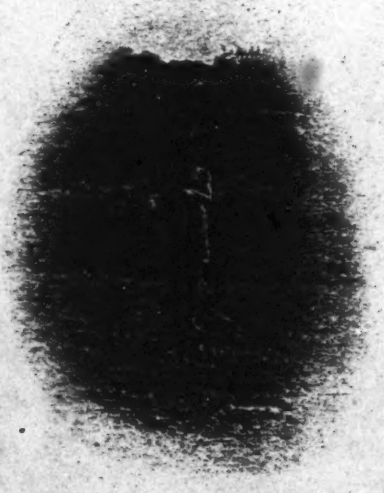

FIG. 28.—TO SHOW THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE 'PALOL' WHEN PRAYING.

The three *persin* being filled, the *tòrzum* are again put on as covers, and the *palol* takes up the wand called *pohvet*, and prays, standing in front of the screen (*patun*) with his hands lying over one another crosswise on the top of the stick as shown in Fig. 28. He recites the full prayer of the *ti*, then replaces the *pohvet* between the *persin* and the *patun* and this act of replacing the wand marks the end of the more sacred part of the dairy operations. If a Toda wishes to ascertain if the work of the dairy is over, he asks, "Has he taken the *pohvet*?"

The *palol* now unties his hair, sees to anything necessary in connexion with his food, fills the *uppun* with buttermilk, and then leaves his dairy and goes to sit on the seat called *pohvelkars* on one side of the door of the dairy, viz., on the opposite side to that on which the *mani* is placed. At Mòdr he sits on the stone on the right side of the door when going

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in (K in Fig. 26), and the fact that he does so is one of the reasons which make it probable that the arrangement of the *pok* of that place is as I have given it in the plan.

When the *palol* has seated himself on the *pokvelkars*, he calls out to the *kaltmokh* "*Kaizkvatitva*," "Come here and pour buttermilk!" When the *kaltmokh* comes, the *palol* gives the *uppun* to the boy, who says three times "*Kaizkvatkina*," "Shall I pour buttermilk?" and the *palol* replies each time, "*Vat*!" The *kaltmokh* pours from the *uppun* into a cup made of the leaf called *kakuders* held by the *palol*, who drinks after raising to his forehead. This is repeated till the *palol* is satisfied, when the leaf-cup from which he has been drinking is thrown away,[1] and he goes again into the outer room to get food. He gives food to the *kaltmokh*, who eats it in the sleeping-hut, while the *palol* himself eats sitting on the *pokvelkars*. If any *mòrol* (see p. 107) are present, they are fed at this stage with buttermilk and food by the *kaltmokh*, who gives them the buttermilk out of the *mòrpun*, pouring it into leaf-cups as when giving to the *palol*.

The rest of the morning is passed in looking after the buffaloes, cutting firewood, plucking leaves used as cups and plates, or doing any other work connected with the *ti*.

In the afternoon the *palol* returns to his dairy and goes through the same operations as in the morning, except that he fetches water from the *kwoinir* early in the proceedings, usually bringing enough for the work of that afternoon and of the next morning. He churns the milk drawn in the morning, and when the time for milking has arrived, the buffaloes will have returned to the milking-place, and as soon as they arrive their calves are let out from the house (*karenpoh*) in which they have been kept.

When the churning and milking are over, the buffaloes are shut up in the *tu* for the night. The *palol* then takes buttermilk as in the morning, and both he and the *kaltmokh* take their food. The latter eats his food in the sleeping-hut as in

[1] In the story of Kwoto and the Keradr *ti* (Chap. IX) the *kaltmokh* has to pour away buttermilk at an appointed spot. It is probable that this buttermilk is that unfinished by the *palol*, and possibly this custom is still followed but was not mentioned by my informants.

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234 the morning [illegible] the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oh*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and
793 then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in office even after this period, though there is no case known in which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

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ti was not allowed to do so and had to use a ford nearer to the dairy at Mòdr. 784 793

The *palol* must be celibate, and if married, he must leave his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers. According to the account given by Finicio in 1603, the *palol* could send for his wife and meet her in a wood every week or so and might also send for the wives of any other Todas. It is possible that this may still happen, but I failed to obtain an account of it and understood that the *palol* was really celibate. According to Finicio the restriction to which the *palol* is subject is that he may not touch a woman in the house. We have seen that in the lowest rank of the dairyman-priesthood intercourse with women in the house is allowed at any time and in the higher ranks only on certain days of the week. It is quite consistent with this that in the highest rank intercourse in the house should be altogether forbidden, but might still be allowed in the forest, and it is quite possible that Finicio is correct. I was unacquainted with his account at the time of my visit, and all other writers had been so unanimous as to the complete celibacy of the *palol* that I did not press my inquiries on this point very closely. 785 833

If a death occurs in the clan of a *palol*, he cannot attend any of the funeral ceremonies unless he gives up his office. If he resigns he is not again eligible for the office till the second funeral ceremonies have been completed. When a man of one clan gives up his office in this way, his place must be taken by a man of some other clan. Karkievan of Piedr was *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* eighteen years ago and resigned when his wife died, his place being taken by Tulchievan of Kusharf. Two years later Karkievan resumed office and has been *palol* continuously since that time. Though there have been many deaths among the Piedrol, he has not attended a funeral, and has not, therefore, had to resign his post again. 234 463 784 793

In old times, it seems probable that it was usual to give up the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan. According to tradition, the division of the Keadrol into the Keadrol and Kwaradrol by Kwoten (see Chap. IX) was ordained in order that there might still be men to undertake the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan, the men of the

234 Keadrol taking office when there was a death among the
463 Kwaradrol and *vice versa*.

It has been stated by several writers on the Todas that the
556 *palol* does not profit in any way by his sacred office. I made
784 most careful inquiries on this point, and there seemed to be no
793 doubt that the *palol* may often make a considerable income from the sale of the ghi made from the milk of the herd under his charge; one *palol* was stated to make six rupees a week in this way, and while he has been in office is said to have increased his own herd (*i.e.*, that of his own family) by no less than twenty-five buffaloes. In one recent case, a man has resigned the post of *palol* to the Pan *ti* because he found the income was too small.

234 According to my informant, Kaners, a man used always to
463 accept the office of *palol* unwillingly. When the offer came
554 to him, he would say, "I cannot leave my buffaloes; I cannot
556 leave my wife and my children." Then the people would say,
793 "You are born for the *ti*; it is your birthright; you must not refuse"; and the man would reluctantly consent. Now the Todas are in more need of money than they used to be, and there is no difficulty in obtaining candidates for those dairies at which the pecuniary advantages are sufficiently great, so that people will now beg to be appointed as *palol* to certain dairies, and it is even whispered that bribes have been offered in order to obtain office. There is no doubt whatever that the pecuniary reward is the chief inducement to people to undertake the charge.

234 The Nòdrs *ti* has the largest herd of buffaloes, and I was
463 told that this *ti* is very much coveted, while others which
554 have few buffaloes are unable to obtain a *palol* at all. My
793 Teivali friends invariably talked about the *ti* in exactly the same kind of way that an Englishman talks about a benefice.

At the present time there are several instances in which the office of *palol* is vacant, and there seems to be a growing difficulty in filling many of these places. There is little doubt that the chief reason for this is that the herds have become very small, so that the resulting profit does not offer sufficient inducement; but there is also no doubt that the exclusion from the home and the limitation of intercourse

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with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *marsir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Baß*," and the Tarthar man replies "*¿Ir kaßdá*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarzam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 793 576

793 576 *kûtmeil ten idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches, the *palol* says "*Pekein*," but all the Teivaliol reply with the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil*, *i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was said that he might not approach the *palol*. I had an interesting example, however, of the way in which a regulation of this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil*, owing to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol*. He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol*.

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437 439 784 793 There are several regulations concerning the food of the *palol*. Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir*. He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pokvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *maui*. He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh*. If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

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The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *iikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*. 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the daytime with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakaneri. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

786 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns
793 to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining
833 wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia*!" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *pokwelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaishvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *pipun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Karkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*.
554 It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his
793 sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social
234 importance from having held the sacred office. I could find no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women may refer to this ceremony.

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*. 184 554 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies. 234 793 463

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pül* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*. 292 784 788 793

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tuwitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth. 234 554 558

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of 784 793

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the forbidden things, or even if he is likely to be in such a position that he may have to do these things, he becomes *perkursol*. This he does by throwing off the *petuni* and dipping one leg either into the pool of water called *tarupunkudi* (see p. 177) or into the dairy stream (*pali nipa*) of an ordinary dairy (if he dipped his leg into the *ars nipa*, or part of a stream used for ordinary household purposes, he would at once lose his office entirely and become an ordinary person). As soon as he has dipped his foot, he becomes *perkursol* and may do the following things summed up in the general expression *tarskwardrkûdthodi*. He may pass a village where there is a woman in the seclusion-hut (*puzhars*), or where the relics of the dead are being kept between the two funeral ceremonies; he may go to a place where the people have been in communication with a village in which either of these conditions exist; he may pass a river by a bridge, and he may go to the *wursuli* of a Tarthar village. If the full *kaltmokh* does any of these things, even unwittingly, he would at once become an ordinary person (*perol*). The *kaltmokh* degrades himself to the rank of *perkursol* even when there is merely the danger that he may infringe any of the restrictions; thus, one day when there was a woman at Karia who was in seclusion after childbirth, the *kaltmokh* at Mòdr, Katsog (55), was going to the hut of the forest guard near Paikara. He would not have to pass Karia, but there was a chance that the forest guard might have been in communication with the people of Karia, and therefore Katsog became *perkursol*. A *perkursol* is regarded as of the same rank as a *wursol*, and the people spoke of *perkursol* as a *ti* word for *wursol*—*i.e.*, a *wursol* at the *ti* was called *perkursol*, just as a *madth* (churn) at the *ti* was called *kòghlag*. In order to regain his rank as full *kaltmokh*, the *perkursol* has to perform the same ceremony as that which takes place at the end of the ordination to this office (see Chap. VII).

While the *kaltmokh* is degraded to the rank of *perkursol* he may not touch any dairy vessels; he may not pour buttermilk for the *palol*, nor may he blow the horns—*i.e.*, he may do none of the more important and sacred duties of his office.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kôli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*.

It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day.

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*Oñ*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkhatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday.

The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrzum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *idrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

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234 343 352 which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

173 234 618 773 ●793 The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vêdrmâ, kärs wadrth vêdrmâ, män mas vêdrmâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf. 173 234 618

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55). 773 793

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.' 234 552 778

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Onâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost. 234 354 552

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.) 773 778

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacámund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit. 173 234 621 773

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarṣam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri. 234 793

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and [552] 234 778

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûzthenis ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

THE PAN TI

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Tarzhva. Its special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

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The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Nerâdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirsiol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the *warspoh*.

●793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
178 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvaivolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

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THE NIDRSI TI

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This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi*. When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti*. The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti*. There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

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the *idrkwoi*, which is put exactly at the line of junction of the two rooms. 234x 796

After this the things of the outer room are put in their places. Fire is made by friction, and the *tòratthwaskal* lighted, light transferred from this to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and with the fire so made the *palol* lights the lamp.

In most cases the buffaloes are then milked, but at Anto and Ödrtho, before milking, the *palol* begins an extraordinary ceremony, in which the *kaltmokh* is concerned, which is continued till the following day. 234x 793 796

For this ceremony food is especially prepared by the *palol*. He mixes husked grain (*patcherski*), brought by the Badagas who accompany the procession, with buttermilk and jaggery,[1] spreads butter on the mixture, and, putting it on a *kakud* leaf, takes it out to one of the two *kaltmokh* who is sitting in a given place about ten yards from the dairy. The *kaltmokh* must now stay on this spot till the evening.

After the *palol* has milked, he takes food himself and gives it to the *mòrol*. Before going to rest for the night a ceremony is performed called *irtupadrchiti*, "he prays for the buffaloes at the *tu*." The two *palol* go to the front of the *tu*,[2] in which the buffaloes have been put for the night and they pray, using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and of the gods only. They then go to the sleeping hut, where the second *kaltmokh* has swept the floor and prepared a fire. When the *palol* come to the hut they bawl out in a high key three times and the *kaltmokh* does the same and they go to bed, the two *palol* occupying one bed (*tiin*) and the *mòrol* and the second *kaltmokh* the other. After they have been in the hut some time, the first *kaltmokh*, who has been sitting till now outside at the place where he was given food, creeps into the hut and lies down to sleep between the two beds without any covering. No notice of him must be taken by the other occupants of the hut.

The following day is called *punirsnol*. In the early morning, before the others are awake, the first *kaltmokh* must get

[1] Palm juice sugar.

[2] At Anto, and probably at some other dairies, there is a special *tu* for use on this occasion.

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234* up, light the fire, warm himself, and then go out and sit on the same spot as on the previous evening. He remains
● 793 there till the two *palol* come to him to continue the ceremony
796 in which he is concerned.

539 When the *palol* rise they do their usual work, and when they have milked they perform a ceremony called *karkutkîr-siti*,[1] in which the calves are prayed for in the same way that the buffaloes were prayed for on the previous evening. The second *kaltmokh* collects the calves in the *pepkarmus*, or milking-place of the buffaloes, and the two *palol*, each with empty *kwoi* and with *kwoinörtpet*, pray as on the previous evening using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and some of the *kwarzam* of the gods, and then bawl out in a high key three times in order to scatter the calves.

The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* is then continued. Each of the *palol* takes the vessel used for ladling buttermilk (*mòrkudriki*); one *palol* fills his vessel with the milk of *punir* and the other fills with *nei* (clarified butter). Each leaves his dairy, and they both call to the *kaltmokh*, who comes to the threshold of the *ti poh*, and stands there while the two *palo*, mix the milk and *nei*. The *kaltmokh* is then told to hold out his hands, and each *palol* pours out the mixture into the hands of the boy, who rubs it over his head first, and then all over his body. After the *kaltmokh* has thus been bathed in milk and *nei*, the three people walk in procession to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been sitting, the *kaltmokh* going first, followed by the *wars palol* and the *ti palol* in order. As they walk, the two *palol* say the following words :—

Kōdu mā; pīrzi puti vurmā; poh ers vurmā;
die may (he); tiger catch (him) may; snake bite (him) may;
per pādith vurmā pākh pādith vurmā pudi
steep hill fall down (on him) may; river fall (on him) may[2]; wild boar
ers mā; kādr pat mā; keirman par mā.
bite may; wild beast hold (catch him) may; bear carry (him) away may.

[1] This word was translated "he prays for the calves." One verb is used in naming the ceremony of praying for the calves and another in the case of praying for the adult buffaloes.

[2] Probably this should be translated "may the river (when in flood) swallow him.

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When they come to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been given the food, the boy remains standing there while the two *palol* turn round and walk back in the dairy, saying:— 234x 793 796 539

Kōda mā, idvaik, ulthmā; ptrni par mā,
die may (he), as was said, may he be well; tiger carry away may,
idvaik para vōmā; per pur mā, idvaik,
as was said, carry away may not; steep hill fall may, as was said,
puna vōmā; pōb eri mā, idvaik, eria vōmā; pākh pur mā,
fall may not; make bite may, as was said, bite may not; river fall may,
idvaik, puna vōmā; kādr pat mā, idvaik, pata
as was said, fall may not; wild beast catch may, as was said, catch
vōmā; kadrman par mā, idvaik, para vōmā;
may not; bear carry away may, as was said, carry away may not;
pudi eri mā, idvaik, eria vōmā.
wild boar bite may, as was said, bite may not.

The *ti palol* then enters his dairy and brings out an especially large ball of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, more than can possibly be eaten at one sitting. It is given to the *kaltmokh*, who sits on the same spot as before, and eats as much of it as he can. 234x 793 796

All this ceremony has been done after milking, and before drinking buttermilk (*kaishvatiti*), which is now poured out by the second *kaltmokh* for the *palol*, who then go about their usual business. When the first *kaltmokh* has eaten as much as he can of his ball of food he leaves it on the spot where he has been sitting, and goes with the *palol*. The Todas say that the food left behind will never be touched by the crows, who will eat any other food.

In the afternoon the *palol* transact their ordinary dairy business and the *kaltmokh* returns to his place and resumes the consumption of his ball of food, staying on the spot till the end of the day. When the two *palol* have gone into the sleeping hut for the night, the *kaltmokh* goes into the hut after them and may then talk to the other occupants, and after this follows the usual routine.

During the whole of this ceremony the *kaltmokh*, who takes so prominent a part in it, is called the *neurzutpol*.

At the other dairies of the Nōdrs *ti* a ceremony which is obviously closely connected with that which has been

234 described is performed at certain stones called *neurzülnkars*.
773 At Mòdr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and
three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably
796 by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *palol* takes a *mòrkudriki*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *nei*, as when rubbed on the *kaltmokh*). The two *palol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kaltmokh* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kaltmokh*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *neurzutpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *neurzülnkars*.

778 The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* which follows the migra-
783 tion to the dairies of Anto and Ödrtho is one of the most
extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of
789 the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kaltmokh*,
793 followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was
wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony
796 from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kaltmokh* is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the very sacred dairies of Anto and Ödrtho. The *kaltmokh* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.

It is possible that the *kaltmokh* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kaltmokh* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kaltmokh* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mani* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

FIG. 33.—THE FOUR 'NEURZÜLNKARS' AT MÒDR. BEHIND THE STONES ON THE RIGHT IS KARKIEVAN, THE 'PALOL' OF THE 'TIIR'; ON THE LEFT IS NERPONERS, THE 'PALOL' OF THE 'WARSIR'; IN THE CENTRE IS THE 'KALTMOKH,' KATSOG, CARRYING A SICKLE-SHAPED KNIFE.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible
evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Ödrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features
of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the
head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the
first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have
taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the
morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable
that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open
air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed
to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because
theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with
Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of
similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act
of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can
possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in
other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with
the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next
chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234x At some time during the day following the arrival at the
new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nödrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—
a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is
given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described,
together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the
Nödrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other
places he only stays till the day after the procession. The
Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—
i.e., "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that
erdpunrs is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

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CHAPTER VII

ORDINATION CEREMONIES

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BEFORE a dairyman enters upon office he has to undergo certain initial rites, which may fitly be spoken of as "ordination ceremonies." These ceremonies vary greatly in their elaborateness, according to the dairy in which the candidate is to serve.

In the case of the ordinary dairyman, or *palikartmokh*, the proceedings are simple and may be accomplished in a few minutes, while for the highest grade of the priesthood they are extremely elaborate and prolonged over more than a week.

The essential feature of all the ordination ceremonies is a process of purification by drinking and washing with the water of a stream or spring used for sacred purposes only (*palinipa* or *kwoinir*). In every case the water is drunk out of certain leaves, and the body is rubbed with water mixed with the juice of young shoots or bark.

A general name for ordination is *pelkkodichiti* or *pelkkatthtiti*, "lamp he lights." This name is derived from the fact that the first act in connexion with the dairy work which a new dairyman has to perform is to light the lamp of the dairy. The former of the two names given above was used especially in the case of the ordinary dairy and the latter in the case of the *ti*, but I am doubtful whether there is any strict limitation of the terms in these senses.

Another general name used for the ceremony of ordination is *nirôditi*, which in a more limited sense is applied to the drinking and purification at the dairy stream or spring which

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is the essential feature of the ceremony. This term was very often used for the ceremony of ordination to the office of *palol*. 234x 783 793

THE PALIKARTMOKH

The ceremony of ordination of the *palikartmokh* is called *pelkkodichiti* and very often *mulinirôditi*, the latter being derived from the *muli* leaves used in the ceremony. The ordination may take place on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday. On the day before the ceremony the candidate goes to the dairy, takes his food there, and sleeps at night in the outer room. His food is prepared and given to him either by the outgoing *palikartmokh* or by some other man holding this office. 234x 793

On the morning of the ceremony the candidate washes his hands in the *pali nipa* and goes to the front of the dairy, having a piece of the ordinary mantle round his waist. The assisting *palikartmokh* will have placed a small piece of the dark cloth called *tuni* on the threshold of the dairy, this small piece being called *petuni*. The candidate bows down (*nersatiti*), as in Fig. 20, at the threshold to the *petuni*, which he then raises to his forehead and puts in the string of his *kuvu* on the left side.

The candidate then plucks seven leaves of the kind called *muliers*—*i.e.*, leaves of a plant called *muli* (*Rubus ellipticus*). This plant is also often called *pelkkodsthmul*, after the ceremony in which it is used. He also plucks a handful of young shoots or *nan* of the same plant, and takes the leaves and shoots to the dairy stream. At the stream he pounds the shoots with water on a stone, takes up some water from the stream with the pounded shoots, drops this water into one of the leaves three times, raises the leaf to his forehead, drinks (see Fig. 34), throws the leaf over his head and puts the shoots down on one side. When he squeezes the water from the shoots into the leaf-cup he holds the former in his right hand and the latter in his left, but when about to raise the leaf-cup to his forehead and drink he transfers it to his right hand. The candidate then takes a fresh piece of the pounded shoots and repeats with a second leaf, and so on till the seven leaves are

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finished, throwing the leaf over his head in each case after drinking.

He then takes all the pounded shoots which he has placed on one side, dips them in water, rubs them over his face and body three times, and puts them in his back hair, whence they are allowed to drop anywhere. In the only case in which I saw this ceremony I noticed that they remained in the hair till the end of the day.

The candidate then goes to the dairy, bows down at the

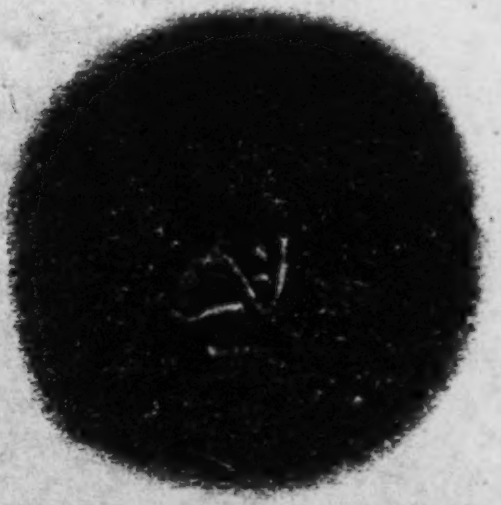

FIG. 34.—PUNATVAN (53) DRINKING DURING HIS ORDINATION AS 'PALIKARTMOKH' OF KARIA.

threshold as in Fig. 20, and enters. If there are two rooms, he bows down in the same way at the threshold of the inner room. If there is a *mani*, he salutes it (*kaimukhti*) with hand to forehead. He next bows down to the *patatmar* and to the *ertatmar*, and finally touches a vessel of the *ertatmar*, usually the *majpariv*, and a vessel of the *patatmar*, the *patat*, and by doing this becomes a full *palikartmokh*. He proceeds to light the fire and the lamp and goes to milk the buffaloes.

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There are a few small points in which the ordination of a Teivali dairyman differs from that of the Tartharol. The Teivaliol use three pieces of the grass called *hakar*, with which the candidate sweeps the threshold of the dairy before bowing down and entering, the grass being left on the threshold. Among the Teivaliol also the place of the *petuni* may be taken by the special kind of cloth called *twadrinar*, which is manufactured by the Todas, and in the case in which I saw the ceremony, the candidate wore this instead of *petuni*. The Tartharol must use *petuni*.

In the only case in which I saw this ceremony the ordination was to a Teivali dairy and the candidate was completely naked except for the *kwu*. The Tarthar *tarpalikartmokh* wears part of an ordinary mantle as a loincloth during his ordination. The ceremony is the same for the *kudrpalikartmokh* as for the *tarpalikartmokh*, except that the former is quite unclothed except for the *kwu* and that he alone has a *mawi* to salute.

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THE WURSOL

The ceremony begins either on Tuesday or Friday and lasts two days. On the first day the candidate goes early in the morning to the ordinary dairy of the village at which he is to be *wursol*; at Kars he goes to the *kudrpali*. He receives food from the *palikartmokh* and eats it sitting on the seat (*kwettin*) outside the dairy. He stays near the dairy till the afternoon. When the *palikartmokh* has finished his afternoon work and has distributed butter and buttermilk, one of the men of the village comes to the candidate and says, "*Nirid!*" The candidate throws off his cloak and is given either a full *twi* or a piece of this garment called *petuni*. The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the door of his dairy, and the candidate stands opposite to him and asks three times "*Twinathinu?*"—"Shall I put on the *twi?*" The *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Vat!*"—"Put on!" Then the candidate raises the garment to his forehead and if he has been given a complete *twi* he puts it on; if only a *petuni* he puts it in the string of his *kwu*. This string is

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234x 292 ●793 ordinarily called *pennar*, but is now called *kerk*, and this part of the ceremony is called *kerkatiti*. The fact that this name is given seems to indicate that properly the complete garment should not be given till a later stage of the proceedings.

234x 793 The candidate then finds seven leaves called *muliers* and seven shoots or *nan* of the same plant and goes through exactly the same ceremony at the stream as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*, putting the shoots in his back hair at the end. This part of the ceremony is called *mulinirò̀diti*, and its object is to make the candidate a *palikartmokh* as a step towards becoming *wursol*. He is taken through the lower degree on his way to the higher.

After *mulinirò̀diti* the candidate goes to the wall of the [372] dairy and stands outside it. The *palikartmokh* brings a firebrand from the dairy and lights with it a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself. The firebrand must be one of the three following kinds—*kid*, *pasò̀r* or *kias*. [314] After warming himself, the candidate goes to fetch bark of the *tudr* tree, which must not be cut, but knocked off with a stone. He also brings seven perfect *tudr* leaves, and goes again to the dairy stream. He pounds the bark on a stone and dips it in water, squeezes the water into one of the *tudr* leaves, drinks, throws over his head and puts the bark on one side exactly in the same way as before, but using *tudr* bark and leaves instead of the shoots and leaves of *muli*. After doing this seven times he dips the pounded bark in water, sprinkles his head and face three times, puts the bark in his hair, and, going a little way off, shakes his head.

The candidate then goes again to find bark and leaves of *tudr*, and repeats the whole ceremony and continues to repeat it till he has done it seven times—*i.e.*, he drinks out of the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. After this he goes to the wood near the stream (at Kars, called Tarskars) and the *palikartmokh* comes to him there with the *ertatpun* filled with buttermilk, and with four leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. Two leaves are given to the candidate and two kept by the dairyman, and each folds the leaves in the usual way to make a cup (*ersteiti*). The dairyman then puts the *ertatpun* between his

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thighs and, holding it there, depresses it so that he can pour buttermilk into his leaf-cup; from this he pours into the leaf-cup of the candidate who then drinks, and this is repeated till the latter is satisfied. The *palikartmokh* brings food and fire from the dairy and both stay in the wood for the night, being allowed to have companions. The place where they sleep is called *tavarpali*. 234x 793●

In the morning the candidate again goes for *tudr* bark and leaves, and carries out the whole ceremony seven times as on the previous evening. He then goes to the *tavarpali* and waits there till the *palikartmokh* has finished his morning work, when the candidate again receives buttermilk and food. Then both go out together to look after the buffaloes.

When they return in the afternoon the candidate goes to the dairy stream and bathes from head to foot. This bathing is called *tudraspipini* (*tudr* I have washed), its object being to wash off the *tudr* bark previously used. After this he takes a piece of the cloth called *twadrinar* and, using it as a girdle in addition to that he already wears, he goes to the wall of the dairy while the *palikartmokh* digs up a vessel called *mu* which is buried in the buffalo pen. (At Kars the *mu* which is used is that of the *tarvali*.) The *palikartmokh* then puts the *mu* on the ground and stands by it. The candidate asks three times, "*Muvatkina?*" "Shall I touch the *mu?*" and the *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Muvat!*" The candidate then touches the *mu*, and by doing so becomes a full *wursol*. The *mu* is reburied by the *palikartmokh*.

All the ceremonies so far have taken place at or near the ordinary dairy, either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, or at the stream belonging to one or other of these dairies. The candidate now for the first time goes to the dairy in which he is to be *wursol* (the *wursuli*) and prostrates himself at the threshold. He next enters and prostrates himself to the *patatmar* and then to the *ertatmar*. He takes up and puts in its place one of the vessels of the *ertatmar* and then one of the vessels of the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), lights the fire and the lamp and prays, using the prayer of the village. He then cleans the vessels and goes to milk, doing *mani tersantirikiti* with the first milk as usual. 234x 788 793

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234x 783 ●793 I was especially told that if the candidate for the office of *wursol* wishes to scratch his head during his ordination ceremonies he must do so with a stick, but this is probably a feature of all ordination rites.

In the case of the *wursol*, it seemed that there is a difference in the ceremonial according to whether the dairy is occupied or not when the new dairyman enters upon office. The foregoing account applies to the case in which the dairy is already occupied and the new dairyman replaces another, so that there is no break in the continuity of the dairy proceedings. If the dairy should be unoccupied, I was told that the candidate would have to sleep for two nights in the wood, and there would almost certainly be additional purifications, but I did not learn the exact nature of the proceedings in this case.

Though I was only told of this difference of procedure in the case of the *wursol*, it is not unlikely that there is a corresponding difference of procedure in the case of other dairies when the dairy has been unoccupied. There will certainly be a ceremony of purification of the dairy, such as takes place when the buffaloes migrate to a new village, and probably the dairy vessels will also have to be purified.

THE KUGVALIKARTMOKH OF TARADR AND THE POHKARTPOL OF KANÒDRS

234x 778 793 The ordination ceremonies of these two dairymen appear to be almost identical. So far as I could ascertain, the feature which the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs have in common is that they serve institutions to which a high degree of sanctity is attached. The ritual of both dairies bears some resemblance to that of the *'ti* and, as we have already seen, the regulations for the conduct of the *pohkartpol* are, in some respects, even more stringent than those of the *palol*.

234x 793 The *kugvalikartmokh* is ordained either on Wednesday or Sunday, the *pohkartpol* on Tuesday. On the night preceding the ordination the candidate sleeps in the wood. Seven

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leaves are used of the following kinds: *pelkkodsthmul*,[1] *puthimul*, *änmul*, *takmul*, *kadakmul*, *tòrimul*, and *pathanmul*. One leaf of each kind is taken and the leaves pounded together and used in the same way as the shoots of *muli* or the bark of the *tudr* tree, water being dropped from them into leaves of *puthimul*. The pounded leaves are then placed in the back hair as usual. This is followed by the ceremony of drinking water three times out of a leaf containing water and some buffalo-dung. The bark of the *tudr* tree is then rubbed all over the body, though no *tudr* leaves are used for drinking. The candidate attains his full office by touching a *mu*, prostrates himself at his dairy, enters and begins his work as in the dairies of a lower grade.

234x 793

THE KALTMOKH

The ordination of the *kaltmokh* begins either on Sunday, Wednesday or Thursday. In the case of a *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, the first part of the ceremony takes place at the village of Nòdrs, while in some cases it seems that the candidate may go to the same village of Òdr which is visited by the *palol* during his ordination. I have no information about the place of ordination in the case of the other *ti* dairies.

A boy who is to become *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* goes to Nòdrs either on Sunday, Wednesday, or Thursday, and, going to the ordinary dairy of that place (*tarvali*), he is given water by the *palikartmokh* in the vessel called *pòlmachok*. The boy washes his hands with this water and puts on a *tuni* which the *palikartmokh* gives him, after saying the same formula as in the ordination of *wursol*. He then does *mulinirròditi* and so reaches the grade of *palikartmokh*. This and the following ceremony are done at a special stream at Nòdrs called *nirròdigudr*. The purification ceremony is then performed with *tudr* bark and leaves till the candidate has drunk seven times seven. Food and buttermilk are given by the *palikartmokh*, and then the boy together with the

[1] This is the ordinary *muli* used in the ordination of the *palikartmokh*.

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palikartmokh and the *wursol* of Nòdrs pass the night in the wood near that place.

The next morning the candidate goes to the ordination stream and washes himself from head to foot. This is called *tudraspipini*, its object being the same as in the ordination of the *wursol*. The boy next goes to the front of the *tarvali*, where the *palikartmokh* gives him a special string made of *twadrinar*, which he puts round his waist as *kerk*, and then warms himself at a fire of *muli* wood. The *palikartmokh* brings a *mu*, which the candidate touches with the same formalities as in the ordination of *wursol*, and by so doing reaches the grade called *perkursol*, which is of the same rank as that of *wursol*. The *perkursol* then takes the *mu* into the *tarvali*, prostrating himself at the threshold before entering. He prostrates himself to the *patatmar* and to the *ertatmar*, puts the *mu* on the *patatmar* and comes out. He then goes to the *poh*, or conical dairy of Nòdrs, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and prostrates himself before *patatmar*, *ertatmar* and, finally, before the *mani*. Up to the point of saluting the bell in this way he keeps on the *tuni* but at this stage he throws it down and comes out of the dairy naked (except for the *kuvn*), puts on the ordinary cloak and goes to the dairy at which the *ti* buffaloes are standing.

When he reaches the *ti mad*, the candidate goes to the *palol*, whom he salutes with the words "*ṭr kar ûdâ*," this salutation being called *ṭtrwadrikpini*. He goes to the sleeping hut, prostrates himself before the horns which are kept in this building, and then goes to the front of the dairy. He is now *perkursol*, and in order that he shall become full *kaltmokh* or *tunitusthkaltmokh*, the *palol* gives him a piece of *tuni* (*petuni*). The boy asks three times, "*Tunitusthvaskina?*"—"Shall I go to wash the *tuni?*"—to which the *palol* answers each time "*Tusthva!*"—"Wash, go!" The boy takes the *petuni* to the stream for ordinary use (not the *kwoinir*) and bathes from head to foot. He puts to himself three times the question, "*tunitoikina?*" and laying the piece of *tuni* on a stone, he pours water on it three times and returns with the *petuni* in his hand to the *palol*, who will be sitting on his

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pohvelkars in front of the dairy. The *palol* asks three times, "*Tunitusthpacha ?*"—"Have you returned from washing the *tuni ?*"—and each time the boy replies, "*tunitusthpuspini*"—"I have come from washing the *tuni*." Then both *palol* and boy go to the front of the *kadr* in which the calves are kept and the *palol* puts into the gate three bars (*tasth*), which shut the opening of the enclosure. The boy asks three times, "*Tasthvatkina ?*"—"Shall I touch the *tasth ?*"—and each time the *palol* replies "*Tasthvat !*" The boy, who hitherto has been *perkursol*, now touches the *tasth*, and by so doing attains the full rank of *kaltmokh*, and at once goes and pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol*.

The latter parts of the ordination ceremonies of the *kaltmokh*, from the point at which he receives *petuni* from the *palol* to the touching of the *tasth*, are always performed whenever the *kaltmokh* returns to the *ti* after a journey in which it has been necessary to degrade himself to the rank of *perkursol* (see p. 100). The initial stages of becoming a *kaltmokh* are known in general as *niròdibudnudr*.

The Ordination of the Palol

In accordance with the fact that the *palol* belongs to the highest and most sacred grade of the dairy-priesthood, we find that the ceremonies preceding his entrance upon office are far more elaborate and prolonged than for the minor grades.

In order that a Teivali man may become a candidate for the office of *palol* he must first have gone through a preliminary qualifying ceremony called *tesherst*. When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the people of the clan to which the *ti* belongs are restricted in their choice to those men who have been through this ceremony. When one of these qualified men has been selected, he then goes through the proper ordination ceremonies, known as *niròditi*.

In the case of a *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, the *niròditi* ceremonies are performed partly at Nòdrs, partly at Òdr, one of the most sacred villages of the Nòdrs clan, and finally at the *ti mad* where he is to hold office.

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THE TESHERST CEREMONY

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This qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* is always performed by a number of men at the same time. The number taking part must be three, five, seven or nine. There seemed to be no doubt that it was not permissible for four, six or eight men to perform the ceremony together. One or two Todas told me that an even number of men might do the ceremony, but all the more trustworthy witnesses were agreed that there must be an uneven number, and on all the occasions of which I could obtain records of actual ceremonies, an uneven number of men had done *tesherst* together. The ceremony may not be performed while the funeral ceremonies of any Teivali person are uncompleted.

At the time of my visit there were only nine or ten men who had been through the *tesherst* ceremony, including those who were holding or had held the office of *palol*. It was proposed that a number of the younger men should perform the ceremony about this time, but it had to be delayed till the second funeral ceremonies of two Teivali women had been held.

The *tesherst* ceremony always begins on a Monday after the new moon. It takes place at certain villages where people are living, and in all the cases of which I obtained records it had been done at Kudrnakhum, belonging to the Nòdrsol, or at Pushtar, belonging to the Taradrol. People must be living at the village at the time the ceremony is performed.

The candidates go to the village on Monday evening, accompanied by two or three Nòdrs men. All go to a stream by a wood and the ceremony begins after sunset, when all the candidates throw off their cloaks and stand in a row. A man of the Nòdrs clan has a *tuni* in his hand and each candidate asks three times, "*Tunivatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tuni*?"—and each time the Nòdrs man replies, "*Tunivat!*" The first man in the row touches the *tuni* and then the others in order. The Nòdrs man then gives the *tuni* to the first man who touched it, and he tears it into as many pieces

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as there are candidates, giving a piece to each man, who puts it in the string of his *kuvn*. All then go in search of the leaves of *muli* and each plucks seven leaves and seven shoots. They go to the stream, one by one, and each drinks and rubs himself with the shoots seven times, as in the ordination ceremony, and puts the shoots in his back hair.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs man will have made fire by friction, using the wood of *muli*, and the men warm themselves at the fire. Each man then goes in search of seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark and carries out the usual purification ceremony once only, drinking out of each of the seven leaves, after which the men take food prepared by another of the Nòdrs men, and all pass the night in the wood. Next morning the men fetch *tudr* bark and leaves and repeat the drinking and rubbing ceremony of the previous evening, but on this occasion each man says "*Teshnirèdinem*," as he throws the leaf over his head after drinking. All then bathe completely in the stream.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs men have been cooking a large amount of food, more than the candidates can readily eat, and an old woman of the Tartharol who is to take part in the ceremony has bathed and dressed in her best clothes and put on all the ornaments she can procure: gold earrings, necklace, bracelets, and rings. When the men have bathed, they wait till the message comes that the food is ready, and then each man takes off his piece of *tuni* and his *penuar* and his *kuvn*, so that he is completely naked. The Nòdrs man portions out the food and puts it on *tudr* leaves, the portion for each man being more than he can possibly eat at one sitting, and the portions of food are given to the old woman, who sits down with her back to the men. Each man goes up behind the back of the old woman, and she gives him his portion of food by putting her hand behind her back so that she does not look at him, and in doing so she says three times "*Teshtòrtudenk?*"—"*Tesh* food have I not given?" The men take the food, go into the thickest part of the wood and eat it. None of the food prepared on this occasion may be eaten by the Nòdrs men or by the old woman, but though the amount is excessive, the whole of it must be eaten by the

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candidates during the day. After each man has eaten to the full he may put on his cloak. The Nòdrs men and the old woman go back to their villages and they must hold no communication of any kind with the candidates after the food has been given. The men remain in the wood all day, and when it is getting dark they go to the nearest village at which any of them live, taking care that no one sees them on the way.

One of the most remarkable features of this ceremony is the part taken by the old woman. She must be one of the Tartharol; she must be past the age of child-bearing, and she must never have had intercourse with one of her own clan. In the last particular the word of the woman is trusted, for it was said that she would never deceive in such a matter. Every woman believed that if she did not speak the truth she would die, and all those concerned in the ceremony would either die or have serious illness. I was told that it was by no means easy to find a woman who fulfilled this requirement, and in each of the cases of which I have records the same woman officiated—viz. Naspilthi of Taradr (21).

Other remarkable features of this ceremony are that the men should be given more food than they are readily able to eat, as in the ceremony connected with the *kaltmokh* after the migration (p. 139), and that they receive this food in a condition of complete nudity, a condition which only occurs in one other dairy ceremonial.

The *tesherst* ceremony is one in which candidates for the office of *palol* go through certain of the rites which ordinarily form part of the process of ordination, with the addition of special ceremonies, in which a superabundant portion of food is given by a woman who fulfils certain peculiar conditions.

When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the clan to which the *ti* belongs chooses from among those who have been through the *tesherst* ceremony, and the chosen man has then to undergo the ordination ceremonies proper, or *nirròditi*.

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THE NIRODITI CEREMONY

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The ceremony begins on a Saturday evening, after the new moon, when the chosen candidate goes to a village of the clan to which his future *ti* belongs and sleeps there in the ordinary hut.

On the following morning he goes before daybreak to the front of the dairy of the village, naked except for his *kuvn*, and a man of the village stands at the door of the dairy holding a *tuni* in his hand, and says three times, "*Tunivatkia!*" —"Touch the *tuni!*" The candidate answers, "*Tunivatkin*," and takes the *tuni*. If the garment is a complete one, he puts it on; if only a piece, he puts it in his *pennar*, and taking seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark he goes to the stream of the dairy and performs the usual drinking and rubbing ceremony, and after putting the *tudr* bark in his hair, goes a little way off and shakes his head so that the bark falls out. He repeats the ceremony twice, so that it is performed three times altogether—*i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three times seven. This ceremony is called *teshnir*, and is done in view of the inhabitants of the village. The candidate stays for the rest of the day at the village. If there is a *wursol* there, the food of the candidate is prepared by this dairyman[1]; if no *wursol* is present, it is prepared by the *palikartmokh*. The food is grain boiled in milk, and is only eaten in the evening. The candidate sleeps that night in a wood near the village, but not the same wood as that by the stream where *teshnir* had been done. Either the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh* must pass the night in the wood with the candidate, and other men of the village may also be their companions. Until the candidate lies down to sleep he must remain naked (except for the *kuvn*), but when sleeping he may cover himself with his ordinary cloak.

Next morning (Monday) the candidate gets up at sunrise,

[1] This is inconsistent with the statement made on p. 73 that the *wursol* never prepares food except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. It is possible that the food is only given to the candidate by the *wursol* and is not prepared by him.

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lays aside his cloak, and goes to bathe completely in the stream, saying three times, "*Tudraspinem*,"[1]—"*Tudr* I have washed," thus washing off the *tudr* of the previous day. He then returns to the place where he had slept, puts on his ordinary cloak with the right arm out, and goes to the front of the dairy. He is given food by the *wursol*, or, in his absence, by the *palikartmokh*, and eats it outside the dairy, after which he washes. He then goes to the ordinary stream of the village (*ars nipa*) and takes up water with his hand, and by so doing he becomes *perol*—*i.e.*, he loses any sanctity he has acquired by the ceremony of the previous day.

The candidate then goes direct to the village of Ȯdr and stays near that village till the evening, when he makes his way to the front of the dairy of that place. He stands about ten yards from the dairy and throws off his cloak. A man of the clan to which his future *ti* belongs now gives him a complete *tuni* of the kind worn in the village dairy (a *mad tuni*, not a *ti tuni*), saying three times, "*Tunivatkin*," to which is replied "*Tunivatkin*." The man who gives the *tuni* now remains as assistant and companion till the candidate reaches his future dairy. The candidate puts the *tuni* round his loins, goes to the stream of the dairy, and performs the drinking and rubbing ceremony with *muli* leaves and shoots as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*. The assistant makes fire by friction and lights a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself.

The drinking ceremony with *tudr* is then carried out in the same way as at *teshnir*, and then the *wursol* of Ȯdr brings buttermilk in an *ertatpun* and gives it in cups of *kakud* leaves to both the candidate and his assistant. They also receive food from the *wursol*, while any other men present go to the ordinary hut for their meal. That night is passed at a special spot under a tree not far from the dairy at Ȯdr, the *wursol* and assistant being the companions of the candidate. On that night the candidate may not

[1] This has not the same form as the word uttered by the *wursol* and *haltmokh* in the corresponding ceremony. In some cases different verbal forms are used at the *ti*, and this may be an instance.

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touch his ordinary cloak and has to be content with the scanty covering of the *tuni*.[1]

On the next day (Tuesday), the ceremony with *tudr* leaves and bark is repeated three times as on the previous days, and after the *wursol* has finished his dairy work he gives buttermilk and food to both the candidate and his assistant. On the afternoon of this day the *tudr* ceremony is performed again, but on this occasion seven times, so that the candidate drinks from the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. In the evening buttermilk and food are again given by the *wursol* and the three men pass the night in the wood.

On the next day (Wednesday) the candidate fetches bark of the tree from which the material called *twadrinar* is made and makes for his temporary use a rough *kuvn*. When it is ready, he bathes in the dairy stream, takes off the old *pennar* and *kuvn* and puts on the newly made garment, together with the *tuni*, and goes with the *wursol* to the dairy where the buffaloes of his *ti* are standing. When they approach the *ti mad* the *wursol* goes away and leaves the candidate to go to the dairy alone, where he sits on the outskirts (*pül*) of the *ti mad*. When the *kaltmokh* sees the candidate approaching, he collects the buffaloes at the milking place (*pepkarmus*) and catches hold of the tails of certain buffaloes which are to be taken in charge by the new *palol*, saying to himself three times for each buffalo, "*Tover vatkina?*"—"Tail shall I hold?"—and replying to himself each time, "*Vat!*" At the Nòdrs *ti* if the candidate is to be *palol* of the *tiir*, the *kaltmokh* holds the tails of three buffaloes, one of each kind; if he is to be *palol* of the *warsir*, two buffaloes only take part (see p. 112). After this the *kaltmokh* prepares food in the *pül* of the dairy and gives it to the *palol* designate. While the *kaltmokh* is attending to the new *palol* he must become a *perkursol*—*i.e.*, he degrades himself to this rank before undertaking these duties. During the night the candidate together with the *kaltmokh* and the other *palol* already in office

[1] It has been stated by Harkness, Marshall and others that when the *palol* is entering on his office he has to sleep in the wood completely naked. This is not strictly correct, though the covering afforded by the *tuni* is so meagre that the statement is almost justified.

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234x (if there are two, as at the Nòdrs *ti*) sleep in the hut of the *ti mad*.

●793 The next day (Thursday) the new *palol* goes to the stream and performs the *tudr* ceremony three times in the morning and nine times in the afternoon; *i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three and nine times seven. On this day the *kaltmokh* milks the *punir*, takes the milk to the *pül*, churns there and gives buttermilk, butter and other food to the new *palol*. On that night all sleep in the *karenpoh* or calf-house.

The proceedings of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are the same as those of Thursday, except that the new *palol* may now drink the milk of the *punir* like the full *palol*.

234x 793 292 783 796 On Monday morning the new *palol* enters on his office. In the morning he bathes and then takes off the temporary *pennar* and *kuvn* he has been wearing and replaces them by others made in the same way. A Badaga (the *tikelfmav*) then brings one of the two cloaks of the *palol*, that called *pòdrshtuni*, and lays it down at the outskirts of the dairy. It is taken up by the *kaltmokh* and given to the new *palol*, who spreads it out on the place where the buffaloes are milked. He then takes pounded *tudr* bark, says the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the *ti* and of the buffaloes (see Chap. X) and throws the pounded bark on the garment. He turns the garment over so as to expose the other surface and purifies this in the same way. He then asks himself, "*Pòdrshtuni tutkina?*"—"Shall I tie the *pòdrshtuni?*"—and throwing off the *mad tuni* he has been wearing hitherto, he puts on the *pòdrshtuni*. The *kaltmokh* returns the *mad tuni* to the Nòdrs people, who come on this day and stand on the outskirts of the place.

The new *palol* then purifies his dairy by sprinkling it with water and *tudr* bark in the same way as is done when going to a new dairy (see p. 136). He next takes the *uppun*, puts into it water and *tudr* bark, and turning towards the Nòdrs people with the vessel to his forehead, says three times to them, "*Poh pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the dairy?" All the Nòdrs people cry "*Pûkh!*" and the new *palol* enters his dairy with the full rights of his position.

●●● At some period before entering into office as full *palol*

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At some time before entering into office as full palol

the candidate touches a *tasth* or bar of the entrance into the *tu*. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the *kaltmokh*, and as in this case it seemed to be the special indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the *tasth* is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished. 234 × 574 793 ● 796

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pon*, nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called *kubuntuni* is brought by the *tikelfmav*, and is put on in the usual way. (During the previous month the *pòdrshtuni* will have been used both as a cloak and as a loincloth, and will have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and sit in the *pül* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol first, saying "*Baß*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol, saying "*Pekein*," and each reply in the customary manner. [292] [576]

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *muli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity. 234 × 793

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Òdr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *mulinirròditi* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvn* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh*

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performs the tail-holding ceremony and the candidate sleeps in the hut. On the four next days the *tudr* ceremony is performed three times seven in the mornings and nine times seven in the afternoons, and the calf-house is used as a sleeping-place. On the following Monday the *palol* enters upon office, assuming the *pòdrshtuni*, touching a *tasth*, and entering his dairy.

The foregoing description of the ordination of the *palol* applies primarily to the Nòdrs *ti*, but in its main details it holds good for other places.

I am doubtful as to the part taken by the village of Òdr, and am not clear whether part of the ordination ceremony is performed at this place by every *palol* or only by those of the Nòdrs *ti*. It is possible that it is only the latter who visit the village, but I do not know of any corresponding village visited by the candidates for the post of *palol* at other *ti* dairies. My impression is that every candidate for the office of *palol* visits this village.

The only definite modification of the ceremonies attendant on entrance into office of which I know occurs at the Kars *ti*. Here the *palol* is first ordained to the *parsir*—*i.e.*, he becomes the *palol* of this herd of buffaloes and tends them only. At the end of a month he becomes *palol* of the *pürsir*, and the ceremony of entrance upon this office was spoken of as *pelkkatthtiti* to the *pürspoh*. In this case the ceremony of ordination to the *parspoh* is called *niròditi*, and that of removal to another dairy *pelkkatthtiti*.

On the afternoon of the appointed day the *palol* churns the milk of the morning in the *parspoh* and then shuts the door of this dairy, which he never re-enters as long as he is in office. He could only do so if he should cease to be *palol* and be re-ordained to the same *ti*.

A new *pòdrshtuni* is brought by a Badaga and is assumed by the *palol* after purification in the usual manner. At the same time he puts on a new *kagurs*,[1] which has been purified by the *kaltmokh*, who has also cut a new *kwoinörtpet* on the hill of Kulinkars which the *palol* then purifies with *tudr* bark in the usual manner, saying the names of the four deities, Anto, Nòtirzi, Kulinkars, and Kuzkarv.

[1] The *ti* name of the *kwon*.

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The *palol* then digs up earth from the footprints of one of the *pürsir*, saying the whole prayer of the *ti* as he does so. He drives the buffalo slightly to one side by touching it with the wand, and takes earth from the exact place where the foot of the buffalo had been resting and puts the earth into a cup which he has made of *tudr* leaves. He adds pounded *tudr* bark and goes to the spring (*kwoinir*) of the dairy, where he mixes water with the earth and bark. He then goes to the stone called *pepkusthkars*, where he has previously laid a complete set of new dairy vessels and implements of the inner room, together with the lamp and the bell (Ner) of the *pürspoh*. The bell is laid on the stone, the other things by its side.

Wearing the *pòdrshtuni* and holding the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm, the *palol* sprinkles the contents of the leaf-cup over the dairy vessels and other objects, beginning with the bell, and as he does so he prays, using the whole prayer of the dairy. He then ties all the vessels and other contents of the dairy on a staff called *pepkati* in exactly the same manner as when taking them from one *ti mad* to another. The bell is tied up in a leafy covering of *kiaz* and everything is done as in the migration from one place to another, and the staff with its burden is then borne by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the stone called *perskars*, by the side of which the dairy vessels are laid, while the *mani* is uncovered and laid on the stone. The staff is then placed at the back of the dairy.

Having untied the dairy vessels and arranged them by the stone, the *palol* pounds fresh *tudr* bark, and with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm goes with the *karitòrzum* to the sacred spring, into which he throws the bark, takes water, and returns. Taking more pounded bark, he puts it in the *idrkwoi* and pours water into this vessel from the *karitòrzum*. He takes the *idrkwoi* with its contents to the front of the dairy, and with his right hand sprinkles the water over the outside of the dairy and then into its interior till the vessel is emptied. The dairy vessels are not again purified, but are taken into the dairy with the same procedure as that described in the last chapter. The vessels of the outer room, which have been purified by the *kaltmokh*, are then taken to their places. Fire is made by friction; one fireplace is lighted

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234x 793 and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234x 184 783 778 788 793 The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli*; the dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *poh* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark, while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wurzol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wurzol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *sun*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tasth*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmokh* also touches a *sun* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

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this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy.

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both *wursol* and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmokh*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*On*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
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The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth of the same kind, called *ān*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual. 234 292 793 178

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the *tarvali* it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses *tudr* in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*. 234 778 788

[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tarthavol.

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754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

781 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
192 mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ of the dairy and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
781 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
783 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions, and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of function, though the means used continue to show a close resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

Omens

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meeting certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird called *harpals*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus.

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary [793] village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over
372 small firewood the people place several logs about three feet in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pohvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf-- the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony--Analyst]

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence com-
796 mitted. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at
618 any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatznol*.

234 764 793 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing." 533 539 765

Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*. 234

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner. 783 793 765 778

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Ôdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

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234 second funeral, and it is at Ȯdr that the purification takes
765 place.

Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to
783 Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
793 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
778 among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *azaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnȯdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnȯdr-vusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *azaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *azaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nȯdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

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There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1]

764 234 782 775

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *kodtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present.

764 234 793 778

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always

764 234 793

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

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764 called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring
234 the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the reli-
793 gious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the *wursol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

764 The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because
171 it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion
174 with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

764 It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that
174 the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

778 There are doubtless other places where the same sign of
788 reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

778 There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the
Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by
788 gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and
823 there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda
784 crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

778 The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at
784 certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary
788 people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas
823 habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the
793 restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the rank of *perkursol*. 778 784

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 788 823 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue to be treated with some degree of reverence. 778 621 788

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *mas'ol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

776 process of transference of sanctity from the buffalo to the
778 object worn by it, and I think it not unlikely that this transference may have reached its full development in comparatively recent times.

If my view be accepted, it would still leave open the religious status of the buffalo, and especially of the bell-buffalo, and here, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to me probable that the buffalo was never regarded as a god in the same sense in which this word is used for the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops. In the oldest legends, in which the buffaloes spoke like men, it is clear that they were in subjection to the gods, and were in no way regarded as themselves divine.

776 Some writers on the Todas have supposed that the *palol* is regarded as a god, but at the present time it is certain that
793 he is in no way divine. He is treated with respect, but nothing of the nature of worship or adoration is paid to him. His position among the Todas is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity. That his isolation is not a sign of divinity is, I think, shown by the results of infringement of his isolation. If the *palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches incurs no penalty. The sacrilege, according to Toda ideas, would attach not to him, but to the *palol* who, in spite of being touched, should persist in performing the duties of his office.

174 Whether the *palol* may ever have been more sacred in the past I cannot say. An indication that he may at one time
776 have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special
793 clauses of the Kiudr prayer which are uttered on the occasion of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*. Here the *kwarzam* of the *palol* is *eupalol*, which stands for *teupalol*, or "god palol," but in the next *kwarzam* the same prefix is given to his garment, the *tuni*, and I have little doubt that these *kwarzam* simply refer to the sanctity which attaches to the *palol* and his garment as part of the sacred institution of the *ti*. There is no doubt, however, that, according to tradition, the gods held the office of *palol* and that the *palol* of the

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Nòdrs *ti* is the direct successor of the god Ön, but to whatever extent Ön may have passed on his divine character to his immediate successors, there is little doubt that at present the *palol* has lost any divinity which may at one time have been ascribed to him. 174 776 793

It is very difficult to ascertain how far at the present time, according to Toda belief, the gods intervene in human affairs. Each clan is believed to have its *nòdrodchi*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nòdrodchi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler. Thus Teipakh is connected with both Piedr and Kusharf, Atioto with both Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, while Etepi, who is the *nòdrodchi* of Keradr, and Kuzkarv, the *nòdrodchi* of Keadr, are almost certainly one and the same deity. In the two latter cases a Tarthar clan has the same god as a clan of the Teivaliol. 776

Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nòdrodchi* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo. The Todas certainly believe that misfortunes are due to the anger of the gods. It is clear that the various offerings described in Chapter XIII are piacular and propitiatory. They are designed to atone for wrong done and to avert any future evil consequences of the offence which has been committed. 776 782

The power of the gods is believed to show itself in various ways. In several cases dairies have been disused because the dairymen have died in office, and this was said to have happened because the gods of those places were severe. It was apparently believed that they had visited infringements of the laws regulating dairy ritual with death.

The various misfortunes which befell different members of the community as the result of my visit were all ascribed to the anger of the gods. Again, the untoward incidents of the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 391) were ascribed to the anger of the gods because there had been an infringement of funeral custom. These and other cases show clearly that

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The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordination of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the
292 *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kodrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

Methods of Wearing the Hair

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

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588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
514 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisation. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas
793 belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol.
184 This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
654 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

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they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while 184
holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be
touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by 616
his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an 793
ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, 184
the moment he ceases to hold office.

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices 554
does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive.

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very strik- 198
ing point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the 616
Tartharol that there were certain differences in language 554
between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XII.

action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see, confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to any personal God, of whose attributes or power they entertain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[2] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

I am not prepared to say that these people have actually no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[3] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

[2] See Chapter VIII.

[3] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIV.

TIRIÊRI PRIESTS.

The Pâlâl—The Kâvilâl—The Pâlâl is a God—The Peiki Clan termed 'Sons of God'—Duties of the Pâlâl—No mysteries—Sacred nature of Priests—The Pâlâl becomes man again—Purification for holy orders—The Tûde tree; its botanical name and distribution—The use of the Tûde, an ancient practice—The Pâlâl enters on his duties.

CHAP. XIV.

EACH tiriêri, with its drove of cattle, is in the charge of an ascetic milkman or priest, styled pâlâl,[1] and an equally ascetic, though not equally holy, herdsman or kâvilâl.[2] And according as the herd may be small or large, there are found from one to two of the former, and from one to three of the latter, attached to the tiriêris.

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The pâlâl, whose personal acquaintance I had made in the course of taking information on the interesting subject of the bell-god, was a man of about thirty-five years of age, who had spent some fifteen of them in holy orders, vacating his post in favour of a brother. The effect of that lengthy period of ascetic and solitary life on his personal appearance, was somewhat striking. It was perhaps *de rigueur* for one who had so long been in sacred office to wear his hair dishevelled, and to neglect the cleanliness of his person: but the more than usually motionless eyebrow, the gloomy solemnity of his look and his

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[1] Pâlâl, pâl, is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; âl = *person*.

[2] Kâvilâl, kâval = *guard*; âl = *person*.

The former is a Turkish word. Yet kâ is the Drâvidian root for *protect, guard*. In Tamil we have a kind of reduplication of it; thus, pâtu kâ. The Sanskrit corresponding root is pâ. [POPE.]

Ż: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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ADAM AND EVE
ÂL-ÂD-ÂD'M-MAN. AVV-MOTHER.
OF THE PEIKI CLAN – DÊR MOKH OR SONS OF GOD.
GENESIS VI. 2.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive the existence of any very mystic rites among them. Whatever is done in these tiriêris, is known to every intelligent

284 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely
[124] on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family
778 and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

554 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

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CHAP. XIV.

through life, amongst his fellow-men, a large amount of respect, as having once been a God.

The following description of the process, which *all* men undergo in the course of being sanctified to the performance of any duty during will prove interesting.

For the space of a week—ettnâl; literally speaking, eight days, and corresponding to *in acht tagen* in German—the novitiate must remain day and night alone in the woods of the tiriri, without a particle of clothing and with only a fire to protect him from the severity of the climate. He beats with a stone, the bark off a branch of the tûde[3] tree, which he collects. Then three times each day, morning, noon, and evening, he performs the following ceremony. Squeezing some of the juice of the bark, into a leaf-cup containing water from the stream or spring, he raises the cupfull with the right hand to his forehead, in token of respect: then lowering it to his mouth and drinking off the contents, passes the empty leaf round over his head and left shoulder, then depositing it behind his right side. This formula is repeated three times, using a fresh leaf each time. Next, he takes the remainder of the bark, and rubs his naked body all over with it, washing himself immediately in the fresh water. On the eighth day he is competent to assume charge of his office.

The week's ordeal has been extremely severe, both in point of exposure and of solitude, and one well calculated to make a suitable impression on a man who is about to undertake a solemn duty. The kâvilâl has supplied him with food from the tiriri all this time, and there is reason for believing that the pâlâl and kâvilâl see that the novitiate does not slur the proper performance of the rites.

The Todas have no distinctive word to express purification, but describe the effect by saying sari[4] ûddi, "he is right," by the process.

[3] Tûde, tûve, tûve, tûrja—*a thicket of small shrubs.* Tamil. [Pope.]
[4] Sari. In Dravidian çari—*right.* [Pope.]

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of India, utilise this plant, whose picture is given in photograph No. 15.

The tûde is not used for any other rite or for any other purpose than the purification of candidates for holy orders.

When the aspirant has thus prepared himself for the performance of the most sacred duties a Toda has any conception of, he proceeds to the tiriêri close by, where the pâlâl whom he is about to relieve, awaits his arrival. I was told by my Toda friend, that he enters on his new avocations without further ceremony. Simply, the sacred relics and the bell-cows are pointed out to him, and his duties explained.

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CHAPTER XV.

PRIESTLY DUTIES.

Pâlâl's daily routine—Salutes the sacred Herd—Milks the Cattle—Libations to the Bell-gods—Names of Toda Gods—Does the conception of invisible Gods arise from deficient organ of Form?—Todas revere Light, not Fire—Who is the Kâvilâl?—Pâlâl demonstrates that he is never touched—Milk held in religious regard—Pâlâl collects Kûtu for his Mand.

CHAP. XV.
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THE daily routine of the pâlâl's mysterious office was described to me nearly in the following words. 'On rising in the morning, I wash face, hands, and teeth, with the left hand.' In daily human life he had invariably used the right hand for this purpose; such being the custom with all Orientals certainly, who, eating with their fingers, find it necessary to reserve the right hand for that especial object. But remember the pâlâl is now a God, and to the pure all things are pure—fact!'

'Then entering the inner room—ulg ârsh—of the house,' which is reserved for dairy purposes, the outer room—porram âlg ârsh—being the pâlâl's sleeping apartment, 'I make a leaf-lamp, into which I put clarified butter and 5 wicks, thus,' spreading out his fingers. I could not ascertain if the number 5 is essential, but it appeared to me to be so. 'The lamp is put into a niche in the wall, opposite the bells, which hang on the separate prongs of a stick thrust into the thatch of the roof. And I light in silence, nor salute either light—belak—or relics—maṇi.'

'Having taken up my wand and honnu or milk-pail, which

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THE PÂLÂL SALUTES THE SACRED CATTLE.

CHAP. XV.

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is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

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'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the names of the following Gods :—

Ânmungâno Godingâtho
Beligoshu Dekulâria
Kazudâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

[1] Nin arzbini = *I adore thee.* See Chapter XVII., on the ètud Mand, for the application of these words.

776 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and not Gods of my tirièri only. I have never seen them. They 713 are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk. 793 After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tirièri. He 442 said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in 713 none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the kâvilâl in his own house in the tirièri, apart from the dairy. They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in 372 saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the tirièri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the adoration of fire.

778 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by 793 anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his 234 priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tôde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

CHAP. XV.

Curious to form an opinion as to whether in the unheeded seclusion of their sanctuary, these recluses preserved themselves as untainted by contact with man as I had been told, I ventured to express to the pâlâl a doubt as to the possibility of his giving his servant daily food, and of selling the produce of his dairy, without touching anyone. He at once said he would show me.

He asked for three somethings—anythings: looked up to the trees for suitable leaves. What does the gentleman drink from? I gave him three tumblers, with the bright and sparkling appearance of which he appeared gratified: something worthy of the subject. Much pleased: now he could show: couldn't he just show? Sitting himself with one glass in hand, on a low wall, to represent the tûar of the tiriêri, on which he pictured himself squatting as he had so often done during the last fifteen years, he placed the second glass on the ground immediately below him, near which a Toda companion, impersonating the kâvilâl, stood waiting. Another Toda was sent to a distance to act the part of a purchaser with a third glass, which having set on the ground, he retired a few paces. Now feigning, the pâlâl poured his nei from the first to the second tumbler, which the kâvilâl then carried off, pouring its contents into the third tumbler. As the kâvilâl stepped back with the money which he picked up off the ground, the purchaser came forward and took away the glass full of nei. 'See,' he said, 'am I not paid for my nei without being touched?'

This impromptu pantomime was acted with so much justice and gravity, and all three men, though not pâlâls, understood their several parts so thoroughly, I could no longer doubt that the persons of these holy men were inviolable. I obtained also a glimpse—the truth of which further observation has tended to confirm—how the rites and ceremonies of an unlettered race may be transmitted almost unchanged from generation to generation. Publicity, combined with the

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identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity probably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasionally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

CHAP. XVI.

Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us. Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are approaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline, and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!' shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls remain behind, and you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[8] had come up to about ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the maṇi from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

[8] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

An axe, a sort of hatchet-knife, and a small knife. These latter certainly did not appear old; they were kept tolerably bright, and did not look worn, either by use or from the effects of polishing. The two last had wooden handles. 'These be your Gods'! 778

In reply to the enquiry, if the bells had clappers, the answer was instantaneous, energetic and simultaneous; that they had not clappers: if they had, they would have been cattle-bells—konku—but these were Gods—Dêr. The question must have been asked before. 124 778 793

No. 19.

RELIC GODS—MAPI DÊR.

'Gods of our Fathers.'

. . . . . Of thee
Therefore entreat I, Father, to declare
If I may gain such favour, as to gaze
Upon thine image by no covering veil'd.

DANTE, *Paradise.*

It should be remarked that the Toda name for a bell, is konku—deep-sounding—whilst that of the common cow-bell of the district, now worn by village cattle on certain occasions, is called getti—a small tinkling thing. Hence I deduce from the sounds and sizes, that these holy bells are really national relics.

'Now,' they said, 'the Gods must not be kept out any

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longer;' which being interpreted, meant that the kâvilâls would be coming. So, having taken a sketch of them, we threw some money to the pâlâls.

'Don't tell the kâvilâls when you pass them, that you have paid us money.' I promised; at which they chuckled. 'And don't tell any one you have seen the relics.' Phew!!

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ÊTUD MAND.

Customs of the Village Dairy or Pâlthchi—Duties of the Pâlkarpâl—Important difference in the duties of the Pâlâl and Pâlkarpâl—The Tarvâl—The inside of a Dairy—The Dairy of an Êtud Mand is a Shrine—The Badagas term it Mui Mand: why?—Toda form of oath.

CHAP. XVII.

THE customs and ceremonies of the tirièri or Toda cathedral—seat of a divine milkman, established as the medium of conveying the Gods' gift to man—are repeated, though in less awfully sacred form, in every Mand of the tribe; in the village dairy or pâlthchi. 234 463 793

The configuration of the dairy has already been described in Chapter VI.

Similarly as one or more nearly-naked recluses belonging to the Peiki clan, are established as pâlâls for the care of the tirièri, assisted by their kâvilâls; so a lesser luminary, generally from the same clan, is the unclothed, ascetic, but more mildly sacred pâlkarpâl,[1] who, also living *en garçon*, but without any pretensions to God-head, presides over the dairy of each village, helped under certain circumstances by a somewhat similar character in the vorshâl.[2] Both of these men also, have been purified in that wonderful juice which qualifies to the holy offices of milking buffalos and the charge of relics.

I state that the pâlkarpâl is generally, though not always, of the Peiki clan; for as I observe, the Peïkis permit the 234 793 618

[1] Pâlkarpâl. See note 4 of Chapter VI.
[2] See note 4 of Chapter VIII.

CHAP. XVII.

234 793 618

unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

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It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are [512] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

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The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up*. [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee. CHAP. XVII. 234 793 778 788

Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[8] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiriêri; the holy of holies, already described. 234 778 554

In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand, which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was 234 343 342

[8] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master* or *superior*. The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

CHAP. XXI.

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.) 234 765 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the *ex*-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.' 764

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless. 183 764 765 775 178

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of 765 775

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

1 [The bara kêdu, or second funeral --Analyst]

177 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gūdu* been claimed* for lands
421 disposed of by Government.

Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gūdu* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pattās*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gūdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gūdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— *Relig Rites Cere*

234 I. *Pālāls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pālaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pālaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pālāls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XIII.), two near Nanjenād, and one near Kodanād. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pālāls* must be Peiki; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarserzhāl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pālāls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kevilāl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pālāl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pālāl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,740, 29 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's* Letter of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gūdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount fell not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kosal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pûtkuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tunni*, made
234 specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanĕri.

"The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the "exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in "some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without "a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is "at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fūr or Tūr, the "botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed "off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted "to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâls*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pâlâls*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peĭkis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokvali*. There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tārnāt mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpuli*. There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl*.

V. *Pâlikārpâls* may be of any clan, but Peiki and Pekkan mands must have Peĭki and Pekkan Pâlikārpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

346 II. *Pâlthchi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but larger. Of *Pâlthchis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every
793 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas
621 *Etadmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthchis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikārpâl*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl*.

234 There are four *Boas*:—

(1.) Called *Mânboa*; at Muttanâd *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the
778 left of the Segūr road.

346

* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, 262
except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This [462]
consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds, which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones, the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, 231
though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their *munds*. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the European Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into 616
two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a 793
better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*. These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes, though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at. Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry, and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest, naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests [292]
are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

616 others, I cannot recal, undergo a shorter and less severe period
793 of initiation. Both are often dairymen, an office of great honour and importance; but a *Khoota* is equally eligible, provided he goes through certain preparatory rites in order to purify himself for it. The especial duties of the priests are to tend the sacred herds just mentioned; to conduct the periodical sacrifice of a calf to invoke fruitfulness among their herds; to present the daily offering of milk at their temples; and to superintend the funeral rites. Of actual or of assembled worship, they have none, so far as I could discover, though, individually, they offer up occasional prayers to an Invisible Being for recovery or preservation from sickness.

346 Their temples differ but little in appearance from the ordinary huts. One of them, standing in a pretty little glen, near the road between Jakatalla and Coonoor, I made an examination of at a time when the *mund*, about half a mile off, to which it belonged was deserted by its inhabitants. Creeping in on all fours, I discovered, as well as the darkness permitted, that it contained nothing whatever but a square metal bell and a shapeless black stone, about twice the size of a man's head, the latter placed alone on the floor at the end furthest from the entrance. Being unwilling to bring this out to the light, I could not ascertain whether its colour was natural or artificial. The size precluded the notion of its being an aerolite, although it is well known that meteoric stones have been, in the early history of many countries, regarded with religious awe. To this temple, I
782 had often previously seen the priest from the neighbouring *mund* bring, in the early morning, a vessel of new milk; but whether the offering was poured out, as some say it is, as a libation, or merely presented and taken away again, I had no means of ascertaining without the risk of giving annoyance.

000 It will be borne in mind that black stones have, from the earliest times, been objects of reverence or actual adoration from east to west; as, for instance, in Mecca, also among the ancient Romans, and even in the western islands of Scotland, where, moreover, milk was offered to them. Bells, too, have been, in past ages, regarded with veneration, and as having mysterious powers over demons and evil spirits, not only by various Eastern races and castes, but in ancient Britain.

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60 -

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351
two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343
is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342]
dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [193]
than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354]
place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, some-
what like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417
mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233
enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422]
possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487
Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562]
women. Within the village there are also certain recog-
nised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234]
the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562]
go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

172 parts." Among the most interesting figures are those of heavily bearded men riding on horses, and big-horned buffaloes which might have been modelled from the Toda buffaloes of to-day, and, like these, at funerals and migration ceremonies, bear a bell round the neck.

234 193 Two forms of Toda dairy have so far been noticed. But there remains a third kind, called the ti mand, concerning which Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The ti is the name of an institution, which comprises a herd of buffaloes, with a number of dairies and grazing districts, tended by a dairy-man priest called palol, with an assistant called kaltmokh. Each dairy, with its accompanying buildings and pasturage, is called a ti mad, or ti village. The buffaloes belonging to a ti are of two kinds, distinguished as persiner and punir. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the ti dairy is concerned with their milk. The punir correspond in some respects to the putiir of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the palol, and are not treated with any special ceremony. During the whole time he holds office, the palol may not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another ti village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the kaltmokh, or with people who come to visit him at the ti. If the palol has to cross a river, he may not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford, and it appears that he may only use certain fords. The palol must be celibate, and, if married, he must leave [595] his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers." I visited the ti mand near Paikāra by appointment, and, on arrival near the mand, found the two palola, well-built men aged about thirty and fifty, clad in black cloths, and two kaltmokhs, youths aged

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkûlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkûli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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Tarthāl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthāl woman visits at a Tērthāl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in butter-milk. The restrictions which are imposed on Tērthāl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Tērthāl woman, on a visit at a Tarthāl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkūli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthāls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Tērthāl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyāl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

564 574 [252] 564 621 [193] 564 614

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikāra bungalow.

881 [123]

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

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7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539

At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.

At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793

He lights the lamp.

At eight he milks his buffaloes.

He puts on no cloth.

He places butter and ghi before the god.

Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.

Then he puts on his cloth.

At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.

He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.

He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.

He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.

He alone may sleep in the temple.

At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.

At seven he milks them.

The woman's house is down the hill.

The priest must not go in unto the woman.

He may not marry.

When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.

Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, etc. 771 114 771 177 788

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunoːṭ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the tiː. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not tōunoːṭ. Some munds also which have dairies are not tōunoːṭ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunoːṭ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunoːṭ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the tōunoːṭ, which are ɯtuṃḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunoːṭ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuθuṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation.

When a tōunoːṭ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunoːṭ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunoːṭ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōuθuṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nódrodchi, i. e. noṭroḍci-, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōuθuṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (ɯtuṃḍmoḍ or tōunoːṭ) was created, as we have said, by a tōuθuṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri- [614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 718 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk 234 from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of [462] stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty- [361] five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [718] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is [716] a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period. 841 778 234 [793]

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poɣ). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:ɭpoɣ, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper. 764 841 778 [614]

One mund, kuu:sy of the sib called mö:ɾ was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti:-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti:-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund. 778 183 562 [841]

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle). [113]
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
[582] concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
554
564

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwotsn-Pöidh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörori or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Püth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhoni	

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modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-nganipotvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konari, his grandson and great-grandson.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet. 553 852 302

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf. 604 [616]

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner. [858]

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time. 304 796 [616] [793]

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their [604] [616] [413] [562]

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sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhllol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

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[Melgarsh Village]

(6) Nalsirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pads. She is twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knowns it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife. 159 621

(7) MUTNARSH: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [464]

(8) KUDDHUE: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mad*, in the tribe's *wursulis* for which he is very much sought after. [732] [793]

(9) MUNDOKWUTN: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Erzigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mad* where he apparently likes to stay. [595]

(10) Erzigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda women who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so [842]

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513 Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Mel-
592 garsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for
[793] in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus
464 apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the
511 capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite un-
[865] orthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[783] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quick-
[793] est way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

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Fig. 22. A typical Toda mad in the Nilgiris: Karsh, near Ootacamund.

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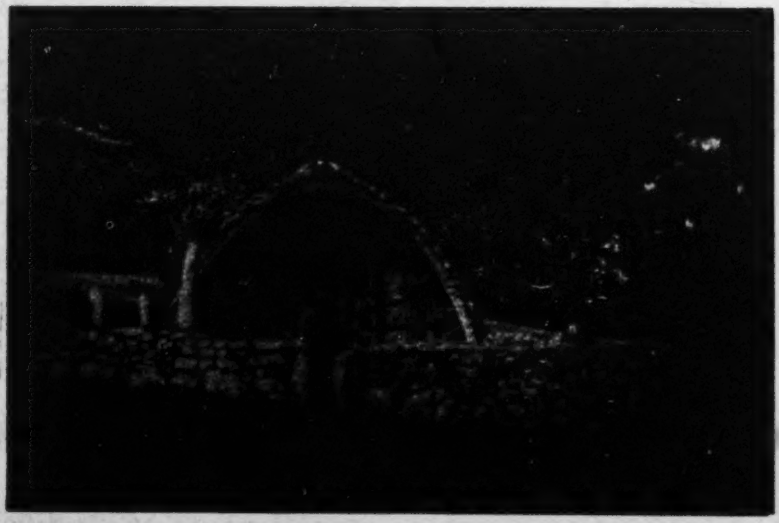

[793] Fig. 23. The *tarvali* of Melgarsh: Motsod, the *tarvalikartmokh* in his black *tuni* at the door.

[P 300-A]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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302
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Fig. 28. Erzigwuf with Peterozn, Mutnarsh and the twins, Sodup and Sodam.

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Fig. 29. Kuddhue.

[p 300-D]

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
Toda AW60

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[2]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[2] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

4: Yalman E-4, 5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
718 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
718 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.
611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

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797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[1] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kiśkar] (39, Kishkar),[2] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime. 797 794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the abandoned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the [177] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in [341] providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts [346] themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equiva- [182] lent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final [162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[1] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 19. 101–121), 117. [113]

[2] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ɖ] is used for the alveolar. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ṛ] is a post-dental one-flap trembled. [ə] represents the abnormal alveolar (almost like English *ah*). [ɔ] and [ɔ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ə] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [a:ɯ:] is one name in the diphthong [aɯ:] plus the vowel [i:]. [104]

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about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuanoon] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kasfuaodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialise in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 587 for the Todas in the year 1921 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

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794 animals which have not yet reached the milch stage and which otherwise
333 would unprofitably use up the community's scanty pasturage. It seems
184 also that the Christians still retain some of their original feeling that
[437] wealth is to be measured by possession of cattle. They tend to acquire
more and more head of cattle and because of the pressure on their own
[556] pasture area the superfluous beasts are kept with the tribe almost permanently or in alternation with unproductive animals. In these cases the man who provides pasturage gets the produce, milk and the resulting products. In all cases when cattle are pastured on tribal lands, it seems
[184] that it is the buffalo that is so treated; cows are kept at the Christian colonies, since the tribal Todas do not own cows.

648 The Todas live in economic symbiosis with the other aboriginal tribes
437 of the Nilgiris, viz. the Kotas and the Kurumbas, and with the Badagas, who settled in the Nilgiris perhaps five centuries ago. The mechanism of the economic interchanges has not yet been described in detail,[6] but an outline of the Toda relations with the Kotas will be given here. The Kotas are blacksmiths and potters, and all the Toda needs in these departments are supplied by them, as well as music for the Toda funerals. In return the Kotas receive the carcasses of all Toda buffaloes that die or that are slaughtered at funerals, as well as certain other minor perquisites, such as cane for house-building, bamboo churning-sticks, and a certain amount of clarified butter. The interchanges are made between individuals, who are in a permanent and usually hereditary relationship to each other, referred to by the Todas as [kel], by the Kotas as [kel]. The relationship includes also the right of the Kota to obtain by purchase from his Toda opposite number such buffaloes and buffalo calves as he may need for his own economic purposes. In most cases one Toda has several Kotas who supply him, the relative numbers of the tribes and the Kotas' similar relationships with the Badagas making such an
648 arrangement necessary. This economic relationship has broken down
437 formally so far as the Christian Todas are concerned. But in spite of
184 this, there is a tendency among the Christian Todas to retain the relationship with their hereditary Kota partners. They obtain their iron tools and pots from these Kotas and recompense them on a more strictly commercial basis than the original one. *E.g.* [kanfusodj] retains such relationships with the Kota who was his father's partner and has in addition formed a new relationship with another Kota. He at least still uses the term [kel] in referring to his relationship with these two men, though my Kota linguistic informant was insistent that the Kota

[6] References may be made to Rivers, chap. 27. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has made more extensive notes on the subject and it is hoped that his account will soon appear.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

[15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 110, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

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The European may enter the
house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been 184
removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the 564
ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking 794
utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of [576]
the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the com-
plication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the 794
links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. 184
There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the
diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the [578]
misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to
Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and
sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially
if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the
pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly
evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian
meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of
the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings
attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more 574
detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. 184
The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony 794
will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin [252]
or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is [562]
ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question
of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16]
It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the commu-
nity or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to
the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Further-
more, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen [252]
one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from [177]
the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in 797
the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For ex- 794
ample, [kanfunsodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to 184
marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through ill-
ness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a
Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to [796]
the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuuiN], the [291]
fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she [562]

[16] See my paper Toda *Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*. [113]

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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797 has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ultz), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuuɪR] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanuɪs] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kaNfuɪsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiškeɪn] (14, Kûshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnuɪs] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paɪuiɪʒfiɪj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kaNfuɪsodj]. Her brother [noɪnmuRj] (Nonmudri) and [kaNfuɪsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnuɪs] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noɪnmuRj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kaNfuɪsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoɪn] (20, son of [teɪpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kaNfuɪsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noɪnmuRj] should pay to [kaNfuɪsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
585 and five rupees; these are the [kökuulj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [aRpuɪn] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

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He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kišker] gave one buffalo to [keinoʒ] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keinoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoin] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [landiifj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kišker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kišker]'s father's sister [tuarumemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjoinaif] (64, Puthion) both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kišker] by the latter and [kišker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuaroin], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it. 794 184 585 [583]

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for 794 184 794 184 171 794 184 [233]

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its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people"[18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognize that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 108.

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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθaŋ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the nirjo:ŋ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumŋ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new po:lm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 194

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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the polo:l, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töuθmt and the töuno:ɣ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the mɣfo:lfmat, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 172) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. kaɣθum, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hõ: at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as no:-ɣ, after it as mɣ.

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the töuθɯt and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tɯt) which are gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called mod, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiɟ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund no:ʂ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these töuθɯt are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The töuno:ʈ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the töunoʈ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as a:ʂ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is noʈ "sacred place." Within the noʈ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the noʈ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as töu "god" or noʈ "sacred place" or töunoʈ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːʈ "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

noːʈoːselm	kuːtjuθnoːʈ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
tōuoːselm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(noːʈ), the sacred place to which the goddess tōːkiɡj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθaɾm	kumɾtmθnoːʈ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
mɾeθaɾm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noːʈexuːdtk	ɡlmθnoːʈ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tōuenoːjtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tōnθuʈ, the tōunoːʈ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tōunoːʈ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tōunoːʈ may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the sonɡ-pair: pəɾmuːnθta, pəɾtɡuːnθta "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kuəpu)" of the mund myːnj, which is pəɾmu, said to mean "the standing-place (mu) of the 1600 gods (represented by pəɾ for pəɾmuɡ)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §12.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunoːṛ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the tiː. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not tōunoːṛ. Some munds also which have dairies are not tōunoːṛ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunoːṛ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunoːṛ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the tōunoːṛ, which are ɯtumḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunoːṛ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōuθɯṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation.

When a tōunoːṛ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunoːṛ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunoːṛ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōuθɯṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nōdrodchi, i. e. noːṛoːḍci-, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōuθɯṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (ɯtumḍmoḍ or tōunoːṛ) was created, as we have said, by a tōuθɯṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

771 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion
776 seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at
794 the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs"
234 he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiǫj and the rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθmt. Since they are distinct from the töunoʒ, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθmt. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may pro-
771 bably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product
774 of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly
794 general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by
234 which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kiǫj and the other töuθmt for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiǫj and the gods
[776] associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods,
776 the töuθmt, stories are still told in the vague way of which
538 Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

771 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no
234 change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such
794 change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete
177 abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical
178 alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-8 worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas."

11:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939
AW60 Toda AW60

841 Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags [178] are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all discarded ones [171] are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community.

841 The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those
794 of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small
563 Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been
177 sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has been made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

been my chief guides to Toda lore. One man who had 123
pointed out to me certain sacred places fell ill and made up his mind that he was going to die. Another man lost his wife a few days after he had shown me the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies. A third man who had revealed to me the details of the ceremonial of the most sacred Toda dairy, suffered the loss of his own village dairy by fire.

The Todas consulted their diviners, who ascribed these events to the anger of the gods because their secrets had been revealed to the stranger. In consequence my sources of information ran dry to a large extent, and the difficulties in the way of the investigation of the more sacred topics were greatly increased. By the time it was settled that I was to blame I was nearly at the end of my visit, but it was in the last two or three weeks that I had hoped to overcome the scruples of the people and to obtain information on many doubtful points about which I had to come away unsatisfied.

One of the subjects on which my material is defective is the 114
folk-lore. I have a number of tales, but they are only 173
a small part of the store of Toda legend. I regret especially 535
the incompleteness of my work in this respect because I 716
believe that the Todas are rapidly forgetting their folk-tales and the legends of their gods, while their ceremonial remains to a large extent intact, and seems likely to continue so for some time.

I was especially struck by this because, in previous anthropological experience in the islands of Torres Straits with Dr. Haddon, we had found the exact opposite to be the case. In these islands, the ceremonial had disappeared, and the only record of it to be obtained was that derived from the memories of the oldest inhabitants. Nevertheless in Torres Straits the store of legend was still ample, and the agreement of the stories obtained from different individuals was so great that it was evident that the people had preserved their folk-lore with fidelity.

The difference between the two communities is easily ex- 000
plained. In Torres Straits missionary influence is strong, and missionary effort is always directed to break down the practices

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
123

CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

At certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

234* Some of these places, such as the villages of Pied-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
778 Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
783 miödr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
796 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
621 It is visited once a year by the *wurzalir* of Kars for about a month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it *is* in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]
234* My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
221 from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
796 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary
221 work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the
796 women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpan*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*shirzam meidjam*," the *kuarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray,
[415 using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the
482] dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütuki*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

[562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

On reaching the new village, the
234 *palikartmakh* purifies
221
776

the dairy by throwing into it water mixed with *tudr* bark.[1] The dairy things are taken off the sticks at an appointed spot. The *palikartmakh* salutes the sun with *irkarthpas* and *madth* as in the morning, and then all pray. After the prayer, the *palikartmakh* takes some ferns (*taf*) and puts them on the place within the dairy where the things of the *patatmar* are to stand, and these are put in their places on the ferns. The things of the *ertatmar* are then arranged in the same way. The *palikartmakh* makes fire by friction, lights the lamp, and then goes to milk the buffaloes. If he has brought milk with him, he will churn it. Meanwhile a ceremony called *alttiniti* will have been performed by a little girl about six or seven years of age in those cases in which all the inhabitants of the village are migrating. Before leaving the village from which the people are coming this girl will have been given food in the dairy. On reaching the new place, the girl plucks three blades of the slender grass called *kakar* and goes to the front of the dairy and sweeps the threshold with the grass. She does this with her right arm outside her cloak, and when she has swept she bows down with her forehead to the threshold three times. If there is more than one dairy, she sweeps the threshold of each. The *palikartmakh* then gives her a small handful of butter and the girl goes to the huts. Up to this time the women will have been waiting near the village, but when they see that the girl has performed her ceremony, they go to the huts and prepare the food called *ashkhartpimi*.[2]

When the *palikartmakh* has finished milking, he also prepares food, and when it is ready he throws some into the fire, *ikrtitvarthi*, "food into the fire he throws," and then gives out the food to the people, and they eat both this and that prepared by the women.

At some places the ceremonial is more complicated than at others, the degree of elaboration depending on the sacredness of the dairy to which the buffaloes are going. When they migrate to the especially sacred village of Kindr the extra

[1] This is probably only true of Teivali dairies.

[2] This is a special food used on important ceremonial occasions, the mode of preparation of which is given in Chapter XXIV.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

complexity seems to depend on the presence of the bells of the dairy of that village. When the *palikartmakh* reaches Kiudr, he puts the dairy things he has brought with him at the back of the dairy. Another *palikartmakh* goes into the inner room and brings out the bells called *patatmani* and lays them by stones called *newrülukars* at one side of the dairy (see Fig. 31). He enters again and brings out four *ertatmani*, which he lays by the side of another group of stones called *newrülukars* (see Fig. 32). The second *palikartmakh* then

FIG. 32.—THE DAIRY OF KIUDR WITH THE 'PALIKARTMOKH' STANUDRI (58); ON THE RIGHT OF THE DAIRY ABOVE AND TO THE LEFT OF THE HEAD OF STANUDRI IS THE STONE CALLED 'NEURÜLUKARS,' BY WHICH THE 'PATATMANI' IS LAID.

purifies the dairy with *tudr* bark and puts the vessels which have been brought to Kiudr in their places on a bed of ferns in the way which has been described. After all the vessels are in their places, he takes the *patatmani* to the dairy stream, while the first *palikartmakh* brings *tudr* bark. The *tudr* bark is pounded and the juice squeezed over the bells. The two *patatmani*, having thus been purified, are then put on a forked stick and carried to their usual place in the dairy. The same

234* the same procedure is repeated with the *ertatmani*, which are strung on
●796 a piece of bamboo and hung on another piece of bamboo which projects from the wall on the *ertat* side of the dairy. Then milk is put on the *patatmani* and buttermilk on the *ertatmani* as usual.

[778]

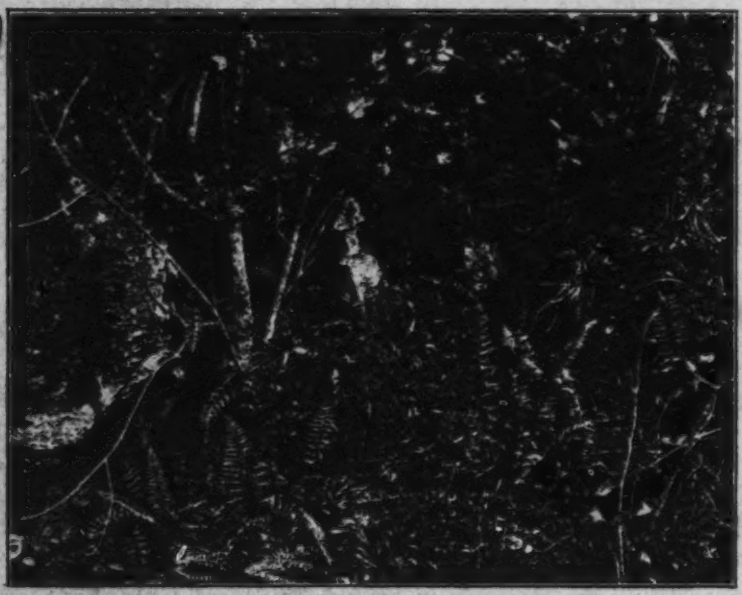

FIG. 32.—THE 'NEURZÜLNKARS' OF KIUDR, BY THE SIDE OF WHICH THE 'ERTATMANI' ARE LAID.

MIGRATION OF THE TI BUFFALOES

234* I obtained a very full account of the migration of the
233 buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* and will first give an account of
221 the proceedings for this herd.

796 The Toda year begins during October with the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* (see Chap. XIII) and at this time the buffaloes should be standing at Mòdr, near Paikara. Soon after this ceremony, the herd goes to Anto, the most important and sacred of the *ti* places. They stay here for a month and then go to Majòdr, not far from Makurti Peak, where they

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

stay during the dry season, stopping about three months or longer, according to the nature of the weather. It is often not until May is reached that the buffaloes return to Mòdr and stay there till August, when they cross the Paikara river to the two dairies, Òdrtho and Kudreiil, on the opposite bank. The *tiir* stay at Òdrtho and the *warsir* at Kudreiil for a month and then both return to Mòdr.

In 1902 this plan was very much disturbed. In order to go from Mòdr to Òdrtho and Kudreiil the herds and their attendants have to cross the river, and under no circumstances is the *palol* allowed to cross by the bridge. He usually watches his opportunity till the river is low enough at a certain ford to allow him to cross, but the summer of 1902 was unusually wet and the river was never sufficiently low to allow the passage, and in consequence Òdrtho and Kudreiil were not visited in that year.

Later it was arranged that the migration to Anto should take place on November 2nd. I was told that I might accompany the procession for part of the way, and was looking forward greatly to the occasion, as it was evident that it was my only chance of seeing and photographing the contents of the dairy. As the day approached, the migration was postponed because Teitair, who was celebrating the funeral ceremonies of his wife and was therefore *ichchil*, had crossed the way by which the procession would have to pass. The ceremony was next arranged for November 23rd, but was then further postponed till the 30th. This was the last Sunday before the day on which I intended to leave the hills, and again I made arrangements to see the proceedings. No sooner had I done so than I was told that the procession was postponed for a week and was to take place on the day after I had left Ootacamund. I at once altered my plans and arranged to see the procession on December 7th. A new obstacle at once intervened, and I was told that the journey to Anto was deferred indefinitely, and, as I learnt afterwards from Samuel, the buffaloes did not go to Anto at all that year, but went direct from Mòdr to Majòdr on Wednesday, January 7th. All this occurred after the misfortunes had happened to

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were
234x believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—
221 and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements
233 and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due
796 to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certainly vanish.

234x As we have seen, the migration to the relatively un-
[illegible] important dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday,
796 but when going to the more important places a Sunday must be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the
197 new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also accompany the procession. [177]

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take part in the procession must go without food on the morning of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual. The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the *pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere, is in or near the wall of the *tu*. 234x 221 796

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*. The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions. 234x 284 415 482 796

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the *piitusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug* is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar* are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back, one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy, and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi* is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate between those of the inner and those of the outer room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its

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burdens is carried by the *palol* on his left shoulder in the same way as is shown in Fig. 29, illustrating the method of carrying the things of the village dairy.

The *mani* is carried by the *palol* on his right side. A staff of *kiaz* wood is cut, about five cubits (*mogoi*) in length, which must be perfectly straight with a fork at one end. The bell is covered completely with *kiaz* leaves tied with rattan fastenings, and put on the fork of the staff by its ring. The staff is carried upright in the right hand of the *palol*; if he becomes tired he may rest it on his shoulder, but this must be done in such a way that the forked end of the stick carrying the bell comes in front of his body, otherwise the *palol* would be presenting his back to the sacred object.

At the Nòdrs *ti* there is an exception to the ordinary rule in the case of the *mani* of the *tiir*. It will be remembered that this bell is reputed to have been born in a *persin* during the migration from Amnòdr, and the bell is therefore carried in one of the *persin* during the migration from one dairy to another. In its place the *palol* of the *tiir* carries in his right hand the churning stick with its churning end upwards.

The *mani* is the only object of the inner room which is covered with leaves, so that it may not be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The lamp is also hidden from view within the *idrkwoi*, but I do not know whether this is for the same reason or merely because it is a convenient way of carrying it.

The *mòrol* carries the large earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*), which are at least four in number. They are tied on a staff by means of *tedshk* in the same manner as are the *persin*. This is done by the *kaltmokh*, who puts the staff and its burden on the left shoulder of the *mòrol*, taking particular care that the vessels do not touch the man. The *mòrol* carries one of the horns in his right hand.

Before the procession starts each *mani* is hung on the neck of a calf, left on for a minute or so, taken off and put on its staff. The *mani* of the *tiir* called Persin is put on the neck of a two-year-old calf of the *unir*, and that of the *warsir*, Keu, is put on the neck of one of the *perithir*.

If any dairy vessels or implements are not taken with the buffaloes, they are not left in the dairy, but hidden in a wood.

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The procession then starts with the *mòrol* at its head. In some cases a halt is made when passing certain places, and prayer is offered by the *palol*. In going from Mòdr to Anto the procession stops first at Pòrstib near Tedshteiri village (belonging to the Nòdrsol), where the *wars palol* puts the staff carrying the *mani* on a stone and prays while touching the staff with his hands. The next halt is made at Ponvtüt, where the buffaloes separate from the *palol* and follow a slightly different route, and here the *wars palol* again prays. The procession halts for a third time at a place called Teirpül, near Anto, but this time it is the *ti palol* who prays after having placed the churning stick and bell on a stone. 234x 221 796

On its way to Anto the procession passes near the village of Kiudr. When the buffaloes are seen to be coming, the women leave the house and go to the outskirts of the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve and broom, and wait there while the procession is going by. All the people of Kiudr fast on this day till after the buffaloes have passed.

It was said that on this day the *palikartmokh* of Kiudr used to rub clarified butter on the stones called *neurzülnkars*, but there was some doubt about this, and if the custom ever existed it seems to have fallen into disuse.

According to some accounts, certain clauses especially referring to the migration of the *ti* buffaloes are used in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see Chap. X).

On reaching the outskirts of the new place, the Todas who have accompanied the procession go away. The staff carried by the *mòrol* is taken off by the *kaltmokh*, who is again very careful that the vessels do not touch their bearer. Although the *mòrol* is allowed to carry some of the less sacred vessels, care is taken throughout that the vessels shall not be contaminated by touching his body or his clothing. 234x 221 796 415

All the dairy vessels are taken off and laid by a stone called the *perskars*, and then follows the ceremony of *peputi*. Each *palol* has carried with him some milk in one of the *persin*. Some of this is poured into the *peptòrzum*[1] and given to certain buffaloes, one of each kind belonging to the *ti*; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti*, the milk is given to five buffaloes, to three by one *palol*

[1] The vessel derives its name from this ceremony.

234* and to two by the other. The milk may be given to buffaloes
221 directly from the *tòrzum*, or it may be poured into the hands of the *palol* from which the appointed buffaloes drink.

●96 The next business is the purification of the dairy, called
415 *nòdrkorsi arspishpimi*—*i.e.*, we wash with *nòdrkorsi*. The *palol* goes to the dairy spring or *kwoinir* with the *karitòrzum*, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm. He throws *tudr* bark into the spring, fills the *karitòrzum* and returns. He puts *tudr* bark into the *karitòrzum* and also into the *idrkwoi* and then pours the water from the *karitòrzum* into the *idrkwoi*, which he takes to the dairy and throws the water with his hands first over the dairy vessels and then well into the dairy itself so that it penetrates to the inner room. He throws the water first on the floor, then to the roof and to the sides, three times to each. Next he takes three sprigs of the plant ordinarily called *kabudri* (*Euphorbia Rothiana*), but at the *ti* called *nòdrkorsi* and ties it over the door of the dairy.

The dairy vessels, which have been untied and placed on the ground near the *perskars*, are then purified and put in their places. The *palol* first takes up the *peptòrzum* with the *persinkudriki* within it, the *kòghlag*, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet*, all in the right hand, and carries them to the front of the dairy, where he repeats certain *kwarzam* of the prayer, then turns to the east and says the whole prayer of the dairy, salutes the dairy holding the four things to his forehead, enters, puts the things except the *kwoinörtpet* in their places, comes out with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without turning his back to the interior of the dairy, and shuts the door of the building. He then takes in the other vessels of the inner room, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without repeating the prayer. One *persin* is taken in first, then the others, the *karitòrzum* and the *tedshk*. Then the *mani* is taken, being carried in the right hand and laid temporarily on the floor near the *persin*; when taking in the bell certain *kwarzam* are said.

234* The wand called *pokvet* is next taken in and laid in its
796 place, and then the things intermediate between the inner and outer room—viz., the lamp, which is hung in its place, and

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the *idrkwoi*, which is put exactly at the line of junction of the two rooms. 234 k

After this the things of the outer room are put in their places. Fire is made by friction, and the *tòratthwaskal* lighted, light transferred from this to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and with the fire so made the *palol* lights the lamp. 796

In most cases the buffaloes are then milked, but at Anto and Òdrtho, before milking, the *palol* begins an extraordinary ceremony, in which the *kaltmokh* is concerned, which is continued till the following day. 234 k 793 796

For this ceremony food is especially prepared by the *palol*. He mixes husked grain (*patcherski*), brought by the Badagas who accompany the procession, with buttermilk and jaggery,[1] spreads butter on the mixture, and, putting it on a *kakud* leaf, takes it out to one of the two *kaltmokh* who is sitting in a given place about ten yards from the dairy. The *kaltmokh* must now stay on this spot till the evening.

After the *palol* has milked, he takes food himself and gives it to the *mòrol*. Before going to rest for the night a ceremony is performed called *irtupadrchiti*, "he prays for the buffaloes at the *tu*." The two *palol* go to the front of the *tu*,[2] in which the buffaloes have been put for the night and they pray, using the *kwarsam* of the *ti* and of the gods only. They then go to the sleeping hut, where the second *kaltmokh* has swept the floor and prepared a fire. When the *palol* come to the hut they bawl out in a high key three times and the *kaltmokh* does the same and they go to bed, the two *palol* occupying one bed (*tiin*) and the *mòrol* and the second *kaltmokh* the other. After they have been in the hut some time, the first *kaltmokh*, who has been sitting till now outside at the place where he was given food, creeps into the hut and lies down to sleep between the two beds without any covering. No notice of him must be taken by the other occupants of the hut.

The following day is called *punirsnol*. In the early morning, before the others are awake, the first *kaltmokh* must get

[1] Palm juice sugar.

[2] At Anto, and probably at some other dairies, there is a special *tu* for use on this occasion.

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234 up, light the fire, warm himself, and then go out and sit on the same spot as on the previous evening. He remains
793 there till the two *palol* come to him to continue the ceremony
796 in which he is concerned.

539 When the *palol* rise they do their usual work, and when they have milked they perform a ceremony called *karkutkîr-siti*,[1] in which the calves are prayed for in the same way that the buffaloes were prayed for on the previous evening. The second *kaltmokh* collects the calves in the *pepkarmus*, or milking-place of the buffaloes, and the two *palol*, each with empty *kwoi* and with *kwoinörtpet*, pray as on the previous evening using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and some of the *kwarzam* of the gods, and then bawl out in a high key three times in order to scatter the calves.

The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* is then continued. Each of the *palol* takes the vessel used for ladling buttermilk (*mòrkudriki*); one *palol* fills his vessel with the milk of *punir* and the other fills with *nei* (clarified butter). Each leaves his dairy, and they both call to the *kaltmokh*, who comes to the threshold of the *ti poh*, and stands there while the two *palo*, mix the milk and *nei*. The *kaltmokh* is then told to hold out his hands, and each *palol* pours out the mixture into the hands of the boy, who rubs it over his head first, and then all over his body. After the *kaltmokh* has thus been bathed in milk and *nei*, the three people walk in procession to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been sitting, the *kaltmokh* going first, followed by the *wars palol* and the *ti palol* in order. As they walk, the two *palol* say the following words:—

Kîda *mâ*; *pîrzi* *putî* *vurmâ*; *poh* *ers* *vurmâ*;
die may (he); tiger catch (him) may; snake bite (him) may;
par *pâdith* *vurmâ* *pâkh pâdith* *vurmâ* *pudi*
steep hill fall down (on him) may; river fall (on him) may[2]; wild boar
ersi *mâ*; *kâdr* *pat* *mâ*; *keirman* *par* *mâ*.
bite may; wild beast hold (catch him) may; bear carry (him) away may.

[1] This word was translated "he prays for the calves." One verb is used in naming the ceremony of praying for the calves and another in the case of praying for the adult buffaloes.

[2] Probably this should be translated "may the river (when in flood) swallow him.

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When they come to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been given the food, the boy remains standing there while the two *palol* turn round and walk back in the dairy, saying:— 234x 793 796 539

Kiida md, idwaik, ukitmd; pirni par md,
die may (he), as was said, may he be well; tiger carry away may,
idwaik para vdmd; par par md, idwaik,
as was said, carry away may not; steep hill fall may, as was said,
para vdmd; pit ori md, idwaik, oria vdmd; pikk par md,
fall may not; snake bite may, as was said, bite may not; river fall may,
idwaik, para vdmd; khdr pat md, idwaik, pata
as was said, fall may not; wild beast catch may, as was said, catch
vdmd; kadrman par md, idwaik, para vdmd;
may not; bear carry away may, as was said, carry away may not;
pudi ori md, idwaik, oria vdmd.
wild boar bite may, as was said, bite may not.

The *ti palol* then enters his dairy and brings out an especially large ball of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, more than can possibly be eaten at one sitting. It is given to the *kaltmokh*, who sits on the same spot as before, and eats as much of it as he can. 234x 793 796

All this ceremony has been done after milking, and before drinking buttermilk (*kaishvatiti*), which is now poured out by the second *kaltmokh* for the *palol*, who then go about their usual business. When the first *kaltmokh* has eaten as much as he can of his ball of food he leaves it on the spot where he has been sitting, and goes with the *palol*. The Todas say that the food left behind will never be touched by the crows, who will eat any other food.

In the afternoon the *palol* transact their ordinary dairy business and the *kaltmokh* returns to his place and resumes the consumption of his ball of food, staying on the spot till the end of the day. When the two *palol* have gone into the sleeping hut for the night, the *kaltmokh* goes into the hut after them and may then talk to the other occupants, and after this follows the usual routine.

During the whole of this ceremony the *kaltmokh*, who takes so prominent a part in it, is called the *neurzutpol*.

At the other dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* a ceremony which is obviously closely connected with that which has been

234 described is performed at certain stones called *newrzülnkarz*.
793 At Mòdr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably
796 by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migraion each *palol* takes a *mòrkudriki*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *nei*, as when rubbed on the *kaltmokh*). The two *palol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kaltmokh* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be litte doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place o' the *kaltmokh*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *newrzutpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *newrzülnkarz*.

778 The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* which follows the migra-
783 tion to the dairies of Anto and Òdtho is one of the most extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of
789 the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kaltmokh*,
793 followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony
796 from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kaltmokh* is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the very sacred dairies of Anto and Òdrtho. The *kaltmokh* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.

It is possible that the *kaltmokh* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kaltmokh* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kaltmokh* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mani* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

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778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Ödrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234x At some time during the day following the arrival at the new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
221 Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nödrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nödrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—*i.e.*, "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that *erdpunrs* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

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man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the day following the migration. 234x

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltwakh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*. 221 796

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season, returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*. 234x 221 233 621 796

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *maui* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *twars palol*, and the two *kaltwakh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neursülnkars*. I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*. [778]

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The Tesherst Ceremony

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This qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* is always performed by a number of men at the same time. The number taking part must be three, five, seven or nine. There seemed to be no doubt that it was not permissible for four, six or eight men to perform the ceremony together. One or two Todas told me that an even number of men might do the ceremony, but all the more trustworthy witnesses were agreed that there must be an uneven number, and on all the occasions of which I could obtain records of actual ceremonies, an uneven number of men had done *tesherst* together. The ceremony may not be performed while the funeral ceremonies of any Teivali person are uncompleted.

At the time of my visit there were only nine or ten men who had been through the *tesherst* ceremony, including those who were holding or had held the office of *palol*. It was proposed that a number of the younger men should perform the ceremony about this time, but it had to be delayed till the second funeral ceremonies of two Teivali women had been held.

The *tesherst* ceremony always begins on a Monday after the new moon. It takes place at certain villages where people are living, and in all the cases of which I obtained records it had been done at Kudrnakhum, belonging to the Nòdrsol, or at Pushtar, belonging to the Taradrol. People must be living at the village at the time the ceremony is performed.

The candidates go to the village on Monday evening, accompanied by two or three Nòdrs men. All go to a stream by a wood and the ceremony begins after sunset, when all the candidates throw off their cloaks and stand in a row. A man of the Nòdrs clan has a *tuni* in his hand and each candidate asks three times, "*Tunisutkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tuni*?"—and each time the Nòdrs man replies, "*Tunivat!*" The first man in the row touches the *tuni* and then the others in order. The Nòdrs man then gives the *tuni* to the first man who touched it, and he tears it into as many pieces

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as there are candidates, giving a piece to each man, who puts it in the string of his *kuvm*. All then go in search of the leaves of *muli* and each plucks seven leaves and seven shoots. They go to the stream, one by one, and each drinks and rubs himself with the shoots seven times, as in the ordination ceremony, and puts the shoots in his back hair.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs man will have made fire by friction, using the wood of *muli*, and the men warm themselves at the fire. Each man then goes in search of seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark and carries out the usual purification ceremony once only, drinking out of each of the seven leaves, after which the men take food prepared by another of the Nòdrs men, and all pass the night in the wood. Next morning the men fetch *tudr* bark and leaves and repeat the drinking and rubbing ceremony of the previous evening, but on this occasion each man says "*Teshnirödinem*," as he throws the leaf over his head after drinking. All then bathe completely in the stream.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs men have been cooking a large amount of food, more than the candidates can readily eat, and an old woman of the Tartharol who is to take part in the ceremony has bathed and dressed in her best clothes and put on all the ornaments she can procure: gold earrings, necklace, bracelets, and rings. When the men have bathed, they wait till the message comes that the food is ready, and then each man takes off his piece of *tuni* and his *penuar* and his *kuvm*, so that he is completely naked. The Nòdrs man portions out the food and puts it on *tudr* leaves, the portion for each man being more than he can possibly eat at one sitting, and the portions of food are given to the old woman, who sits down with her back to the men. Each man goes up behind the back of the old woman, and she gives him his portion of food by putting her hand behind her back so that she does not look at him, and in doing so she says three times "*Teshtòrtudenk?*"—"*Tesh* food have I not given?" The men take the food, go into the thickest part of the wood and eat it. None of the food prepared on this occasion may be eaten by the Nòdrs men or by the old woman, but though the amount is excessive, the whole of it must be eaten by the

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candidates during the day. After each man has eaten to the full he may put on his cloak. The Nòdrs men and the old woman go back to their villages and they must hold no communication of any kind with the candidates after the food has been given. The men remain in the wood al day, and when it is getting dark they go to the nearest village at which any of them live, taking care that no one sees them on the way.

One of the most remarkable features of this ceremony is the part taken by the old woman. She must be one of the Tartharol; she must be past the age of child-bearing, and she must never have had intercourse with one of her own clan. In the last particular the word of the woman is trusted for it was said that she would never deceive in such a matter. Every woman believed that if she did not speak the truth she would die, and all those concerned in the ceremony would either die or have serious illness. I was told that it was by no means easy to find a woman who fulfilled this requirement, and in each of the cases of which I have records the same woman officiated—viz. Naspilthi of Taradr (21).

Other remarkable features of this ceremony are that the men should be given more food than they are readily able to eat, as in the ceremony connected with the *kaltmokh* after the migration (p. 139), and that they receive this food in a condition of complete nudity, a condition which only occurs in one other dairy ceremonial.

The *tesherst* ceremony is one in which candidates for the office of *palol* go through certain of the rites which ordinarily form part of the process of ordination, with the addition of special ceremonies, in which a superabundant portion of food is given by a woman who fulfils certain peculiar conditions.

When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the clan to which the *ti* belongs chooses from among those who have been through the *tesherst* ceremony, and the chosen man has then to undergo the ordination ceremonies proper, or *nirôditi*.

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234x (if there are two, as at the Nòdrs *ti*) sleep in the hut of the *ti mad*.

793 The next day (Thursday) the new *palol* goes to the stream and performs the *tudr* ceremony three times in the morning and nine times in the afternoon; *i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three and nine times seven. On this day the *kaltmokh* milks the *punir*, takes the milk to the *pül*, churns there and gives buttermilk, butter and other food to the new *palol*. On that night all sleep in the *karenpok* or calf-house.

The proceedings of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are the same as those of Thursday, except that the new *palol* may now drink the milk of the *punir* like the full *palol*.

234x On Monday morning the new *palol* enters on his office. In the morning he bathes and then takes off the temporary *penner* and *kuw* he has been wearing and replaces them by others made in the same way. A Badaga (the *tikel/mav*) then brings one of the two cloaks of the *palol*, that called *pòdrzhtuni*, and lays it down at the outskirts of the dairy. It is taken up by the *kaltmokh* and given to the new *palol*, who spreads it out on the place where the buffaloes are milked. He then takes pounded *tudr* bark, says the *kwarnam* of the goda, of the *ti* and of the buffaloes (see Chap. X) and throws the pounded bark on the garment. He turns the garment over so as to expose the other surface and purifies this in the same way. He then asks himself, "*Pòdrzhtuni tutkina?*"—"Shall I tie the *pòdrzhtuni?*"—and throwing off the *mad tuni* he has been wearing hitherto, he puts on the *pòdrzhtuni*. The *kaltmokh* returns the *mad tuni* to the Nòdrs people, who come on this day and stand on the outskirts of the place.

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The new *palol* then purifies his dairy by sprinkling it with water and *tudr* bark in the same way as is done when going to a new dairy (see p. 136). He next takes the *uppun*, puts into it water and *tudr* bark, and turning towards the Nòdrs people with the vessel to his forehead, says three times to them, "*Poh pükhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the dairy?" All the Nòdrs people cry "*Pükh!*" and the new *palol* enters his dairy with the full rights of his position.

800 At some period before entering into office as full *palol*

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At some time before entering into office as full palol

the candidate touches a *tarth* or bar of the entrance into the *ta*. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the *kalwakh*, and as in this case it seemed to be the special indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the *tarth* is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished. 234 x 574 793 796

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pen*, nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called *kalwatuni* is brought by the *tikelfmav*, and is put on in the usual way. (During the previous month the *pidrsktuni* will have been used both as a cloak and as a loincloth, and will have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and sit in the *pal* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol first, saying "*Bas*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol, saying "*Pakein*," and each reply in the customary manner. [292] [576]

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *mulli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity. 234 x 793

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Ödr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *mulinirbditi* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvni* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh*

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CHAPTER VIII

SPECIAL DAIRY CEREMONIES

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I HAVE so far dealt with the organisation and ritual of the dairy, with the ceremonies accompanying the movements of the buffaloes from one place to another, and with the ceremonies attendant on the entrance of the dairymen into office. There remain ceremonies which accompany certain events in the course of the dairy ritual or in the lives of the buffaloes. One of these, the *pepkaricha* ceremony, is performed whenever any evil befalls a certain dairy vessel which is buried in the buffalo pen. Another ceremony celebrates the birth of a calf, and a group of ceremonies are connected with the act of giving salt to the buffaloes.

THE PEPKARICHA CEREMONY

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In the account of the daily work of the dairy, it will be remembered that whenever the dairyman goes out to milk for the first time he puts some buttermilk into his milking vessel. This is done in every dairy, and the buttermilk so added is called *pep*. The milk of every day has mixed with it some of the buttermilk from the milking of the day before, and in this way continuity is kept up in the dairy operations. Under certain conditions this continuity is broken and new *pep* has to be made, and the process of doing so is the ceremony called *pepkaricha*, *pepkarichti*, or *pepkarichanudr* —*i.e.*, "*pep* he purifies," or, "if *pep* is purified."

In some cases new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan

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(*madol*); in other cases it has only to be made for one of the dairies of the clan.

The ceremony is performed for the whole clan whenever anything goes wrong with a certain dairy vessel called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen at the chief village of the clan. We have seen that this vessel is used in the ordination to certain dairy offices, and it is also inspected as a matter of routine about once a year. If it is broken or has been stolen or tampered with in any way, it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole clan.

Among the Tartharol, new *pep* has also to be made after the funeral of a male on account of the defilement of the *mani* involved in its exposure to the ordinary people at the funeral ceremonies.

The conditions which necessitate the making of new *pep* for a single dairy are, (1) if a Tamil or other "foreigner" has entered the dairy, (2) if an ordinary Toda (*perol*) has gone into the dairy at night, (3) if the dairyman has used tobacco. In these cases the people of the village at which the offence has been committed procure a new *mu*, and, after purifying it, go to some other dairy of the clan, where they procure some buttermilk to act as *pep* and take it to their own dairy. It is only when new *pep* has to be made for the whole clan that the prolonged ceremony of *pepkarichti* has to be carried out. This ceremony differs in its details for each clan, and is more complicated in some cases than in others. As an example, I will give the proceedings for the Kuudr clan.

When it becomes necessary to make new *pep* for the whole group of dairies belonging to the clan it is necessary to take the buffaloes to one special dairy. The Kuudr people go to the dairy of Kwirg near Sholur. On the day of going to Kwirg, a feast is held at which the food called *ashkkartpimi* is eaten.

Whenever new *pep* is made it is necessary to have a new *palikartmokh*, and the man who is to undertake the duties goes to Kwirg with the milking buffaloes of the *pasthir* and is accompanied by a number of Kuudr men. The men take with them a new and complete set of dairy vessels, and reach Kwirg in the early morning of a Sunday after the new moon.

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The buffaloes are at once penned in the *tu*. The first business is the ordination of the new *palikartmokh*, which is carried out as usual. When at the stream for the purification ceremony, the *palikartmokh* has with him a new *mu*, which he fills with water at the stream. He takes this vessel to the *tu* in which the buffaloes are penned, and knocks one of the buffaloes on the back with his wand (*pet*), so that it moves to one side. Then with the wand he digs some earth from the spot where the hoof of the buffalo had been resting, and mixes this earth with *tudr* bark. He places part of the mixed earth and bark in the *mu*, and puts the rest on one side; this part of the ceremony is called *mukatchkudrspini*, or purification of the *mu*, literally "*mu* purification I have purified."

The *palikartmokh* then brings all the other dairy vessels and implements, beginning with the *patat*, and purifies them by throwing on them mixed earth and *tudr* bark, sprinkling them with water from the *mu* three times, saying "*Oh*" each time. The things of the *patatmar* are purified first and then the things of the *ertatmar*, and the purified objects are placed in the dairy. Fire is made by friction and the *palikartmokh* goes out to milk. Buttermilk is not put into the milking-vessel as usual, and the lamp is not lighted. The milk is poured into the *patat*, and the *palikartmokh* then prepares food, which he gives to the people who have come with him, but he himself fasts. All the men then go away except one or two, who are to remain as companions of the dairyman. In the evening the *palikartmokh* takes off some of the cream,[1] which has risen to the top of the milk, and puts it into the lamp which he lights, and then prays, using the *kwarzam* of Kwirg[2] and the *kwarzam* of the *pep* only.

If the milk has coagulated it is now churned, and then the buffaloes are milked as usual, but if the milk has not coagulated, it is left till next morning. In the evening the dairyman takes food as usual.

On the following day, it seems that the milk has always

[1] This is the only occasion on which this cream is used by the Todas. It is used because there are now neither butter nor ghi at the dairy. Its use here is an indication that the process of coagulation is less rapid than usual.

[2] See p. 222.

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become solid and is churned. Immediately after churning and without taking food, the dairyman puts together the dairy things according to the usual method followed when going from one village to another, and goes with his buffaloes to the village of Kiudr. The dairy vessels are carried in the usual manner, the new buttermilk called *puthpep* being in the *patat* and the butter in the *mu*.

The people living at Kiudr leave the village, and the man who has been filling the office of *palikartmokh* there throws away all the old dairy things and takes the *mani* to the stones by the side of that dairy called *neurnülnkars* (see p. 129). After leaving the bells there for a little time, the dairyman takes them to the *pali nipa*, and then his office ceases and he becomes *perol*.

The new *palikartmokh*, who has come from Kwirg, purifies the dairy and his new dairy vessels and the *mani* in exactly the same way as when reaching a new dairy, and then places the bells, vessels, and other objects in the dairy. During the next month, till the following new moon, the dairyman and his companions stay alone at Kiudr doing the ordinary business of the dairy. During this time they may be visited by men of the Kuudr clan, but neither by women nor by men of other clans. At the end of the month, on the Sunday after the new moon, the *palikartmokh* drives the buffaloes (now called *ponir*, festival buffaloes) to Kuudr, taking with him the *puthpep* and the dairy vessels. When the people at Kuudr see the dairyman coming with the *ponir*, they leave the village and all go to Kiudr, which the buffaloes have just left. There they hold a feast to which many people of other clans, both men and women, are invited.

When the *palikartmokh* reaches Kuudr, he purifies the dairy as he had done at Kiudr and puts the vessels in their places.

Certain men of the clan then come, each with a new *mu*, and these vessels are laid by the side of the stones called *keinkars* and *tashtikars* in the wall of the pen. At Kuudr fifteen new *mu* should be brought by the fifteen heads of families of the Kuudr clan. The *palikartmokh* then purifies each *mu* with *tudr* bark in the usual way and places the

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vessels on the *patatmar* of the dairy, after which he gives food to those who have provided the vessels.

The *palikartmokh* with his companion or companions then stay at Kuudr for a month, when, again on a Sunday after the new moon, all the Kuudrol assemble at Kuudr and hold a feast. On that day a new *palikartmokh* is appointed for each dairy of the Kuudr clan. Each man goes through the usual ordination ceremony and then receives one of the new *mu* containing some of the new *pep*, which he takes to his dairy. Each new dairyman also provides new dairy vessels, and, when he reaches his dairy, purifies the *mu* and the new dairy things in the way already described. He puts the vessels into the dairy and then goes to milk, taking some of the new *pep* in his milking-vessel, and thereafter matters go on as usual. Each new dairyman fasts while going to his dairy with the new *pep*, although the rest of the people are feasting.

Those who remain at Kuudr bury the *mu* in which the *pep* was brought from Kwirg. It is buried by the side of the pen, under a tree called *teikhkwadiki*.

The ceremony of making new *pep* is carried out on the same lines in all dairies, but usually it is less complicated and fewer villages have to be visited than in the case of the Kuudrol. It seems that there is a tendency in some clans to perform the ceremony less rigidly than of old. Thus, the Kars people used to go to Keshker for new *pep*, but now they perform the ceremony at Kars itself, so that the migration to a new place with its attendant ceremonial is avoided.

There are certain differences in the procedure in the case of Teivali and Tarthar clans. One, the necessity for new *pep* after the funeral of a male, has been already mentioned.

Another difference is that there is a buried *mu* for each kind of dairy, so that a clan which has two or three kinds of dairy will have two or three *mu* buried in the pen. If it is the *mu* belonging to the *wursuli* which is broken or tampered with, the ceremony is performed by the *wursol*, who takes earth from the footprints of one of the *wursulir*. If the *mu* of the *kudrpali* is injured, the *kudrpalikartmokh* performs the ceremony, taking earth from the footprints of one of the other

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kinds of sacred buffaloes. Thus at Kars he takes it from the prints of the *martir*. 234x 783 796

At Kanòdrs new *pep* has to be made at a place called Kautarmad, which I could not identify. It is a long way from Kanòdrs, but the people have to go there because the god Kwoto used to make *pep* there. There is one feature peculiar to the ceremony for this clan. Earth has to be taken from a certain spot from which it was taken by Kwoto, and this earth is mixed with that taken from the footprints of the buffalo.

Another special feature of the Kanòdrs dairy is connected with the buried *mu* and is probably the result of the fact that this dairy is now only occupied occasionally. When the *pohkartpol* leaves the dairy on vacating office, he takes up the buried *mu*, pours into it a small quantity of *pep*, and reburies the vessel, covering it on the top with a stone. When he resumes office, he takes up the *mu* and purifies it with the two kinds of earth used in the full ceremony, and puts the *pep* which has been buried into his milking-vessel when he goes out to milk for the first time. As in other Tarthar clans, the full ceremony of *pepkaricha* is only carried out when the *mu* is broken or stolen, and after the funeral of a male.

A characteristic feature of Toda dairy procedure is the coagulation of the milk before it is churned. This coagulation occurs in a few hours without the addition of rennet or other special coagulating agent, the milk drawn in the morning being nearly always solid at the time of the afternoon churning. This rapid coagulation of the milk is almost certainly assisted by the added buttermilk or *pep*, the curdling being probably an acid coagulation set up or hastened by the addition of the sour buttermilk. If this were the case, it might be expected that habitual failure of the milk to coagulate might be regarded as a reason for making new *pep*, and I therefore inquired carefully into this point. It was quite clear, however, that delay in the coagulation was not looked upon as a reason for the ceremony. If there was habitual delay, it was customary to consult the diviners, and they always gave one of two reasons for the delay: either that it was due to the action of a sorcerer, or that the dairyman had committed one 234x 754 787

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234x 754 787 of the offences against the dairy of which a list is given on p. 295.

If delay were said to be due to the first cause, the sorcerer would be invited to the village, entertained with food, and induced to remove his spell; if to the second cause, the dairyman would have to perform the *irnörtiti* or similar ceremony; but there was never any question of making new *pep*, the necessity for this ceremony being entirely dependent on the condition of the buried dairy vessel.

THE IRPALVUSTHI CEREMONY

234x 796 [778] The ceremony of *irpalvusthi* (buffalo milk he milks) is performed about the fifteenth day after the birth of a calf. It only takes place when one of the sacred buffaloes has calved, and is not performed in ordinary villages for *putiir*, nor at the *ti* for *punir*. It is performed after the birth of both male and female calves. The ceremony is carried out in the same fashion at the *wursuli*, the *kudrpali* and the *tarvali*, but has different features at the *kugvali* of Taradr and at the *ti*.

There are special days for the ceremony. At the *tarvali*, it must be performed on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday; at the *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, on Sunday or Wednesday; at the *kugvali*, on Saturday. The ceremony is performed at the *ti*, but I omitted to obtain any account of the proceedings at this grade of dairy.

When this ceremony is held at the village of Kuudr, a man from Ôdr belonging to the Nodrsol must attend, and similarly a man from Kuudr must be present when the ceremony is performed at Kuudr, this regulation being the result of certain events in the histories of the buffaloes of these places (see p. 647).

At each of the three kinds of dairy which follow the same procedure, the chief part is taken by the dairyman. At the *wursuli*, the *wursol* officiates, and at the *kudrpali* and *tarvali*, the *palikartmokh*.

The first appropriate occasion after the fifteenth day from the birth of the calf is appointed and the dairy is purified with

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dried buffalo-dung. Contrary to the general rule, the lamp is lighted on the morning of this day. All the buffaloes are milked as usual; one or two *pun* of milk being poured into the *patat* and all the rest into the *ertat*.

The dairyman then puts some milk into the milking-vessel, and, carrying his wand, he leads the fifteen-day-old calf to its mother to be suckled. While the calf is being suckled, the dairyman strikes the mother on the right side of the back three times with the wand, saying "*Oñ*" each time. He then puts the wand on the top of the milking-vessel and, holding both in his left hand, milks the buffalo once or twice with the other hand, so that the milk splashes on the wand as it falls into the vessel. The vessel and wand are then laid at the back of the dairy, which the dairyman enters to prepare food, boiling grain or rice with milk in a special vessel (*ertat*) kept for the purpose. While the food is being cooked the dairyman takes some of the grass called *kakar* and the plant called *kabudri*, and sweeps the interior of the dairy with them, beginning at the *patatmar*. While doing this and during his other operations on this day, he must not turn his back to the contents of the dairy. After having swept the dairy, he lays the *kakar* and *kabudri* by the wall of the building, again takes the milking-vessel and wand from the back of the dairy, and, having called the people of the village, he salutes by raising the vessel and wand to his forehead and prays, all present praying with him. I am not certain whether it is the prayer of the village or a special prayer which is used on this occasion. After praying, the dairyman lays the wand on the top of the *patat* and pours the milk which he obtained from the buffalo into the *patat* over the wand. He puts the latter in its appointed place and then goes to the *ertatmar*, where he prepares a large number of leaves on which he portions out the food (*tòrkisthiti*) which he has prepared, and all the people present take this food outside the dairy. On the following day, the buffalo which has calved is milked with the rest.

When this ceremony is performed at the *wursuli* dairy, it is the only occasion on which the *wursol* prepares food; at all other times, the food of this dairyman is prepared by

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the *palikartmokh*. On this occasion the *wursol* not only cooks food for himself but for all those present. Another distinctive feature of this ceremony is that it is the only occasion on which the milk of the *wursulir* is ever drunk.

The day of *irpalvusthi* is the only day on which the dairymen of the three kinds of dairy, with the exception of the *wursol* of certain dairies, do their work *kabkaditi*, *i.e.*, do not turn their backs to the contents of the dairy.

At the *kugvali* of Taradr, the ceremony is more elaborate. It begins in the afternoon, when the dairy is purified with dried buffalo-dung. Three large pieces of the wood called *kid* are brought, and the dairyman ties the small piece of cloth called *petuni* to the milking-vessel and to a special wand called *irpalvusthpet*.[1] He also ties *petuni* in the form of rings round the ring and little fingers of his right hand and round the ring finger of his left hand. He then goes out with the milking-vessel and wand, and after saluting by raising them to his forehead, he goes to the place where the buffaloes are milked and prays there.

The *kugvalikartmokh* then takes the calf to its mother and milks as at the other dairies, but in this case he milks the buffalo completely, and if, by doing so, he has not filled his milking-vessel, he fills it with the milk of *putiir*. He pours this milk into the *majpariv*, which has been carefully cleaned, and puts the three pieces of *kid* wood in the fireplace. He puts into the milk three measures (*ak*) of rice, but adds neither salt nor jaggery. When the food is ready, he portions it out on leaves and gives to those present, who must on this occasion be limited to the people of the village. This ceremony occurs on Saturday evening.

On the following day, the ceremony is repeated, being called on this occasion *irpatadûthti*, *i.e.*, "buffalo milk he uses publicly." When preparing food on this day the *kugvalikartmokh* puts into the milk eleven *ak* of rice[2] and adds both salt and jaggery. The number of pieces of wood used is not limited to three, but any quantity may be burnt. When the food is ready, he goes out of the dairy and finds

[1] I am doubtful whether a special wand is also used in other dairies.

[2] Eleven *ak* = one *kwa* (see p. 588).

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assembled a large number of people, including guests from other villages and clans. Among them a Melgars man must be included or there could be no ceremony. When the dairyman sees the people, he says "*Ol pudra?*" "People, have you come?" They answer "*Pudspimi*," "We have come." The dairyman then brings the stirring-stick (*put*), and, taking up some of the food on the stick, says "*Tütr erkina?*" "At the fire shall I throw?" and the people answer "*Tütr eri!*" "At the fire, throw!" The dairyman then throws the food on the stick into the fire, and portions out the rest of the food among the people, who eat it outside the dairy.

From the birth of the calf until this ceremony, the buffalo is not milked and the calf is kept, when not with its mother, in the small enclosure called *kush*. After the ceremony, the buffalo is milked like the rest of the herd, and the calf joins the others in the ordinary calf-house, or *kwotars*.

Giving Salt to Buffaloes

Salt is given to the buffaloes five times a year, both at the *ti mad* and the ordinary village. At the *ti* the salt is given with buttermilk, and the ceremony is known as *mòrup*. At the ordinary village buttermilk is not given, and there is no general name for the ceremony, though there are special names for three of the five occasions on which salt is given. These special names are also used at the *ti*. The first occasion is *kòrup*, or 'new grass salt,' which takes place in the month Nalani (February-March). The second is *marup*, or 'again salt,' a month later in Ani. The next two occasions have no special names, but in the ordinary village are known as *arsup*, 'house salt,' given in the months Ovani and Kirdivi (June-July and September-October). The last occasion is in the month Emioti (November-December), and is known as *paniup*, meaning 'frost salt.' In the case of *kòrup* and *paniup*, it seemed that salt was given shortly before the time at which the young grass and frost respectively were expected.

At the *ti* the ceremony is performed on the Sunday or Tuesday following the new moon. At the Nòdrs *ti* it should

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be done for the *tiir* on Sunday and for the *warsir* on Tuesday, but this now only happens when the buffaloes are at Òdrtho and Kudreiil, where the dairies of the two kinds of buffaloes are at some distance apart. At Mòdr and Anto and other dairies, the ceremony is performed for both kinds of buffalo on a Sunday. At the Pan *ti* the day for the ceremony is Tuesday, and at the Kars *ti*, Sunday.

On the day before the ceremony each *palol* [1] digs a round hole called the *upunkudi* at a prescribed spot, or more commonly enlarges the hole remaining from a previous ceremony. On the following day each *palol* carries out the usual morning churning and milking, but before drinking buttermilk the dairy is cleansed with buffalo-dung. The *palol* then pours into the vessel called *alug* two *kudi* of buttermilk and takes the vessel and some salt to the *upunkudi*. He throws bark of the *tudr* tree three times into the hole, three times into the buttermilk and on the salt, and going to the spring he throws the bark three times into the water, saying "*Oñ*" each time. The *palol* then fills the *alug* with water from the spring, mixing it with the buttermilk already in the vessel. He adds salt, saying "*Oñ*" three times, and the whole is poured into the *upunkudi*. A special buffalo is then brought to the *upunkudi*; at the Nòdrs *ti* the *ti palol* first leads up the buffalo belonging to the *unir* which is called Enmars and the *wars palol* takes the buffalo of the *perithir* called Òrsum, this act of sending a special buffalo first being called *trpârsatiti*. After this all the buffaloes are taken to drink in groups of five or six. When the hole has been emptied, it is refilled with salt and water, but this time no buttermilk is added. When all the buffaloes have drunk, each *palol* pulls some of the grass called *kargh* and throws it into the hole three times and returns to his dairy to take buttermilk from the *kaltmokh* as usual.

At the ordinary village the salt-giving ceremony is performed about a week after it has been done at the *ti*. Any day may be chosen except the *madnol*, *palinol*, or *arpatznol*.[1] Thus at Kuudr the ceremony may be performed on any day

[1] When there is only one *palol* for both kinds of buffaloes, as at the Pan *ti*, he only digs one hole.

[2] See Chapter XVII.

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except Tuesday and Friday; at Kars, on any day except Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday.

On the three occasions with special names, *kòrup*, *marup*, and *paniup*, guests come from other villages, but at the *arsup* this does not happen. As in the case of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony, a man from Kuudr must be present at the salt-giving ceremony of Òdr and a man from Òdr must be present at Kuudr.

The ceremony is performed by the *palikartmokh* after the people of the village have made the hole or *upunkudi*.[1] The *palikartmokh* takes from the dairy the vessel corresponding to the *alug* of the *ti*, viz., the *tat*, but does not take buttermilk. *Tudr* bark is used in the same way as at the *ti*.

At a Teivali village, the *pasthir* drink first. At a Tarthar village at which there is a *wursol*, the *wursulir* drink first, the act of sending certain buffaloes first being called *irparsatiti* as at the *ti*. After the buffaloes have drunk, *kargh* grass is thrown into the hole, first by the dairyman and then by all the others present, but it is only thrown once by each person, who says "*On*" as he throws.

The object of this ceremony is said to be that the buffaloes shall give a plentiful supply of milk.

The Ponup Ceremony

At the *ti* dairy salt is given to the buffaloes on certain other occasions and with a far more elaborate ritual. The ceremony is then called *ponup*, or 'festival salt,' and takes place soon after the migration from one dairy to another. At the Nòdrs *ti* the salt is given on the Wednesday following the Sunday on which the migration has occurred, and at the Kars *ti* and the Pan *ti*, on Sunday, a week later than the procession.

On the night before the ceremony the *palol* shuts up the buffaloes in the special pen called the *pon tu*.

On the morning of the appointed day, when the churning is finished, but before the buffaloes have been milked, each *palol* brings six sprigs of the shrub called *puthimul*, each sprig having on it five or six leaves. Three of these sprigs

[1] This hole at an ordinary village is sometimes known as a *tarupunkudi*.

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are put on one side, and the other three are used as follows:—Rice has been previously prepared and placed either on the leaf called *kakuders* or on that called *katers*. The *palol* makes a hole in this food in which he puts butter, and, taking the first sprig of *puthimul*, he plucks from it one leaf and, using it as a spoon, takes up some of the food and puts it on the fire in the fireplace called *tòratthwaškal*, saying the name of the chief *teu* or god of the *ti*. He then takes some of the butter, and holds it over the fire till it drops, when he utters the name of the same god. He repeats this with a second leaf of the *puthimul*, saying the name of the second most important god of the *ti*, and so on with the other leaves. I obtained the fullest account of *pònup* from Koboners, who had been *palol* of the Kars *ti*, and here food and butter were put on the fire six times, saying the names of Anto, Nòtirzi, Kuzkarv, Kulinkars, Onkomn, and Karmanteu.

The *kaltmokh* then brings water taken from the ordinary stream in the vessel called *mòrkudriki*, and gives it to the *palol*, who sits in the outer room facing towards the inner room, and throws some of the rice in front of him once, some behind him once, and the rest outside the dairy. He puts some salt on the fire, and taking the water brought by the *kaltmokh*, he sprinkles it before and behind him as he had done with the food.

Then follows *kaiskvatiti*, *i.e.*, the *kaltmokh* pours out buttermilk for the *palol*. This is the only occasion on which this act takes place before the buffaloes have been milked, the ceremony of drinking buttermilk on every other occasion taking place when the morning's work is over. The *palol* gives food to the *kaltmokh*, and here, again, there is a feature peculiar to this day, for the *kaltmokh* eats his food sitting in the place in the hut where the *palol* usually sits.

The buffaloes are then milked, after which the *palol* fetches three sticks of the kind ordinarily called *kwadrikurs*, but at the *ti*, *kakul*. Each is used for a special purpose and has a corresponding name, one being called *irpasthkakul*, the second *kwarkul*, and the third *parkul*.

The *palol* takes buffalo-dung in both hands and the *irpasthkakul* in the right hand, and separates certain buffaloes

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 x
796 ●

from the rest by knocking their backs three times with the dung and stick. At the Kars *ti* two buffaloes are separated in this way; at the Nòdrs *ti* five buffaloes are set apart, one of each kind, three by the *ti palol*, and two by the *wars palol*. These buffaloes are known as *ponir*. The dairy is then purified with the dung and water. The *irpasthkakul* is laid on one side, and the *palol* puts salt in the basket called *ponmukeri*, and takes it with the water-vessel called *karpun* to the place where salt is to be given, taking also the remaining sprigs of *puthimul* and a bundle of fern.

[323
415]

At the place for the ceremony there is a stone called *ponkars* (when there are two *palol* there will be two stones), and at the stone the *palol* makes a vessel of clay and water so as to resemble a milking-vessel. This clay vessel is called *teukwoi* (*teu*, god, and *kwoi*, milking-vessel).

The *palol* then takes two perfect *tudr* leaves, and fastens them together with the petioles of other leaves, so that they form a cup which is called *pùvup*. Salt is placed in this leaf vessel, which is laid down by the side of the *teukwoi*. One such vessel is made for each buffalo, two at the Kars *ti* and five at the Nòdrs *ti*.

The *palol* then takes the stick called *kwarkul*, and with it makes a hole in the middle of each *teukwoi*, saying (at the Kars *ti*) "*antok teukwoi ûrtj, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* make hole, O *palol!*"). He then makes other holes round the sides of the clay vessel, saying the names of the other gods in the same manner. (At the Kars *ti* those which have already been given. At the Nòdrs *ti* the names of five gods are mentioned—Anto, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi, Kuladrvan, and Kuzkarv.) Two pieces of *tudr* bark and a sprig of *puthimul* are then placed in each hole, saying for the first, "*Antok teukwoi et, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* put, O *palol!*"), and this is repeated with the name of a different god for each hole.

Next the *palol* takes the stick called *parkul*, which has a sharpened end, and makes small holes called *upunkudi* as in the *mòrup* ceremony. At the Kars *ti* only two *upunkudi* are made; at the Nòdrs *ti* one *palol* makes three and the other two holes. *Tudr* bark is thrown three times into the holes and into the water of the spring. Water is taken from the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x
796

spring in the *karpun*, salt is put into the water three times and the salt and water are poured into the holes, and the buffaloes previously set apart are led to the holes and drink three times, one buffalo from each hole. The leaf vessels previously made (*piivup*) are then given to the buffaloes, and are eaten by them. Care is taken to give the leaf vessels in such a way that the end of the leaf corresponding to the petiole enters the mouth of the buffalo first.

The *palol* takes Anto's leaf from the *teukwoi* and puts it in the *karpun* with water, then faces towards the place where Anto lives (Anto's hill) and pours in that direction, saying "*Antok*," "to Anto." This is repeated with the other leaves, the *palol* in each case turning and pouring towards the place where the god lives.

Then follows the ceremony called *tafkeirpudrti*, *i.e.*, "fern pool he strokes." The *palol* takes the bundle of fern which he has brought with him and goes to the stream, which is blocked up, so that the water accumulates and forms a pool. He waits till the pool is so deep that the water would come half-way up his thighs, when he steps in with the bundle of fern in his right hand and strokes the bundle over the water, saying the *kwarsam*, or prayer names of certain gods and buffaloes (at the Nòdrs *ti* the *palol* says, "*Anto idith, Kûlinkârs idith, Nòtîrzi idith, Kûlâdrvan idith, Kuskârv idith, Mûv idith, Mòrs idith, Pan idith, Kûdreij tîdj idith*": see Chapter X). The *palol* then buries the fern at the bottom of the pool, so that there is no chance that it may come up again, and throws the grass called *kargh* into each *upunkudi* once only.

The *palol* then goes to the buffaloes and knocks one of the ordinary kind called *punir* to one side with a bush called *ptrskwadriktûr* and pours a little water on its back. This is called *puntr ûvk ntr atiti*, *i.e.*, "he pours water on the back of the *punir*."

Finally the *palol* goes to a stream near the *upunkudi* and washes there from the hands to the elbows. This final washing is called *peiaspiti*. *Pei* is the Tamil word for 'demon,' and the word suggested that there was an idea of warding off the influence of some kind of evil spirit, but it

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

seemed that *peiaspiti* was merely the *ti* form of *kaiaspiti*, "he washes the hands." 234 × 796 ●

The following day is called *ápkárvnol*. On this day small Badaga children go to the *ti mad* and the *palol* gives them clarified butter on a leaf. On this day also any one who has been a *pahl* (*patol*) may go to the *ti mad* and receive food unless the funeral ceremonies for one of his clan should still be uncompleted.

The ceremonies of *ponup* were said to be designed to invite the gods to be present by means of the clay vessels. The *tudr* bark and leaves were said to be used in order to purify these vessels after their defilement by human hands in the process of making. [783]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XI

THE DAIRY RITUAL

In the preceding chapters I have given an account of an elaborate ritual wholly connected with the buffalo and with the dairy. This ritual is certainly of a religious character, and, though there is much in the nature of the dairy formulæ which is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Toda deities. 182 771 783 785 796

It seems most probable that the general idea underlying the dairy ritual is that the dairyman is dealing with a sacred substance, the milk of the buffaloes. This sacred substance is to be converted into other substances, butter and buttermilk, which are to be used by the profane. At the present time much of the butter goes to those who are not even Todas and are regarded by the Todas as inferior beings.

It seems most probable that the elaborate ritual has grown up as a means of counteracting the dangers likely to be incurred by this profanation of the sacred substance, or, in other words, as a means of removing a taboo which prohibits the general use of the substance.

Similarly the migration ceremonies have the general underlying idea of counteracting any possible evil influence which may accompany the passage of the buffaloes through the profane world from one sacred place to another. During the migration, objects may be seen by the multitude which under ordinary circumstances are strictly screened from the general gaze, and objects may be touched, or be in danger of being touched, by people who ordinarily may not even see them.

182 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any
771 dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make
783 him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less
788 obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the
nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features
776 being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

Comparison of the Procedure of Different Dairies

234 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its
783 branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from
the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

788 One of the details of the ritual which runs through the
778 whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XIII

SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS

782 In this chapter various ceremonies will be described which may all be regarded as examples of propitiation of the higher powers by sacrifices or offerings. We shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies buffaloes are killed, but it is clear that there is no idea of propitiation or atonement connected with this slaughter, the animals being killed so that they may go to the next world for the service of the dead.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI CEREMONY

123 In this ceremony a young male calf is killed and eaten.
124 The ordinary name is *erkumptthpimi* ("male buffalo we kill") or
782 *erkumptthiti*, but at the *ti* the ceremony is called *ernudrtipimi*.
796 I met with great obstacles in obtaining a satisfactory account, the men who had told me all the details of the dairy ceremonial denying at first all knowledge of any ceremony among the Todas in which a calf was killed or eaten. As soon as they found that I knew positively of the existence of the ceremony, they acknowledged that they killed a calf, but said they could not tell me anything about it. I succeeded at last in obtaining a record of the ceremony from Teitnir, and when I was endeavouring to identify the various parts into which the sacrificial animal is divided, we met with such difficulties[1] that Teitnir agreed to allow me to see the ceremony on the condition that I would provide the cost of the calf.

[1] Our final difficulty, the laughter over which seemed to overcome Teitnir's scruples, was in the identification of the spleen, which was described as "a little tongue."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, 123
I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other 124
people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice 761
as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I
witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I 782
had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some 796
doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumptthpimi* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and 782
at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is 796
performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy 621
in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to
some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village 234
in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutiitusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etudwad*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at
796 the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed[1] is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary [793] village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over
372 small firewood the people place several logs about three feet in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pokvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf -- the Erkumptshpimi Ceremony -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

372 The first stage of the ceremonial is to make fire by friction,
782 which should be done by the *palikartmokh*. The only occa-
796 sion on which I saw fire made by friction during an actual ceremony was when I witnessed the sacrifice at Karia, and on this occasion both Punatvan and his chief assistant, Pichievan (69) of Keadr, twirled the firesticks alternately, but though they soon produced some smoke, they failed to light the rag

FIG. 37.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN ATTEMPTING TO MAKE FIRE AT THE 'ERKUMPITHPIMI' CEREMONY.[1]

used as tinder. My constant attendant, Kodrner, was called in, and with his more powerful manipulations was almost immediately successful, and the lighted rag was carried by Punatvan to the heap of firewood, which was soon in a good blaze.

782 As soon as the fire is alight the calf is brought to the
796

[1] This and the succeeding photographs were taken in a badly lighted wood, and represent the actual ceremony.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 796 *ernkar*, and the *palikartmokh* goes to cut a log of *tudr* wood and three small branches of *tudr* leaves. The calf should be fifteen days old and must be without blemish. Its ears must not be split, its tail must not be cut, and its eyes must be clear.

The log of *tudr* wood is for the killing of the calf and is about four feet in length and about three inches in thickness. Such a log is usually called *tudrkud*, but on this occasion is named *erkumptthkud*. The three branches of *tudr* must consist of perfect leaves. Such branches are usually called *tudrkwunak*, but on the occasion of this ceremony they receive the name *toashtitudr*.

[192] The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the calf, holding the log and leaves in his right hand. He raises the log and leaves to his forehead as a salutation, and then recites the appointed prayer. This prayer is different for each clan and consists of clauses in each of which the *kwarzam* of one of the villages of the clan is followed by "——*k per mâ*." Thus the first clause of the Kuudr prayer is *atthkârk per mâ*; *atthkâr* is the *kwarzam* of Kuudr, *k* is the suffix, meaning "to," and *per mâ* is "may increase" or "may there be increase." All the clauses of the prayer are of this form except the last two, which are *karstram parstram*; *Nòtirzk ir usht mâ*; the first of which is a *kwarzam* of Kulinkars, *iram* probably meaning buffaloes, while the second means, "may the buffalo appear to Nòtirzi." The calf is supposed to appear to Nòtirzi and then to go from the hill of this goddess to the hill of Kulinkars. The complete prayers of Kuudr and Kars are given on pp. 288, 289.

The *palikartmokh* touches the head of the calf with the *erkumptthkud* (Fig. 38) as he utters each *kwarzam* till he comes to the penultimate clause of the prayer, at which point he begins the following series of actions. He draws the three branches of *tudr* leaves along the back of the calf from head to tail and then drops one of the three *toashtitudr* on the ground behind the calf. The two remaining branches are drawn along the back of the calf from tail to head in the reverse direction to the first, and on reaching the head one of the two branches is dropped on the ground at the head of the animal.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

782 The remaining branch is drawn from head to tail and dropped
796 on the ground by the side of the first (see Fig. 39).

The animal is then killed by striking it on the head with the *erkumptthkud*. The *palikartmokh* then takes up the three *toashtitudr*, and, taking them in his right hand with the log, passes them round the calf three times. In doing this, the

FIG. 38.—PUNATVAN UTTERING THE 'ERKUMPTTHPIMI' PRAYER. HE IS HOLDING THE 'ERKUMPTTHKUD,' AND ONE OF THE 'TUDR' LEAVES IN HIS HAND CAN BE DISTINCTLY SEEN.

body of the calf rests on its side, while the log and leaves are passed between the two fore-legs, then between the two hind-legs, round the hind-quarters, and forward over the back and head, so that they make a complete circuit of the animal, and this circuit is twice repeated, so that the log and leaves are passed completely round the calf three times.

The *palikartmokh* then proceeds to cut up the calf (Fig. 40),

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

782 beginning with a complete incision round the neck. The
796 knife used is of the ordinary kind called *turi*, but on this occasion it is called *ab*, or "arrow." On the occasion on which I saw the ceremony, the calf seemed to have only been stunned by the blow on the head and began to kick as soon as this incision was made. The animal was, in con-

FIG. 39.—STROKING THE BACK OF THE CALF WITH THE 'TOASHTITUDR.' PUNATVAN IS BEGINNING THE THIRD MOVEMENT, AND ONE OF THE BRANCHES OF LEAVES CAN BE SEEN ON THE GROUND BEHIND THE CALF.

sequence, vigorously belaboured over the testicles with the log of *tudr* wood, and this was repeated till the movements of the animal ceased.

The next incision is down the mid-ventral line; incisions are made through the skin above each hoof, and the *palikartmokh* then removes the skin of the whole animal except the head and feet, beginning at the right fore-limb.

782 When the skin (*tars*) is removed, it is laid on the ground
796 with its outer surface downwards a few yards from the spot at which the animal is being cut up, and the *palikartmokh* proceeds to cut the animal into the following parts:—

Kwelthkh, hoof and attached skin and bones.

Mogâl, lower segment of fore-limb (metacarpus).

FIG. 40.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN CUTTING UP THE CALF. IN THE BACKGROUND KÔDRNER IS SHARPENING UP THE 'KO.'

Kemal, or *kemalth*, upper segment of fore-limb corresponding to fore-arm.

Kanòdri, shoulder.

Mêdrkwelv, trachea and larynx.

Tòdrthars, lower segment of hind-limb (metatarsus).

Pevutth, upper segment of hind-limb (leg).

Ûrâf, liver.

Putth, gall-bladder.

Pushk, kidneys.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 *Kwur*, small intestine.
796 *Tütkwur*, large intestine.
Mulikudri, urinary bladder.
Agelv, pelvis, including thigh bones.
Mudri, sternum and part of ribs attached.
Nüdz, heart.
Püth, lungs.
Kwotinerûf (*kwotinûrûf?*), spleen.
Pâlvîr, stomach full of milk, called *pâlvetâr* when emptied of milk.
Mutelf, lower part of backbone with parts of lower ribs attached.
Nòdi, upper half of backbone with parts of upper ribs attached.
Mad, head.

The parts of the calf are removed approximately in the order in which they are given above. The *palikartmokh* first cuts off the four feet of the animal, beginning with that of the right fore-limb and the four *kwelthkh* are placed under the skin, one at each corner.

The next part to be removed is the right *mogâl*, and then the three other corresponding parts. Up to this point, everything must be done by the *palikartmokh* himself, but after the *mogâl* have been removed any one may help, and on the occasion when I witnessed the ceremony, several operations were going on simultaneously after this point of the proceedings, and it became difficult to ascertain exactly what was being done and the exact order in which the parts were being removed. The cutting up of the calf was performed chiefly by Pichievan, while the *palikartmokh*, Punatvan, occupied himself with other operations.

After the removal of the *mogâl*, the remaining parts of the two fore-limbs are removed and placed on the skin. The larynx and windpipe are taken out together, and in doing this the large vessels of the neck are divided. The body of the animal is then taken up and held over the skin, so that the blood runs out over the parts placed on the skin, and these parts are then moved about, so that they become smeared with blood, and are then placed on the stakes (*ko*),

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

782 and each *ko* with its part of the animal is stuck in the ground
796 on one side of the skin. Some of the other parts when removed are rubbed in the blood on the skin.

When the different parts have been impaled in this manner, the *palikartmokh* cuts from each part a small piece of flesh called *mlis* and puts the pieces on a stake. From the ribs and sternum, he cuts a part called the *tütmlis*, much larger

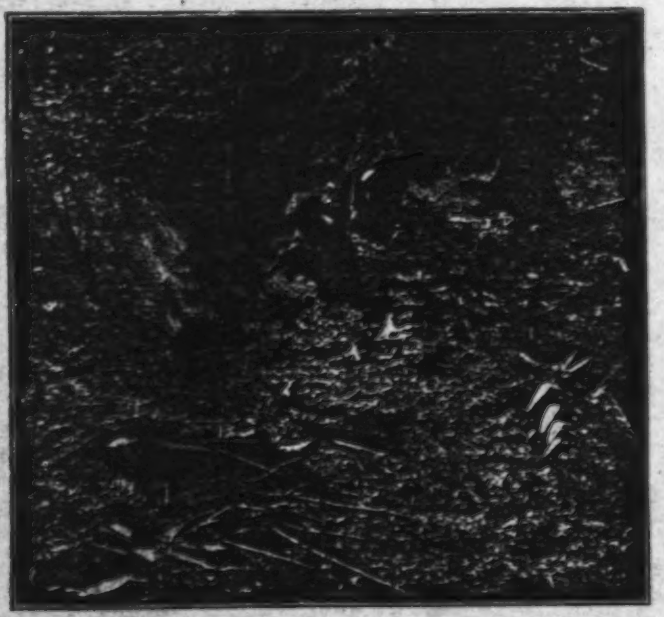

FIG. 41.—ROASTING THE PIECES OF THE CALF.

than the other fragments, and puts this on a stake. I could not ascertain exactly of what the *tütmlis* consisted, but it seemed to be the lower end of the sternum with some of the diaphragm attached to it.[1]

After cutting off the *mlis*, the *palikartmokh* begins to put the parts round the fire (Fig. 41), beginning with the *mogâl*,

[1] The importance of the omentum in Indian animal sacrifices suggests that the *tütmlis* might have been the omentum, or have included part of the omentum. At this stage of the proceedings, so many operations were going on simultaneously that exact observation became very difficult.

782 which are placed, one on each side, about the middle of the
796 fire, but rather nearer that end at which the head is to be placed later. The *mogâl* must be put in this position by the *palikartmokh* himself, but the other parts may be arranged in any order. While the *palikartmokh* is manipulating the parts first cut off and placing them round the fire, his assistants will be continuing the division of the animal. When the liver is taken out, the gall-bladder is cut from it and thrown on one side. The intestines are removed and put on stakes by transfixing every few inches of their length.

The small intestine is placed on more than one *ko*, while, so far as I could see, the large intestine is put on one stake. The urinary bladder is thrown on one side. The ribs are cut through nearer the back than the front, and the sternum and anterior parts of the ribs form one part, the *mudri*. It was from this part that the *tütmlis* was taken. The spleen is put on one side in order that it may be given to a cat, and its name is derived from this fact. The stomach when taken out of the body is filled with milk and in this state is called *pâlvlr*. Its contents are poured out and it then receives the name *pâlvetâr*.

As soon as the cutting up is completed and all the other parts have been placed round the fire, the head is put on a *ko*, and this is stuck in the ground at one end of the fire and about half a yard from it, and the four *kwelthkh* are placed on the ground round the head. Some of the parts placed round the fire may by this time have charred, and they are turned round so as to expose the opposite side to the flames.

The next step is to take up the head on its *ko* and place it in the middle of the fire for about a minute, after which it is replaced. The object of this is to singe the ears, which the *palikartmokh* then pulls off. He also takes certain fragments (*mlis*) from some of the other parts and throws them, together with the ears, into the fire, standing at one end, the opposite end to that at which the head is placed. He then takes three charred pieces of wood from the fire, and throws them over the fire and over the head, so that they fall beyond the latter, saying as he throws each time, "*Nötirak per mâ, mañ!*" the

last exclamation being the sound which is ordinarily uttered when calling a calf. 782 796

When the flesh is sufficiently roasted the *palikartmokh* eats the *tiitmtis*, while the others present may eat any portion. When enough has been eaten, the remainder of the cooked flesh is carried to the village. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are carried to the dairy by the *palikartmokh* and kept there. The flesh of these parts is eaten by the dairyman or by other men, but may on no account be eaten by a woman. The other parts are taken to the hut and given into the keeping of the women, and the flesh of these parts can be eaten by any one—man, woman, or child. Butter is often put on the flesh before it is eaten. 262

The Sacrifice at the Ti

The sacrifice at the *ti* is called *ernudrtipimi*, and is performed at every *ti* three times in the year. The first occasion is about fifteen days after the ceremony of *teutiitusthchi* in October. The second occasion is about January, when the buffaloes of the *ti* migrate to the Kundahs or elsewhere for the dry season. The third occasion is after the ceremony of giving salt, which is known as *kòrup* (see p. 175). The ceremony may take place at any *ti mad* except Anto. 234 782 796

The appointed days are Sunday and Wednesday. On the day before the ceremony wood is taken by the *palol* and *kaltmokh* to the sacrificial spot, called *erukar* as at the village. At Mòdr the wood in which the sacrifice takes place is called Turikipül.

The sacrifice may be performed either in the morning or evening, and takes place, in either case, before *kaizhvatiti*, the ceremonial pouring of buttermilk. This means that the sacrifice takes place during and not after the dairy ceremonial, and thus forms part of the dairy ritual. Each *palol* wears the *pòdrshtuni*, while the *kaltmokh* is naked throughout except for the *kuvn*. The *kaltmokh* arranges the firewood and the chief *palol* (at the Nòdrs *ti*, the *ti palol*) lights the wood with fire brought from his dairy. The calf is then killed and cut up with exactly the same ritual as in the village ceremony.

1 [of a young male calf, sacrificed during the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony — Analyst]

234 After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol* 782 return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *ernkar* to look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and 796 takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then 262 returns to the *ernkar*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him. At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tütmtis* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kakud*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *ernkar*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mòrol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mad* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

234 In connexion with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kush*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kush* are spread some of the grass called *nark*[1] and some leaves of the *kiars*[2] tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pon*, *i.e.*, he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

[1] *Andropogon Schœnanthus*, a strongly-scented grass.
[2] ? *Kias*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for 234
my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful.

The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Hark- 114
ness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the 782
ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed 796
by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gompts*." A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself.

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the 773
sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way 782
in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh 796
of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf.

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

773 I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial
782 of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should
796 know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

171 At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of
782 some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Erkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

192 This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in
782 which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned:
788 *Atthkâr* and *Ôners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars),
621 *Moskar* and *Manêthi* (Ôdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârners* and *Ttindeuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsêram parsêram*, *Nòttrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Ôdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kiugners* (Keshker), *Külnkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiòdr), *Edstârs* (Tashtars), *Keiikârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòdshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tüli*, *Sing*, *Keitaa*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ektrzam meidjam*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ektrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of
782 promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual
789 words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase
796 to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"[1] and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumptthpini* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

THE TEUTÜTUSTHCHI CEREMONY

782 This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the
796 foot of a hill by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The name *teutütusthchi* or *teutütusthtiti* means "god fire he lights." It

[1] I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is performed in the month which the Todas call Tai, beginning with the new moon in October. 782 796

The two *palol* and the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* perform the ceremony on the first or second Sunday after the new moon, and make the fire in alternate years at the hills called Kòti and Puthi. The two *palol* of the Kars and Pan *ti* set fire together at the hill Kònto on the following Tuesday. This ceremony is not performed by the *palol* of either the Kwòdrdoni or the Nidrsi *ti*. In 1902 the Nòdrs *palol* went to the hill Kòti on the second Sunday after the new moon (October 12th).

The hills of Kòti, Puthi, and Kònto are said to be chosen because they are very high, and have the highest *teu*, who are spoken of as elder brothers.

The *palol* and *kaltmokh* set out when they have taken buttermilk after the morning work, abstaining from other food till the ceremony is over. They take with them the *nirsi* or fire-sticks, some leaves of *kakud*, a piece of *tuni*, and some dried grass from the thatch of the dairy. Each *palol* wears both the *pòdrshtuni* and the *kubuntuni*.

When they reach the foot of the hill they make a heap of firewood. They then spread the *kakud* leaves on a stone and powder the thatch of the dairy on the leaves, and each *palol* makes fire with the fire-sticks and lights the powdered thatch. Then the *kaltmokh* says, "*Teutütusthtkina?*"—"Shall I light the god (or sacred) fire?"—and both *palol* answer "*Teutütustht!*" Then the *kaltmokh* takes the lighted thatch and applies it to the heap of firewood. As soon as the fire burns well, each *palol* takes off his *kubuntuni* and, standing some little distance from the fire, the two dairymen pray, using the usual prayer of the *ti* with the following additions:

Kòr	*pův*	*mâ;*	*tein*	*pův*	*mâ;*	*pom*
Young grass	flower	may;	honey	flourish	may;	fruit
purzh	*mâ.*					
ripen	may.					

After the prayer the dairymen and their attendant return to their dairies so as to be in time for the afternoon work.

The object of the ceremony is to make the grass and honey

173 plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas
782 told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits,
nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony[1] was of great
796 importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem
574 to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

782 The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or
796 offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Teutütusthchi* is
783 certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though now it may be performed several times in the year. Even now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

782 The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr*
kwadrthpimi—*i.e.*, we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably
234 means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death, but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk

[1] The Teutütusthchi Ceremony; See pp. 290-291. — Analyst]

234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their attendant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
796 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
618 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
673 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are
688 made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

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the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance. 782 796

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pölu* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*. 618 673 688

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tnuinörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed:— 234 782

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy. 796

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time. 673 688

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *mainol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

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782 Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence
796 of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*;
234 they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

673 For the first three of the offences it is customary that the
688 *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

[787] The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol*, or day

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others. 234 688 673 796

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted. 782

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible. [23]

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed. 753 776 787 796

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
782 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
787 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
688 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but
796 also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the ceremony which has been ordered. The following is probably a typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*, who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madnol* or sacred days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*. The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv) and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following vow at each :—

Ir ber	*ulldmd,*	*ptrsk*	*ulldkh an,*	*irnörtkin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo." [1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
782 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
783 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
673 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe
796 misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recovering from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence com-
796 mitted. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at
618 any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

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618 786 621

ceremony is to take place, and all the men of the same *kudr* as the man who is giving the buffalo must also leave the village if they should be living there. Their place is taken by men of the *kudr* which is to receive the buffalo. If men of both *kudr* are living at the village, those of the giving *kudr* go and those of the receiving *kudr* remain; thus, when Kòdrner, who lives at Kars, made his offering, he and his brother left and went to live at another village of the clan, while Parkurs and his brothers, who belong to the other *kudr*, remained behind. If there is a *wursuli* at the village, the *wursol* remains at his post. If the *palikartmokh* is of the same *kudr* as the offender, he leaves and a new dairyman from the other *kudr* is appointed. All the men who remain at the village sleep in the outer room of the dairy—at Kars, in the outer room of the *kudrpali*. The *palikartmokh* does his dairy work in the inner room as usual and sleeps in the outer room with the rest.

The people live thus at the village for a month, no women, no men of the offending *kudr* and no people of other clans being allowed to visit them.

The actual ceremony takes place at the end of this month, on the Sunday following the new moon. On the Saturday the man, called the *irnörtpol*, who is to make the offering brings a female calf between one and two years of age to a wood near the village and makes a rough temporary calf enclosure (*kadr*), tying the calf to a tree. If the calf is troublesome, the man and his companions may sleep in the wood by the side of the calf, but generally they leave it in the wood and go to sleep in the village where they have been living. The calf must have no blemish, its eyes must be clear, and no part of its ears or tail may be cut.[1]

On the following morning a boy between ten and fifteen years of age is chosen, who is called *ponkartvaimokh*, the boy who observes the festival. It is his duty to drive the calf.

All those who are to be present take in their hands green sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs*. All have their right

[1] The special mention of uncut ears and tail in this and the *erkumpithpimi* ceremony suggests that the widely spread practice of cutting the ears of animals may occur among the Todas, but I have no other notes on the subject.

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arms outside their cloaks (*kevenarut*), and must have bathed in the morning and abstained from food. 618 796 621

When the time for the ceremony comes, the *ponkartvaimokh*, who is followed by the *irnörtpol* and other men of his division, drives the calf towards the village. The people in the village then call out "*Irnört! it vos!*"—"Give the buffalo! Come here!" and they go to the appointed place and stand on the dairy side of the *irnörthars*, or other spot appointed for the ceremony, while the calf is driven up towards the stones or other mark from the side away from the dairy. The *palikartmokh*, naked except for the *kuvn*, and the *wursol*, with the *tuni* round his loins, stand with the people of the receiving *kudr*. When the *ponkartvaimokh* has driven the calf up to the place, he asks three times, "*Irnörtkina?*"—"Shall I give the buffalo?"—and the *palikartmokh* replies each time, "*Irnört!*" The boy then drives the calf across the stones or other mark to the place where the buffaloes of the receiving *kudr* are standing. According to one account, the calf is driven direct into the *tu*, but it seems almost certain that this is wrong, though it may be that it is the practice of some clans. The calf then becomes the property of the *kudr* whose representatives have been living at the village. At Nòdrs the calf is driven through the gap in the wall and across the pool of water in the direction of the conical dairy.

All those present, both the man who has given the calf and his companions and those who have received the calf, bow down to the ground, resting their foreheads on the ends of their cloaks (as in Fig. 44), and utter a formula different for each clan. At Kars it runs:—

Sudui, Teikiri, Tarziolv, Karziolv, Karzu ultâmâ; tr kark ultâmâ; irnörtvuspini,[1] *ultâmâ.*

Then all present go to the dairy or dairies and bow down at the threshold. At Kars they go to Tarziolv (the *kudrpali*), to Karziolv (the *wursuli*), and to Karzu (the buffalo pen) and

[1] Or *irnörtpuspini*, "buffalo giving have we come." The whole formula runs, "Sudui, Teikiri, the *kudrpali*, the *wursuli*, the buffalo pen, may it be well; may it be well with the buffaloes and calves; buffalo giving have we come, may it be well."

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618 bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake
796 of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairy-
621 man, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*, which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the *irnörtpol* must again leave the village, but the only one of

[576]

FIG. 44.—THE 'KERSATITI' SALUTATION.

their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartwaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no

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people other than men of the same *kudr* may visit the village during this time. 618

At the end of the month the people who have been occupying the village rub the dairy or dairies thoroughly with buffalo-dung (*palikâratiti*, dairy he purifies). All the people of the village then return and another feast takes place, in which the food is rice boiled in milk. Then the usual inhabitants of the village return to their houses, and if any men of the receiving *kudr* have come from another village, they return and life resumes its normal course. 796 621

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* may thus involve the removal of the usual inhabitants from a village for about two months, and the giving of two feasts, while the man who has offended also loses a calf. The Todas probably think little of the inconvenience of removal, though probably they are more troubled by it now than in former times, especially when they have to leave a village like Kars, which is, under normal circumstances, always inhabited at the present time. It seems that the inconvenience, together with the expense of the feasts, is sufficient to render the ceremony a very unusual incident in the lives of the Todas.

TUNINÖRTITI

The smaller importance of this ceremony as compared with *irnörtiti* is shown in several ways. The ceremony may be performed at any village at which there is a dairy, and it is not necessary for the people of the receiving *kudr* to stay at the village for a month before the ceremony is performed.

The prescribed day is Sunday, and on the previous day all the people of the same *kudr* as the giver of the *tuni* leave the village, and the men of the other division come and sleep in the dairy as before the *irnörtiti* ceremony. The man who [437] gives the *tuni* is called the *tuninörtpol*, and he procures the garment from a Badaga, paying for it about 1 rupee 4 annas.

On the Sunday morning the *tuninörtpol* comes with some companions, all having abstained from food. The *palikartmokh*, who must be of the same *kudr* as the other men at the village, goes to the front of the dairy and one of the men calls out,

618 "*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
688 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
796 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
618 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
621 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*.
618 If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
796 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

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in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food.

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr[1] which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtpol bon!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pilinörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:—

Tönemd,	*törmdmd;*	*atch*	*kar*	*td*	*md,*	*atch*	
May it be well,	may it be well;	little	calf	give	may,	little	
mokk	*td*	*md;*	*kar*	*kuldth,*	*kar*	*kuleiti*	*td*
son	give	may;	calf	not refuse milk,	calf	take milk	give
md,	*kar*	*nesdth,*	*neseiti*	*td*	*md;*	*opath*	*ötm*
may,	calf	not kick away,	stand	give	may;	once	meal
öthi	*puneerd*	*kwar*	*arki*	*madi;*	*nö*	*ärk md;*	
it is	twelve	years	vow	will;	may there be	no disease;	
mudri	*ärk md;*	*kazun*	*ärk md;*	*per*			
may there be	no trouble;	may there be	no *kazun;*	may there be			
ärk md.							
no Tamil.							

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kazun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

[1] This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
193 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
796 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
618 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of
777 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
688 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

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the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. 783
When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to 782
regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as 688
if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it 796
seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo 782
is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most 783
nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in 688
going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded 618
as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of 796
pilinörtiti to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

782 social regulations exist without anything which can clearly
783 be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people
688 whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than that they now possess.

618 If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the
796 religious sanction has been added to the system of social punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the gods.

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CHAPTER XVII

SACRED DAYS AND NUMBERS

WE have seen that nearly every Toda ceremony has its appointed day or days, and that the choice of these is often dependent on another Toda institution, the sacred day, either of the village or of the dairy. Every clan has certain days of the week on which people are restricted from following many of their ordinary occupations, although they are not the occasions of any special ceremonies. These sacred days are the *madnol* or village day, and the *palinol* or dairy day. Another occasion to which the same kinds of restriction apply is the *arpatznol*, the day of the week corresponding to that on which the father of a man has died. 527 796

THE MADNOL AND PALINOL

The *madnol* is literally the village day. Each village has its *madnol*, and in some cases it would seem that different villages of a clan might have different *madnol*, but in general the *madnol* is the same for the whole clan. 527 784 621

Certain things may not be done on the *madnol*:—

(i) *ponkisthògadi*, a feast may not be given (lit. feast may not divide, *i.e.*, food must not be shared out).

(ii) *kłdrvłłògadi*, funeral ceremonies may not be performed.

(iii) *kwadrłògadi*, nothing may be given (from the village). Since buying implies the departure of money from the village, a secondary consequence is that nothing may be bought on the *madnol*, but if anything is given to an inhabitant of the village, he may bring it into the village on this day.

527 769 787 Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and the *tcnol* found that the desecration of the *arpatznol* was one of the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday, the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 764 796 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days. There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *wurzulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *wurzulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

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for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was chosen. 527 764 796

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans; thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be performed. 527 796 621 618

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòdrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

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527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they
796 might fall.

Several previous writers, when recording the choice of
621 certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the
618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday,
777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi* ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in
777 this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the present time a given act is done or not done on a given day, the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

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but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing that the act shall or shall not be done on that day. 527

There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations connected with certain days of the week which have probably arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days. 777

There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays, on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol* is visited by Todas other than the *mòrol*. Such facts suggest that the three days on which the rivers should not be crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday. The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to the whole community may be connected with the belief in lucky and unlucky days. [784]

Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas evidently regard the first half of the month as most auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for the period of the full moon or for the second half of the moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may take place in the second half of the month, but I have no doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity. 527 796

The definite values assigned to different days of the week is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madnol* we have an institution very closely resembling that of the Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the existence of different *madnol* for different clans of the community would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on the business of life, and such a community would probably agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At present the *madnol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other 527 621

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
174 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
178

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

177 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*),
437 and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the
764 grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *niarvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudshmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given
437 clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given
609 food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten
796 on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk, buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day
609 to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified
796 butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

rubs it on the heads of the two Kota priests, who prostrate themselves, one at each foot of the Toda, and the Toda prays as follows:— 177 609 796

Ullamâ;	*Kôtv*	*erdm*	*tânénmâ;*	*kodr*	*pelumâ;*
May it be well;	Kotas	two	may it be well;	fields	flourish may;

mâ un mâ;	*ir*	*kar*	*mâ,*	*nôv*	*podr*	*mâ.*
rain may;	buffalo	milk	may,	disease	go	may.

The Toda then gives the two *mu* containing the clarified butter to the Kota priests, and he and his companions return home.

This ceremony is obviously one in which the Todas are believed to promote the prosperity of the Kotas, their crops, and their buffaloes.[1]

In another ceremonial relation between Todas and Kotas, the Kwòdrdoni *ti* is especially concerned. The chief annual ceremony of the Kotas is held about January in honour of the Kota god Kambataraya. This ceremony lasts about a fortnight, and, during part of the time, the proceedings are attended by Todas and other of the hill tribes. In order that this ceremony may take place, it is essential that there should be a *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, and at the present time this *ti* is only occupied every year shortly before and during the ceremony. The *palol* gives clarified butter to the Kotas, which should be made from the milk of the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the *ti*. Some Kotas of Kotagiri whom I interviewed claimed that these buffaloes belonged to them, and that something was done by the *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti* in connexion with the Kambataraya ceremony, but they could not or would not tell me what it was.

The relations between Todas and Kotas are probably of very old standing. The fact that the Kotas supply the bow and arrows burnt at a Toda funeral suggests that the connexion goes back to the time when the Todas used these weapons, while the special sieve supplied by the Kotas for a funeral is of a different pattern from that in use at the present 177 174

[1] The Kotas are agriculturists as well as mechanics, and, according to Brooks, they are quite as efficient as the Badagas in this occupation. They also keep buffaloes, though chiefly or entirely for their own use.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

an account has been already given. They are still capable of holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which are wholly unshared by other clans. 184 618 234 554

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi.* "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad oiiti.* "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti.* "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug putz nitz ithtothi.* "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ithtothi.* "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part. He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning 564 796

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduthti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The
618 Mc'gars people themselves believed that their exceptional
773 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan. They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so
234

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
184 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
● 796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tdzâr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other. 616

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpini*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kaṇab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali. 796 852 765 769

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division. 184 846 616

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another [272]

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
616 ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
796 differences between the two divisions may be regarded as secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual
174 and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
184 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived
192 from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the
197 interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

that they have never at any time eaten the flesh of the *female* buffalo; for they set an immense value and importance on the milk-giver. And there are very strong grounds also for crediting their statement; that they *never made a practice of eating the males*, even though they may have died from accidental causes. In fact they are not, and never were, flesh eaters. Not that they dislike the flavour of meat; for a meal of venison is one of those events so rare and pleasurable as to form a datum in a man's life from which to time all incidents.

CHAP. III.

262

Yet there is a yearly exceptional occasion on which all the adult males in the village join in the ceremony of killing and eating a very young male calf—seemingly under a month old. They take the animal into the dark recesses of the village wood; where the Vorshâl[1] kills it by blows of a club made of their holy tree,[2] reciting the ejaculatory prayer beginning dânenma, which has been given in full length in the last chapter. Although fire may readily be procured from the Mand, a *sacred* fire is created by the rubbing of sticks: and the flesh, which is then roasted on the embers of certain trees, is eaten only by the men—the presence of women not being permitted.

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796

No information can be had as to the origin or object of this curious and apparently sacrificial ceremony. 'It seems,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'scarcely too much to assert once for all, that meaningless customs must be survivals, that they had a practical or at least ceremonial intention when and where they first arose, but are now fallen into absurdity from having been carried on into a new state of society, where their original sense has been discarded.'[3]

[1] Vorshâl. This is a sacred character, of whom we shall read more in Chapter XVII.

Ve, vé, are Dravidian roots indicative of *heat*.

Vashis is Sanskrit for *sacrificial fire*.

Virragu is Tamil for *firewood*.

Vrishani is Sanskrit for Agni, *god of fire*.

Vrishâkapi is the same. [POPE.]

[2] For further information regarding the tûde tree, see Chapter XIV.

[3] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 85.

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious prac- 177
tices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead
smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, 791
and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a
shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however,
the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda,
and that he had gone to please them.

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or 996
annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year,
apparently when it pleases the *pějāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra 621
if the *pějāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly 173
invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki
Parshdl comes with three holy branches of the *Tār* tree, and repeats the names of all
the gods of the *four divisions*; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tār*. The
flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks
of the *nerula*, *mutha*, or *kera* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend
or partake of the feast.

The institution is *Mōnāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor,
by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child. 944

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the 846
father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them
close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure
into the other two.

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by
the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to
that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three
times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a
separate hut (*Parshdrsh*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and
a Pekkan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*boa*), the *Parshdrsh* is situated a long way
off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the 553
morning to the door of the village *Pālthchi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal 551
grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's
name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mōnāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

843 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[583] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tāli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes [322] a bow of the *Hebbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kāndal it is *Pirzhedkham.*
„ Muttinād „ *Pirzhirzhk.*
„ Kodanād „ *Kurrkdweirzh.*
„ Manjakal „ *Bellgdräff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nōga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Māmūl* and *Shāstra.* One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow† we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

796 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, 551 in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordzai Kédu*), which takes place 765 soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvendli Kédu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

[301]

* The *Tāli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tāli.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Hoegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is then, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from Manu, iii. 33.

[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 9:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of man generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not valued but endured by her husband."

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

798 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
813 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikāra river.

733 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
766 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundaha, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

of this, the rule was made that the body should always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, apparently in imitation of the Kota Dēvādi, with divine frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfusodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuum], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet. 553 852 302

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf. 604 [616]

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner. [858]

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time. 304 796 [616] [793]

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their [604] [616] [413] [562]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmel-puditht* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by ask- [123]
ing me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not ac- [273]
cede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the [431]
occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the [846]
demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is
impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even be- [847]
ing tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mut- 595
narsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children [865]
were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The* 846
Todas, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. 796
Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was un- [183]
usual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite un-
[865] orthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[783] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quick-
[793] est way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

000 associated with belief. The ceremonial in Torres Straits had been swept away, while the stories of the legendary heroes were almost all that remained to the people of the old life and were in consequence still cherished.

177 Among the Todas missionary influence, whether of Christian or Hindu, has had little effect, and the ritual of the Todas in 538 some parts of the hills is almost, if not quite, untouched by 797. outside influences.[1] The effect of intercourse with other peoples seems to be showing itself largely in the form of loss of interest in the stories of the past.

171 One of the most striking aspects of the customs and ceremonies of the Todas is that these have in many cases no exact parallels in other places. Perhaps the most definite result which modern research in anthropology has brought out is the extraordinary similarity of custom throughout the world. Customs apparently identical are found in races so widely separated geographically and so diverse ethnologically that it seems certain the customs must have developed in total independence of one another. There seems to be an identity of idea actuating custom in peoples very different from one another in their surroundings and conditions of life.

The nearest parallels to Toda custom and ceremonial are undoubtedly to be found in the Indian peninsula, but even here, though there is often a general resemblance, this breaks down on going into detail. Even when the resemblance is so close as to suggest a common origin, the differences in detail are often very great.[2]

177 One clue to this exceptional nature of Toda custom and belief is to be found in the geographical position of the people, which has to a large extent isolated them from the world in general.

133 The plateau on which they live, broken by numerous hills and valleys, is the top of a scarp formed by the meeting of the Eastern and Western Ghats. Some of the hills project

[1] As we shall see later, this is only true of some parts of the hills and some institutions.

[2] With more exact knowledge of Indian customs and ceremonies which have lingered on side by side with, though often obscured by Brahmanism, it is possible that these differences would be found to be much slighter than the evidence at present available suggests.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

776 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however
782 much money they take away with them from their villages, all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been
776 worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the
782 Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums
771 were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years
●797 employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one
771 of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

know that, three centuries ago, priests visited the Todas and 177
preached to them, and it is stated (see p. 720) that one chose 771
the Hebrew story of the creation for his lesson, and it may 797
be that the incident, striking the fancy of the people, was incorporated into their own tradition of the origin of man. The resemblance between the Toda *madnol* and the Sabbath may also excite the suspicion that the former institution is founded on ideas borrowed from Christians or Jews. I think we may be confident that, if this has been the case, the borrowing took place very long ago. I hope to show in the last chapter that it is probable the Todas came from Malabar, and it is possible that their migration to the hills took place after the settlement of Christians or Jews in that district. If Christianity has affected the religious beliefs or practices of the general body of the Todas, I think it is certain that this influence has not been recent.

Magic and Religion

A word may be added, at the end of this chapter, on the 771
relation between the magic and the religion of the Todas. 789
I have already pointed out reasons for believing that the Toda religion is one in process of degeneration, and we must not therefore expect to find among this people material for the study of the evolution of religion from magic or for the method of divergence of the two from some original stem which was neither magic nor religion.

The chief interest of the Todas from this point of view is that they show how side by side with a relatively high form of religion there may exist a body of beliefs crystallised in magical formulæ which bear a very close resemblance to the formulæ of the religious ritual. Their aim and their general nature leave no doubt that the formulæ given in the later part of Chap. XII are magical in nature, and yet they show more distinct evidence of appeal to deities than is to be found in the definitely religious formulæ of the dairy. These magical formulæ of the Todas seem to show us a stage of magic in which religion has been called

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
773 rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriaris*. They themselves became *Pālāle*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āsāram*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnād Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Ānnnād*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Ānnnād*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Ānnnād*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of
771 which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

* *Pūjā*, worship.

● 771

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

174 discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may 771 be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their 777 desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars. I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nilagiris, nor can I find, in the customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of Christianity. Mr. Metz derives Peranganâd (Toda *Pirgâr*) from Feringhi; but we have no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

771 If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic; while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

171 Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mûndah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed; the Larkâ Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the Pelkis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawâni; and they break a pot at funerals, their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

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114 * While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.) has been published. In this work, page 133, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever "to believe that the Todas of the Nilagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or "Manichean settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of "Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Payanas applies word for word to the Todas:—

"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Uebungen welche, mit einigen anderen Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, "mit ihrem jetzigen Culturzustande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher "höheren Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem "quite irreconcilable with their present state of civilization, unless we recognise in them the traces of a formerly "higher culture."—*Trench's Study of Words, pages 22, note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilization. The case of the Todas and Kurumbas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primeval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay exist can hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be seen, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, to ascertain facts about the tribes in question seemed more germane to the matter than to discuss theories of civilization.—*Editor.*

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

177 fellow tribesmen. To this man finger-prints came as no novelty, since his impressions were recorded both in England and America.

212 197 Writing in 1870,* Colonel W. Ross King stated that the Todas had just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. At the present day, a few write, and many converse fluently in Tamil. The Nilgiri C.M.S. Tamil 797 mission has extended its sphere of work to the Todas, and I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a Toda version of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The English say that once upon a time a rich man and a poor man died. At the funeral of the rich man, there was a great tamāsha (spectacle), and many buffaloes were sacrificed. But, for the funeral of the poor man, neither music nor buffaloes were provided. The English believe that in the next world the poor man was as well off as the rich man; so that, when any one dies, it is of no use spending money on the funeral ceremonies. Two mission 797 schools have been established, one at Ootacamund, the 891 other near Paikāra. At the latter I have seen a number of children of both sexes reading elementary Tamil and English, and doing simple arithmetic.

797 A few years ago a Toda boy was baptised at Tinnevelly, and remained there for instruction. It was hoped that he would return to the hills as an evangelist among his people.† In 1907, five young Toda women were baptised at the C.M.S. Mission chapel, Ootacamund. "They were clothed in white, with a white cloth over their heads, such as the Native Christians wear. A number of Christian Badagas had assembled to witness the ceremony, and join in the service."

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* Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills.
† Madras Diocesan Magazine, November, 1907.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

THE CHRISTIAN TODAS *

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ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianized communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling [1] and seems to

* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Down in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, ?1933). There is little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the accounts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

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797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kiśker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low
797 status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime.
794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the aban-
[177] doned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the
[341] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the
[346] more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts
[182] themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equivalent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final
[162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

[2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research
[113] Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small
[104] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ʂ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [r] being an alveolar trill. [ɾ] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [ś] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English sh). [c] and [ʒ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ö] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯi:] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [i:].

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about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuanom] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuisodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

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term [KEL] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas. 648 437 184

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing.

797 535 [562] [184]

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[7] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc-

797 533

[7] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 543-560. [113]

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797 533 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfuusodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 797 [614] [533] I have shown elsewhere [9] that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytized from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When 553 we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is 797 different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no [113]

[9] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40. 205–223.

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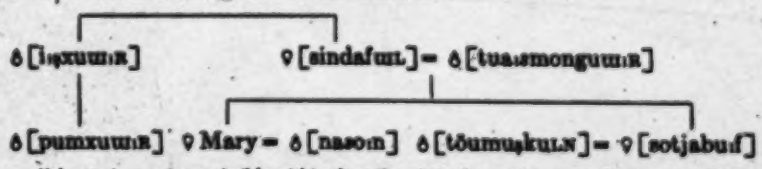
Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɯsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaɪsmonguɯːʀ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuːf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuːʟ] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piɩjiɪʒfuːf] "silver-flower" and [tyɩjiɪʒfuːf] (the first member [tyɩj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaʀoːn] has a son called [asojxuɯrn] from [asojuɯr], the buffaloes of the [tiː]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuɯːʀ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɯːʀ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuɯːʀ] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iɩxuɯːʀ] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 25[illegible], for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[ɩɪʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
582 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iɹxuum:ʀ]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuum:ʀ]. His sister [sindafuɪʟ] (Sindavul) married [tua:smonguum:ʀ] (59, Tormungudr)[14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabu:f]. [iɹxuum:ʀ] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough,
[601] Mary was married to [nasoɪn] (son of [teɪpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [nasoɪn] and [sindafuɪʟ] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasoɪn] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this mar-
[584] riage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iɹxuum:ʀ], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
797 ried to [pumxuum:ʀ]. When she came of age however, [pumxuum:ʀ],
184 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
686 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to
627 marry [tõumuɹkuʟN]. [iɹxuum:ʀ] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuum:ʀ] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tõumuɹkuʟN] and [sotjabu:f] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peɪθoɪʟ]
[692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iɹxuum:ʀ]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tua:smonguum:ʀ] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iɹxuum:ʀ]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.



[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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The European may enter the house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfunsodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuum:n], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

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797 has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ultz), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuuɪR] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanuɪs] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kaNfuɪsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiškeɪn] (14, Küshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnuɪs] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paɪuɪnʒfiɪj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kaNfuɪsodj]. Her brother [noɪnmurj] (Nonmudri) and [kaNfuɪsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnuɪs] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noɪnmurj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kaNfuɪsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoɪn] (20, son of [teɪpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kaNfuɪsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noɪnmurj] should pay to [kaNfuɪsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
585 and five rupees; these are the [kökuɪlj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [aRpuɪn] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

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794 184 [733] [997] [439] its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is 181 possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people"[18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 105.

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177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
177 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Oot-
233 acamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
425 from the Todas. The sib of the mṇkitjo:ʃ (Rivers' Pam; for
[614] details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ʂo:ʃ and melga:-ʂo:ʃ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
[311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ʂo:ʃ sib, the other of the mö:ʂo:ʃ sib, which had not been used for a number of years,
[797] were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ʂo:ʃ sib were sold to Government
[614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
[682] when the sib of the ka:ʂo:ʃ were in need of a large sum of money to settle parkumṇ's liability in the suicide of nörnmṇ. In general,

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of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative so:mi: as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 159 621

(25) Närshmali: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is [832] quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhlivowutn have to [837] search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Närshmali had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershti* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them.

(26) Pufvkiaroz: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that sur- [847] viving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. [797] Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also [464] works as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

(27) Mutmali: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband [832] many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns [837] after some days, without Pufvkiaroz exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmali came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala
Toda AW60

continued to smoulder in his heart until, in 1917, he decided to take the matter to Court, as a result of which he did receive the remaining property. 115 [691]

Before this episode, however, his half-sister had died leaving him all alone. It was then that Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission took an interest in him and removed him to the school which she ran close to his native village at the 8th mile of the Ootacamund-Gudalur road. As a consequence of this, he was eventually converted to Christianity. After he had received the meagre remnants of his father's estate, Miss Ling sent him away to another school at Palamkottah in the Tinnevely district for further studies, and he passed there through the third form. In 1923 she sent him to Assam, to the Welsh Mission, with the idea that he should learn to be a motor mechanic, I do not quite know to which part of that large and distant province he went, as he was rather vague in his description of it, but he did say that it was wild and underdeveloped in the extreme, with no roads at all, let alone motor traffic. So, instead of being trained as a mechanic, he was made to look after the station missionary's horse as a groom, which enraged him since he had just come into what little there was left of his property and had been persuaded to leave the Nilgiris under what were apparently false pretences. [797]

After only a very few months of this most unsatisfactory situation, he ran away and managed somehow to reach Calcutta in search of work. But because of the language, Bengali, which he did not speak, he found this extremely difficult to obtain, and had to content himself with a hand to mouth exsistence. In the end, he got a job as a junior gardener with a kind missionary, the Rev. H. Kehel. He remained a year with the latter, and when he had saved enough money to pay for the railway fare, he took the train and returned to Madras. In that city he joined the large motor transport company, Addison and Co., where after twelve months' apprenticeship, he eventually got his driver's licence and became one of the firm's mechanics, keeping his position until 1928.

At this time his health deteriorated. He underwent a serious operation for a gastric ulcer and had to give up his work. He returned to the Nilgiris the following year, and began to take a lively interest in the well-being and progress of the community from which he sprang, the Todas. He joined the Collector of the Nilgiris' Toda Amelioration Scheme and was trained as an agriculturalist. He thus became an agricultural consultant for the tribe, advising it on such matters, and using his newly acquired knowledge as a means of livelihood. [242]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

527 sacred days, and if the latter were then to be neglected, we should have a community in which various activities were pro-
621 hibited on one day of the week, and the institution so arising would differ very little from the Hebrew Sabbath. It is possible that the Todas show in an early stage the institution of a Sabbath in which the whole community has not yet settled on a single and joint holy day.

Sacred Numbers

788 Certain numbers recur with great frequency in the dairy ceremonial, and may be regarded as having a special sanctity
801 on this account. There seems to be a general preference for uneven numbers, and this preference comes out very strongly in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which an uneven number of men must take part on any one occasion. The number of men performing this ceremony together must be three, five, seven, nine, &c.

In the dairy ritual the numbers which occur chiefly are three, seven and nine, but other numbers have also been singled out in other branches of Toda lore. The numbers which occur in ceremonial may now be considered in detail.

Three.—A large proportion of the ritual acts of the dairy are performed three times, usually with the accompaniment of the sacred syllable. *Om* uttered thrice, once with each performance of the act. This three-fold performance is especially marked in the ceremony of putting milk or curds on the sacred bells and in the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk. In the ordination ceremonies, the number occurs less frequently. The purificatory drinking is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, but after drinking, the candidate rubs himself three times with the shoots or bark, and, at the ordination of a *palol*, the candidate drinks three times seven on several occasions. Other acts during the ordination of the *palol* are also performed thrice, and the same number occurs in the ordination of the *kaltmokh*.

Acts are performed thrice with special frequency in the ceremonial of the *ti*, and, at the ordinary dairy, this number is especially connected with the 'feeding' of the sacred

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

bell, and there is no doubt that it is a number regarded as especially sacred. Whenever the sacred syllable *Oñ* is used, it is nearly always uttered thrice, and there seems to be a special association between the number three and this word. 788 801

In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony three branches of *tudr* leaves are used, and they and the log with which the calf is killed are passed round the body of the animal thrice. Later in the ceremony three pieces of wood are thrown over the fire.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth, the woman drinks thrice on various occasions, in the *pursütpimi* ceremony the name of the bow is asked and the answer given three times, and in the ceremony of name-giving three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the child and three into his hair.

At the funeral ceremonies, earth is thrown three times on the corpse and three times into the pen, the body is swung on the fire three times, and at the final scene of the *azaramkedr* the man who rings the bell goes round the burial place of the ashes thrice. Three *ovibnikdrs* are thrown by the man who crosses the pathway of the dead. The number three is not limited to the dairy ritual, but is of frequent occurrence in the whole of Toda ceremonial.

The number three also appears in connexion with magical or semi-magical practices. The various methods of treatment used by the *utkòren* are carried out three times and never more frequently than this, and the sufferer who drinks hot water to allay the effects of fright also does this thrice. A remedy is probably held to be more potent if repeated the same number of times as in the case of so many sacred acts. [755]

Five.—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial except in certain ceremonies at the Nòdrs *ti* which are repeated five times because there are five groups of buffaloes belonging to this dairy. The number in this case has, however, no ceremonial significance, and is merely a consequence of the fact that one *palol* at this *ti* has three groups and the other two groups of buffaloes. The only other occurrence of the number is at the Kars *ti*, where the ancient lamp probably had five cavities, but even this is doubtful.

The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The 000

The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The
754 sorcerer, who wishes to injure one who has not granted his
801 request, hides five stones tied together with hair in the thatch of his enemy's hut.

788 *Six.*—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial,
801 but it seems to be regarded as an auspicious number in some ways. In Teitnir's lament for his wife, reference is made to the hope that they might have had six children and six buffaloes, and in the prayer on the occasion of the ear-piercing ceremony, one clause runs "may he have six sons."

Six sticks are used to make the artificial dairy of the hand-burning ceremony, but this is an obvious result of the fact that the dairy has to have two rooms.

Seven.—This number is especially prominent in the ordination ceremonies. The purificatory drinking out of leaf-cups is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, the *palikartmokh* drinking seven times only, the *wursol* seven times seven, and the *palol* three times seven, seven times seven and nine times seven at different periods of his prolonged ordination ceremonies. At the dairies of Taradr and Kanòdrs, the number occurs in a different form, seven different kinds of leaf being used in the purificatory ceremonies.

The number occurs again in connexion with the lamp. At the Nòdrs *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and possibly at other dairies, there used to be lamps, each of which had seven cavities and seven wicks. Some of these lamps have been lost, but two remain at the dairies mentioned. I have already referred to the fact that some of the ancient lamps were said to have had five wicks, but it seems clear that in the only two examples which survive there are seven wicks, and it is possible that this was the number in all.

Another occurrence of the number seven is in the old dairies of the Nòdrs clan which had seven rooms. The funeral dairies, which are undoubtedly very ancient institutions, have three rooms, and the Nòdrs dairies, also undoubtedly ancient, had seven, but I heard of no case in which a dairy had four, five, or six rooms.

Outside the dairy ceremonial, the only occurrence of this number is in the lament of Teitnir for his wife, in which he speaks of their visiting seven courts and seven ships.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca 1901-02) 1906 Toda

It is perhaps significant that the number seven should be a sacred number to a people who have so highly developed the cult of different days of the week. It is possible that the purificatory drinkings of the ordination ceremonies were at one time performed seven times with the idea that the candidate was sanctifying himself for each day of the week, but at the present time it is clear that the act is performed seven times because this number is prescribed by custom. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the sanctity of the number seven occurs predominantly in the religious cults of peoples who have a seven-day week. 788 801

Nine.—This number only occurs in the dairy ceremonial during the ordination of the *palol* when the seven-fold purification with *tudr* is performed nine times.

Twelve.—I only met with this number once, in the prayer at the *pilimirtiri* ceremony, when the expression "12 years" is used as if it were equivalent to "for ever."

Sixteen and *Eighteen.*—The chief interest of these numbers is that they are used in connexion with the gods. There are said to be 1600, 1800 gods, and these numbers are mentioned in the prayer of the Kanòdrs dairy and in the legends. The numbers are probably used in the way in which we should use the word 'infinite,' but there must be some reason why they should have been chosen. 776 801

The number 18 occurs in another connexion in the rule that the *palol* should perform a certain ceremony after eighteen years of continuous office. 801

I have one possible clue to the choice of the number eighteen. The Todas say that a species of Strobilanth growing on the Nilgiris as a shrub only flowers once in eighteen years. They call this shrub *pavkat*, and it was in flower during the year of my visit. Albert, my interpreter, had only seen it in flower once or twice, but had not paid special attention to the duration of the flowering period. The number of times that several Todas had seen the flowers agreed approximately with their probable ages. Thus, Kutadri saw the flowers in 1902 for the third time, having seen them for the first time when he was twelve years old. This would make his age forty-eight, which seemed from other sources of information to be 824 801 805

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

801 approximately correct. The Todas use the flower as a record
814 of age, and some Todas are reputed to have seen the flowers
805 seven times, which, taking five years as the age when they were first seen, would make them over 110 years.

There is another Strobilanth called *tirparikat* which is said to flower every twelve years, and another every six. I do not know of any confirmation of the flowering periods of these plants except the last, which probably refers to *Strobilanthes sexennis*.

Whether the Toda belief in the eighteen-year period of the plant they call *pivkat* is correct or not, it seems probable that it may have furnished the suggestion for the special position taken by the number eighteen in Toda lore.

CHAP. XXI.

765 768 177

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' ceremonial, and long before these guests have begun to arrive, the family of the deceased have a little private ordinance of their own; in burning all his personal property, such as his stick or staff, the honnu or milk vessel, and clothes: also a *flute* or flageolet, and a model of *a bow with bamboo 'strings,' and arrows.*[2] I could not ascertain any reason whatever for this musical instrument and these spurious weapons being burnt. Be it particularly borne in mind that the Todas have no sense of music and do not possess a flute in the whole tribe: that they never hunt, and have no weapons of the chase. These toys are made by the Kotas entirely for the occasion. Thus it was, I experienced some difficulty in buying the bow, which will be found in photograph No. 15. The first question asked of the man who purchased it for me from the Kota, was 'Who is dead?'

765 535 801

The opening public ceremony of the day, is a kind of dance performed by from twenty to fifty men. The dance I witnessed was monotonous enough. It consisted of the body of men, keeping step whilst striding round and round like the spokes of a wheel; each spoke having three men arm in arm: and all exclaiming, rather than shouting, 'A! U! A! U!'[3] in time with their steps. I could trace nothing symbolic in the exhibition except that strange number three, which I notice in all religious matters, to be constantly appearing. It may be that the dance and shout are both merely a Toda mode of giving vent and expression to a festive state of mind.

765

Whilst this dance is being carried on by the men, the women prepare food in the hut described in the last Chapter, which has been repaired or renewed for this occasion. Here all the guests assemble, the two sexes sitting apart. The women of the family serve out the supplies from the diminutive door to

[2] Captain Forsyth, in his 'Highlands of Central India,' writes of the Bygas, 'their bows are made entirely of the bamboo, "string" and all.'

[3] The Toda word for *I shout*, is 'A! U! bisharthken,' or *I call out* A! U! [i.e., the bara kedu, or second funeral—Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Measures and Numerals

804 The Toda measure of length is the *mogai* or *mogoi*, which corresponds to the cubit, being the length from the elbow to the tips of the fingers. The word is probably related to *mogal*, the term for fore-arm.

The usual measure of capacity for liquids is the *kudi*, said to be equal to about four pints. Another measure is the *kòni*, two of which make one *kudi*. The *kòni* probably corresponds to the milking vessel, or *pun*.

For measuring out grain, the Todas use a special table of measures consisting of *ôk* and *kud*, eleven *ôk* making one
●802 *kud*. When measuring out grain, modifications of the ordinary numerals are used.

In the following lines I give these on the right-hand side of the page, those on the left being the ordinary numerals. *Urôk* is the equivalent of *ud ôk*, or one measure.

ud	one	*ûrôk*
ord	two	*îrôk*
mûd	three	*mûk*
nonk	four	*oponi*
nuk	five	*oidk*
ôr	six	*ûrôk*
ö or *ow*	seven	*ökk* or *ouk*
ît	eight	*ötk*
unpuk	nine	*unpik*
poik	ten	*poikk*
ponud	eleven	*ukud*
ponord	twelve	*ponrôk*
ponmûd	thirteen	*ponmûk*
ponnonk or *pônk*	fourteen	*ponnonkk*
ponuk or *puk*	fifteen	*ponukk*
pôr	sixteen	*pôrôk*
pö or *pow*	seventeen	*pökk*
pît	eighteen	*pîtk*
ponpoik	nineteen	*ponpoikk*
ovok	twenty	*ovokk*
ovok ud	twenty-one	*ovokudk* (doubtful)
ovok ord	twenty-two	*ikud*
ovok mûd	twenty-three	*ikud ûrôk*
:	:	:
:	:	:

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

802

mopoth	thirty	*ikwâ ötâk*
:	:	:
mopoth mûd	thirty-three	*nâkkwâ*
:	:	:
nîpoth	forty	*nâkkwâ ödk*
:	:	:
nâpoth nmk	forty-four	*nâkkwâ*
:	:	:
epoth	fifty	*nâkkwâ ârâk*
:	:	:
epoth mûz	fifty-five	*aiîwâ*
:	:	:
ârath	sixty	*aiîwâ oitâk*
:	:	:
ârath âr	sixty-six	*ârwâ*
:	:	:
öwath	seventy	*ârwâ oponi*
:	:	:
öwath ö	seventy-seven	*ökwâ*
:	:	:
ötwath	eighty	*ökwâ mâk*
:	:	:
ötwath öt	eighty-eight	*ötkwâ*
:	:	:
unwath	ninety	*ötkwâ ârâk*
:	:	:
unwath unpoth	ninety-nine	*unpawâ*
:	:	:
ûnâr	hundred	*unpawâ nd*

Above a hundred the numbers of *kwâ* are continued to *pothwâ*, *ponudkwâ*, &c., up to twenty *kwâ*, which make one *siligh*, and then the people begin again at the beginning.

This occurrence of the number eleven is probably a consequence of the transactions between Todas and Badagas. 177 802 804

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 There was some reason to believe that the true Toda measure
802 is the *ák* (probably a contraction of *achok*) and that the
804 Badagas brought their grain to the Todas in vessels called *kwd*. The *kwd* contained eleven of the Toda *ák*, and hence came about the very unusual proportion between two measures.

802 In giving ages or any other period of time, the word for year, *kwòdr*, is often abbreviated to *wd*; thus *nápoth kwòdr*, forty years, becomes *nápothwd*.

In counting the Todas use their fingers largely and have a special method of indicating the numbers. To signify one, the thumb is placed against the tip of the little finger; for two, against the tip of the ring finger; for three, against the middle finger; for four, against the forefinger; for five, the tip of the index finger is placed over the nail of the thumb; the same position is used for six, while that for seven is the same as for four, and so on, so that when ten is reached the thumb is resting again on the tip of the little finger.

MONEY

177 The Todas use the ordinary Indian currency. In their
436 legends and ceremonies there is frequent reference to the *panm*, or four-anna piece.

Among the coins used by the Todas at the funeral ceremonies there are many of considerable age with Arabic inscriptions, and the earlier visitors to the hills describe the Todas as possessing old Venetian gold pieces. In the legend telling how the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* dispersed the invading Coorgs (p. 114), the boy made use of a small gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he had in his possession.

THE CALENDAR

805 The Todas have twelve months, each of which begins with the new moon. The first month of the Toda year is *Tai*, which begins with the new moon in October, so that this month usually includes part of October and part of November. Some of the chief Toda ceremonies, such as that of *teutiit-*

203. *Thursday*	tâm	(?)	
204. *Friday*	bellivom	*belle*=silver, a name of Venus.	
205. *Saturday*	thanivom	*thani*=*sani*. (S.)	

193

A few of the words in this list defy all attempts to trace their origin. And this is not surprising. If in English such words as *boy*, *girl*, *dog*, and *pig*, though modern, cannot be traced, a tribe like the Tuḍas may well have invented a few terms.

802

§ 42. TUḌA NUMERALS.

I. vodd	(K. *ond-u*)
II. odd	(K. *eraḍu*)
III. mûdu	(K. *mûr-u*)
IV. nânku	(K. *nâlk-u*. T. *nâng-u*)
V. ttah	(K. *eid-u*)
VI. âr	(K. *âru*)
VII. ôlzh	(K. *ôl-u*. T. *ôr-u*)
VIII. ett	(K. *eṇṭ-u*. T. *ett-u*)
IX. onpath	(K. *on-batt-u*)
X. pattu	(A. K. *pattu*)
XII. ponodd	(A. K. *paneraḍ-u*)
XVI. pârzh	(A. K. *padinâr-u*)
XX. ôvoth	(K. *ippattu*)
XXX. mûpath	(K. *mûvattu*)
XL. nâlpath	(K. *nâlvattu*)
L. epath	(K. *eivattu*)
C. nûr	(K. *nûru*).

§ 43. A few subjects for discussion may be indicated here. 193

(1) In examining these lists I think it will become evident that the 'lingual' or 'cerebral' letters in the Drâviḍian languages are all corruptions of one letter, a kind of l. This seems to be the one Vêdic cerebral.

Kan. *maḷal-u* is Tam. *maṇal*; so
Kan. *maḷai* is Tam. *maṛai*.
Kan. *nâḍ* is Tuḍa *naṛ*.

Comp. §§ 6–8.

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erd	two	*îrôk*
mûd	three	*môk*
nonk	four	*oponi*
udz	five	*uidk*
ôr	six	*ôrôk*
ô or *eu*	seven	*ôdk* or *eudk*
ît	eight	*îtôk*
unpath	nine	*unpath*
path	ten	*pathôk*
ponud	eleven	*uknô*
ponerd	twelve	*ponerôk*
ponmûd	thirteen	*ponmûôk*
ponnonk or *pônk*	fourteen	*ponnonkôk*
ponudz or *podz*	fifteen	*ponudzôk*
pôr	sixteen	*pôrôk*
pô or *pôr*	seventeen	*pôdk*
pît	eighteen	*pîtôk*
ponpath	nineteen	*ponpathôk*
evath	twenty	*evathôk*
evath ud	twenty-one	*evathudôk* (doubtful)
evath erd	twenty-two	*iknô*
evath mûd	twenty-three	*iknô ôrôk*
:	:	:
:	:	:

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

802

mopoth	thirty	*ikwâ ötâk*
:	:	:
mopoth mâd	thirty-three	*mûkkwâ*
:	:	:
nîpoth	forty	*mûkkwâ ötâk*
:	:	:
nâpoth nmk	forty-four	*nâkkwâ*
:	:	:
epoth	fifty	*nâkkwâ ördâk*
:	:	:
epoth nâz	fifty-five	*aiiwâ*
:	:	:
ördth	sixty	*aiiwâ oitâk*
:	:	:
ördth ör	sixty-six	*ördwâ*
:	:	:
öwath	seventy	*ördwâ oponi*
:	:	:
öwath ö	seventy-seven	*ödwâ*
:	:	:
ötwath	eighty	*ödwâ nâk*
:	:	:
ötwath öt	eighty-eight	*ötkwâ*
:	:	:
unwath	ninety	*ötkwâ ördâk*
:	:	:
unwath unpoth	ninety-nine	*unpawâ*
:	:	:
ondr	hundred	*unpawâ nd*

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In counting the Todas use their fingers largely and have a special method of indicating the numbers. To signify one, the thumb is placed against the tip of the little finger; for two, against the tip of the ring finger; for three, against the middle finger; for four, against the forefinger; for five, the tip of the index finger is placed over the nail of the thumb; the same position is used for six, while that for seven is the same as for four, and so on, so that when ten is reached the thumb is resting again on the tip of the little finger.

MONEY

177 The Todas use the ordinary Indian currency. In their
436 legends and ceremonies there is frequent reference to the *panm*, or four-anna piece.

Among the coins used by the Todas at the funeral ceremonies there are many of considerable age with Arabic inscriptions and the earlier visitors to the hills describe the Todas as possessing old Venetian gold pieces. In the legend telling how the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* dispersed the invading Coorgs (p. 114), the boy made use of a small gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he had in his possession.

THE CALENDAR

805 The Todas have twelve months, each of which begins with the new moon. The first month of the Toda year is *Tai*, which begins with the new moon in October, so that this month usually includes part of October and part of November. Some of the chief Toda ceremonies, such as that of *teutiit-*

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
193 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
796 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
618 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of
777 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

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Kuudr has already been given; the name of the Kars bow is *pulkiûkhm* and that of Taradr *pursüdsk*. When the husband gives the bow and arrow to his wife, she raises it to her forehead and then, holding it in her right hand, turns to gaze at the lamp in the tree. She looks for an hour or until the lamp goes out, and then all present[1] go to the village for food, except the husband and wife. The man makes a fireplace, lights a fire and cooks jaggery and rice in a new pot, using only ghi, and not butter, to mix the rice, and while he is doing this his wife ties up certain kinds of food in a cloth and puts the bundle under the tree. This food includes rice, ragi, barley, wheat, the grain (?) called *kirsi* (see p. 266), some jaggery and salt. Some pieces of honeycomb are also placed on leaves, which are then thrown away. When the food cooked by the man is ready both husband and wife eat together.

843

[805]

Later the relatives return from the village and all pass the night in the wood, the relatives keeping at some distance from the married pair. At daybreak on the following day, the day of the new moon, all return to the village and feast, food being given to all visitors.

Several of those who have described this ceremony have included in the description an account of "tying the *tali*."[2] So far as I could ascertain nothing of the kind is done. I inquired into the point many times and all agreed that it formed no part of the Toda ceremony and that its equivalent was the giving of the bow and arrow. More than one man spoke of the *pursûtpimi* ceremony as "tying the *tali*," but the latter expression is merely the equivalent of "marriage ceremony," and the very man who used this expression denied vehemently that tying the *tali* or anything else round

[1] According to a recent account given to me by Mr. Thurston, the people leave the spot about six o'clock in the evening. The time is determined by the opening of the flowers of *Mirabilis tetraptera*, which is called by the Todas *ôr manti pôv*, or six o'clock flower. This flower is a garden escape, so that this special practice must be recent, but it suggests that the general practice of telling the time of day by means of flowers may be an old Toda custom.

[2] Mr. Natesa Sastri (*Madras Mail*, August 28th, 1894) states that the bow and arrow are tied round the neck of the woman, so that they definitely take the place of the *tali*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca 1901-02) 1906 Toda

It is perhaps significant that the number seven should be a sacred number to a people who have so highly developed the cult of different days of the week. It is possible that the purificatory drinkings of the ordination ceremonies were at one time performed seven times with the idea that the candidate was sanctifying himself for each day of the week, but at the present time it is clear that the act is performed seven times because this number is prescribed by custom. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the sanctity of the number seven occurs predominantly in the religious cults of peoples who have a seven-day week. 788 801

Nine.—This number only occurs in the dairy ceremonial during the ordination of the *palol* when the seven-fold purification with *tudr* is performed nine times.

Twelve.—I only met with this number once, in the prayer at the *pilinörtiti* ceremony, when the expression "12 years" is used as if it were equivalent to "for ever."

Sixteen and *Eighteen.*—The chief interest of these numbers is that they are used in connexion with the gods. There are said to be 1600, 1800 gods, and these numbers are mentioned in the prayer of the Kanòdrs dairy and in the legends. The numbers are probably used in the way in which we should use the word 'infinite,' but there must be some reason why they should have been chosen. 776 801

The number 18 occurs in another connexion in the rule that the *palol* should perform a certain ceremony after eighteen years of continuous office. 801

I have one possible clue to the choice of the number eighteen. The Todas say that a species of Strobilanth growing on the Nilgiris as a shrub only flowers once in eighteen years. They call this shrub *pövkat*, and it was in flower during the year of my visit. Albert, my interpreter, had only seen it in flower once or twice, but had not paid special attention to the duration of the flowering period. The number of times that several Todas had seen the flowers agreed approximately with their probable ages. Thus, Kutadri saw the flowers in 1902 for the third time, having seen them for the first time when he was twelve years old. This would make his age forty-eight, which seemed from other sources of information to be 824 801 805

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

801 approximately correct. The Todas use the flower as a record
824 of age, and some Todas are reputed to have seen the flowers
805 seven times, which, taking five years as the age when they were first seen, would make them over 110 years.

There is another Strobilanth called *tirparikat* which is said to flower every twelve years, and another every six. I do not know of any confirmation of the flowering periods of these plants except the last, which probably refers to *Strobilanthes sexennis.*

Whether the Toda belief in the eighteen-year period of the plant they call *pievkat* is correct or not, it seems probable that it may have furnished the suggestion for the special position taken by the number eighteen in Toda lore.

161 seems at present to exist may be due, wholly or in part, to
847 the diminution of infanticide.

There is one indication that female infanticide has almost
163 entirely ceased during the last five years, and even that there may now be an excess of female births. In the table of ages given on page 469, it will be seen that the pedigrees record more girls than boys of five years and under. There is no reason why my record of such young children should have been more defective for one sex than for the other, and the proportion here may be approximately correct.

Twins

845 Twins are called *ömumokh*, and it is the custom to kill one
847 of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or, at any rate, would have been killed in the past.

There is one case of twins in the genealogies. Iraveli, the wife of Kwötuli and Nudriki (8), gave birth to twins about twelve years ago. Both were boys, and I was first told that one had died shortly after birth, but later inquiries made it almost certain that the boy had been killed. Some time after the birth of the twins, one of the buffaloes of Kwötuli and Nudriki is said to have had a calf with one body, two heads, and four legs. The buffalo died before the calf was born, and the monstrosity was found by the Kotas, to whom the body was given. It was generally expected that something would happen to Kwötuli or Nudriki, but they have since been very prosperous.

The Determination of Age

805 This is a suitable place to say a word about the method I
128 adopted to ascertain the ages of the Todas. Like all people at a low stage of culture, the Todas are very uncertain about their ages, though their knowledge is more accurate than that of many peoples. Every Toda knows, however, whether he is older or younger than another, this fact determining the

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names and salutations they give to one another, as we shall see in the next chapter. A few of the younger men seemed to have accurate knowledge of their ages, and building up on this basis, and with a knowledge of the relative ages of the different members of the community, it became possible to arrive at estimates which probably do not deviate very widely from the correct ages; even in the case of the older people, I do not believe that my estimated ages are likely to be more than five years out in any case. As already mentioned (see p. 416), the Todas make use, in the estimation of age, of their belief in the eighteen-year period of a flower, and the ages so estimated in a few cases agreed fairly with those arrived at in other ways. 805 128

Among those now alive, it seemed that the usual time which separates the birth of two children of the same mother is about three years, and I have taken this time as the rule in estimating the ages of all those whose names are included in the genealogies. Similarly, so far as I could tell, women begin to bear children when about eighteen to twenty years of age. 163 128

The ages of the four groups given in the table on p. 474 were calculated on the assumptions that a woman had her first child when twenty years old, and that the interval between the births of two children was three years.

The oldest Toda now living is Kiugi (57). He looks an extremely old man, and is said by the Todas to be nearly a hundred years of age. There is evidence which makes it probable that he is at least eighty or ninety. Kòrs, the father of Kiugi, performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony before the birth of Teitchi (52) (see p. 564). Teitchi's grandson, Kuriolv, is now about fifty-four years of age. When Kòrs gave the bow and arrow he may have been only a young boy, and if we assume that he was fifteen years old, that Teitchi and Pareivan had their first children when twenty years old, and that the interval between the birth of Pilzink and that of Pareivan was six years, it would make the age of Kòrs, if he were still alive, 115. If Kiugi was born when his father was twenty years old, it would make his age ninety-five. If, on the other hand, we assume that Kòrs gave the bow and arrow when 128 165

177 There was some reason to believe that the true Toda measure
802 is the *ák* (probably a contraction of *achok*) and that the
804 Badagas brought their grain to the Todas in vessels called *kwá*. The *kwá* contained eleven of the Toda *ák*, and hence came about the very unusual proportion between two measures.

802 In giving ages or any other period of time, the word for year, *kwòdr*, is often abbreviated to *wá*; thus *nápoth kwòdr*, forty years, becomes *nápothkwá*.

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Money

177 The Todas use the ordinary Indian currency. In their
436 legends and ceremonies there is frequent reference to the *panm*, or four-anna piece.

Among the coins used by the Todas at the funeral ceremonies there are many of considerable age with Arabic inscriptions, and the earlier visitors to the hills describe the Todas as possessing old Venetian gold pieces. In the legend telling how the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* dispersed the invading Coorgs (p. 114), the boy made use of a small gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he had in his possession.

The Calendar

805 The Todas have twelve months, each of which begins with the new moon. The first month of the Toda year is *Tai*, which begins with the new moon in October, so that this month usually includes part of October and part of November. Some of the chief Toda ceremonies, such as that of *teutlit-*

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usthchi and the more important ceremonies of *erkumptthpimi*, take place soon after the new moon marking the commencement of this month, and these ceremonies were sometimes said to signalise the beginning of a new year. The following are the names of the Toda months, with the periods of our year to which they approximately correspond:— 805

Tui	October—November
Ennisi	November—December
Kidri	December—January
Aldui	January—February
Nuldui	February—March
Ani	March—April
Athori	April—May
Adi	May—June
Ondui	June—July
Puridthi	July—August
Tudoui	August—September
Kirdivi	September—October.

Each month has thirty days. A record is kept of the number of days from one new moon to the full moon, and from that to the next new moon. The full moon is counted as being on the fifteenth day after the new moon, and the new moon as being on the sixteenth day after the full moon.

The Week

The names for the days of the week are as follows:—

Arvom	Sunday
Tiwom	Monday
Om	Tuesday
Pithwom	Wednesday
Tim	Thursday
Pithwon	Friday
Thaniwom or *Tanivom*	Saturday.

According to Schmid, who wrote in 1837, *Om* is regarded as the first day of the week. Schmid also notes that the names for Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday agree in etymology with Tamil, Wednesday being Buddha's day and Friday the day of Venus. He gives *Etnat* as an alternative name for Saturday. [171]

CHAP. XXIII.

their motives and their action proximate and uninvolved, we have the ready means afforded us of tracing, by a comparatively short and easy road, up to first causes, and thus of acquiring an insight into human impulse, which may prove serviceable even in judging of more complicated races, and must ever be interesting to obtain.

Fortunately for the preservation of the human race, which must otherwise have become extinct, primitive tribes are greatly attached to their children. We may safely assume, therefore, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that where wholesale destruction of progeny by the parents themselves, is looked on as an obligation which has devolved on them in order to save their race from destruction—where in fact, it is largely a work of love—there the act would be performed without needless violence. In those tribes where children are killed in a heartless manner; whether by prolonged neglect or in some actively cruel method, we shall probably not be far wrong in ascribing such action to selfish, ignoble motives.

The following is the interesting evidence of an aged Toda, who speaks of what has been enacted under his own eyes. I give the narration very nearly in his own words;—

'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan[1] visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children; but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it.

'I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle—putkuli—but formerly there was only one for the whole family, and he who had to go out took the mantle; the rest remaining naked at home: naked all but the loin-cloth—kûvn.

[1] Mentioned in Chapter VIII., Note 3. The English officer who first mounted the Nîlagiri plateau, and visited the homes of the Todas. Events of Toda importance all date from the visit of Sulaivan Dore, as we quote the Christian era.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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595 when they return to the mand. The time is determined,
851 in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the
842 flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a
[805] garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six
[824] o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may
[765] be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram).

648 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to
585 Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nīlgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best
178 summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulikra bungalow.
† Op. cit.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE SUN, LIGHT, AND FIRE

778 There is no doubt that the sun is an object of reverence to
788 the Todas. It is the duty of every man when first he leaves his hut in the morning to salute the sun by raising his hand
821 to his face in the *kaimukhti* salutation. The sun is also saluted by the *palol* as he comes out of his dairy to milk the buffaloes. All my informants were unanimous in saying that the salutation of the *palol* was both to the buffaloes and to the sun. The doors of the great majority of the dairies faced more or less in an easterly direction, so that the dairyman, on coming out of his dairy in the morning, would see the sun, and when the dairy had a different orientation, as at Mòdr, the *palol* had to turn so that he would perform the salutation looking eastward. At the afternoon ceremonial the salutation was performed in the same direction as in the morning, so that, so far as the salutation is performed to the sun, it would appear that it is to the place of the sun-rise rather than to the sun itself.

The sun plays a part in the ceremony which takes place when a woman goes to the seclusion-hut after childbirth, but there was some reason to think that this was due to the belief in the noxious influence of the mysterious body, Keirt, which is near the sun, and not to the influence of the sun itself. When performing the ceremony on leaving the seclusion-hut the woman faces the sun, and this may be an act of reverence, since now Keirt is no longer feared. It seemed quite clear that the moon is not saluted in the same way as the sun with the *kaimukhti* salutation. No salutation is paid at all to the new moon when it is first seen, but after a day or two, usually on the third day, it is the custom to bow down the head, so that the forehead rests on the corner of the *putkuli* lying on the ground. The salutation is that called *nersatiti* shown in Fig. 44. I only heard of one custom indicating reverence to the full moon. When the Todas throw away water on the day of the full moon, they do not throw it towards the moon, but away from it. Thus, if the moon is opposite the door of the hut, the people will go round to the back in order to throw the water there.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXIV

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

181 THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple.
234 The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the
Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life
177 are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote
their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy.
This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character
that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find
little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the
affairs of daily life.

181 The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little
developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony
531 that little is left for the development of art, even of a
primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and
are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the
person, and even here we shall find that the methods of
wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced
by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their
amusements again we shall find that the influence of
ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely
imitations of ceremonial occupations.

● 821 I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas
which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive
astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less
degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun,
moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observa-
tions and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Astronomical Ideas

772 We have already seen that the Todas reverence the sun, and that the period of the moon is of the greatest importance 821 in the regulation of the times for their ceremonies. In this chapter we have to deal with their views as to the nature of these bodies and of the stars.

The Sun

The Todas believe that when the sun goes down in the west, it goes to Amnòdr. The same sun illuminates both worlds, and this is shown very well in the story of Kwoto; when this demi-god tied down the sun, there was darkness both in this world and in the other, and the people of Amnòdr joined with those of this world in imploring that the sun should be restored to its proper place.

When the Todas know that there is going to be an eclipse of the sun, they abstain from food, but they do not shout out during the eclipse as we shall see they do in the case of the moon. When the eclipse is over, they have a feast with *ashkkartpimi*.

The Moon

The new moon is called *mut* and the full moon *nêrv*. We have already seen the enormous influence of the period of the moon in Toda ceremonial and I have given above the method of counting between the periods of new and full moon so as to know the correct day of the new moon if for any reason it should not be visible.

772 The Todas see a figure in the moon which they call *mürs*, 773 the hare.[1] The following story not only shows how the hare comes to be there, but also furnishes the explanation of 821 eclipses of the moon and the origin of the Paikara river.[2]

Two men who were *matchuni* (see p. 501) went out one day to fetch honey. After a time they separated, and one

[1] In India the marks on the moon are frequently supposed to represent a hare.

[2] For another version of this story obtained by Mr. Thurston, see *Bulletin*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

772 childbirth. It is said to be a star which is never present
821 in the same part of the sky as *Kadsht*. The reason for this is that once *Keirt* and *Kadsht* fought together. *Kadsht* had six men and *Keirt* only one. *Keirt* broke the leg of one of the six men, so that now there are five stars close together in the Pleiades and one lags behind. On account of this quarrel Swami ruled that *Kadsht* and *Keirt* must never be together, but that when *Kadsht* is on one side of the sky, *Keirt* must always be on the other.

When talking about *Keirt* in connexion with the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut, it was said that *Keirt* was near the sun and that the sun was dangerous because *Keirt* was near it. It seemed that *Keirt* was always near the sun, which led me to suspect at first that it was Venus. It was quite clear, however, that this was not so. No one could show me *Keirt*, nor was anyone clear as to the part of the sky in which it was to be seen at any time in the night, and I think it most probable that this mysterious inhabitant of the sky is not a star at all, but a being allied to the Hindu *Ketu*. On the other hand, at a funeral attended by Samuel, the setting of *Kadsht* and the appearance of *Keirt* was taken as the sign that the proceedings of the *azaramkedr* might begin,
[177] which looks as if *Keirt* was a real heavenly body. I think it is most probable that the whole idea of the injurious influence of *Keirt* is borrowed from the Badagas, and, if this is the case, the Toda word is probably merely an altered form of *Ketu*. I was told that *Keirt* was a Badaga word and that the Badagas feared its influence on women after childbirth.

A group of stars called *Pödimin*, or porcupine star, corresponds to the stars in the sword of Orion. They are regarded as a porcupine from which the three stars of the belt are trying to escape.

A constellation of seven stars is called *Katikâlmin*. From the description it appeared to be the Great Bear. This constellation was not visible, but when I made a drawing of its seven chief stars, it was at once recognised as *Katikâlmin*.

A single star called *Ishtkati* is almost certainly Sirius.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

A Single Star called Ishtkati is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishtkati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishtkati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*." 177 772 821

A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tûdrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably γ and ϵ Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky. 773 821 171

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tûdrval*, and so one star is called *tûdrvalmokh*. The *tûdrval* still sings "*Kudursami trrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tûdrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas. 177 772 773 821

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

me, that the Pekkans are poor and have few herds, therefore *they have no occasion for a God* to protect them. I see the man now before me shaking his grave head, 'Aha, they don't want a God.' CHAP. XII. 771 776

'First divest your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson. The Toda anticipated that sage advice long years ago. What is the *use* of a God if not to protect life and property? And no property, no God! I dwell on this phase of the primitive mind, for it will liberate us much from the necessity for searching for evidences of religious worship in the customs, whose description I am entering upon.

The sum of real Toda belief is, that they were born, they and their cattle, somehow—rose out of the earth. When they die they go to amnôr,[4] which is a world exactly like this; whither their buffalos join them, to supply milk as in this state—*voilà tout.* They look on this migration from the nomad point of view: but do not appear to be quite clear whether they and their cattle go to amnôr in the body or the spirit. Some practical difficulties appear to present themselves, to whichever belief they bend. The abstruseness of the question is acknowledged. They are satisfied that they *do* get there, and don't care to speculate and reopen a matter which has so long and so satisfactorily been settled! 771 775

A good opportunity presenting itself, in a visit with which I was favoured by an important religious character, I asked him where amnôr was situate. He did not appear surprised at the question, or in a moment's doubt as to the locality. Looking about him in the sky as if to ascertain the cardinal points of the compass; as all Orientals do; who living without clocks or barometers, read the signs in the heavens for guidance 772 775 821

[4] Amnôr, amnâr, ômunâr = *the next world.*
Nâr or nâḍu = *district, country.* This is Tamil.
Ôma is a difficulty. Yaman is the '*God of death.*'
It seems to be = avan, which in Tamil = *there*, and is sometimes used for *the other world.* In Tamil, ammai = *the next state* or *stage in transmigration.* [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XII.

and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[8] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[8] See note 2 of Chapter V.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikāra river.

233 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the kūasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kūasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toirθasoɨ̨ moiety, but not among the tōūfiɨ̨joɨ̨), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tiɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of kūasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kūasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kūasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kūasm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and kūasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. ūmɪoɪr of the meɨ̨gaɪsoɨ̨ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paɪng (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maθaɪr of the kaɪsoɨ̨ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiɪ-places of this sib. toɪrjaɨ̨f of the kaɪsoɨ̨ (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kurpoɨ̨j dairy at the mund kaɪr. koɪndūoɪ of the toɪroɪroɨ̨ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoɨ̨j dairy at the mund toɪroɪr. pepoɪb of the meɨ̨gaɪsoɨ̨ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuɪsaɪs, a mund of the sib. kōɪroɪrūɪsɪ̨ of the kōɪroɪroɨ̨ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second kūasm of the people of the sib. oɪtjaɪs of the puɪgoɪroɨ̨ (34, Athurs) has the second kūasm of the people of the sib. munoɪmbiɨ̨ʃtj, son of koɪtsiθj (12, Kacheidl) has one of the kūasm of the buffaloes of his sib.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XVIII

SACRED PLACES AND OBJECTS

THE Todas show undoubted signs of reverence to various material objects. Many of the objects so revereneed have been mentioned incidentally in the account of the dairy ritual and in other places, and in this chapter I propose to consider how far these objects are regarded as sacred, and to give an account of some sacred objects not hitherto noticed. 778

Of the various objects of reverence the following are the most important: hills and rivers; villages, dairies, their thresholds and contents; bells; the buffalo and its milk; trees and plants; the sun, fire and light; and stones.

HILLS AND OTHER PLACES.

Any place connected with the gods is reverenced by the the Todas, and this is especially the case with the hills where they dwell. Only some hills, however, are shown reverence by means of the *kaimukti* salutation. One of these is the hill of Nôtirzi (Snowdon), and every Toda visiting this hill salutes with hand to forehead in all directions. Another place where a similar salutation is performed is a spot at Avalanche Top. When I visited this place with Kutadri he saluted in all directions with both hands to his face, and told me that a man who once omitted to do this was killed soon after by a tiger. In this case I could not learn that Kutadri was saluting any particular hill or other spot. He seemed to be saluting the region of the Kundahs on which he was about to enter. 778 823 788

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

778 There are doubtless other places where the same sign of
788 reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

778 There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the
788 Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and
823 there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda
784 crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

778 The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at
784 certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary
788 people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas
823 habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the
793 restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the rank of *perkursol*. 778 784

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 788 823 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue to be treated with some degree of reverence. 778 621 788

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

773 number." The gods are believed to have held their councils,
776 meeting on some special hill, to which each god came from his own hill-top. The hill of Pòlkab, near Kanòdrs, and the
823 village of Miuni are both renowned as meeting places of the gods.

There is a very definite association between the Toda gods and the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. Nearly every one of the gods has his hill where he dwells, and often when speaking of the gods the Todas seem to identify the god with the hill. There are two river gods, Teipakh and Pakhwar, associated with the two chief streams of the district, but there is some reason to believe that even these gods have their hills where they sometimes live, while at other times they inhabit or are identified with their streams. In the case of Teipakh, the god and the natural object seem to be very closely identified, and Kuzkarv, growing up in the river Teipakh, is said to be sitting in the lap of his maternal uncle. Again, one god is associated with a bubbling pool, but he also has his hill-top and is believed only to visit the pool on certain occasions. There can be little doubt that most of the Toda gods are hill-deities and that the association of the gods with hills is so strong that even the gods of streams and pools may be assigned their hills in general belief.

172 There is one important feature which is said to be common to all the hills inhabited by deities. They all have on their summits the stone circles which the Todas call *pun*. My informants were very definite about this and fully understood that these stone circles corresponded to the cairns and barrows opened by Breeks and others.

I was not able to examine into the question for myself and ascertain whether the circles called *pun* were actually present on the god-inhabited hills, but I have no reason to doubt that this was usually the case. Most writers on the Todas have been inclined to suppose that the cairns and barrows, with their contents, were in no way connected with the Todas, and they have based this opinion largely on the indifference of the Todas to these monuments. The people who are so jealous of their dairies that they will not allow anyone to enter or even view their contents, will allow any stranger to open the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; 776
and another example of possession by the gods may be 234
mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village.

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many 776
of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, 787
and this suggests that the practice of divination may have 177
been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas.

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by 776
mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are 778
supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence; 823
but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods.

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the indi- 776
vidual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. V.

unbroken sweep of low flat country, dotted with hills. Picture it an island in a tropical archipelago; storm, cloud, and driving mist intervening between periods of brilliant sunshine. Try to realise the equatorial sun acting through this ever-changing sky and rarified atmosphere, both on the sweet inland prospect, and as you turn to take an eagle's view outwards, over the grand panorama of the long horizon. Both are unique and lovely.

There is one view, on the precipitous western ridge of the plateau, below Makurti Peak—

'The last hill that parleys with the setting sun,'

which seems to unite all the *possible* beauties of such a land. Such a mixture of the lovely properties which a landscape may derive from the presence of stupendous depths, brilliantly transparent and buoyant atmosphere, delicate distances, changing tints, and wonderful shadows, I have not seen combined, even in the Himalayas; and, I believe, few spots in the world can exhibit.[1]

Had the Toda made this spot the entrance to his heaven—Amnôr (of which, more in its proper place), he would at one step have placed himself on a pinnacle of good taste, from which it would not have been easy to dislodge him. But to have omitted all notice of these extraordinary beauties, marks him as the tasteless man he is.[2]

Let me here describe an *inland* scene; which, though casually witnessed by myself, must often be surveyed by the

[1] The artist in search of a study of aërial effects, could nowhere find them so complete and satisfying as in this view. Owing to monsoon rains, clear days in which to watch it cannot often be got before the month of October. To be seen to perfection, both sunrise and sunset should be witnessed.

[2] In Chapter I. I have quoted a Toda legend, that the souls of men and cattle leap from Makurti on their journey to Amnôr; but in the expression of this belief there appears to be no appreciation of the beauty in the scene;—merely that Makurti is the highest and westernmost hill, nearest the setting sun (See Chapter XII.), and therefore the *most suitable locality* for the purpose.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkûlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

234 793 [554] [983] [123]

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkûli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

778 823 [843] 778 823 539

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
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166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundaha, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

755 I could not obtain a satisfactory account of the exact
826 meaning of the incantation; it was said to mean "may the snake's head be broken in pieces, and so may your head be broken"—*i.e.*, so may the pain go; another rendering was "may the pain go to the snake's head," the latter being by far the more probable meaning. Three divisions of the incantation are recognised: in the first, snakes only are mentioned; in the second, things which live in the water; and in the third, things which live in the earth. The treatment is repeated on one or two days, if necessary, but it is never done more than three times, "because the ailment is always cured in that time."

755 Another condition treated by the *utkòren* is stomach-ache,
824 which is called *pûfkwatnâdr*, "if worms bite." The *utpol* places his hand on the belly of the sufferer, and after reciting the names of the four gods, he continues:—

kîrs	*pûv*	*kâdkawm*	*kâl*	*mâ;*
kîrs tree	flower	fallen as fall	down	may;

and this formula is repeated, substituting the names of various trees and other plants for the name of the *kîrs* tree. The trees and plants mentioned are *pirzkh* and *kûrîrs*, trees having edible fruit; *pûl*, *kîl*, *kwadrîki*, *kid*, trees from which bees get honey; *kab*, sugarcane; *teg*, coco-nut; *patm*, samai; *ners*, rice; *eri*, ragi; *kîtj*, potato; *perigi*, chillies; *melkh*, pepper; *kwatimali*, Coriandum sativum; *kadrkh*, mustard; and *kîri* or *kîrsi*, red amaranth.

Thus the last clause would run: *kîri pûv kâdkawm kâl mâ*, and this would be followed by the names of Pithioteu and Ön. Then the *utpol* flicks his cloak three times, first against the ground and then against the belly of the sufferer, and says, "*atauk ir*," or "*atauk pudr*," according as the man is sitting or lying down, and the sufferer moves a little from his place.

The names of flowers are used because the Todas believe that worms come from eating honey, and the honey has come from flowers. The flowers mentioned belong to four groups;[1] (i) those of trees which bear edible fruits; (ii) those from which bees get honey; (iii) those of trees or plants part of

[1] This distinction was pointed out to me by my informant.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

which are eaten; (iv) those of trees which give pungent substances like chillies and pepper. 755 824

There were various other complaints for which the *utkòren* are consulted, such as:—*elptûksnûdr*, depression in the chest of a child when it breathes (*elp* or *elv* = bone); *tekhpkâdathvûdnûdr*, pain in the side; *kankpudithnûdr*, if anything gets into the eye; *ersûthtinûdr*, if cut or wounded in any way; *pobersnûdr*, if snake bites. 755

Each of these has its appropriate treatment, but the only method of which I obtained an account was the last. Certain men have a special reputation for the treatment of snake-bite. A cord is made of woman's hair and this is bound tightly round the bitten limb in three places. The doctor takes a piece of *pathanmul* and strikes the bitten limb while he utters the appropriate incantation.[1] The ligature is kept on the limb for two or three days and the incantation is repeated three times a day during that period. Anyone whom a snake has bitten must not cross a stream. If it is absolutely necessary that he should cross, he must be carried over it. 752 755

If wild animals attack the buffaloes, a procedure which closely resembles those already described is carried out by the *utkòren*. The procedure is called *kâdrkatinamûdr*—*i.e.*, "wild beast tie mouth if." It is also carried out if a buffalo is lost, and in this case the charm will keep the animal from injury by wild beasts. The *utpol* takes three stones secretly and goes at night to the front either of the dairy or hut and utters the following incantation:— 234 755 789

Pithiteu Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith; pof pirzi kût terz nil
big tiger teeth fastened stand

nil; kâth kerman mûn terz nil mâ; pudr kenzi amûn terz
may: black bear face crowd red dog other side

nil mâ; pob teuv terz nil mâ; pof per terz nil mâ; pof po
snake erect head big hill big river

pâ terz nil mâ; pof pâdi mul[2] *terz nil mâ.*
stream big porcupine quills

[1] I did not obtain this formula.

[2] *Mul*, which means bramble and thorn, is here used for the porcupine's quills.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 302 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for "nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill if they find them when grazing. [234]

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer from shaking of some kind. [753]

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used. 751

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was able to obtain very little information about them, and I suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent growth and due to contact with Hinduism. 177 776 751

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt* (*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326). Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi—i.e.*, "*kavkal* (a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*) is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son, Kurindo. 755 278 824

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

845 after delivery. If the child is still-born its body is buried at the same time.

A caul is named *kwadri* (umbrella), but no importance is attached to it, nor is it kept.

SECLUSION AFTER CHILDBIRTH

846 Two or three days after childbirth the mother and child go to the seclusion-hut, or *puzhars*, the same structure being used as after the hand-burning ceremony. Various rites are performed, both when going to and leaving the seclusion-hut, and these have many points in common with those which take place before and after the hand-burning. As in that case, the procedure for the Tartharol differs considerably from that of the Teivaliol.

The general name for the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* is *pòlk pòtha nir utpimi*—"to the calf back (or hind quarters) water we pour," from one of the chief features of the proceedings. The ceremony takes place either in the early morning or in the evening.

The woman who is to be secluded, whether she be Tarthar or Teivali, rubs ashes on her head and face (*pûthi adipimi*, ashes we rub), and comes out of the ordinary hut in which she has been living since the delivery. She holds over [824] her head a branch of the 'Nilgiri holly,'[1] which has spreading leaves so that it resembles an umbrella; this leafy umbrella is called *tòrikwadr*, and the act is called *tòrikwadr patipimi*, "we hold the umbrella." The head is also covered with the *putkuli*. [776] From the moment she leaves the hut the woman is very careful to keep her face turned away from the sun, not on account of its noxious influence, but in order to avoid the star or other body called Keirt, which is supposed to be near the sun. The child is carried in front of the mother by another woman, who also holds a *tòrikwadr* to shelter the infant from the evil influence of Keirt. Among the Tartharol a small artificial dairy is made, exactly as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, and four reeds are cut to represent dairy vessels.

[1] Called by the Todas *tòri* or *tòrimul* (*Berberis nepalensis*); its leaves are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokk*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca 1901-02) 1906 Toda

It is perhaps significant that the number seven should be a sacred number to a people who have so highly developed the cult of different days of the week. It is possible that the purificatory drinkings of the ordination ceremonies were at one time performed seven times with the idea that the candidate was sanctifying himself for each day of the week, but at the present time it is clear that the act is performed seven times because this number is prescribed by custom. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the sanctity of the number seven occurs predominantly in the religious cults of peoples who have a seven-day week. 788 801

Nine.—This number only occurs in the dairy ceremonial during the ordination of the *palol* when the seven-fold purification with *tudr* is performed nine times.

Twelve.—I only met with this number once, in the prayer at the *piliuörtiti* ceremony, when the expression "12 years" is used as if it were equivalent to "for ever."

Sixteen and *Eighteen.*—The chief interest of these numbers is that they are used in connexion with the gods. There are said to be 1600, 1800 gods, and these numbers are mentioned in the prayer of the Kanòdrs dairy and in the legends. The numbers are probably used in the way in which we should use the word 'infinite,' but there must be some reason why they should have been chosen. 776 801

The number 18 occurs in another connexion in the rule that the *palol* should perform a certain ceremony after eighteen years of continuous office. 801

I have one possible clue to the choice of the number eighteen. The Todas say that a species of Strobilanth growing on the Nilgiris as a shrub only flowers once in eighteen years. They call this shrub *pövkat*, and it was in flower during the year of my visit. Albert, my interpreter, had only seen it in flower once or twice, but had not paid special attention to the duration of the flowering period. The number of times that several Todas had seen the flowers agreed approximately with their probable ages. Thus, Kutadri saw the flowers in 1902 for the third time, having seen them for the first time when he was twelve years old. This would make his age forty-eight, which seemed from other sources of information to be 824 801 805

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

801 approximately correct. The Todas use the flower as a record
824 of age, and some Todas are reputed to have seen the flowers
805 seven times, which, taking five years as the age when they were first seen, would make them over 110 years.

There is another Strobilanth called *tirparikat* which is said to flower every twelve years, and another every six. I do not know of any confirmation of the flowering periods of these plants except the last, which probably refers to *Strobilanthes sexennis*.

Whether the Toda belief in the eighteen-year period of the plant they call *pivkat* is correct or not, it seems probable that it may have furnished the suggestion for the special position taken by the number eighteen in Toda lore.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

174 to the Nilgiris, and the extensive slaughter of sambhar which
262 followed it, that the Todas have thought of eating the flesh of this animal, and as no prohibition against the eating of its
825 flesh has been handed down to them, they have no reluctance in satisfying in this way the liking for animal food which the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony keeps in existence, if it does not actually stimulate it.

231 *The Cat.*—This animal, which is called *koti* or *kwoti*, is domesticated by the Todas. The cat is mentioned in the legend of the tiger recorded in this section, and the earliest writers on the Todas speak of them as keeping these animals. I have seen them on the walls of the dairies, and believe that they are allowed to go wherever they please. The only occasion on which they come into ceremonial is at the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, where the spleen is specially put aside to be given to the cat, and is on this account called *kwotinerûf*.

The dog occurs in the story of Kwoten and several other animals are mentioned in the prayers and incantations, chiefly as sources of danger to the buffaloes. In the incantation for the relief of headache given on p. 265, the names of many animals are uttered, probably with the intention that their heads may acquire the pain which is being charmed away from the head of the sufferer.

Trees and Plants

778 The most sacred tree of the Todas is undoubtedly the *tudr*
824 (Fig. 58). This name is given by the Todas to two species, *Meliosma pungens* and *M. wightii*, the two trees resembling one another closely.

The bark is largely used in the dairy ceremonial, and especially in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol* and other dairymen drawn from the Teivaliol and Melgarsol. Its use is especially connected with the people of these sections of the Toda community, but the rest of the Tartharol undergo a ceremony at the second funeral in which *tudr* is used, and this was said to have the purpose that every Toda should be purified with *tudr* before he enters on the future life.

A log and leaves of *tudr* are also used in the ceremony of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

778 *erkumptthpimi*, and here it is used by both Teivaliol and
824 Tartharol alike.

The leaves of *tudr* used in any of these ceremonies must be perfect, and the bark must be knocked off the tree by means of

FIG. 58.—BOUGH OF THE 'TUDR' TREE. (From Marshall.)

a stone, this being one of the Toda practices which show the persistence of stone implements in ceremonial. The identity of this sacred tree is important, for it may furnish a clue to the home of the Todas. So sacred a tree would almost certainly have been already known to the Todas when

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

they reached the Nilgiris, though it is, of course, possible that it might have been chosen on account of its resemblance to some tree sacred in their past history. The tree has, however, a wide distribution in India. 778 824

Pope has suggested that *tudr* is connected with *tulasi*, *Ocymum sanctum* or holy basil. This is a small flowering plant, and it is improbable that there is any connexion between the two plants except a resemblance in name.

Another tree which appears to be especially sacred is the *kias* tree (*Litsea Wightiana*). Whenever a tree is used to mark the spot where the *mani* is laid during purificatory and other ceremonies, the tree must be of this kind. The wood of this tree is used when making fire for most sacred purposes.

The leaves of trees and shrubs are used in various branches of the dairy ritual. Those in most frequent use are various kinds called generically by the Todas *muli*, three of which belong to the genus Rubus. The young shoots of the same plants are used in the ordination ceremonies.

Grasses are also used in Toda ceremonial, and one of these, a slender grass called *kakar* (*Eragrostica nigra*) is used on several occasions, those of especial importance being the ordination of the Teivali *palikartmokh* and the sweeping of the threshold of the dairy by a girl at the migration ceremony. The same grass is also used in one of the methods adopted to promote speedy delivery in childbirth.

Of the various kinds of grain used by the Todas, that called *palu* or *samai* (*Panicum miliare*) seems to be in most frequent use in connexion with ceremonial, but it cannot be said to be sacred in any way. Barley (*kodj*) seems to have a peculiar place in Toda belief. The *tòratthadi* or cooking-vessel of the dairy may not be used for this grain, although any other kind may be boiled in it. On the other hand, three grains of barley are put into the mouth and three into the hair of a boy at the naming ceremony. In explanation I can only offer the surmise that barley is not cooked in the dairy vessel because its use by the Todas is an innovation, and that similarly the use of barley in the naming ceremony is also an innovation borrowed from the Badagas or some other tribe. 824 177

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

137 778 824 Though the proper meaning of the word tûde, is simply a bush; yet taken in connection with its use for sanctifying purposes, it may be held to imply that it is *the* bush above all others. It is a very common little tree on these hills, fragile, and by all accounts, possessing no remarkable properties in flower, seed, or sap. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel Beddome, Conservator of Forests, for its botanic names, viz., *Meliosma simplicifolia*, alias *Millingtonia*.

Dr. Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, has obliged me with the following valuable information as to the diffusion of the tree; a point on which I have been desirous to obtain the most reliable account, hoping that the localities might form geographical links by which the Todas might be traced to other tribes within or beyond the boundaries of Hindustan. 'The distribution of the plant,' Dr. Hooker is so good as to write, 'is Western and Eastern Himalaya, from Simla eastward. Khassia, Silhet, and Mishmi hills in Assam. From the Concan to Courtallam in the western Peninsula. It certainly does not inhabit Persia, the Caucasus, or South Russia, and probably not even Beluchistan.'

174 783 824 778 It was important to establish, if the race of which the Todas form a tribe, brought with them from Western Asia the use of the tûde, the *Millingtonia*. It would now seem probable that they brought with them, merely, the already established practice of self-purification with a sacred plant, and not finding in the country of their adoption that which they had been accustomed to use when in their own land, they elected the tûde in its place. If the views expressed in the last chapter, as to the antiquity of the rules of cattle inheritance—making the bell-cow a descendant by the female line from some remote ancestor—be considered of value, then some degree of support is also afforded to show the collateral practice of purification by the use of a sacred plant, to be also very ancient.

000 It would be interesting to know if other broken tribes of the pre-Âryan—Drâvidian—race, now living in various tracts

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

000
824
793

of India, utilise this plant, whose picture is given in photograph No. 15.

The tûde is not used for any other rite or for any other purpose than the purification of candidates for holy orders.

When the aspirant has thus prepared himself for the performance of the most sacred duties a Toda has any conception of, he proceeds to the tiriêri close by, where the pâlâl whom he is about to relieve, awaits his arrival. I was told by my Toda friend, that he enters on his new avocations without further ceremony. Simply, the sacred relics and the bell-cows are pointed out to him, and his duties explained.

CHAP. XX.

764 The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in other respects they are identical.

The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the [177] ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of this meat.

765 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign 302 of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut their hair off.

764 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of 824 certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know. On showing samples of them, which had been collected for me by a young man, to a pâlâl, he swept them aside with his hand, implying that, compared with the tûde, which he treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

764 Each clan has its own appropriate* days of the week for the green funeral, "according to the *Shastras*."

The body is not removed from the place of death till it is carried to the burning place,† which the Todas call *Methgádi* (*lit. Marriage temple*).

All green funerals are alike. I will describe one I saw near Kartêri, at the old burning ground of the neighbouring manda, an open space near a stream. The body was brought on a stretcher preceded by Kota musicians. It is not necessarily carried by the relatives, or even by men of the same clan. A rough hut (called *Nólpali* for a man, and *Nirzhárzh* for a woman,) was built of boughs and grass, in which the body was placed. The women of the mand sat by it, and moaned in their peculiar manner, one of them meanwhile embroidering a strip of cloth for a purse. Four walking-sticks and several skeins of cotton-thread, each with a bunch of cowries at the end, were laid upon the body, which was wrapped in a new *pátkuli*,‡ the feet being tied together by the great toes with a piece of blue thread.

A rude circle§ about a yard in diameter was then made of single stones, leaving an entrance gap at one side. Outside this circle the body was laid, with the head opposite the entrance, and the nearest male relatives in turn, drawing their *pátkulis* over their heads,‖ took a wand (*Pett*), round which was tied a small rag, obtained from the *Pálál*, dug up the earth at the entrance of the circle, and muttering "*Purzhutukamá*," "May I throw earth?" threw three handfuls into the centre of the circle, and three on the body. After this the body was carried back to the hut and placed on the ground outside, and the women sat round it as before. A large silver necklace (*Kévilth*, *Plate* XI., *Fig. b*), belonging to the widow, was laid on the breast of the corpse.

The funeral pile¶ was made of large logs on a space cleared for the purpose near the hut. The dead man's herd was driven up, and some fifteen or twenty Todas went to it, one of them carrying wreaths of leaves to throw at the doomed buffaloes. Two of the animals were seized by four or five men hanging to their necks, separated from the herd, and dragged to the hut, followed by the Kota musicians. A bell was then

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* *For men.*

Peiki	Thursday, Saturday, Sunday.
Todi	Sunday, Tuesday.
Kuttan	Saturday, Sunday.
Kenna	Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday.
Pekkan	Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.

For women.

All clans	Thursday and Saturday.

766 † Each clan has several *Methgádis*, separate ones for men and for women. In this case, however, as the deceased was a poor man who had died while on a visit to relatives at a distance, his body was not carried back to the usual burning ground of his Mand.

763 ‡ When death is imminent the patient is dressed in a new *Pátkuli* and other cloths.

§ The circle is called *Tsal* (*Kraal*), and is made in imitation of a buffalo kraal. If there is a kraal near the *Methgádi*, the body is taken there, and the stone circle is not made. It is never made for a woman.

‖ Compare 2 *Sam.* xv. 30; *Esther* vi. 12; and *Jer.* xiv. 3, 4.

824 ¶ The wood of the *Eugenia Arnottiana* is always used at the green funeral, that of the *Olea robusta* at the dry.

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These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[755] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkūli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[231] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

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262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sālep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sālep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following :—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nīlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[294] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari :—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

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admission to a Toda dairy, but actually driven away by some boys, who rushed out of it when they heard him approach. It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being kiaz or keadj (*Litsæa Wightiana*), mōrs (*Michelia Nilagirica*), parskuti (*Elæagnus latifolia*), and main (*Cinnamomum Wightii*)." He states further that, "whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose, the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call kiaz or keadj, except in the tesherot ceremony (qualifying ceremony for the office of palol) in which the wood of muli is used. At the niroditi ceremony (ordination ceremony of a dairyman), "the assistant makes fire by friction, and lights a fire of mulli wood, at which the candidate warms himself." It is also recorded by Dr. Rivers that "in some Toda villages, a stone is kept, called tutmûkal, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron."

The abode of the Todas is called a mad or mand (village or hamlet), which is composed of huts, dairy temple, and cattle-pen, and has been so well described by Dr. Shortt,* that I cannot do better than quote his account. "Each mand," he says, "usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped [half-barrel-shaped] construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway measures 32 inches in height and 18 inches in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick,

* *Op. cit.*

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appear to have led to any great diminution of polyandrous marriages, but polyandry is often combined with polygyny. Two or more brothers may have two or more wives in common. In such marriages, however, it seems to be a growing custom that one brother should give the bow and arrow to one wife, and another brother to another wife." 595

The pregnancy ceremony referred to above is called pursutpimi, or bow (and arrow) we touch. According to the account given to me by several independent witnesses, the woman proceeds, accompanied by members of the tribe, on a new moon-day in the fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy, to a shola, where she sits with the man who is to become the father of her child near a kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*). The man asks the father of the woman if he may bring the bow, and, on obtaining his consent, goes in search of a shrub (*Sophora glauca*), from a twig of which he makes a mimic bow. The arrow is represented by a blade of grass called nark (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*). Meanwhile a triangular niche has been cut in the kiaz tree, in which a lighted lamp is placed. The woman seats herself in front of the lamp, and, on the return of the man, asks thrice "Whose bow is it?" or "What is it?" meaning to whom, or to which mand does the child belong? The bow and arrow are handed to the woman, who raises them to her head, touches her forehead with them, and places them near the tree. From this moment the lawful father of the child is the man from whom she has received the bow and arrow. He places on the ground at the foot of the tree some rice, various kinds of grain, chillies, jaggery (crude sugar), and salt tied in a cloth. All those present then leave, except the man and woman, who remain near the tree till about six o'clock in the evening, 595 851 843 [824]

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595 851 842 805 824 when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas âru mani pûv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram). 765

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nilgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 178 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the gum in front of the Pulhôra bungalow.
† *Op. cit.*

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the beast. But Colonel Ross-King narrates how he saw a man receive a dangerous wound in the neck from a thrust of the horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. With the death of the buffalo, the last scene, which terminated the strange rites, commenced; men, women, and children pressing forward and jostling one another in their eagerness to salute the dead beast by placing their hands between its horns, and weeping and mourning in pairs; the facial expression of grief being mimicked when tears refused to flow spontaneously. 765 782

The ceremonial connected with the final burning of the relics and burial of the ashes at the stone circle (azaram) are described in detail by Dr. Rivers.

A few days after the ceremony just described, I was invited to be present at the funeral of a young girl who had died of smallpox five days previously. I proceeded accordingly to the scene of the recent ceremony, and there, in company with a small gathering of Todas from the neighbouring mands, awaited the arrival of the funeral cortége, the approach of which was announced by the advancing strains of Kota music. Slowly the procession came over the brow of the hill; the corpse, covered by a cloth, on a rude ladder-like bier, borne on the shoulders of four men, followed by two Kota musicians; the mother carried hidden within a sack; relatives and men carrying bags of rice and jaggery, and bundles of wood of the kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*) for the funeral pyre. Arrived opposite a small hut, which had been specially built for the ceremonial, the corpse was removed from the bier, laid on the ground, face upwards, outside the hut, and saluted by men, women, and children, with the same manifestations of grief as on the previous occasion. Soon the men moved away to a short distance, and engaged 764 [824]

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764 in quiet conversation, leaving the females to continue mourning round the corpse, interrupted from time to time by the arrival of detachments from distant mands, whose first duty was to salute the dead body. Meanwhile a near female relative of the dead child was busily engaged inside the hut, collecting together in a basket small measures of rice, jaggery, sago, honey-comb, and the girl's simple toys, which were subsequently to be burned with the corpse. The mourning ceasing after a time, the corpse was placed inside the hut, and followed by the near relatives, who there continued to weep over it. 764 A detachment of men and boys, who had set out in 782 search of the buffaloes which were to be sacrificed, now returned driving before them three cows, which escaped from their pursuers to rejoin the main herd. A long pause ensued, and, after a very prolonged drive, three more cows were guided into a marshy swamp, where one of them was caught by the horns, and dragged reluctantly, but with little show of fight, to the strains of Kota drum and flute, in front of the hut, where it was promptly despatched by a blow on the poll. The corpse was now brought from within the hut, and placed, face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of the buffalo, whose neck was decorated with a silver [301] chain, such as is worn by Todas round the loins, as no bell was available, and the horns were smeared with butter. Then followed frantic manifestations of grief, amid which the unhappy mother fainted. Mourning 764 over, the corpse was made to go through a form of 588 ceremony, resembling that which is performed during pregnancy with the first child. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a certain grass [824] (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*) and a twig of a shrub

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(*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkūli, and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb, and butter in the pocket of the putkūli, which was then stitched with needle and thread in a circular pattern. The boy's father then took off his son's putkūli, and replaced it so as to cover him from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. [On the occasion of the funeral of an unmarried lad, a girl is in like manner selected, covered with her putkūli from head to foot, and a metal vessel filled with jaggery, rice, etc., to be subsequently burnt on the funeral pyre, placed for a short time within the folds of the putkūli. Thus covered, the girl remains till next morning, watched through the dreary hours of the night by relatives. The same ceremony is performed over the corpse of a married woman who has not borne children, the husband acting as such for the last time, in the vain hope that the woman may produce issue in heaven.] The corpse was borne away to the burning-ground within the shola, and, after removal of some of the hair by the mother of the newly wedded boy, burned, with face upwards, amid the music of the Kota band, the groans of the assembled crowd squatting on the ground, and the genuine grief of the nearest relatives. The burning concluded, a portion of the skull was removed from the ashes, and handed over to the recently made mother-in-law of the dead girl, and wrapped up with the hair in the bark of the tūd tree (*Meliosma pungens*). A second buffalo, which, properly speaking, should have been slain before

764 588 [824] 764 [765] [765] [588] [824] [782]

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764 the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and
[782] jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother
[765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of
[293] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife. On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-
[576] elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkūli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candolleana*) in the putkūli of the corpse;

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595 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized
851 one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically; they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place
851 during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman – which appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely
[843] at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives, and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia
[824] Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp,
[354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from *mark* grass (Andropogon schoenanthus).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother (in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying, after the *kwarshm* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, pursvat!* (To Terkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs*
[W4] *iveru?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*, as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsh* name for the bow. Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something

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in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

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as they had given up of their own accord when the taste of Erzigwuf's milk changed, due to her advanced pregnancy. 862

Somewhat incredulous of Erzigwuf's assertions as they were made to me, I questioned the local medical practitioner of Ootacamund, Colonel D'Souza, Indian Medical Service (rtd.) about their veracity. He assured me that it was quite possible. He said, even, that it did not tire the mother, as after some time "it becomes mechanical". Colonel D'Souza also assured me that the contention often heard that prolonged suckling prevents conception was a fallacy completely disproved by facts, "at least in Asia". Erzigwuf also told me that Sodup and Sodam were born after she had not had any menses for eight years; two days after, however, she contradicted herself and said this was not correct (she said she had made "a mistake"). But another time she assured me that Toda women cease having any sort of periods for four months after they have given birth; that is why, she said, they cannot have children earlier – she herself had been like this. Although I do not much believe in this assertion, which is contrary to every ordinary observation anywhere, I give it here for what it is worth. 853 841 842

Small children suck their thumbs very early, Erzigwuf asserted. As a proof, she showed me one of the new-born twins, fast asleep in her lap with its thumb in its mouth. For napkins, she used bits of cloth which she regularly changed and washed. She said that she taught her children to be clean after six months. Before that, she would take them out at regular intervals and hold them in her hands, both boy and girl. Then, after, she would teach them gradually to go out by themselves, punishing them by beating them on the buttocks with a stinging nettle (called *tworkh* in Toda) when they misbehaved in the house, and rewarding them with sweets when they were good and did as they were told. They learned very quickly, in approximately one month. 854 863 [861] [824]

Regarding genital development, Erzigwuf was very outspoken, and I had no difficulty in getting information from her, even in the presence of Narjilkh and Pengelam, who would listen with interest to the conversation through Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, my interpreter. She said that masturbation started very early – at about nine months. They play with their genitals, both boys and girls, but the former more so, all the time; when walking, suckling and lying down, as she put it. When they get older, this play is intensified, and after they have reached the age of one year, she intervenes to stop it. She did so, she said, and not Mutnarsh who "lets the children do anything they want". Asked why she did not allow them to carry on freely, she said, because if she did not forbid 864

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864 them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer [861] *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Inci- [824] dentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed [861] were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult [828] son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given [839] up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

836 Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are con- [835] sidered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

845 Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see 123 them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

1: Rivers
231, 233, 825

Toda

[See category 234 for complete information about Toda buffaloes]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

special directions, and there are special features of the organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of the clans of which each division is composed. 181 234 771 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life. 793

The Dairy Organisation

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. These animals are divided into those of a sacred character and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. 825 234

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*. 234 621 463 778 192

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *paḷthḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

his dairy the *palol* always turns to the left, so that he faces north-east as he goes towards his buffaloes. In a few dairies the door faces directly west, and, according to Breeks, this is the case at the conical dairy of Anto. 343

THE TODA BUFFALO

The Toda buffalo is a variety of the Indian water-buffalo; but the life on the hills seems to have produced a much finer animal than that of the plains. Although thoroughly under the control of the Todas, the buffaloes are semi-wild and often attack people of a different race from their owners, and Europeans have frequently been severely injured by the onslaught of these animals. 136 231 234 825

The Toda name for the male buffalo is *er*, and for the female *ir*, but either term may be used when the people speak of buffaloes collectively. Calves have different designations at different ages. A young calf is *kar*, one from one to two years of age is *pòl*, and a three-year-old calf is *nakh*.

Defective buffaloes, and especially those with only one horn, are called *kwadrir*, and those whose horns bend downwards are *kughir*. Barren buffaloes are called *maiir*.

There are considerable differences of colour among the buffaloes. Those much lighter than the rest are called *nerir* or *pushtir*, and there is a legend about the origin of these buffaloes, which, however, I failed to obtain. The only obvious way in which the animals differ from one another in marking is that some have a black stripe running down either side of the neck very much in the position which would be occupied by the chain suspending a bell.

There do not seem to be any physical differences between the buffaloes of different classes, and, as we shall see shortly, the nature of the breeding of the Toda buffaloes is such as would have entirely destroyed any distinctions of the kind if they had ever existed.

Every adult female buffalo has an individual name, which is usually given when her first calf is born. The number of buffalo names is limited, so that many buffaloes bear the same name. 234 552

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Ön had a son called Püv. One day when Püv was acting as *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, he was churning in the dairy with a ring on the little finger of his right hand. When the dairyman goes to fetch water he should always take the churning stick out of the *patat* or vessel in which the milk is churned. On this occasion Püv left it in the *patat* and went out to fetch water. As he was going a black bird called *karpüls* tried to check him, saying "*tts, tts, tts,*" meaning "Don't go to the water," but Püv paid no attention and went on. When he was taking the water the ring dropped from his little finger into the spring. Püv saw the ring in the water, but could not reach it, and so he got into the spring. The water was not deep, and yet as soon as he stepped into the spring it completely covered him and he was drowned. When Ön found that his son was lost he cried very bitterly and covered himself with his cloak (*tuni*). (Ön is said to have been a *palol* at this time.) When Ön covered himself he looked downwards and saw, as through a veil, his son in Amnòdr playing with the ring, putting it on and off his finger.[1]

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When Ön saw that his son was in Amnòdr he did not like to leave him there alone and decided to go away to the same place. So he called together all the people and the buffaloes and the trees to come and bid him farewell. All the people came except a man of Kwòdrdoni named Arsankutan. He and his family did not come. All the buffaloes came except the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Some trees also failed to come. Ön blessed all the people, buffaloes and trees present, but said that because Arsankutan had not come he and his people should die by sorcery at the hands of the Kurumbas, and that because the *arsaiir* had not come they should be killed by tigers, and that the trees which had not come should bear bitter fruit. Since that time the Todas have feared the Kurumbas, and buffaloes have been killed by tigers. All the Todas and all the buffaloes appear to have suffered for the evil deeds of Arsankutan and the *arsaiir*.

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Then Ön went away to Amnòdr, taking the buffaloes

[1] According to another account, Püv died from trying to catch the image of a white calf in the water. At that time, it was the custom to kill and bury any calf of a white colour, and one had been buried close to the spring.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

both into a vessel. An incantation is said, the same as, or similar to, that already given, while the *utkòren* strokes the sick man with the corner of his cloak. After the incantation the sufferer drinks the juice. 755

Various Magical Remedies

The *utkòren* also practise various other methods of treatment. 755

Headache. This is called *madersnûdr*, "if head aches." For this the *utpol* places his hand on the head of the sufferer, and says the following incantation in a low voice, so that the patient may not distinguish what is being said.[1] After the names of the four gods, as in previous formulæ, it runs:— 825 [195]

nâkkerov	*mad*	*tathi*	*kan*	*tath mâ;*	*ker*	*mad tathi*
cobra	head	broken into pieces		not break may;	a snake	&c.

kan tath mâ;

and the same formula is repeated, substituting first the names of other kinds of snake and then of other animals. The following are the animals mentioned: *kûrûpatz*, a black poisonous snake; *putpob*, a variegated snake, which is called the foolish snake, because it will not get out of the way; *taverûni*, a green snake; *pâlipob*, another green snake; *uitch*, a kind of lizard reputed to suck blood; *antli*, a squirrel; *kapan*, a frog; *tugûli*, a crayfish (?); *kadrmad*, a water animal of some kind; *mîu*, a fish; *tgal*, an earthworm; *nelnpüf*, an insect found under stones; *âpipüf*, an insect found in buffalo dung. After all these animals have been mentioned with the same formula, the names of Pithioteu and Ön are again uttered, followed by the words *tathkhma*. The *utpol* flicks the corner of his cloak first against the ground, and then against the forehead of the sufferer, and then, if the man is sitting, he says, "*ateuk ir*," "sit there off!" and the man moves a little way from the place where he had been sitting. If the man is unable to sit, and is lying down, the words will be "*ateuk padr*," "lie there off!" or "lie a little way off!"

[1] I think it is probable that all the incantations are said in this manner, but I only had it specifically mentioned in this case.

755 825 I could not obtain a satisfactory account of the exact meaning of the incantation; it was said to mean "may the snake's head be broken in pieces, and so may your head be broken"—*i.e.*, so may the pain go; another rendering was "may the pain go to the snake's head," the latter being by far the more probable meaning. Three divisions of the incantation are recognised: in the first, snakes only are mentioned; in the second, things which live in the water; and in the third, things which live in the earth. The treatment is repeated on one or two days, if necessary, but it is never done more than three times, "because the ailment is always cured in that time."

755 924 Another condition treated by the *utkòren* is stomach-ache, which is called *pûfkwatnûdr*, "if worms bite." The *utpol* places his hand on the belly of the sufferer, and after reciting the names of the four gods, he continues:—

kîrs	*pûv*	*kâdkanm*	*kâl*	*mâ;*
kîrs tree	flower	fallen as fall	down	may;

and this formula is repeated, substituting the names of various trees and other plants for the name of the *kîrs* tree. The trees and plants mentioned are *pirzkh* and *kûrêrs*, trees having edible fruit; *pûl*, *kîl*, *kwadriki*, *kid*, trees from which bees get honey; *kab*, sugarcane; *teg*, coco-nut; *patm*, samai; *ners*, rice; *eri*, ragi; *kîtj*, potato; *perigi*, chillies; *melkh*, pepper; *kwatimeli*, Coriandum sativum; *kadrkh*, mustard; and *kîri* or *kîrsi*, red amaranth.

Thus the last clause would run: *kîri pûv kâdkanm kâl mâ*, and this would be followed by the names of Pithioteu and Ön. Then the *utpol* flicks his cloak three times, first against the ground and then against the belly of the sufferer, and says, "*ateuk ir*," or "*ateuk padr*," according as the man is sitting or lying down, and the sufferer moves a little from his place.

The names of flowers are used because the Todas believe that worms come from eating honey, and the honey has come from flowers. The flowers mentioned belong to four groups;[1] (i) those of trees which bear edible fruits; (ii) those from which bees get honey; (iii) those of trees or plants part of

[1] This distinction was pointed out to me by my informant.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions, and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of function, though the means used continue to show a close resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

OMENS

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meeting certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird called *karpüls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus.

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Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas.

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Other Animals

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence which I possess concerning their relations with animals in general.

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The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

825 As we have seen (p. 417), there is a belief that a man who fails in the performance of certain sacred duties may be killed by a tiger, but the Todas do not appear to fear this animal except on behalf of their buffaloes, and I could only learn of one case in which a Toda had been killed, and as his name was not known it must have occurred very long ago, or may have been altogether mythical.

The Jackal.—I was told by my interpreter that he had seen the Todas saluting a jackal, but I did not hear of any beliefs associated with the practice.

825 262 174 *The Sambhar.*—The most interesting point in connexion with this animal is the fact that the Todas are undoubtedly permitted to eat its flesh. Kutadri, who was most scrupulous in his obedience to the customs of his people, had no reluctance in eating sambhar flesh, and when he had fallen ill soon after, he never thought of ascribing his illness to what was probably its real cause, which shows clearly that there could have been no idea that he had done anything forbidden or unorthodox.

The fact that the Todas may eat the flesh of the sambhar while taking that of no other animal, except ceremonially, might well be looked upon as an indication that there may at one time have been totemic restrictions on food. In their earlier homes, before they reached the Nilgiri Hills, it is probable that the sambhar was an unknown animal, and could not therefore have been a totem. Consequently, when they came to the Nilgiris, they would have found there an animal on the eating of the flesh of which there were no restrictions, and the absence of restriction would, on this hypothesis, have continued to the present day. The eating of sambhar flesh would be the proverbial exception that proves the rule.

[224] It seems to me possible, however, that there is a different reason for the absence of any prohibition. The Todas have no weapons with which they could kill a sambhar, and if this animal is ever killed by Kotas or Kurumbas, the mere fact that it had been killed by these people would probably be a sufficient reason why the Todas should not eat its flesh.

It is possible that it is only since the advent of Europeans

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

174 to the Nilgiris, and the extensive slaughter of sambhar which
262 followed it, that the Todas have thought of eating the flesh of this animal, and as no prohibition against the eating of its
825 flesh has been handed down to them, they have no reluctance in satisfying in this way the liking for animal food which the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony keeps in existence, if it does not actually stimulate it.

231 *The Cat.*—This animal, which is called *koti* or *kwoti*, is
825 domesticated by the Todas. The cat is mentioned in the legend of the tiger recorded in this section, and the earliest writers on the Todas speak of them as keeping these animals. I have seen them on the walls of the dairies, and believe that they are allowed to go wherever they please. The only occasion on which they come into ceremonial is at the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, where the spleen is specially put aside to be given to the cat, and is on this account called *kwotinerûf*.

The dog occurs in the story of Kwoten and several other animals are mentioned in the prayers and incantations, chiefly as sources of danger to the buffaloes. In the incantation for the relief of headache given on p. 265, the names of many animals are uttered, probably with the intention that their heads may acquire the pain which is being charmed away from the head of the sufferer.

Trees and Plants

778 The most sacred tree of the Todas is undoubtedly the *tudr*
824 (Fig. 58). This name is given by the Todas to two species, *Meliosma pungens* and *M. wightii*, the two trees resembling one another closely.

The bark is largely used in the dairy ceremonial, and especially in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol* and other dairymen drawn from the Teivaliol and Melgarsol. Its use is especially connected with the people of these sections of the Toda community, but the rest of the Tartharol undergo a ceremony at the second funeral in which *tudr* is used, and this was said to have the purpose that every Toda should be purified with *tudr* before he enters on the future life.

A log and leaves of *tudr* are also used in the ceremony of

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sāmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part [353] of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikāra river.

233 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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The typical Toda man is above medium height, well 142
proportioned and stalwart, with leptorhine nose, regular features, and perfect teeth. The nose is, as noted by Dr. Rivers, sometimes distinctly rounded in profile. An attempt has been made to connect the Todas with the lost tribes; and, amid a crowd of them collected together at a funeral, there is no difficulty in picking out individuals, whose features would find for them a ready place as actors on the Ober Ammergau stage, either in leading or subordinate parts. The principal characteristic, which at once distinguishes the Toda from the other tribes of the Nilgiris, is the development of the pilous (hairy) system. The following is a typical case, extracted from my notes. Beard luxuriant, hair of head parted in middle, and hanging in curls over forehead and back of neck. Hair thickly developed on chest and abdomen, with median strip of dense hairs on the latter. Hair thick over upper and lower ends of shoulder-blades, thinner over rest of back; well developed on extensor surface of upper arms, and both surfaces of forearms; very thick on extensor surfaces of the latter. Hair abundant on both surfaces of legs; thickest on outer side of thighs and round knee-cap. Dense beard-like mass of hair beneath gluteal region (buttocks). Superciliary brow ridges very prominent. Eyebrows united across middle line by thick tuft of hairs. A dense growth of long straight hairs directed outwards on helix of both ears, bearing a striking resemblance to the hairy development on the helix of the South Indian bonnet monkey (*Macacus sinicus*). The profuse hairy development is by some [826]
Todas attributed to their drinking "too much milk."

Nearly all the men have one or more raised cicatrices, 304
forming nodulous growths (keloids) on the right shoulder. These scars are produced by burning the skin

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all:

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[622] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, viriloid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was
828 through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangar, son of Pillar (52), however, was a case

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

864 them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health
[861] by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer
[824] *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Incidentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed
[86] were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult
[828] son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given
[839] up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

836 Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but
[835] within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are considered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

845 Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see
123 them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to me that they were distinctly less intelligent than the men. 153

The characteristic note in the demeanour of the people is given by their absolute belief in their own superiority over the surrounding races. They are grave and dignified, and yet thoroughly cheerful and well-disposed towards all. In their intercourse with Europeans, they now recognise the superior race so far as wealth and the command of physical and mental resources are concerned, but yet they are not in the slightest degree servile, and about many matters still believe that their ways are superior to ours, and, in spite of their natural politeness, could sometimes not refrain from showing their contempt for conduct which we are accustomed to look upon as an indication of a high level of morality. It is in the matter of ethical standards that the difference between the Todas and ourselves comes out most strongly. 157 181 829

The Village and the House

The Todas live in little villages scattered about the hills. The greater part of the plateau consists of grass-covered hills separated by valleys, sometimes narrow, more often of wide extent. In every valley there are streams and in many places swamps. In the hollows of the hills are small woods, generally known as sholas, and it is usually near these sholas that the Toda villages are to be found. Some parts of the hills are much more thickly beset with villages than others, and this is especially the case in the neighbourhood of the part known as Governor Shola, about six to eight miles west and north-west of Ootacamund. 133 311 361

In other parts one may go considerable distances without finding a Toda village, but relics of the former history of the Todas may be found widely scattered over the hills, and I think there can be little doubt that at one time the Toda habitations were much more generally distributed than they are at present. The bazaar at Ootacamund has now become an important place in the economic life of the Todas; they sell there the ghi or clarified butter in which form their dairy produce chiefly goes to the market, and they 361 437 443

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanation

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

To 829 595 121 182 would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Ti 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[552] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

164 842 [273] The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 842 Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 177 842 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and expensive for the *mokhthodvaiol* than for the husband. 588
Further, in some cases the *sedvaitazmokh* of a Teivali man 837
may live with him exactly in the same way as a wife. Except for the prohibition against Teivali women living at Tarthar villages, and the important difference in the mode of descent of the children there seems to be little essential difference in some cases between the *mokhthoditi* union and marriage. In describing the institution, one of my informants laid great stress on the disability of a man of one division to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a woman of the other division and treated this as the essential point of difference. He seemed to regard this ceremonial disability as primary and the other differences as the secondary results, but I do not know how far this is the general Toda view.

Sexual Morality

From the foregoing account it appears that a woman may 831 ●
have one or more recognised lovers as well as several 837
husbands. From the account given of the dairy ritual, it [192]
appears that she may also have sexual relations with dairymen of various grades—that, for instance, the *wursol*, on the nights when he sleeps in the hut, may be the lover of any Tarthar girl. Further, there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse. I was assured by several Todas not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong. It seemed clear that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. My interpreter, Samuel, had translated the Commandments shortly before my visit, and only discovered while working with me that the expression he had used in translating the seventh Commandment really bore a very different meaning.

When a word for a concept is absent in any language it by no means follows that the concept has not been developed, but in this case I have little doubt that there is no definite idea in the mind of the Toda corresponding to that denoted by our word 'adultery.' Instead of adultery being regarded as

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursiitpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursiitpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 181 831

181 Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,[1] a reason why polyandry
831 is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

[177] The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

[144] That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

143 By means of the genealogical record I was able to work
831 out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

[1] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

seems to show that colour-blind men, or rather males of colour-blind families, had colour-blind descendants more often than perhaps might have been expected if the Todas are in practice quite as promiscuous as their social regulations allow them to be. The record of the affinity of the colour-blind suggests that in spite of the theoretical promiscuity, the husbands are, in practice, very often the fathers of their children. 143 831

A few histories of individuals may be given as examples of the various marriage customs which have been described in this chapter. One of the most married of Toda women is Puvizveli of Kusharf (65). She was married in infancy to Singudr (55), of the same clan as Sinkòrs, the mother of Puvizveli, and the two were probably the *matchuni* of one another, though only in a distant way. Puvizveli was taken from Singudr by Madsu and Koboners (58), who gave for her three buffaloes. From them she was transferred to Kangudr of Piedr (62), it being arranged that he should pay eleven buffaloes. Soon after joining Kangudr, Puvizveli became ill, and since there is a prohibition of marriages between the clans of Piedr and Kusharf, it was agreed that the pair should separate, and the woman was taken by Tütners and Etamudri (58). The eleven buffaloes had never been paid by Kangudr, so Tütners and his brother gave their buffaloes directly to Madsu and Koboners, but only four instead of eleven. All these transactions took place while Puvizveli was still young, but by her new husbands she had a son who died soon after birth. During her second pregnancy, she was taken by Perpakh and Tebkudr (68), who gave six buffaloes. The transference took place before the *pursütpimi* ceremony had been performed. Perpakh gave the bow and arrow, and the daughter since born is regarded as the child of Perpakh and Tebkudr. Puvizveli has also a Tarthar *mokhthodvaiol*. 159 851 58

Edjog of Kuudr (56) was married in infancy to Nargudr (62), the son of her mother's brothers, and therefore her *matchuni* in the nearest sense. From him Kiudners (70) and his two brothers took her for five buffaloes. Kiudners died

618 539 order to strengthen a new-born child, they smeared it all over with butter and put it in front of the fire; as a result the child died. Another is called mukoṛðɯrktoɪrjvmɨvojvol̪joɪl̪, "people of the house of those who carried large baskets to the mukoṛ swamp" or moɪvɣoɪṇoðmöl̪ɣüɑrtvojvol̪joɪl̪, "people of the house of those who ground pepper without seeing the deer." It is told that seeing carrion-eating birds circling over a swamp they assumed that there was a dead deer there and went off with large baskets to bring back the flesh, telling the women meanwhile to grind a large heap of [831] pepper for the curry. Of the other two, more indelicate stories are told. One is called pikukveṇvotsvojvol̪joɪl̪, "people of the house of one who put butter on the navel." A woman covered her navel with butter and made a dog lick it and have intercourse with her. The other is called pɯltʃvol̪joɪl̪. It is said that formerly a man and woman of this pol̪joɪl̪ had sexual intercourse with one another. The women of this line are said to be particularly strong in their sexual passions; the verb with this meaning ɑrtsti, "she is [192] passionate," and the noun ɑrikn, "passionate woman" are tabooed under the conditions described below, and it is said that the element pɯltʃ-, not otherwise found, has the meaning of these tabooed words.

Six pol̪joɪl̪ of the töüvil̪j survive: one other is known to have become extinct some years ago with the death of küɯɪsjɣümɪṛ of the kol̪emoɪl̪ (Kurikudr in Rivers' Table 72). The others are as follows. The üɑtvɑɣðɯrspodjvæɪṭoɪḍjvojvol̪joɪl̪," people of the house of one who hunted the pig in the üɑtvɑx swamp" are so named because one of the line hunted a pig which he had seen for a whole day and night and yet let it escape him. Another is called nöɪṇgoɪṭkvarl̪ɣarṭjvojvol̪joɪl̪,"people of the house of those who sent fuel to nöɪṇgoɪṛ." Men of this line saw a hare, and intending to hunt it for food, set the family to work to collect fuel to roast it for three days. A third is called oɪrvmṭɣeɪrjvol̪joɪl̪. The story is the same as for the oɪrvɯṭɣɑɪkvol̪joɪl̪ of the other division, except that the cakes were in a basket mukeɪrj, to which the element keɪrj in the name is equivalent. Another, the pevɯɪtɣolɪjvol̪joɪl̪, "people of the house of the stealer of a large piece of meat," are so named because one of the line stole a large piece of meat at the sacrifice of a calf (æɪrɣɯmtt, "act of killing male buffalo").[9] A fifth is called kɯðɯrɣoɪlvɑɨjt ʃetɑpel̪köðkjvojvol̪joɪl̪, "people of the house of one who seizing a horse's leg pole-vaulted." It is told that a man, finding a dead horse, cut off the leg and vaulted with it until he reached the door of a house where he was beaten by the occupants. The last is called ömɨöükörkojvɯṇæɪtpuɪṭvɯrkuɪṭvojvol̪joɪl̪, "people of the house of one who taking the milking-pot in his left hand at the tɪ̀ dairy called ömɨöü broke

[9] See Rivers, p. 274.

4 [Sets of poljoɪl̪ among the toɪrðas -- ANALYST]

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§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -kūmɪr. This is clearly the noun kūmɪr "stream," "path," or "horn." One man kūɪngūmɪr (63, Kwongudr) is named after kūɪngūmɪr, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. noɪrgūmɪr (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tögoɪr. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iṣxūmɪr (21, Idrahkwòdr) <iṣfaʃ, a valley (paʃ) near the mund toɪroɪr; idzxūmɪr (23, Idjkudr) <idzfaʃ, a valley near the mund paʃtaɪr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. töɪsxūmɪr (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund æɪpuɪsgoɪr. In many other names however -kūmɪr can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word kūmɪr has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyse the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæɪnxūmɪr (62, Kangudr), where kæɪn refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxūmɪr (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoɪr, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms kūmɪr "stream" or "path" and kūmɪr "horn."[7]

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[7] I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

puʃyamiʃ	puʃk æfum
flower-line fruit	crowd-for I became
teʃjomoʃ	tuʃk æfum
pole-who are-men	bushes-to they became

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a line; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The teʃjo is a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the line is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

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193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -küwtṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in puṭʃofxüwṭṇ (a son of sirjuɪr 20) < puṭʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in tuɪpuɪsxüwṭṇ (20; referred in §6) < tuɪpuɪsfoɪü, the kogfoḷj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæɪnxüwṭṇ, son of toɪliθj and nertnuɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners) < kæɪnoḷf, the üɪsoḷj dairy at the mund korkoɪ. A son of küɪroɪn of the puɪrgoɪroḷ (34, Kwodron) is named ɑsojxüwṭṇ < ɑsojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib. köɪkisjxüwṭṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the [177] Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüwṭṇ in table 25) < köɪkisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fuɪn; e.g. in kɪroɪfuɪn (21, Karadrvan) < kɪroɪfüɪṭ, name of a mountain (tuɪṭ) near toɪroɪr; uɪrküɪuɪrfuɪn (24, Idrkudrvan) < uɪrküɪuɪrfuɪu, a river (puɪu) near Mt. kɪroɪ; puɪtʃefuɪn (24, Pachievan) < puɪtʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. puɪtʃofxüwṭṇ in §9); kɪrgæɪrfuɪn (25, Kerskedrvan) < kɪrgæɪrfuɪu, a stream near the mund pɑʃtɪɪr; ɑsojfuɪn < ɑsojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the puɪrgoɪroḷ, is another name of poɪüuɪs (35, Patirsh; cf. ɑsojxüwṭṇ in §9); mupuɪfuɪn (16, Mopuvan) < mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoḷ or pæɪθoḷfuɪn, kæɪnodz or kæɪnodzfuɪn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is muɪn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word puɪn, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 689.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. 83 192 The three meanings given for puɪn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fuɪn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of 193
küasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. 551
mymj of the kuɪüüɪtoɪ̨ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first küasm is pauɪnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪs) of the 1600 (pauɪnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be [176]
1600 (pauɪnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪtṇuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nul- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the küasm komuɪs of the mund nyɪḷṇ of the melgauɪsoɪ̨ is to be interpreted as kom-nuɪs "the place of the god kom;" kom or komöü is the mountain near this mund. The first küasm of the mund melgauɪs is nauɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two küasm of the people of this sib, nauɪsöoɪr, nauɪsep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪröasoɪ̨ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first küasm of the buffaloes of this sib, nauɪsḷṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at melgauɪs, nauɪsüuɪ (i.e. nauɪs-tüuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element nauɪs means is quite unknown; but nauɪsnuɪs is "the place of the nauɪs." Two munds, kluɪr of the kuɪüüɪtoɪ̨ and küaɪröynj of the puɪrgoɪroɪ̨, have küatæmuɪs as their first küasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted [173]
as "the standing-place of küatæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the möɪroɪ̨ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not küasm, with this element are poɪ̨jnuɪs "the [103]
place of the funeral-hut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪüüɪtoɪ̨, and masnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the möɪroɪ̨, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and küasm of munds. A brother of momgiröj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kluɪdnuɪs, whose name is the first küasm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kuɪsnuɪs (56, Karsners) < the first küasm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kimuɪs (26, Kiner) is derived from kimuʃnuɪs, the first küasm of the mund köɪroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboos work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 110). 83½ 192

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177 the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief
[701] in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage
[178] customs attempted by kum:ṛja*l*l and recorded by Rivers, which
[582] would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and
[425] that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of
[426] land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made
[657] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

161 There remains the important question of the effect of outside
177 influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems
[114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women
[831] by the polyandrous system combined with the monogamic institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

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irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931.[1] The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901–11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918–9 and relapsing fever in 1923–4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about 8¼ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931–41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of the tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

[1] See *Census of India, 1931*, reference given in note 1.

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the to:tjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[14] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that *sirjaɪr* (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister *ezŋg* (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[15] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[14] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's to:tjfoj. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Maknɪr (Makner), wife of *tuɪkɪr*ɪ of the nog patrilineal sib (Tuɪkɪr, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, *tɪ:ɪfarɪ* (Tevè), looked like his mother's to:tjfoj-ɔr, nobus of the *pɪ:ɪ*ɪ patrilineal sib (Nobus, 64), also called *kutj* (he reared the children after *tuɪkɪr*ɪ died). In a quarrel *tɪ:ɪfarɪ* might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobus-ɪnɪ "son of nobus" or *kutj*-ɪnɪ "son of *kutj*," or as nobus or *kutj*.

[15] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4. Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana (Bittiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeveram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

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595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
845 to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen
[515] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined paternity through the *purstitpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and consequently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it would, I suppose, elsewhere.

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard, but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as contradicting these findings.

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the subject of an addendum.

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe.

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples – such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the *tipalol*), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *timad* – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sâlep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sâlep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following :—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nîlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[294] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari :—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ʒ- 588
jaʃf's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kum:ʒjaʃf, who was a man of great force and influence, was able
to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon
as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the
buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man
who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor
also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when
they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to
be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess
in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 881
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while
the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the toufiʃj moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the to:rθaʃ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the to:rθaʃ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the to:rθaʃ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 159 621

(25) Närshmali: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhlivowutn have to search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Närshmali had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershti* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them. [832] [837]

(26) Pufvkiaroz: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that surviving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also works as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [847] [797] [464]

(27) Mutmali: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns after some days, without Pufvkiaroz exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmali came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again. [832] [837]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

ti was not allowed to do so and had to use a ford nearer to the dairy at Mòdr. 784 793

The *palol* must be celibate, and if married, he must leave his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers. According to the account given by Finicio in 1603, the *palol* could send for his wife and meet her in a wood every week or so and might also send for the wives of any other Todas. It is possible that this may still happen, but I failed to obtain an account of it and understood that the *palol* was really celibate. According to Finicio the restriction to which the *palol* is subject is that he may not touch a woman in the house. We have seen that in the lowest rank of the dairyman-priesthood intercourse with women in the house is allowed at any time and in the higher ranks only on certain days of the week. It is quite consistent with this that in the highest rank intercourse in the house should be altogether forbidden, but might still be allowed in the forest, and it is quite possible that Finicio is correct. I was unacquainted with his account at the time of my visit, and all other writers had been so unanimous as to the complete celibacy of the *palol* that I did not press my inquiries on this point very closely. 785 833

If a death occurs in the clan of a *palol*, he cannot attend any of the funeral ceremonies unless he gives up his office. If he resigns he is not again eligible for the office till the second funeral ceremonies have been completed. When a man of one clan gives up his office in this way, his place must be taken by a man of some other clan. Karkievan of Piedr was *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* eighteen years ago and resigned when his wife died, his place being taken by Tulchievan of Kusharf. Two years later Karkievan resumed office and has been *palol* continuously since that time. Though there have been many deaths among the Piedrol, he has not attended a funeral, and has not, therefore, had to resign his post again. 234 463 784 793

In old times, it seems probable that it was usual to give up the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan. According to tradition, the division of the Keadrol into the Keadrol and Kwaradrol by Kwoten (see Chap. IX) was ordained in order that there might still be men to undertake the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan, the men of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *iikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*. 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the daytime with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakanerh. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

786 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns
793 to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining
833 wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia*!" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *pokvelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *papun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Karkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*.
554 It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his
793 sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social
234 importance from having held the sacred office. I could find no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women only refer to this ceremony.

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by [264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poḷjoɪḷ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj or poḷjoɪḷ of the opposite sex.

602 533 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poḷjoɪḷ of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 602 196 192 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poḷjoɪḷ or ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to [333] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is [522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mɯɾɣŭɑrt-, "neck-cut," and kŭɑrtɣŭɯrt-, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪḍjvöɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

[837] [684] [623] [115]

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertilkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 [114] A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills. 881 616 833

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die". 604 124

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off. [302]

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15). [114]

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization. 616 837 [595]

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaltazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only. [773]

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter of tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Nilgiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwul, had no

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen
[515] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by 831
overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of [848]
course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined paternity through the *pursiitpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and consequently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it would, I suppose, elsewhere.

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases 833
of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard, but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as contradicting these findings.

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris 114
has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the subject of an addendum.

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in 614
many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to 616
W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe.

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh 614
at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the 554
subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples – such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the *tipalol*), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *timad* – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
618 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary
793 person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnòdr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
793 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

●834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpòn* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which 177
at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it 164
undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked- [114]
eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an [834]
absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection 628
with the question of the morality of the Toda women, 577
Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other 177
members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to [554]
his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his
fellow Tribesmen.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment. [764]

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *än* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366). 837 764 [301]

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not belonging to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough". 648 837 [834] [684] [143]

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village. 582 616 588 591

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. 582 618

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tasherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The 835

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

835 fact, however, that this restriction should exist in connexion with a ceremony suggests that even to the Todas there is something reprehensible in intercourse between man and woman of the same clan (see also p. 530).

582 There are certain special prohibitions against marriage between members of certain clans. Among the Tartharol
618 the Panol are not allowed to marry the Kanòdrsol, a prohibition said to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, and it is said that since that day no marriage has ever taken place between the clans of the two men. In the genealogical record there is no case in which these two clans have intermarried.

I was also told that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni might not intermarry, but there are three examples of such marriages in the genealogies. I could not obtain any reason for the restriction, and the information is probably incorrect. The restrictions on marriage between the people of Melgars and those of Kidmad and Karsh have already been considered.

Among the Teivaliol there are also prohibitions against intermarriage between certain clans. The people of Piedr may not marry those of Kusharf. Judging from the genealogical record, the prohibition is not strictly followed, for three such marriages have taken place in recent times. In one of these cases, however, in which a Piedr man married a Kusharf woman, the woman soon became seriously ill, and the marriage was annulled. I could obtain no reason for the prohibition of marriage between these two clans. Marriage was also prohibited between the Piedrol and the Pedrkarsol, this being due to a comparatively recent quarrel between members of the two clans, of which an account is given in Chapter XXVIII.

I have analysed the genealogical records with the view of ascertaining whether certain clans intermarry with any special frequency. Among the Tartharol, I find that the people of Nòdrs marry most frequently those of Kars and Taradr. The Karsol, the largest of the Tarthar clans, distribute their marriages widely over the whole Tarthar division. The Panol chiefly marry with Kars and Melgars.

Instead of adultery being regarded as

577 immoral, I rather suspected,[1] though I could not satisfy myself on the point, that, according to the Toda idea, immorality attaches rather to the mam who grudges his wife to another.

837

775 One group of those who experience difficulty in getting to the next world after death are the *kashtvainol*, or grudging people, and I believe this term includes those who would in a more civilised community be plaintiffs in the divorce court.

835 In nearly every known community, whether savage, barbarous or civilised, there is found to exist a deeply rooted antipathy to sexual intercourse between brother and sister. In savage communities where kinship is of the classificatory kind, this antipathy extends not only to the children of one mother, but to all those who are regarded as brothers and sisters because they are members of the same clan or other social unit. In some communities, such as those of Torres Straits, this antipathy may extend to relatives as remote as those we call second and third cousins, so long as descent through the male line from a common ancestor and membership of the same clan lead people to regard one another as brother and sister.

It is very doubtful whether this widespread, almost universal abhorrence is shared by the Todas. I was told that members of the same clan might have intercourse with one another, and in the preliminary ceremony for the office of *palol*, a special part was taken by a woman who possessed the qualification that she had never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it was said it was far from easy to find such a woman. When I collected this information, it seemed clear that this meant that a woman who, before marriage had belonged to a given clan, had never had intercourse with a man of that clan. But since a woman joins the clan of her husband, and since, marriage taking place at an early age, the woman belongs to her husband's clan from this early age, it has since occurred to me that an alternative explanation of the restriction is possible, though it does not seem to me to be likely. It is possible that what is meant is that the woman

[1] The definite appearance of jealousy in the history of Kwoten must, however, be noted in this connexion.

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursütpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursütpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 131 831

582 601 618 daughters of his maternal grandmother's sisters' daughters, and so on; in the preceding generation his mother, his mother's sisters, his maternal grandmother's mother's daughters' daughters, and so on. To the generation younger than him belong his sisters' daughters, his mother's sisters' daughters' daughters, and so on. A man will also designate as his poɭjoɪɭ his mother's sons, his maternal grandmother's sons, his sisters' sons, and so on for any son of a woman who is related to him as poɭjoɪɭ, but not the descendants of these males. This network of relations in the female line cuts across mod divisions, and divides the toɪrõas at present into five exogamous sets of poɭjoɪɭ, the töüviɭj into six. Rivers[4] has given a concrete example of how mod-relationships are handed down from one generation to the next; the relationships of poɭjoɪɭ are preserved in the same way even when links in the relationship are no longer remembered.

582 ● 835 A man, then, while marrying within his own half of the whole tribe, must marry outside of his own mod and outside of his poɭjoɪɭ. As it is put by the Todas themselves, he must not marry a woman who is üudmortkvæidvoj, "one who is born to one and the same mod" or poɭjoɪɭ to him. The other peculiarities of Toda marriage and sexual relationships, viz. polyandry, the institution whereby a man may take another's wife upon the payment of compensation, that by which a man may take a concubine from the other half of the tribe, and the general license permitting a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman who takes his fancy without any permanent tie being formed, seem to have blinded observers to these fundamental rules, which govern not only marriages, but also all sexual relationships. No man may marry or have intercourse with any woman who is related to him through a wholly male-line or through a wholly female line. This is the system which is generally followed by the castes and communities of Hindu south India (with some exceptions which follow the rules prevalent in north India or some peculiar system of their own). The corollary following from it, that a man may marry his cross-cousin, obtains of course among the Todas as it does among the other south Indian communities following these rules. Among the Todas it is optional, though preferable, and is applied in the symmetrical fashion.[5] It seems to be the rule among many of the south Indian communities that the mother's brother's daughter is preferred, though without excluding the possibility of marriage to the father's sister's daughter; there is no trace of this preference for asymmetry among the Todas.

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[4] Page 490.

[5] Rivers, p. 514, and my informants generally.

618 wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this
539 poljoɪl are forbidden to become poloɪl to this tiɪ. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the moγδɯtkoɪt ʃvojvoljoɪl of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a
[522] tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories,[1] were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the kŭɯdzul, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the poljoɪl should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

602 A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse
835 between ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poljoɪl of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's mod), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his poljoɪl or his ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the noɪjm or council takes cognizance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

602 Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same tuṇ or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

[1] [See pp. 106 and 107, cat. 539 — Analyst]

196 539 614 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

nɔ̃lkɔnɯsk	sydj-mil-sydj	pɯṭɯθik		
poljoɨ̃-xoɪrjm	oɪtoɨ̃-foṇt	öštjɯḍoɪ	ɯdɯθik	
oɪn arjeṅ	enk öštoθ	sotj-moɪḍkin	ɯdɯθuing	noɪrṇɯsfɯn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgoɪs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poljoɨ̃.' Noɪrṇɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poljoɨ̃, oɪtoɨ̃ is used as demanded by convention, as is also poṇt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poljoɨ̃ (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪrjm,[22] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɨ̃-foṇt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, [115] noɪrṇɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly [609] knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by [114] shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poljoɨ̃, is to be explained.

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poljoɨ̃, oɪtoɨ̃ did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poljoɨ̃, oɪtoɨ̃ may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪrṇɯs
● 835 to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[22] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the toɪtjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[34] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjuɪr (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister eʒog (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[35] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[34] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's toɪtjfojoɪ. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Makniɪr (Makner), wife of tulkiɪθj of the noɪʒ patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tööfanu (Tevö), looked like his mother's toɪtjfojoɪ, nobus of the piɪtoɪ patrilineal sib (Nabus, 64), also called kuɪtj (he reared the children after tulkiɪθj died). In a quarrel tööfanu might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobus-mon "son of nobus" or kuɪtj-mon "son of kuɪtj," or as nobus or kuɪtj.

[35] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (Biṭṭiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeevaram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 614 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption 597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these [616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly [837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between [582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of [835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I [123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their 584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish 584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death, [775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a [588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded [766] to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only 178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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864 them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer [861] *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Inci- [824] dentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed [861] were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult [828] son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given [839] up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

836 Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but [835] within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are considered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

845 Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see 123 them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panm ûtpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

881 616 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tâzâr ûtiti*, or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

881 836 626 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division and to any clan, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,[1] different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

[1] The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madnol* or *paliarl*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursütpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursütpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 131 831

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which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held. 595 851

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to procreate children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas. [842] [684] [616] [848]

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her. 851 848 836

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation 586 [587]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said
776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting
[125] on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
159 even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh*, *wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability
[836] as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, because he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konor).

To 595 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

To 836 784 154 618 123 interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154 I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595 Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 595 wTi 595 As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

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To 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any more jealous than the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually he is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 586 848 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 Other special ceremonies fall to the lot of the *mokhthodvaiol*
765 or *sedvaitazmokh* of the dead person if there should be such.
● 837 The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman is the recognised lover whom she may have in addition to her husband or husbands. The *sedvaitazmokh* is the name of the woman in this Toda institution. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a dead woman goes to the funeral wearing his ring on the ring finger of the left hand. Before the buffalo is caught he pays the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father of the woman; bows down before him and raises each foot to his head. He then puts into the pocket of the cloak of the woman some limes, three handfuls (*mudteir*) of *patcherski* and one large piece of jaggery. He also puts a piece of the dark cloth called *än* into the pocket of the cloak, this act being called *än kudshk it pudithti*. The *mokhthodvaiol* asks the husband of the woman three times "*än kudsh idukina?*" ("Shall I put *än* into the *kudsh*?") and the husband answers each time "*idu!*" In putting the various things into the pocket, the *mokhthodvaiol* has to use his left hand throughout.

When a man dies his *sedvaitazmokh*, if there be one, goes to the funeral ceremony wearing a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, and similarly puts limes, grain, jaggery, and a piece of *än* into the pocket of the dead man's mantle. Before doing this the brothers of the dead man do *kalmelpudithti* to the father of the woman, and this was said to be done in order to obtain permission from him for his daughter to put things into the cloak.

766 At the funeral of a girl, or of a childless woman, there are performed the ceremonies of *urvatpimi* and *pursiitpimi* which are usually performed during pregnancy. In life the *urvatpimi*, or hand-burning ceremony, is performed before that of *pursiitpimi*, but after death the order may be reversed. These ceremonies are most frequently performed at the funerals of children, and a full description may be reserved till a later section (see p. 391).

In the case of an adult the ceremony is only performed if it has not been performed in life. If a woman dies in the later months of pregnancy after these ceremonies have taken place, they would not be performed at the funeral.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Intercourse between
[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the
684 man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitasmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitasmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitasmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
616 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings),
837 each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[773] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage.
837 A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.

[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

and expensive for the *mokhthodvaiol* than for the husband. 588
Further, in some cases the *sedvaitazmokh* of a Teivali man 837
may live with him exactly in the same way as a wife. Except for the prohibition against Teivali women living at Tarthar villages, and the important difference in the mode of descent of the children there seems to be little essential difference in some cases between the *mokhthoditi* union and marriage. In describing the institution, one of my informants laid great stress on the disability of a man of one division to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a woman of the other division and treated this as the essential point of difference. He seemed to regard this ceremonial disability as primary and the other differences as the secondary results, but I do not know how far this is the general Toda view.

Sexual Morality

From the foregoing account it appears that a woman may 831
have one or more recognised lovers as well as several 837
husbands. From the account given of the dairy ritual, it [192]
appears that she may also have sexual relations with dairymen of various grades—that, for instance, the *wursol*, on the nights when he sleeps in the hut, may be the lover of any Tarthar girl. Further, there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse. I was assured by several Todas not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong. It seemed clear that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. My interpreter, Samuel, had translated the Commandments shortly before my visit, and only discovered while working with me that the expression he had used in translating the seventh Commandment really bore a very different meaning.

When a word for a concept is absent in any language it by no means follows that the concept has not been developed, but in this case I have little doubt that there is no definite idea in the mind of the Toda corresponding to that denoted by our word 'adultery.' Instead of adultery being regarded as

Instead of adultery being regarded as

577 immoral, I rather suspected,[1] though I could not satisfy myself on the point, that, according to the Toda idea, immorality attaches rather to the man who grudges his wife to another. One group of those who experience difficulty in getting to the next world after death are the *kashtvainol*, or grudging people, and I believe this term includes those who would in a more civilised community be plaintiffs in the divorce court.

837

775

835 In nearly every known community, whether savage, barbarous or civilised, there is found to exist a deeply rooted antipathy to sexual intercourse between brother and sister. In savage communities where kinship is of the classificatory kind, this antipathy extends not only to the children of one mother, but to all those who are regarded as brothers and sisters because they are members of the same clan or other social unit. In some communities, such as those of Torres Straits, this antipathy may extend to relatives as remote as those we call second and third cousins, so long as descent through the male line from a common ancestor and membership of the same clan lead people to regard one another as brother and sister.

It is very doubtful whether this widespread, almost universal abhorrence is shared by the Todas. I was told that members of the same clan might have intercourse with one another, and in the preliminary ceremony for the office of *palol*, a special part was taken by a woman who possessed the qualification that she had never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it was said it was far from easy to find such a woman. When I collected this information, it seemed clear that this meant that a woman who, before marriage had belonged to a given clan, had never had intercourse with a man of that clan. But since a woman joins the clan of her husband, and since, marriage taking place at an early age, the woman belongs to her husband's clan from this early age, it has since occurred to me that an alternative explanation of the restriction is possible, though it does not seem to me to be likely. It is possible that what is meant is that the woman

[1] The definite appearance of jealousy in the history of Kwoten must, however, be noted in this connexion.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Au60 Toda Au60

172 range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes, as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a 837 time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

582 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early 583 age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

535 dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such
614 religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy
765 (poḷj-ful-fæ:st), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such
[648] unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc.
[616] At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojoɪḷ, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoɪḷ, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojoɪḷ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is
[616] prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he
[837] has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

535 Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are
614 allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person
616 belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard
764 to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person
765 there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the uṇkitj, nirj, and puṇpoɪr sibs of the tɔ:rθas moiety, since the munds of
[837] these sibs are far from any munds of the töüfiḷj moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her
[851] pregnancy to legitimize the child (pus-ɪṇtt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The signifi-
[621] cance of "chief mund" (ɪṇt-ɪṇd-mod) as opposed to other munds (mɪṇ-mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure. 614 835

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the toɪtʃfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[24] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjuɪr (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister eʒog (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough. 183 831 835 [684] [684] [784]

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[25] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they 174 614 [173]

[24] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's toɪtʃfoj-oɪ̯. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Maknɪr (Maknɪr), wife of tuɪkɪrɵj of the noɪ̯ patrilineal sib (Tuɪkɪdi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tɵɵfarɪ (Tevö), looked like his mother's toɪtʃfoj-oɪ̯, nobas of the piɪtoɪ̯ patrilineal sib (Nabura, 64), also called kɪtʃ (he reared the children after tuɪkɪrɵj died). In a quarrel tɵɵfarɪ might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobas-mɪx "son of nobas" or kɪtʃ-mɪx "son of kɪtʃ," or as nobas or kɪtʃ. [837] [851] [578]

[25] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Pugina Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysala king "Viṣṇuvardhana (Bittiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeveram, and Mahabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

 But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I
614 judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find
[197] at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[26] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[27] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

197 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
174 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
[79] they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[28] that the model house
[787] or dairy used in the uɪr-foɪt ceremony, and called poɪl-poɪj (Rivers' pūlpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyɪj) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
595 some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar before comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
[114] ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Fur-
[171] thermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[29]

174 The toɪtjɪoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
● 837 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[26] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123-47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611-30, 1907). [27] Pp. 693-718, especially pp. 698 ff. [28] Rivers, p. 702.

[29] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 576-83, 1938).

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

562 784

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division. [616] [621]

616 793 837

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is [834] priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers [114] denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

562 [847]

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

591 614 618 428 614

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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428 614 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption 597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these [616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly [837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between [582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of [835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I [123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their 584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish 584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death, [775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a [588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, [766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only 178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

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586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Oknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

[837] [684] [623] [115]

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mod* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertiilkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

[114]

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

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therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun*? He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

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616 Either the couple live together in the same *mad*, quite openly, or the
837 man visits the woman periodically at the house of her husband or husbands. In the case of a Tardharsh being *mokhthodvaiol* to a
[621] Teivilkh woman, because of the prohibition for those of her kind to visit the *mads* of the superior moiety, it always has to be her lover who visits her at her home. There is no objection on the part of the husbands as, in accordance with the formalities necessary to establish a *mokhthoditi* relation, they will have been consulted in advance and will have given their consent to the arrangement.

837 The usual way for a man to go about getting himself a *sedvaitazmokh* is, after having found the lady of his choice, to approach her husband or husbands, if she has any, or her father or fathers if she has none, and to obtain their consent to what he plans. He will agree to give the
[431] men a present (such as a piece of cloth or a *putkuli*) in exchange, whereupon, if the other party is in accordance, he becomes the woman's *mokhthodvaiol* without any further formality. (Rivers has it that a third party may be called in to seal the pact, (see *The Todas*, p. 527) but none of my informants said this was done nowadays.)

Some time later, he will make collective obeisance to the lady's *pailol*, that is, her male relations (fathers and brothers). This is as in
[588] a Toda marriage, there being no difference at all here between regular and irregular unions. On this occasion the man will promise to give the woman some pieces of jewellery, and her son, should she have one, a buffalo calf. It is after these promises have been made, that the *mokhthodvaiol* will perform the *kalmelpudithti* salution to the *pailol* and, significantly enough, after this has taken place, he will call his *sedvaitazmokh's* father *mun* as he would his wife's father or his maternal uncle.

While working at Melgarsh *mad*, I had the opportunity to see how such a *mokhthoditi* arrangement functioned. Amoniwuf, the common wife of the two brothers, Singharsh and Singhud, had a regular lover, a Teivilkh from Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol*, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded (his picture is shown on pages 56 and
[113] 57 of Lidio Cipriani's *I Toda, Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vol. LXVII, 1937). Things seemed to go very smoothly, and all three men as well as the woman appeared happy and on the best of terms. The Teivilkh used to come regularly to Melgarsh, at least twice a week in the afternoon, staying until the next morning when he would go home again early. I was told that he had given Amoniwuf a very
[431] nice gold necklace, which I was, however, never shown. The husbands

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had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that [431] somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei [764] have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment.

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), 837 a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment 764 when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *än* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. [301] He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366).

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have 648 any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have 837 seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous [834] crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not be- [684] longing to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even [143] heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough".

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

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648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
●837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all:

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[623] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, viriloid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very
828 deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangur, son of Pillar (52), however, was a case

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595 her by Wunkwur. Kanvarsathi assured me that there were other such non-fraternal cases in outlying *munds*, but I did not come across any.

114 My impression was that the polyandry of the Todas is tending more and more to be restricted only to real brothers, in the way we use that word.
595 Rivers in his book does mention a number of instances in which non-brothers, not even classificatory, are married to the same woman (see *The Todas*, pp. 515–516), but although I searched for some, I was unable to find any in existence today. Rivers already remarked in his time: "It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present." (*The Todas*, p. 516.)

Rivers' description of the marriage of *matchuni* seems to imply that such weddings are monogamous, (see *The Todas*, pp. 512–513). I enquired about this when in the Nilgiris, and was told that it was not necessarily, although admittedly generally, so. There have been recorded cases of polygamous unions of this type, both polygynous and polyandrous, the latter being, rather naturally with the Todas, the more usual of the two. My informants could not take me to see any such case existing at the time, but assured me that they had known some. There was nothing in Toda custom to forbid it, they assured me (see also, *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers' Book, Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

648 Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf has shown, in his short
●837 note about *Heriditary Friendships and Inter-Tribal Sex relations between Todas and Mudugas* (see Bibliography), that such relations of the
[114] Todas with their Muduga hereditary friends are definitely not limited to one man, but include a number of brothers. In this case, of course, we are not dealing with a regular marriage. Inversely, the Muduga headman whom he mentioned has access to the common wife of the two Toda brothers who are his friends, whenever he pays back their call in the Nilgiris, although the Mudugas themselves, like most more primitive people, do not practise polyandry. The type of established, even institutionalized, sex relation described here, seems definitely to follow the Toda pattern and not the Muduga one.

595 About sixty per cent of the Todas are polyandrous. I did not actually take count of exactly how many there were, because as the community is continually in flux with regard to marital arrangements, principally because of the *terershti* institution, figures would not have meant very much anyhow. But Kanvarsathi worked it out that the number of polyandrous marriages must involve just about that percentage of the whole tribe's number, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of

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married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

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159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elabo-
621 rated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Ürshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Ürshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn
[841] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda cus-
[587] tom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror. When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her
159 present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and
621 wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then
[842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup
[777] and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf
159 had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus-
621 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur-
[837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

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159 621 in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative. [276] He takes snuff and rarely goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being reserved for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-shaven except for a short moustache. [464] [291] He is a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda *putkuli* and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz, [837] whom she helps a lot. She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been accepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, handsome, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at the *mad's tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies [233] the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

(23) PILKHLIVOWUTN: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early [464] twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding moustache.

(24) KIRSHARSWUTN: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershrörah, and is a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

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being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 159 621

(25) Närshmali: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhlivowutn have to search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Närshmali had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershti* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them. [832] [837]

(26) Pufvkiaroz: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that surviving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also works as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [847] [797] [464]

(27) Mutmali: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns after some days, without Pufvkiaroz exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmali came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again. [832] [837]

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To 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any more jealous than the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually he is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 586 848 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in

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648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all:

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[623] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, viriloid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very
828 deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangur, son of Piliar (52), however, was a case

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in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

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864 them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health
[861] by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer
[824] *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Incidentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed
[861] were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult
[828] son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given
[839] up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

836 Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but
[835] within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are considered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

845 Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see
123 them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

196 521 192 602 Thus aḍð–, "dig," is allowed when a word for "pit" is used with it, but forbidden when used with a word meaning "woman," in which case it means "rape;" so also kuʃt–, "pluck up by the roots," which with a word for woman means "rape." The word nuṛtj–, "make walk," is permitted when ur, "buffalo," is compounded with it in the sense "drive buffaloes on migration" or "pay a buffalo as a fine for pollution of the dairy,"[10] or when in combination with a word for "bead" it means "string (beads)," or in other uses not involving indecency; when a word for "woman" is used with it, it means "have sexual intercourse with" and is forbidden. So also the very common verb paʃj–, "seize, take," which with a word for woman means "have sexual intercourse with." The stem oɪj–, "become," is very frequent, usually in compounds; when used by itself, it means "menstruate" and is forbidden. The word poɪtj–, "shout" is forbidden in the sense "(woman) cries out during sexual intercourse." Again atvat is an imperative with literal meaning "in that direction-seize." It usually is found in contexts where it means "take this and hold it stretched out that way;" it is forbidden in this sense since the same utterance can also mean as applied to a woman "have sexual intercourse in animal position." It can also be used as an exclamation "nonsense!" and this use is not forbidden. In the same way puɪn, "gold bangle in a dairy," is forbidden when used in the sense "privates of a young girl." [841] [304] Similarly poɪθj, "moss," may not be mentioned since a variety of moss is used during menstruation as a sanitary napkin. Women are tattooed and any reference to the process of tattooing or to the markings is forbidden. The word for "tabooed words," kiɪpoṇt, lit. "inferior-words," is itself tabooed.

578 521 These language taboos produce an interesting result in the field of social habits. Wordy quarrels about marriage arrangements, the financing and details of ceremonies, and other affairs are very common among Toda men. These quarrels most frequently take place at the large gatherings at ceremonies of all kinds. Since on most such occasions, especially at funerals, many women are present, the probable presence of ütudmortkvæɪdvoj or poʃjoɪʃ within hearing prevents the use of indecent language by the quarrelers. My informants tell me that this is the rule also in quarrels at purely male gatherings; evidently indecency has not become an element in abuse under any circumstances, since its prohibition in some circumstances has prevented the growth of a habit. I am also told that quite recently, with the relaxing of all taboos and the example of Tamil speakers, a certain amount of indecency has crept into the language of abuse.

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[10] See Rivers, pp. 293–305.

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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By
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841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri- [614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [993] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after [234] the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with 841 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The re- 778 striction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating 234 woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [962] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

[361] 2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, [328] pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at [916] which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

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normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poły). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoły, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuuɔy of the sib called mö:r was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti:-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti:-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuuɔy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

1. See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle).
2. Rivers, pp. 339-40.

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841 Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all discarded ones are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community.

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841 799 563 177 The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has been made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

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ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine 'musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithil* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatithkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*pustir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

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as they had given up of their own accord when the taste of Erzigwuf's milk changed, due to her advanced pregnancy. 862

Somewhat incredulous of Erzigwuf's assertions as they were made to me, I questioned the local medical practitioner of Ootacamund, Colonel D'Souza, Indian Medical Service (rtd.) about their veracity. He assured me that it was quite possible. He said, even, that it did not tire the mother, as after some time "it becomes mechanical". Colonel D'Souza also assured me that the contention often heard that prolonged suckling prevents conception was a fallacy completely disproved by facts, "at least in Asia". Erzigwuf also told me that Sodup and Sodam were born after she had not had any menses for eight years; two days after, however, she contradicted herself and said this was not correct (she said she had made "a mistake"). But another time she assured me that Toda women cease having any sort of periods for four months after they have given birth; that is why, she said, they cannot have children earlier – she herself had been like this. Although I do not much believe in this assertion, which is contrary to every ordinary observation anywhere, I give it here for what it is worth. 853 841 842

Small children suck their thumbs very early, Erzigwuf asserted. As a proof, she showed me one of the new-born twins, fast asleep in her lap with its thumb in its mouth. For napkins, she used bits of cloth which she regularly changed and washed. She said that she taught her children to be clean after six months. Before that, she would take them out at regular intervals and hold them in her hands, both boy and girl. Then, after, she would teach them gradually to go out by themselves, punishing them by beating them on the buttocks with a stinging nettle (called *tworkh* in Toda) when they misbehaved in the house, and rewarding them with sweets when they were good and did as they were told. They learned very quickly, in approximately one month. 854 863 [861] [824]

Regarding genital development, Erzigwuf was very outspoken, and I had no difficulty in getting information from her, even in the presence of Narjilkh and Pengelam, who would listen with interest to the conversation through Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, my interpreter. She said that masturbation started very early – at about nine months. They play with their genitals, both boys and girls, but the former more so, all the time; when walking, suckling and lying down, as she put it. When they get older, this play is intensified, and after they have reached the age of one year, she intervenes to stop it. She did so, she said, and not Mutnarsh who "lets the children do anything they want". Asked why she did not allow them to carry on freely, she said, because if she did not forbid 864

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned 771
in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional 776
kwarzam uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti.

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Ön who rules the world of the dead.

Influence of other Religious Systems

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of 177
Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a 771
visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more 776
sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,[1] whose temple is near Mettapollayam.

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, 776
while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At 782
the present time there is no doubt that their temples are 842
visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas from 40 to 100 rupees.

[1] These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

164 842 [273] The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 842 Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 177 842 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The chief village of the Kars clan is situated close to Ootacamund and has suffered greatly from its neighbours, but many of the villages of the clan are more remote, so that the clan may be put down as one partly influenced. The people of Päm and Nidrsi, on the other hand, are more influenced than any other of the Toda clans, as is shown by the alterations in their villages and the neglect of the ritual of their religion. The villages of the Pämol are, or were, near to Wellington Barracks, and it is certainly the most degenerated of all the Toda clans. The following table, taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, shows the average size of the family in each case, and though the figures are somewhat irregular, they bear out the view that sterility is greater the more the people have come into contact with Europeans and their followers.

Name of clan.	No. of families.	No. of offspring.	Average size of family.	Average size of family for group.
Nödrs (uninfluenced)	14	54	3·84	3·89
Pan (uninfluenced)	8	21	2·37	
Taradr (uninfluenced)	9	43	4·77	
Kanödrs (uninfluenced)	11	33	3·00	
Kars (partly influenced)	25	76	3·04	3·04
Päm (much influenced)	10	22	2·20	2·60
Nidrsi (much influenced)	10	30	3·00	

Proportion of the Sexes

The records of the Toda population in the past all show an excess of men over women, and with the exception of the record of Ouchterlony, which is certainly untrustworthy, the excess is considerable. In view of their untrustworthiness no importance can be attached to the records taken earlier than that of 1866, and in the report for that year I have been unable to ascertain the proportions of the sexes. In 1871 there were 140·6 men for every 100 women; in 1881, 130·4 for every 100; in 1891, 135·9, and in the census of 1901, 127·4 men for every 100 women. My figures, derived from the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

595 It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas
578 was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present, and it is perhaps in favour of this possibility that in the instance of polyandry given by Harkness[1] the husbands were obviously not own brothers. It must be remembered, however, that this case came to the notice of Captain Harkness because the polyandry had led to disputes, and, as we shall see shortly, it is in those cases of polyandry in which the husbands are not own brothers that disputes arise.

The arrangement of family life in the case of a polyandrous marriage differs according as the husbands are, or are not, own brothers.

In the former case it seemed that there is never any difficulty, and that disputes never arise. The brothers live together, and my informants seemed to regard it as a ridiculous idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies of the kind that might be expected in such a household.
595 When the wife becomes pregnant, the eldest brother performs
842 the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow, but the brothers are all equally regarded as the fathers of the child. If
851 one of the brothers leaves the rest and sets up an establishment of his own, it appeared, however, that he might lose his right to be regarded as the father of the children.

If a man is asked the name of his father, he usually gives the name of one man only, even when he is the offspring of a polyandrous marriage. I endeavoured to ascertain why the name of one father only should so often be given, and it seemed to me that there is no one reason for the preference. Often one of the fathers is more prominent and influential than the others, and it is natural in such cases that the son should speak of himself as the son of the more important member of the community. Again, if only one of the fathers of a man is alive, the man will always speak of the living person as his father; thus Siriar (20) always spoke of Ircheidi as his father, and even after Ircheidi is dead, it seems probable that he will so have fallen into the custom of speaking of the latter as his father that he will continue to do so, and it will only be when his attention is especially directed

[1] See his account at the end of this chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to the point that he will say that Madbeithi was also his father. 595

In most of the genealogies, the descent is traced from some one man, but there can be no doubt whatever that this man was usually only one of several brothers, and the probable reason why one name only is remembered is that this name was that of an important member of the community, or of the last surviving of the brother-husbands. 842 851 611

When the husbands are not own brothers, the arrangements become more complicated. When the husbands live together as if they were own brothers there is rarely any difficulty. If, on the other hand, the husbands live at different villages, the usual rule is that the wife shall live with each husband in turn, usually for a month at a time, but there is very considerable elasticity in the arrangement.

It is in respect of the 'fatherhood'[1] of the children in these cases of non-fraternal polyandry that we meet with the most interesting feature of Toda social regulations. When the wife of two or more husbands (not own brothers) becomes pregnant, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall perform the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow. The husband who carries out this ceremony is the father of the child for all social purposes; the child belongs to the clan of this husband if the clans of the husbands differ and to the family of this husband if the families only differ. When the wife again becomes pregnant, another husband may perform the *pursütpini* ceremony, and if so, this husband becomes the father of the child; but more commonly the *pursütpini* ceremony is not performed at all during the second pregnancy, and in this case the second child belongs to the first husband, *i.e.*, to the husband who has already given the bow and arrow. Usually it is arranged that the first two or three children shall belong to the first husband, and that at a succeeding pregnancy (third or fourth), another husband shall give the bow and arrow, and, in consequence, become the father not only of that child, but of all succeeding children till some one else gives the bow and arrow.

[1] I use the term 'fatherhood' instead of 'paternity' because the latter term seems to imply a meaning which does not belong to the Toda notion of 'father.'

595 The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursütpimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as
842 the father of a child if no other man has performed the essen-
851 tial ceremony.[1]

In the only case in the genealogies in which the husbands of a woman were of different clans, it happened there were only two children, and that one father gave the bow and arrow for the first child and the other for the second.

If the husbands separate, each husband takes with him those children who are his by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 There is no doubt whatever as to the close association of
847 the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given
182 up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.

178 It has been stated by most of those who have written about
182 the Todas that the custom of polyandry is dying out, but a glance at the genealogies will show that the institution is in
595 full working order even in the case of the infant marriages which are being contracted at the present time. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is now less frequent for all the brothers of a family to have one wife only in common. A study of the genealogies shows that often each brother has his own wife, or that several brothers have more than one wife between them. It seemed to me, however, almost certain that in these cases the brothers have the wives in common. In compiling the genealogies, one informant would give me the names of two or more brothers each with one wife, while another would give me the name of one brother with two or three wives, and would say that the other brothers had the same wives. When I pointed out the discrepancy and asked which was the true account, they usually said it made no difference and were almost contemptuous because I seemed to think that there was any disagreement

[1] For an instance, see p. 535.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
234 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
611 and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

[1] P. 132.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 234 611

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect. 842 181

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies. 597

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pòlm* of the father. 736 611

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan. 842 618

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

842 hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently
618 married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

GOVERNMENT

623 The most important feature of Toda government is the *naim*, or *noim*,[1] a council having a definite constitution. The
627 *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general, and, in addition, more informal councils,[2] consisting of the chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim* may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs of a clan.

623 The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five
177 members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri, from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the *naim*. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations between the Todas and Badagas.

623 The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda representatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8) and Piutolvan (10) of Kars, Kudòdrsvan (3) of Nòdrs, and Ircheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had not been taken by Piutolvan, the second Kars representative. All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

[1] A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kûtkûdriti*, "the assembly assembles," or *kûtpuniti*, "the assembly makes."

[2] It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 the hills. The clan is distinguished by its possession of the
234 conical *poh* at Kanòdrs, and by the fact that many of the adventures of Kwoto or Meilitars took place in the region it inhabits. Although Kwoto was a Meigars man, he is regarded as having a close connexion with the Kanòdrs people, and various features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs *toh* are said to be derived from him.

618 The clan is at present a small one, with a distinct majority of females. In fact, it seems so usual for members of this
842 clan to have no children or only female children that there is some likelihood that the Kanòdrsol may become extinct. The present numbers are about thirteen males and twenty-three females.

618 There was some doubt as to the number of *kudr*. I was told that there are three, headed by Arsolv (27), Kineri (29), and Pòlkab (30) respectively, but at an *irnörtiti* ceremony both Arsolv and Kineri would give to Pòlkab, while the latter would give to both, so that it seems probable that there are properly only two *kudr*, as in other clans. One of these has only one *pòlm*, that of Pòlkab. The other has three *pòlm*, headed by Arsolv, Neratkutan (28), and Kineri.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Kanòdrsol:—

Kanòdrs (Devarmand). This village now consists of the *poh* only. There are still two *mani* at this village, one of which is called *Pünkòghlag*, a name closely resembling the name of the churning-stick at the *ti*. There are at present no dwelling-huts at the place, nor any remains of such huts, though it would appear from the legend of Kwoten that the village was inhabited at one time.

Pishkwosht (Bikkapatimand). This is a large village where most of the Kanòdrsol now live. The only dairy is in ruins. Close to the village there are a number of flat stones almost level with the ground (Fig. 71) which are called *Teudr*, "the god way," and are said to mark the spot where the gods (*teu*) used to meet. Just above these is a large buffalo pen, which is reputed not to have been made by man. Whenever the gods went this way they used to deposit pieces of dried buffalo-dung on this spot and these became the stones of the *tu*.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad. 124

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life. 763 292

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way. 763

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man. 593 764 842

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into 764

attending the census, and the personal care bestowed on it, to obtain genuine results, I have every reason to think that the record of those *alive*, is as nearly correct as possible: but I have not the same confidence as regards those who had died. I attribute much of this inaccuracy to the imperfect memory of the people, in describing events long past—a person once dead, being rarely talked about—but very largely also to their habit of ignoring the gentler sex.

That such a habit should really exist, was suggested to my mind, on observing how much girls were left out of count when they described the numbers in families, and of how great importance the birth of a son was esteemed. If a Toda is asked how many children—kinmokh—he has, his reply will almost invariably be, so many sons—mokh:[9] and if further information is desired as to his daughters, one has to specify tûjmokh. On one occasion a father replied to the usual enquiry, 'I have five sons.' 'Where are they?' 'There—1, 2, 3, 4, 5.' I could only see four. Two or three times the numbers were gone over, each time the man gravely counting five, I finding only four. So, pointing to each in succession, I enumerated 1—2—3—4. Where is the fifth? 'There,' he said, pointing to his *wife*, who quietly nodded approval. It seems that the good woman had not yet given birth to the child which both parents had agreed to consider a *son*!

Viewing human action, ever as the resultant of many forces—passions, necessities, emotions, habits—pulling in divers directions, with various degrees of strength; we find that the Todas very early in the world's history, practically solved the difficult physical problem of finding the condition of equilibrium of those especial forces which affected them; how, in fact, to *stand still* in a world, the law of whose nature is that of perpetual change—a remarkable example of the

[9] Mr. Metz asserts positively that the word mokh is used by the Todas for *son*, and not for *child*. In other Drâvidian dialects it may have expanded in its application so as to mean children, both male and female.

 Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more

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than any other, and may be termed his ruling passion, is that of *necessity for* children.

842 589

The first instance which came to light of the serious—everything with the Toda is taken *au sérieux*—nature of this topic, was when the women of a certain village had collected round us, in obedience to summons; one was noticed sitting conspicuously apart, giving the impression that she was in some way tabued. 'What is the matter with her? Is she sick?' 'No.' 'Mourning?' 'No, not that.' 'She is a barudi'[9] they said quietly, and in the pitying tone in which one would apply the word 'crazy.' A handsome woman of forty, with the eyes and nose of a hawk. She had committed no fault; had added several boys and girls to the population. She was not ill, nor deformed, or sulky. She was merely a barudi, a widow. Now, it is a reproach to be a widow, unless quite old: or to be childless; the word barudi, in the Toda language, bearing the triple meaning of old woman, widow, and barren woman. This person, we have seen, was neither old nor sterile, yet as a widow who should be, but was not, producing children, she was put to shame.

[196]

To be a baruda, or widower, is equally a term of reproach for men.

Another illustration. We met with two brothers—men past sixty years of age, whose joint wife had died. In order to avoid the disgrace of being styled baruda, as well, doubtless, as to obtain the services of some one who could cook their meals, they had forthwith married again. But being elderly gentlemen, joint fathers of nine children, including twins, and not caring for further additions to their family, they had selected to be their joint wife, a woman of fifty, who, having been *discarded as sterile*, was then living a single and neglected life.

I have ascertained positively, that so great is the disgrace

[9] The derivation of this word has already been given in Chapter VII. Note 15.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

842 589

attached to the epithets baruda and barudi, as applied to young married people, the husband would connive at any steps his wife might take to obtain children. The way in which my informant described what would be done in these circumstances, leaves no doubt in my mind of the truth of what I have written.

The Bible affords many instances of the display amongst primitive tribes of this craving for progeny, and of the reproach attaching to sterility. In Genesis xvi., 2—5, we find Sarai prefers that her husband Abram should have children by her maid, rather than there should be none in the house. We meet with a similar occurrence, narrated too with a clearness that leaves no doubt as to the intention, in Genesis xxx., 1—4, in the case of Rachel, the wife of Jacob. Again in 1 Samuel i. The book of Genesis, xxxviii., 26, gives another instance, and another motive.

Of this desire for progeny I have seen many examples amongst the Todas, so strongly marked, but to all appearances apart from the sense of personal ambition, and separate from any demands of religion[10] or requirements for support in old age, as to give the impression that it was the primitive faculty of Philoprogenitiveness, acting so insensibly, naturally, as to have the character more of a plain instinct, than of an intelligent human feeling.

There is something very affecting in the spectacle which these people present; so like animals in their primitive notions; closing in round upon one another, huddling together, and breeding with such a zeal as if they feared to lose their hold on the world. Yet, even, murdering many, that many might survive the dreaded danger.

[10] This peculiarity has already been noticed in Chapter XX.

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

114 121 IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

616 618 A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toirŏs and tŏŏviłj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the smal villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tirmod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoiłj, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toirŏs are reckoned to have ten mod, the tŏŏviłj 618 five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined 842 by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called pusunt, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

582 607 618 Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are połjoiłj. Membership in a group of people known as połjoiłj is determised by descent in the female line. The female members of the połjoiłj to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

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[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319-21.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mand* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held. 595 851

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to procreate children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kurisiv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas. [842] [684] [616] [848]

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her. 851 848 836

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation 586 [587]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Mudugu headman pays back the visit at the *mud* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all.

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *mudal* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[628] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, virilioid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was
828 through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangar, son of Pillar (52), however, was a case

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Ezrigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[792] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
[845] to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Ezrigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[357] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertikh*, the raised earthen
[515] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

●842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kauvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholar* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *tarsiyli* (*tarsalai*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

(6) Nainirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pada. She is twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knows it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife. 159 621

(7) Mutnarsh: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [464]

(8) Kerrer: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mund*, in the tribe's *wursalis* for which he is very much sought after. [732] [793]

(9) Mudkowuth: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Ernigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mund* where he apparently likes to stay. [595]

(10) Ernigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda women who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so [842]

[Melgarsh Village]

159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elabo-
621 rated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Urshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Urshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *patsiitpini* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn
[846] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror.
[587] When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which
159 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and
621 wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then
[842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup
[777] and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *tesol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus-
159 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he
621 left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur-
[837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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as they had given up of their own accord when the taste of Erzigwuf's milk changed, due to her advanced pregnancy. 862

Somewhat incredulous of Erzigwuf's assertions as they were made to me, I questioned the local medical practitioner of Ootacamund, Colonel D'Souza, Indian Medical Service (rtd.) about their veracity. He assured me that it was quite possible. He said, even, that it did not tire the mother, as after some time "it becomes mechanical". Colonel D'Souza also assured me that the contention often heard that prolonged suckling prevents conception was a fallacy completely disproved by facts, "at least in Asia". Erzigwuf also told me that Sodup and Sodam were born after she had not had any menses for eight years; two days after, however, she contradicted herself and said this was not correct (she said she had made "a mistake"). But another time she assured me that Toda women cease having any sort of periods for four months after they have given birth; that is why, she said, they cannot have children earlier – she herself had been like this. Although I do not much believe in this assertion, which is contrary to every ordinary observation anywhere, I give it here for what it is worth. 853 841 842

Small children suck their thumbs very early, Erzigwuf asserted. As a proof, she showed me one of the new-born twins, fast asleep in her lap with its thumb in its mouth. For napkins, she used bits of cloth which she regularly changed and washed. She said that she taught her children to be clean after six months. Before that, she would take them out at regular intervals and hold them in her hands, both boy and girl. Then, after, she would teach them gradually to go out by themselves, punishing them by beating them on the buttocks with a stinging nettle (called *tworkh* in Toda) when they misbehaved in the house, and rewarding them with sweets when they were good and did as they were told. They learned very quickly, in approximately one month. 854 863 [861 824]

Regarding genital development, Erzigwuf was very outspoken, and I had no difficulty in getting information from her, even in the presence of Narjilkh and Pengelam, who would listen with interest to the conversation through Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, my interpreter. She said that masturbation started very early – at about nine months. They play with their genitals, both boys and girls, but the former more so, all the time; when walking, suckling and lying down, as she put it. When they get older, this play is intensified, and after they have reached the age of one year, she intervenes to stop it. She did so, she said, and not Mutnarsh who "lets the children do anything they want". Asked why she did not allow them to carry on freely, she said, because if she did not forbid 864

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XIV

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CEREMONIES

THE ceremonies connected with childbirth begin before 843
the birth of the child. These ceremonies are only performed 585
for the first child or when the woman obtains a new husband, so that they may, from one point of view, be regarded as marriage ceremonies. Nevertheless, I prefer to consider them here, and to leave the ceremonies more strictly connected with marriage till a later chapter. These latter ceremonies are far less elaborate than those to be described in this chapter, and may be more fitly considered in connexion with the social regulation of marriage.

At or about the fifth month of pregnancy, a ceremony 843
is performed which is called *ár patitth kaitiititthpimi*, "village 621
left, hand we burnt," or more shortly, *árvatpimi*, "village we leave," or *kaitiititthpimi*. The ceremony is named from its two essential features; the woman leaves the village and lives secluded in a hut and her wrists are burnt.

When it is known that the ceremony is to take place, a [343]
special hut, called *pushars* (Fig. 45), is built in a prescribed place at some little distance from the village, or if this building already exists, it is put into good order. The word *pushars* means "mud-house" or "earth-house," which would seem to point to a time when a temporary hut of mud was used, but at the present time it is built of wood, though it is of much simpler and rougher construction than the ordinary house.

The distance of the *pushars* from the huts in which the people live depends on the degree of sacredness of the village. According to Breeks, the distance is greatest in those villages

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

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which have a dairy of the conical kind, but it seems that there is no real difference between these villages and any other *etudmad*. In some cases when the dairy has a high degree of sanctity, the *puzhars* may be at an adjacent village; thus, a pregnant woman of Kindr goes into seclusion at Molkush,

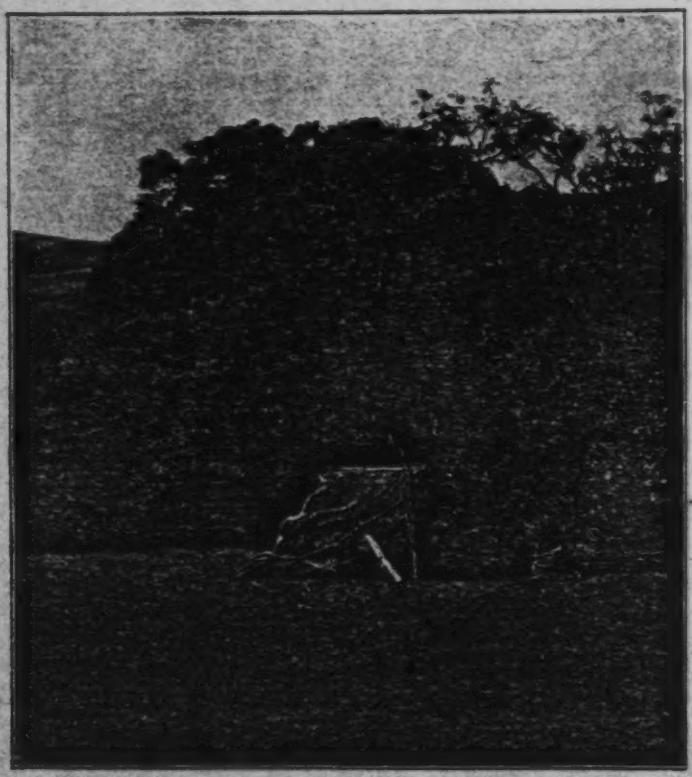

FIG. 45.—THE 'PUZHARS' AT MOLKUSH.

about a quarter of a mile away, and at this village the seclusion-hut (Fig. 45) is about a hundred yards from the house in which the people live.

I may mention here that the objection to the presence of a pregnant woman in one of the more sacred villages may extend to a time when she is not in the seclusion-hut. When I

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

visited Kindr for the purpose of testing the people of the village for colour-blindness, Sintagars, who was pregnant and was living at Molkush, was not allowed to come to the hut to be tested like the rest, but sat on the mound shown in the foreground of Fig. 7, about thirty yards away. 843 621

The features of the hand-burning ceremony as performed by the Tartharol differ considerably from those for a Teivali woman, and I will begin with a description of the former. 616 843

On the day of the new moon, the woman goes to the *pushars*. The husband (or in his absence his brother or other near male relative) cuts six sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs* and sets them up so as to represent a dairy with two rooms, which is called *pülpali*. He then cuts four bamboo-reeds called *mudr*, about eighteen inches long, which represent dairy vessels; two of them are called *patatpun*, and the other two *ertatpun*. He fills these with water taken neither from the *pali nipa* nor from the *ars nipa*, for if he touched the water of either of the streams, they would be defiled and their water could not be used. He therefore fetches the water from a stream at some distance from the village. 843

The husband brings the reeds half filled with water and places those called *patatpun* in the inner room of the *pülpali*. He takes the other two—the *ertatpun*—to a two-year-old female calf (*pöl*), and pours out the water from one reed on the left side of the middle of the back (*ův*) of the calf, and catches the water in the other. He then gives two leaves (*kakuders*) to the woman, who makes a leaf vessel, into which he pours three times from the *ertatpun* the water which has flowed from the back of the calf. The woman raises the leaf vessel to her forehead and then drinks, and the man puts the two *ertatpun* into the outer room of the *pülpali*.[1] The woman then bows down with her forehead to the threshold of the *pülpali*, and the man takes up the sticks forming the imitation dairy and the four reeds and throws all away.

[1] It will be noticed that the *patatpun* are placed in the inner room and the *ertatpun* in the outer room. In the ordinary dairy both would be placed in the inner room, though in different places. The procedure of this ceremony seems, therefore, to resemble that of the *ti* rather than of the ordinary dairy. It suggests that we have here a relic of a time when every dairy had at least two rooms, one for the things of the *patatmar* and another for the things of the *ertatmar*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

843 The woman has brought with her a new earthenware pot called *mûtkûdrik*, into which she puts food (rice or grain) and water, and places it on a small oven made on the spot with stones. When the food is cooked, the woman takes two leaves called *pelkkodsthmuliers*, *i.e.*, leaves used in the ordination of the *palikartmokh*, and portions out the food on the leaves. She then brings two pieces of wood called *parskuti* (Eleagnus latifolia), puts them in the ground and covers them with a blanket. The two leaf-plates with the food are now placed on the two pieces of wood, one on each, and the woman asks *Pirn podia, Piri podia ?* (*podia* = have you come?) My informants could tell me nothing about Pirn or Piri, except that the former was supposed to be male and the latter female.

The woman throws the *parskuti* into the bushes, this procedure being called *tapi kûrs vutpimi*, "bushes stick throw we," and then makes a little roll of threads which is called *pashti*, puts it in the fire and burns herself with the roll in four places, two on each hand, once on the prominence formed by the carpo-metacarpal joint of the thumb, and once on the prominence formed by the styloid process of the radius. The burning is sometimes done for her by the woman who is to stay in the *pushars* with her[1] during her period of seclusion. When the ceremony is over, the woman goes into the hut with her companion and stays there for nearly a month, till three or four days before the next new moon. While in the seclusion-hut, the woman is visited by relatives and friends, who do not, however, come near the hut, but stand some way off and say *kaitiitudpatia ?* ("Have you had hand-burning?") They leave a present of rice for the woman and go to the people of the village, by whom they are entertained.

When the woman comes out of the *pushars* at the end of the month, there is a ceremony called *marthk maj ûtpimi*, "To the village buttermilk we pour." Early in the morning of the appointed day a man of the Melgars clan comes to the village and milks one of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) into the vessel called *kabanachok*. The buffalo must not have

[1] I was told at first that it might be done by her husband, but this appeared to be a mistake.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

843 been milked by any one else since the time it last calved. The Melgars man places the milk in front of the hut where the woman usually lives, and then goes away, and the milk is taken by the people of the village. In the evening, after the day's work is over and the buffaloes are shut up for the night, a woman is chosen who has had no contact with the secluded woman, and she takes the milk drawn by the Melgars man to the *puzhars*, together with the leaves of the kind called *parsers*. She pours out the milk three times into these leaves and gives to the pregnant woman to drink. The latter has previously bathed and put on a new mantle, and after drinking she returns to the ordinary hut and may resume her household work.

[618] The milking is done by a Melgars man for all the Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni, where the buffalo is milked by a man of that clan. I do not know why this clan forms an exception to the general rule, but Kwòdrdoni is one of the most remote Toda villages, and it is possible[1] that the difficulty of getting a Melgars man to come to them has led the people to do this part of the ceremony themselves.

For fifteen days after leaving the seclusion-hut, the woman must drink buttermilk procured from a Melgars dairy, and must take food called *peritòr*,[2] viz., grain or rice which has been cooked in Melgars buttermilk. At the end of the fifteen days she gives up taking the *peritòr*, but continues to drink Melgars buttermilk for another fifteen days.

For a woman of the Teivaliol, the ceremony of *urvatpimi* is much more simple. No *pülpali* is made, and the husband fetches two pieces of reed only, which are called *ertatpun*. They are half filled with water, which is poured from one over the back of a calf into the other as in the Tarthar ceremony, and the woman drinks in the same way, but this is immediately followed by the hand-burning, and the rite with the two sticks and the invocation of Pirn and Piri is entirely omitted.

[1] The fact that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni are not allowed to intermarry suggests, however, that there is some relation between these clans which is the cause of the exception.

[2] This may possibly be a corruption of *perithtòr*.

843 The Teivali ceremony on coming out of the *puzhars* takes place in the early morning. A man (not the husband) fetches water from the *ars nipa* in a brass vessel called *achok*. He takes the vessel to a pregnant buffalo and tries to milk the buffalo over the vessel of water. Although no milk comes, the attempt is supposed to convert the water in the vessel into milk. The woman then leaves the seclusion-hut and is given two leaves (*parsers*), of which she makes a leaf cup, and the man pours the water which is supposed to be milk into the cup three times, and the woman drinks each time after raising the cup to her forehead. The woman and her companion then go to another special hut, called *aliars*, and stay there for a week, or if there is in the village a house of the kind called *merkalars* (see p. 29), the woman may go to the hinder part of this house instead of to the *aliars*, but in this case all the household things have to be removed from the *merkalars*.

At the end of the week in the *aliars* or *merkalars*, there follows the ceremony called *marthk maj atpimi*. Early in the morning the *palikartmokh* brings *penmaj* (*i.e.*, butter and buttermilk) in an earthenware pot and two firebrands (*tütkuli*) to the front of the hut, puts the brands on the ground, lays the pot on them for a time, and then puts the pot on the raised platform in front of the hut. He then goes away, and a woman brings a brass vessel (*terg*) and transfers the butter and buttermilk to the *terg*, and gives it to the woman, who drinks and goes to the ordinary hut.

While the woman is in the *aliars* or *merkalars*, she is not confined to the dwelling as when in the *puzhars*, but may go about. She must not, however, do any household work, nor go to any other village, nor to the ordinary huts of her own village. If in the hinder part of the *merkalars*, she must not go to the fore part of the house.

Thus the ritual of the Tartharol differs greatly from that of the Teivaliol in these ceremonies. The rite of making an artificial dairy is entirely omitted by the Teivaliol, and, as we shall see later, it is also omitted in a similar ceremony performed after childbirth, though the pieces of reed used to pour water over the calf are named after dairy vessels in both cases. I could obtain no explanation of the difference of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

procedure, nor of the omission of the invocation of Pirn and Piri by the Teivali division. It is possible that this latter ceremony has been borrowed, but if so, there is no obvious reason why it should have been borrowed by one division, and not by the other. 943

In the ceremonies accompaning the return to ordinary life, it is perhaps natural that the Melgars man should only take part in the proceedings of his own division. The other chief difference in the procedure of the two divisions is that the return takes place in two stages among the Teivaliol, while the Tarthar woman goes directly from the *puzhars* to the ordinary hut. I was told that the difference was connected with the fact that the Tarthar women drank milk, whilst the Teivali women did not, but I could not discover why this should lead to a difference of procedure.

The Pursütpimi Ceremony

About the seventh month of pregnancy a ceremony is performed, which is called *pursütpimi*, "bow (and arrow) we touch." This ceremony begins on the evening before the day of the new moon. The pregnant woman goes into a wood about a furlong from the village at which she is living. She is accompanied by her husband, or if she has several, by the husband who is to give the bow and arrow. The husband cuts a triangular niche in a tree,[1] of which the Toda name is *kers*. The niche is large enough to contain a lamp, and is made a few feet above the ground, so that it is about on a level with the eyes of the woman when she is sitting on the ground. Ghi is then put in an earthenware lamp, which is lighted and placed in the niche. Some sort of arrangement is made on the tree to provide a covering under which the woman is later to sit, but I could not satisfy myself exactly how this is done. Husband and wife then go to find the wood called *puv*,[2] and the grass called *nark*.[3] A bow (*purs*) is made from the wood by stripping off a piece of bark and stretching it across the bent stick so as to

[1] *Eugenia Arnottiana.* [2] *Sophora glauca.*
[3] *Andropogon schœnanthus.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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form the string of the bow.[1] The grass is put in the little artificial bow so as to resemble an arrow.

The husband and wife return to the tree with the bow and arrow, and the relatives of the pair come to the spot. The father of the woman promises a young female calf, the offspring of a given buffalo, which he names, saying after the the name *pòl todein*, or "calf I have given"; thus, *Kemars pòl todein* would mean, "I have given a calf, the daughter of Kemars."[2] Then husband and wife salute certain people by bowing before them and raising their feet to the forehead (*kalmelṭudithti*). The wife salutes in this way all her male relatives and those of her husband older than herself—*i.e.*, she salutes those whom she would salute in this way under normal circumstances (see Chap. XXI). The husband salutes all the male[3] relatives of his wife, irrespective of their being older or younger than himself.

The wife then sits down beneath the tree in front of the lamp, and the husband gives her the imitation bow and arrow. In doing so he says the *kwarzam* of his village followed by the words "*Teikirzi Tirsk, pursvat!*"—*i.e.*, "To Teikirzi and Tirshti, hold the bow and arrow!" The wife replies, "*purs ïverü?*"—"What is the name of the bow and arrow?"—and the husband then gives the name of the bow and arrow, which is different for each clan. The question and answer are each time repeated so that they are said three times. The formulæ repeated on this occasion differ for each clan in the *kwarzam* of the village and in the name of the bow. For the Kuudrol the latter was *pursgârův*, so that a Kuudr man would first say, "*Atthkar Teikirzi Tirsk pursvat*," and in answer to his wife's question he would answer, "*Pursgârův*." The only clan which does not say the *kwarzam* of the village is that of Nòdrs, where only the names of the gods are mentioned.

I only obtained the special names of the bow from three clans—those of Kuudr, Kars and Taradr. That of

[1] See the bow in the hand of the boy in Fig. 57. This bow is the same as that used in the *pursütpini* ceremony.

[2] The buffalo given in this way is called *pulkwadr*, or bow and arrow gift.

[3] My notes do not make it absolutely clear as to whether he may not also salute the female relatives of his wife, but I do not think that he does so.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kuudr has already been given; the name of the Kars bow is *pulkiikkim* and that of Taradr *pursüdsk*. When the husband gives the bow and arrow to his wife, she raises it to her forehead and then, holding it in her right hand, turns to gaze at the lamp in the tree. She looks for an hour or until the lamp goes out, and then all present[1] go to the village for food, except the husband and wife. The man makes a fireplace, lights a fire and cooks jaggery and rice in a new pot, using only ghi, and not butter, to mix the rice, and while he is doing this his wife ties up certain kinds of food in a cloth and puts the bundle under the tree. This food includes rice, ragi, barley, wheat, the grain (?) called *kirsi* (see p. 266), some jaggery and salt. Some pieces of honeycomb are also placed on leaves, which are then thrown away. When the food cooked by the man is ready both husband and wife eat together.

Later the relatives return from the village and all pass the night in the wood, the relatives keeping at some distance from the married pair. At daybreak on the following day, the day of the new moon, all return to the village and feast, food being given to all visitors.

Several of those who have described this ceremony have included in the description an account of "tying the *tali*."[2] So far as I could ascertain nothing of the kind is done. I inquired into the point many times and all agreed that it formed no part of the Toda ceremony and that its equivalent was the giving of the bow and arrow. More than one man spoke of the *pursüppimi* ceremony as "tying the *tali*," but the latter expression is merely the equivalent of "marriage ceremony," and the very man who used this expression denied vehemently that tying the *tali* or anything else round

[1] According to a recent account given to me by Mr. Thurston, the people leave the spot about six o'clock in the evening. The time is determined by the opening of the flowers of *Mirabilis tetraphyla*, which is called by the Todas *ár mani pův*, or six o'clock flower. This flower is a garden escape, so that this special practice must be recent, but it suggests that the general practice of telling the time of day by means of flowers may be an old Toda custom.

[2] Mr. Natesa Sastri (*Madras Mail*, August 28th, 1894) states that the bow and arrow are tied round the neck of the woman, so that they definitely take the place of the *tali*.

843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [626] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first
843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood
851 of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage
585 ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvatpimi* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi mas vhrmâ; swâmi pûâikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekâ*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekâkâdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXV. describe the connection between such brothers as follows: 'Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their mothers being sisters, they are brothers.' An uncle is styled 'my little father'; most significant.

595 602

595 182 The marriage system I have described is elastic. It is capable of being modified in its internal working without change in the actual principle. Thus, when women are scarce, several men have to be content with one wife between them. But as women become more numerous, a greater proportion of men are able to procure a wife a-piece. This condition of permanent routine is supremely satisfying to the Toda mind.

192 The general expression for marriage is represented by the word kûdiken — I join.[5] Thus, 'Beliani is married to Nastufi' would be translated Beliani Nastufig kûdthchi, or they are joined to one another. But in addressing a man with the casual question of, 'Are you married?' the ordinary way of putting it, would be to say, 'Is there a son?'—Mokh vathchya? He would reply, Ha, mokh vathchi, 'Yes, there is a son:' or if married, but childless, he would detail, Ân kukh kûdthbini, mokh illade—'I joined a woman, a son is not.'

Similarly, the enquiry made of a woman would be, Belthta gavthchya?—'Is the neck-ring tied?'[6]

[115] Mr. Metz has been so good as to describe for me a singular 843 custom connected with weddings, which he learnt subsequently to my having left the Nilagiris: of which no sort of explanation can be supplied by the Todas.

When the wife has gone seven months with her first child, she retires with her husband alone, to the depths of the village wood, where at the foot of some tree she places a

[5] I am not certain that in the word 'join,' we have got the most primitive meaning of kûdiken. The Hindustani word kûdna, and its Sanskrit root kurdd = *play*, might be compared.

[6] For the modes in which husbands and wives address one another, see Chapter VII.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

843

lamp. Kneeling before the light, she receives from her husband a bow and arrow, made by him,[7] which she salutes by lowering her forehead to them. Taking up the weapons, she asks, 'What is the name of your bow?'—each clan apparently having a different name for its bow. He tells her the name, Kurkutvashk or Virzhvashk, or any other. Question and answer are repeated three times. The wife then deposits the bow and arrow at the foot of the tree. The pair remain at the spot without shelter but that of the tree overhead, all night, eating a meal that evening, and another in the morning, before return to the village.

This looks very much like the perpetuation of a custom inherited from some past condition of life, when Todas carried weapons. But its object, and the reason for postponing the ceremony for some months after marriage, is not easy to comprehend. Perhaps, in a communistic era, possibly antecedent to polyandry—see Chapter XXVII.—it may have implied an acknowledgment of paternity, and of the obligation on the part of the father, to provide food for the coming family.

[7] It will be remembered that the weapons used at funerals are made by the Kotas.

● 943 In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

[593] In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tâli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes [322] a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sophora glauca*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kindal it is *Pirzhedikkem.*
" Muttinâd " *Pirzhirzh.*
" Kodanâd " *Kurrâduvirzh.*
" Manjakal " *Bellgâriff.*

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nâga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Mânâl* and *Shâstra.* One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow† we have got a wife who is with child.*"‡

796 The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, 551 in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

764 They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kordzai Kôda*), which takes place 765 soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Marvanâli Kôda*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

[301]

* The *Tâli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tali.

† See *Coorg Memoirs*, by Rev. H. Moegling, p. 40:—

"As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick (*Ricinus communis*), with an arrow "made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, "introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 12.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. "On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He "generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"?[1] That such marriages have been a recognised practice in India from ancient times is evident from *Manu*, iii. 33.

[1] See *Development of Relationships*, by Sir J. Lubbock: *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 3:—

"Marriage in Rome was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the "idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not "spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not united but enslaved to her husband."

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Toda

582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

• 943 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
951 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

582 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
563 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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These scars are produced by burning the skin
304 with red-hot sticks of *Litsæa Wightiana* (the sacred fire-
[824] stick). The Todas believe that the branding enables
[234] them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease, or as
[155] Dr. Rivers puts it, that it cures the pain caused by the fatigue of milking. "The marks," he says, "are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes." About the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, on the new-moon day, she
[843] goes through a ceremony, in which she brands herself, or is branded by another woman, by means of a rag rolled up, dipped in oil and lighted, with a dot on the carpo-metacarpal joint of each thumb and on each wrist.

142 The women are lighter in colour than the men, and the colour of the body has been aptly described as of a *café-au-lait* tint. The skin of the female children and young adults is often of a warm copper hue. Some of
[302] the young women, with their raven-black hair dressed in glossy ringlets, and bright glistening eyes, are distinctly good-looking, but both good looks and complexion are
[145] short-lived, and the women speedily degenerate into uncomely hags. As in Maori land, so in Toda land,
[562] one finds a race of superb men coupled to hideous women, and, with the exception of the young girls, the fair sex is the male sex. Both men and women cover
291 their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines,
[439] called putkûli, which is purchased in the Ootacamund
[531] bazar, and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. The odour of the person
147 of the Todas, caused by the rancid butter which they
[294] apply to the mantle as a preservative reagent, or with
[237] which they anoint their bodies, is quite characteristic.
[302] With a view to testing his sense of smell, long after our return from Paikara, I blindfolded a friend who had accompanied me thither, and presented before his nose

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about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me arranged their putkūlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which flows past the Paikāra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikāra bridge, they take their hand out of the putkūli as a mark of respect. Concerning the origin of the Paikāra river, a grotesque legend was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

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595 among them. When the girl becomes the wife of a boy, it is usually understood that she becomes also the wife of his brothers. In nearly every case at the present time, and in recent generations, the husbands of a woman are own brothers. In a few cases, though not brothers, they are of the same clan. Very rarely do they belong to
595 different clans. One of the most interesting features of
851 Toda polyandry is the method by which it is arranged who shall be regarded as the father of a child. For all social and legal purposes, the father of a child is the man
[843] who performs a certain ceremony about the seventh month of pregnancy, in which an imitation bow and arrow are given to the woman. When the husbands are own brothers, the eldest brother usually gives the bow and arrow, and is the father of the child, though, so long as the brothers live together, the other brothers are also regarded as fathers. It is in the cases in which the husbands are not own brothers that the ceremony becomes of real social importance. In these cases, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall give the bow and arrow, and this man is the father, not only of the child born shortly afterwards, but also of all succeeding children, till another husband performs the essential ceremony. Fatherhood is determined so essentially by this ceremony that a man who has been dead for several years is regarded as the father of any children born by his widow, if no other man has given the bow and arrow.
595 There is no doubt that, in former times, the polyandry
[847] of the Todas was associated with female infanticide, and it is probable that the latter custom still exists to some extent, though strenuously denied. There is reason to
[162] believe that women are now more plentiful than formerly, though they are still in a distinct minority. Any increase, however, in the number of women does not

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appear to have led to any great diminution of polyandrous marriages, but polyandry is often combined with polygyny. Two or more brothers may have two or more wives in common. In such marriages, however, it seems to be a growing custom that one brother should give the bow and arrow to one wife, and another brother to another wife." 595

The pregnancy ceremony referred to above is called pursutpimi, or bow (and arrow) we touch. According to the account given to me by several independent witnesses, the woman proceeds, accompanied by members of the tribe, on a new moon-day in the fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy, to a shola, where she sits with the man who is to become the father of her child near a kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*). The man asks the father of the woman if he may bring the bow, and, on obtaining his consent, goes in search of a shrub (*Sophora glauca*), from a twig of which he makes a mimic bow. The arrow is represented by a blade of grass called nark (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*). Meanwhile a triangular niche has been cut in the kiaz tree, in which a lighted lamp is placed. The woman seats herself in front of the lamp, and, on the return of the man, asks thrice "Whose bow is it?" or "What is it?" meaning to whom, or to which mand does the child belong? The bow and arrow are handed to the woman, who raises them to her head, touches her forehead with them, and places them near the tree. From this moment the lawful father of the child is the man from whom she has received the bow and arrow. He places on the ground at the foot of the tree some rice, various kinds of grain, chillies, jaggery (crude sugar), and salt tied in a cloth. All those present then leave, except the man and woman, who remain near the tree till about six o'clock in the evening,

595 851 843 [824]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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595 851 843 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas ăru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram). [765]

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nīlgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 178 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulhārs bungalow.
† *Op. cit.*

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

535 dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such
614 religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up·otjt), the rethatching of a dairy
765 (poj·ful·fæ:st), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod·furtjt), as well as at such
[648] unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc.
[616] At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojo1/, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojo1/, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojo1/ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is
[616] prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he
[837] has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

535 Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are
614 allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person
616 belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard
764 to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person
765 may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the unkitj, nirj, and purpoɪr sibs of the toɪrθas moiety, since the munds of
[837] these sibs are far from any munds of the töüñj moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her
[851] pregnancy to legitimize the child (pus·mjt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[621] [17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (mt·θwd·mod) as opposed to other munds (mes·mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized
851 one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically; they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the *pursiitpimi* ceremony.

595 The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place
851 during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman – which appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely
[843] at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives, and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia
[824] Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp,
[354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from *mark* grass (Andropogon schoenanthus).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother (in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying, after the *kwarshm* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, pursvat!* (To Terkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs*
[W4] *iveru?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*, as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsh* name for the bow. Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
[843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
[164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
[578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
[682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52) with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*, the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classified as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fathers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother. Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Perudaia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family, of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was
[595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classificatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyandrous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe, the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvatpini* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi maz vûrmâ; swâmi pûdikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekû*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekûkâdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAMILY.

Parturition—Midwives—Confinements—Infanticidal Mother taken red-handed—Name this Child—Men's Names—Nicknames—Women's Names—How married people call to one another—List of Relationships.

CHAP. VII.

844 [165]

THE act of bringing forth children seems very generally to be considered an easy one. In the course of my enquiries into the causes of death amongst adult women, I was told of two who had died in labour. If I were to judge solely by the opinions of the male sex, I should have no hesitation whatever in recording that the process of child-birth was a mere trifle: yet even after seeking more correct information from the women themselves, I could arrive at no other conclusion than that parturition, though a delicate matter, was an act which almost invariably passed off without great difficulty.

Men are never present during these family events, but apparently have to await the result outside. Three or four women—the house-full in fact—remain in attendance; one of whom is said to sit behind the patient supporting her frame: the others performing various offices tending to alleviate pain, and for the reception of the infant.

May not the ill-understood expression, 'She shall bear upon my knees,' Gen. xxx. 3, have reference to the position in which we find the person, who with a knee on each side of the expectant mother, squats behind to support her body?

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

'We call a midwife merely old woman—kelachi'[1]—said my informant—an elderly gentleman with a large family—'why give a name for midwife when every woman can act?' This, though from the male point of view, is nevertheless a statement whose truth is borne out by facts. 844

'The umbilical cord—pokku—is severed by laying it on a piece of wood, and cutting with a knife.'

'What! tie it with string first!' raising his eyes roguishly to the roof, as if looking for a piece of string projecting from the thatch. 'I have plenty of children, but have never heard of such a thing! ha! ha! ha! Tie it with string! ha! ha! ha!' Here the old man turned the laugh against us, protesting that such a thing was never done. Whether the cord is tied, but that he had for so many years remained in ignorance of the fact: or if it is really never bound, in savage life, I had no further opportunity of enquiring: but leave the narration as it was given to me by a great authority.

On the morning after the child has been born, the mother is removed to a shed—purzârsh[2]—which has been erected for her in some sequestered spot of the village wood, in anticipation of the approaching event. There she remains till the next new moon—muttu[3]—whether that phase occur in the course of 3 or of 30 days. These people cannot explain the reason for this removal: but possibly they may suppose the monthly aspect or reappearance of the moon to have some periodic effect on women. I did not succeed in eluci- 846 343 183

[1] Kelachi = *old woman*; Kelâl = *old man*. Tamil: kirra = *old*. Kirra van = *old man*; Kirra tti—*old woman*—tti pronounced chi—Âl = *man*. Keladi, in ancient Kanarese = *a female friend*. [POPE.]

[2] Purzârsh. In Tamil we have purra = *outer*. Sansk. âlayam = *dwelling*. Any termination may be converted in a Toda mouth to a guttural sound made up of l, r, and sh. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz is of opinion that purzh = *mud*; and that purzârsh means a *mud hut* or *temporary house*.

[3] Muttu, new moon = *jewel, pearl*, in Sansk. and Drâvid [POPE.]

Tiggalu, full moon, the moon. Ti is a part of dina = *day*. Glau = *the moon*, Sansk. In Tamil, tingal. [POPE.]

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 791

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pějari*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pějari* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Varshdl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tūr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tūr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *nevala*, *mathu*, or *hem* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 996 621 173

The institution is *Mānail*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child. 944

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Purshārzh*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pukhan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*hes*), the *Purshārzh* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālthchi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and 553 531

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 8.

† *Mānail* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

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264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

512 In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would
[234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond
[264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position,
[606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and
[278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back to the *ertilkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.

845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

845 after delivery. If the child is still-born its body is buried at the same time.

A caul is named *kwadri* (umbrella), but no importance is attached to it, nor is it kept.

SECLUSION AFTER CHILDBIRTH

846 Two or three days after childbirth the mother and child go to the seclusion-hut, or *pushars*, the same structure being used as after the hand-burning ceremony. Various rites are performed, both when going to and leaving the seclusion-hut, and these have many points in common with those which take place before and after the hand-burning. As in that case, the procedure for the Tartharol differs considerably from that of the Teivaliol.

The general name for the ceremony of going to the *pushars* is *pòlk pòtha nir utpimi*—"to the calf back (or hind quarters) water we pour," from one of the chief features of the proceedings. The ceremony takes place either in the early morning or in the evening.

The woman who is to be secluded, whether she be Tarthar or Teivali, rubs ashes on her head and face (*pûthi adipimi*, ashes we rub), and comes out of the ordinary hut in which she has been living since the delivery. She holds over [824] her head a branch of the 'Nilgiri holly,'[1] which has spreading leaves so that it resembles an umbrella; this leafy umbrella is called *tòrikwadr*, and the act is called *tòrikwadr patipimi*, "we hold the umbrella." The head is also covered with the *putkuli*. From the moment she leaves the hut the woman [776] is very careful to keep her face turned away from the sun, not on account of its noxious influence, but in order to avoid the star or other body called Keirt, which is supposed to be near the sun. The child is carried in front of the mother by another woman, who also holds a *tòrikwadr* to shelter the infant from the evil influence of Keirt. Among the Tartharol a small artificial dairy is made, exactly as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, and four reeds are cut to represent dairy vessels.

[1] Called by the Todas *tòri* or *tòrimul* (*Berberis nepalensis*); its leaves are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

161 seems at present to exist may be due, wholly or in part, to
847 the diminution of infanticide.

There is one indication that female infanticide has almost
163 entirely ceased during the last five years, and even that there may now be an excess of female births. In the table of ages given on page 469, it will be seen that the pedigrees record more girls than boys of five years and under. There is no reason why my record of such young children should have been more defective for one sex than for the other, and the proportion here may be approximately correct.

Twins

845 Twins are called *ömumokh*, and it is the custom to kill one
847 of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or, at any rate, would have been killed in the past.

There is one case of twins in the genealogies. Iraveli, the wife of Kwötuli and Nudriki (8), gave birth to twins about twelve years ago. Both were boys, and I was first told that one had died shortly after birth, but later inquiries made it almost certain that the boy had been killed. Some time after the birth of the twins, one of the buffaloes of Kwötuli and Nudriki is said to have had a calf with one body, two heads, and four legs. The buffalo died before the calf was born, and the monstrosity was found by the Kotas, to whom the body was given. It was generally expected that something would happen to Kwötuli or Nudriki, but they have since been very prosperous.

The Determination of Age

805 This is a suitable place to say a word about the method I
128 adopted to ascertain the ages of the Todas. Like all people at a low stage of culture, the Todas are very uncertain about their ages, though their knowledge is more accurate than that of many peoples. Every Toda knows, however, whether he is older or younger than another, this fact determining the

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595 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda
833 households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with
[732] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing
845 to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was
[787] the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants
[186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never
[352] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertilkh*, the raised earthen
[513] platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case
[171] all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of those two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very
831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershti*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

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159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elabo-
621 rated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Ürshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Ürshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsiitpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another
[846] woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror.
[687] When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which
159 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and
621 wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
●845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again
[842] expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup
[777] and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus-
159 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he
621 left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur-
[837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

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512 In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back, they would
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complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by ask- [123]
ing me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not ac- [273]
cede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the [431]
occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the [846]
demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even be- [847]
ing tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mut- 595
narsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children [865]
were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The* 846
Todas, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. 796
Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was un- [183]
usual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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864 them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health
[861] by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer
[824] *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Incidentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed
[861] were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in
[828] the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult
[839] son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

836 Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but
[835] within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are considered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

● 845 Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see
123 them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

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still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, [614]
and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
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Fig. 28. Erzigwuf with Peterozn, Mutnarsh and the twins, Sodup and Sodam.

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Fig. 29. Kuddhue.

[p 300-D]

845 after delivery. If the child is still-born its body is buried at the same time.

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The general name for the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* is *pòlk pòtha nir utpimi*—"to the calf back (or hind quarters) water we pour," from one of the chief features of the proceedings. The ceremony takes place either in the early morning or in the evening.

The woman who is to be secluded, whether she be Tarthar or Teivali, rubs ashes on her head and face (*pûthi adipimi*, ashes we rub), and comes out of the ordinary hut in which she has been living since the delivery. She holds over [824] her head a branch of the 'Nilgiri holly,'[1] which has spreading leaves so that it resembles an umbrella; this leafy umbrella is called *tòrikwadr*, and the act is called *tòrikwadr patipimi*, "we hold the umbrella." The head is also covered with the *putkuli*. From the moment she leaves the hut the woman [776] is very careful to keep her face turned away from the sun, not on account of its noxious influence, but in order to avoid the star or other body called Keirt, which is supposed to be near the sun. The child is carried in front of the mother by another woman, who also holds a *tòrikwadr* to shelter the infant from the evil influence of Keirt. Among the Tartharol a small artificial dairy is made, exactly as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, and four reeds are cut to represent dairy vessels.

[1] Called by the Todas *tòri* or *tòrimul* (*Berberis nepalensis*); its leaves are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

As the woman walks towards the place where the *pülpali* has been erected, another woman lays on the ground before her a leaf of *kakïd* on which she puts some threads taken from a *maadtuni*—*i.e.*, the garment worn by the *wursol*. These threads are called *tunikar*,[1] and they are taken up by the mother and put in the string round her waist on the right side.[2] Water

FIG. 46.—TESSUELI SITTING AT THE DOOR OF THE 'PUZHARS' AT KARIA WITH HER FACE TURNED FROM THE SUN.

is then poured by the husband from the imitation *patatpun* over the hind quarters (*pòtha*) of a calf, so that it falls into the *ertatpun* just as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony. Before the woman drinks this water, three drops of it are put into the mouth of the child and a four-anna piece (*pawu*) into its hand. The mother then drinks three times

[1] Possibly this means "calf of *tuni*."

[2] It will be noticed that the woman puts the fragments of *tuni* in her waist-string on the right side, while the various dairymen who wear *petuni* put it on the left side.

846 and bows down at the threshold of the imitation dairy, after which she goes into the seclusion-hut. During the whole of the proceedings she is careful not to turn her face towards the sun.

Among the Teivaliol there is no imitation dairy and, as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, only two reeds are used as *ertatpun*. A fire is made on an improvised fireplace of three stones, and lighted by means of thatch brought from the hut,[1] and food is put on a fragment of an earthenware vessel and placed over the fire.

After the woman has drunk of the water which has been poured over the back of the calf, she breaks the earthenware fragment over the fire, saying, *Namavku*, "to Namav," this rite being called *Namavtur kwudrtpimi*, "to Namav we give." [783] The woman then goes to the seclusion-hut, being assisted by her husband, who now acquires the impurity which is called *ichchil*, and any one else who touches the woman after this ceremony also becomes *ichchil*.

776 I saw the ceremony[1] of going to the *puzhars* on two occasions, the woman each time belonging to the Teivaliol. 784 The most striking feature of each occasion was the obvious 846 and intense dread of Keirt. In one case, soon after leaving the hut, the woman, Sintagars, called out for another umbrella as she feared that the *tòrikwadr* was not sufficient to shelter her from Keirt, and during the rest of the proceedings she held over herself both the leafy umbrella and one of the ordinary kind.

I was told that all the chief incidents of the ceremony—the rubbing on of ashes, the holding of the leaf umbrella, the pouring of water over the calf and the giving to Namav—were all designed to avert the evil influence of Keirt, which they call *Keirtpudrtvuti* (see p. 269).

846 After the woman has gone to the seclusion-hut she is visited by relatives and friends, who stand at a distance, just as they did after the hand-burning ceremony. They bring rice with them as a present and call out

Marrant	*sivn*	*mikh*	*mokh*	(or *kugh*)	*mipatia?*
Confined	life	remaining	son	(or daughter)	had you?

I am doubtful whether this is essential.

1 [of the seclusion of a woman following the birth of a Child -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

846

"Have you had a son (or daughter) and are yet alive?" The visitors then go to the huts of the village and are entertained.

The woman and child stay in the seclusion-hut, accompanied by the husband and by a woman who is usually the assistant at the birth. If the child is not the first, the mother remains in seclusion till a few days before the next new moon, this kind of seclusion being called *nâtersper*. If the child is the first-born, the stay in the seclusion-hut is longer and is called *kadrthersper*. In this case the woman stays in the hut till a month has elapsed after the new moon following the birth. Thus Sintagars went into seclusion on Sunday, October 19th, and came out on Thursday, November 27th, 1902, exactly four weeks after the new moon of October 31st.

The proceedings on leaving the seclusion-hut are like those which take place after the seclusion following the *urvatpimi* ceremony, but with a few additional rites.

Among the Tartharol there is only one ceremony, called *marthk maj atpimi*, in which a buffalo is milked on the morning of the day by a Melgars man. Before the woman drinks the milk in the evening, another woman lays threads of *tuni* on leaves of *kakud*, and puts them on the ground before the mother, who puts them in the right side of her waist-string as when going to the seclusion-hut. After returning to the hut the woman drinks Melgars buttermilk and eats food cooked in Melgars buttermilk in exactly the same way as after the hand-burning ceremony.

Among the Teivaliol the return to ordinary life takes place in two stages, as after the hand-burning ceremony. The woman first goes to the *aliars*, or to the hinder part of the *merkalars*, after drinking water, which has been supposed to be turned into milk by pretended milking from a pregnant buffalo. I saw this ceremony on one occasion (Fig. 47) when the pretended milking was done by a small boy, Pongudr (52), and the supposed milk was poured into the leaves and given to the mother by a woman who had not been present in the seclusion-hut with her. The person who pretends to milk the pregnant buffalo becomes *ichchil* by doing so, and the reason

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

846 why a young boy was chosen for this office was that the adult members of the family might escape the disabilities attendant on this condition. On this occasion especial care was taken that the mother should sit facing the sun during the ceremony. She at first sat down with her face turned away from the sun, and she was made to turn round, so that

FIG. 47.—SINTAGARS DRINKING AT THE 'MARTHK MAJ ATPIMI' CEREMONY. THE BOY, PONGUDR, IS SITTING BEHIND HER.

she directly faced it. This was the exact opposite of the procedure followed when going to the seclusion-hut.

After being in the *aliars* or *merkalars* for a week there follows the ceremony of *marthk maj atpimi*, which is the same as that after the *urvatpimi* ceremony, with the addition that a representation of a hut is made with five or six sticks of

the kind called *kwadrikurs*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*achok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatiti*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties. 846

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *terigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol. [431]

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf. 846 234 853 788

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

1 [The ceremony after childbirth -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

846 suggested is the most probable one; but this can only be con-
234 jecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have
853 now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other
reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

788 The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however,
174 has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *än*. As we shall see later, the *än* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madtuni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *än* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

880 A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation 616 with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be 846 regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas.

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word 171 *pūlpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar 846 ceremonies. *Pūli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pūl* would be used for outskirts in this special sense.

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some 852 time after, the child has its face covered, and no one 854 except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtâr teritht*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtâr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed.

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majvatvaiidrn*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p. 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other. 616

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali. 796 852 765 769

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division. 184 846 616

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another [272]

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
616 ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
796 differences between the two divisions may be regarded as
174 secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some
184 time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
192 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if
197 the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

'We call a midwife merely old woman—kelachi'[1]—said my informant—an elderly gentleman with a large family—'why give a name for midwife when every woman can act?' This, though from the male point of view, is nevertheless a statement whose truth is borne out by facts.

'The umbilical cord—pokku—is severed by laying it on a piece of wood, and cutting with a knife.'

'What! tie it with string first!' raising his eyes roguishly to the roof, as if looking for a piece of string projecting from the thatch. 'I have plenty of children, but have never heard of such a thing! ha! ha! ha! Tie it with string! ha! ha! ha!' Here the old man turned the laugh against us, protesting that such a thing was never done. Whether the cord is tied, but that he had for so many years remained in ignorance of the fact: or if it is really never bound, in savage life, I had no further opportunity of enquiring: but leave the narration as it was given to me by a great authority.

On the morning after the child has been born, the mother is removed to a shed—purzârsh[2]—which has been erected for her in some sequestered spot of the village wood, in anticipation of the approaching event. There she remains till the next new moon—muttu[3]—whether that phase occur in the course of 3 or of 30 days. These people cannot explain the reason for this removal: but possibly they may suppose the monthly aspect or reappearance of the moon to have some periodic effect on women. I did not succeed in eluci-

[1] Kelachi = *old woman*; Kelâl = *old man*. Tamil: kirra = *old*. Kirra van = *old man*; Kirra tti—*old woman*—tti pronounced chi—Âl = *man*. Keladi, in ancient Kanarese = *a female friend*. [POPE.]

[2] Purzârsh. In Tamil we have purra = *outer*. Sansk. âlayam = *dwelling*. Any termination may be converted in a Toda mouth to a guttural sound made up of l, r, and sh. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz is of opinion that purzh = *mud*; and that purzârsh means a *mud hut* or *temporary house*.

[3] Muttu, new moon = *jewel, pearl*, in Sansk. and Drâvid. [POPE.]

Tiggalu, full moon, the moon. Ti is a part of dina = *day*. Glau = *the moon*, Sansk. In Tamil, tingal. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VII.

343 dating any expression of such belief from them: but the profound ignorance in which they are steeped is amply sufficient to account for all want of knowledge of reasons. The 846 custom is probably an extremely ancient one. Some notion, 183 of the nature I have described, may have founded the practice, though all trace of its origin or cause, may have been forgotten long ages ago.

846 For a month after her return home, she appears to have the house to herself: her husband remaining indebted to friends for shelter meanwhile.

I had the pleasure of being introduced to a woman just after her return from the purzârsh. In the course of my inquisitorial visits, which will be more fully described in Chapter X., I had ascertained in a certain village, that there was a young female infant which had not been shown to me: and this might be an infanticide! Almost hoping such might be the case, and that I had discovered a mother red-handed, I enquired after its health. 'Oh,' said the women, airily, and with the true maternal interest in young babies, 'they are both in the house round the corner.' Thither accordingly I went, and found the young mother awaiting a visit, hoping to receive for her small one—kin-minthki[4]—one of the little silver-bits she heard were circulating so freely amongst the children of the Mand, from whose society she was still debarred.

Studying the Frontispiece and the pictures of Toda women in this book, anyone of artistic taste can fancy the little picture; which in its way was pretty and interesting. Scene; an old-looking and water-stained log hut, belonging to a primæval tribe of the glacial period: summer time: brilliant sun: green herbage: forest background. The imagination is now sufficiently developed to appreciate the tableau! A

[4] Kin-minthki = *female infant.* Kin = çin = *little*: a Drâvidian root. Minthki is probably a corruption of manujâ or manushî = *woman*—Sansk. [POPE.]

Popen = *male infant.* This is a mere term of endearment. Drâvidian pomma is a *puppet*; with which it may be compared. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

young mother—infanticidal, polyandrous—is sitting on the earthen floor, just within the doorway, enveloped in a mantle of unbleached cotton. On her left arm, snuggling next her bare body, inside the garment, lies something like a comic doll, with long black hair, cream-coloured skin and pink points. The palm of the woman's right hand, uppermost, is directed towards the child. Her body, foreshortened by reason of the lowness of the door. The nut brown gipsy face, all eyes and teeth, just a bit delicate, is upturned towards the visitor: and speaking volumes by look and by attitude of hand, appeals for a present for the one-month-old. The inside of the room—such as remains visible—pitch-dark. There she was, smiling away, little knowing of my groundless suspicions.

A boy is named—peru or pesru or hesru = a name—and his ears are bored some time within about three months of his birth.

The child appears to be kept out of sight until the naming day; when the father, unaccompanied by the mother, takes it, hidden in the folds of his mantle, up to one of the sacred buildings of his Clan: and standing in front of the door, but outside of the surrounding wall, salutes the sanctuary with hand to forehead. Then kneeling on the ground, he for the first time opens out the infant's head to vision, and pressing its little forehead down till it touches the soil, names the child, reciting the following prayer; 'dânenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama;' the meaning of which is: 'Be beneficent: may it be well with the children, the people, the cattle, the calves, and everyone.'[8]

I see now before me, a woman who had accompanied her husband till *within sight* of the building, standing on an eminence, witnessing from a distance, with hand shading

[8] Strictly speaking, the prayer means, 'May it be well with the *male* children, the *men*, the *cows*, the *female* calves'—in fact, all that is useful—'and everyone;' in which latter category are probably included the women and girls.

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553 intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

558 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred
562 places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given
● 846 about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—
551 porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure
463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda,
551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 771

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pějári*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pějári* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Vorshdl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tōr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tōr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *nerula*, *mutha*, or *hem* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 996 621 173

The institution is *Mōmil*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of securing prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child. 944

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Parshōrsh*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pálhan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*hoe*), the *Parshōrsh* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pálthold*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kmals and 533 551

* Cf. *Sanskrit* xii. 9.

† *Mōmil* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elabo-
621 rated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Ürshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was
[587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Ürshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn
[846] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror.
[587] When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which
159 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and
621 wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it.
845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its
[762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then
[842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in
[777] olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus-
159 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he
621 left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur-
[837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

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[Melqarsh Village]

complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by ask- [123]
ing me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not ac- [273]
cede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the [431]
occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the [846]
demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is
impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even be- [847]
ing tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mut- 595
narsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children [865]
were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The* 846
Todas, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. 796
Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was un- [183]
usual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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[Melgarsh Village]

846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite un-
[865] orthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[783] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quick-
[793] est way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the
124 practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time, the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative. 162 184

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk. 847

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children. 114 847 182

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which 161 847

[1] Pp. 194-5.

161 seems at present to exist may be due, wholly or in part, to
847 the diminution of infanticide.

There is one indication that female infanticide has almost
163 entirely ceased during the last five years, and even that there may now be an excess of female births. In the table of ages given on page 469, it will be seen that the pedigrees record more girls than boys of five years and under. There is no reason why my record of such young children should have been more defective for one sex than for the other, and the proportion here may be approximately correct.

Twins

845 Twins are called *ömumokh*, and it is the custom to kill one
847 of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or, at any rate, would have been killed in the past.

There is one case of twins in the genealogies. Iraveli, the wife of Kwötuli and Nudriki (8), gave birth to twins about twelve years ago. Both were boys, and I was first told that one had died shortly after birth, but later inquiries made it almost certain that the boy had been killed. Some time after the birth of the twins, one of the buffaloes of Kwötuli and Nudriki is said to have had a calf with one body, two heads, and four legs. The buffalo died before the calf was born, and the monstrosity was found by the Kotas, to whom the body was given. It was generally expected that something would happen to Kwötuli or Nudriki, but they have since been very prosperous.

The Determination of Age

805 This is a suitable place to say a word about the method I
128 adopted to ascertain the ages of the Todas. Like all people at a low stage of culture, the Todas are very uncertain about their ages, though their knowledge is more accurate than that of many peoples. Every Toda knows, however, whether he is older or younger than another, this fact determining the

595 The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursütpimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as
842 the father of a child if no other man has performed the essen-
851 tial ceremony.[1]

In the only case in the genealogies in which the husbands of a woman were of different clans, it happened there were only two children, and that one father gave the bow and arrow for the first child and the other for the second.

If the husbands separate, each husband takes with him those children who are his by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 There is no doubt whatever as to the close association of
847 the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we
182 have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.

178 It has been stated by most of those who have written about
182 the Todas that the custom of polyandry is dying out, but a
595 glance at the genealogies will show that the institution is in full working order even in the case of the infant marriages which are being contracted at the present time. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is now less frequent for all the brothers of a family to have one wife only in common. A study of the genealogies shows that often each brother has his own wife, or that several brothers have more than one wife between them. It seemed to me, however, almost certain that in these cases the brothers have the wives in common. In compiling the genealogies, one informant would give me the names of two or more brothers each with one wife, while another would give me the name of one brother with two or three wives, and would say that the other brothers had the same wives. When I pointed out the discrepancy and asked which was the true account, they usually said it made no difference and were almost contemptuous because I seemed to think that there was any disagreement

[1] For an instance, see p. 535.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

587 however, from the account already given, that polyandry is still
595 strongly established among the Todas. Still, there are a few cases in the genealogies which seem to show that when two brothers had different wives, and one brother died, the widow might be taken by the surviving brother. Thus, in Table 34, two brothers, Matovan and Kemners, had one wife, Sargveli, while Atcharap had his own wife, Puners. When Matovan died, Sargveli was regarded as the wife of both Atcharap and Kemners.[1] Again, after the deaths of Mulpolivan and Peigvan (3), the widow of Nersveli was married by Perol, the clan-brother (first cousin) of the husband.

In other cases, the widow of one brother has not become the wife of her husband's brothers, but has married elsewhere; and though the evidence is necessarily very unsatisfactory, it seems on the whole probable that the Todas show no special relation between polyandry and the Levirate custom.

If the widow marries a man who is not one of the brothers of her dead husband, the new husband has to pay a certain number of buffaloes. He does not, however, give these buffaloes to the brothers of the dead man, but to his children; thus, when Karnisi of Päm (37) died, his widow, Nersaveli, married Mutthuvan (34) of Kanòdrs, who paid fourteen buffaloes to Pungievan, the son of Karnisi. This payment of buffaloes is known as *terkudrichti*, "compensation he gives," and it is the custom for the number of buffaloes in this case to be twice the number given by the dead man for his wife; in this case Karnisi had taken Nersaveli from another man for seven buffaloes.

In relation to the Levirate, the important point here is that the buffaloes are paid to the sons of the dead husbands, not to his brothers.

194 I do not think that the Todas provide any definite evidence
847 towards the solution of the vexed question of the relation
595 between polyandry and infanticide. It is possible that at their first arrival in the Nilgiri Hills, the Todas had few sources of food, and had a severe struggle for existence; that

[1] It will be noticed that I am using the term 'Levirate' in a wider sense than that in which it is sometimes employed, for Sargveli was not a childless widow.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

they therefore adopted the practice of female infanticide, and that polyandry followed as a consequence. At the present and during recent times there has certainly been no economical motive for infanticide, and I am very doubtful whether it has ever existed. I think it far more probable that the Todas brought the practice of polyandry with them when they came to the Nilgiris; but if this view should be adopted, there is still no evidence to show whether they also brought infanticide with them, or whether this custom developed owing to the fact that polyandry diminished the need for female children.

POLYGYNY

In the last section we have seen that there is a tendency for the polyandry of the Todas to become combined with polygyny. Two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule the two men have the two wives in common. In addition, polygyny of the more ordinary kind exists among the Todas, and is probably now increasing in frequency, as one of the results of the diminished female infanticide.

One example of polygyny is the marriage of Kuriolv (56) with two wives, one of about the same age as himself, the other a young wife whom he shares with Onadj (57). In another case Odrkurs (1), has two wives, the second wife being a young girl recently married in the hope of obtaining a son (see p. 550).

There is one example of polygyny in the genealogies in which a young boy, Mokudr of Nidrsi (42), has two wives, both young girls. He has been doubly married in order that he may get rid of one of his wives by the *tererstbi* custom and so become rich. He has been married to two wives in order that he may sell one.

When a man or a group of men have more than one wife, the two wives usually live together at the same village, but sometimes they live at different villages, the husband or husbands moving about from one village to the other.

sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other.

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills.

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out some interesting differences between the two divisions. The data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1] would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol.

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 and the greater freedom from external influence is probably
177 an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide
616 among them at present, though it will not explain the greater prevalence in the earlier generations.

847 The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two
184 divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.

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[For the author's theories of the origin and development of polyandry and infanticide, see category 116, pp. 223-232.]

 In paragraph (a) of the last Chapter, I showed that the

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162 Toda males of all ages bear to the females, the proportion of 100 : 75; and the correctness of this statement is somewhat confirmed by the ratio in adults and in children, given in paragraphs (β) and (γ) bearing a similar discrepancy. This excess

947 of males is a very striking fact, and its truth may be accepted without doubt or mental reserve. I think we cannot quite account for the universal paucity of females without acknowledging, either that infanticide is, or has recently been practised to a very sensible extent: or that more boys are *born* than girls.

000 To what cause may we attribute this wide departure in nature, from those of her well-established laws; by the operations of which, equality between the sexes, is, within certain limits of divergence, known to be preserved, in all countries of whose population we have accurate knowledge? If we are disposed to describe the cause, in some general expression, as 'race peculiarity,' we still cannot be satisfied with less than the discovery of the physiologic reason for such eccentricity. We note the food and clothing, the mode of life, the climate; and fail to see sufficient reason for ascribing what we seek to any such origin. In fact, as regards the Todas, we can with certainty pronounce, that in only two respects can their surroundings be considered to differ widely in an important manner, from that of vast masses of mankind to whom great variation between the sexes has never been traced; viz., in their marriage system, and in the practice of infanticide.

162 582 We have learnt that relationship is, with the Todas, intimate far beyond that witnessed in any country approaching civilisation. Intimate to such a degree, that the whole tribe, where not parents and children, brothers and sisters, are all first-cousins, descended from lines of first-cousins prolonged for centuries. Let me show emphatically and distinctly that such is in truth the case. The tribe consists of about 713 persons, divided between 5 clans; of which

two are almost extinct. The remaining three clans, being nearly of equal number, must contain about 200 members of all ages each. But one of them—the Peiki clan—marries solely within itself. Hence, this small body of 200 people have intermarried from time immemorial. And the intercourse must have become very promiscuous. I do not attribute disparity between the sexes to this close intercourse; but it is interesting to review the primitive practice, as a custom connected with the paucity of numbers arising from infanticide, and with the polyandrous habit which is found in junction with it.

In future chapters we shall see that the practice of infanticide as observed by the Todas, was the habitual destruction of all daughters in every family, except one or sometimes two. And we know that the average size of Toda families is 6 children born to each woman.

Now let us for the purpose of illustration take three families as representing an average of the entire tribe; say that one mother gives birth to 6 daughters and no sons: a second mother has 6 sons only, whilst the third mother has 3 sons and 3 daughters. The first mother—following the tribal custom—destroys 4 daughters and preserves 2. The second retains her 6 sons. The third kills 2 daughters and keeps 1, as also her 3 sons. We have then, from the three families, 9 sons and 3 daughters with which to continue the breed. But whilst the males belong to families in which the tendency to produce sons is great, the females are of those of a converse inclination. Thus the bias strengthens with each generation, until, as we find, families grow to have habitually more sons than daughters. This habitude *outlasting the depraved practice which caused it*, indurates more or less, into a fixed characteristic of the people: and *a male-producing variety of man is formed.*

In presenting Table No. 4, containing what I have termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' to the indulgence of my readers,

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CHAP. XXIII.

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their motives and their action proximate and uninvolved, we have the ready means afforded us of tracing, by a comparatively short and easy road, up to first causes, and thus of acquiring an insight into human impulse, which may prove serviceable even in judging of more complicated races, and must ever be interesting to obtain.

Fortunately for the preservation of the human race, which must otherwise have become extinct, primitive tribes are greatly attached to their children. We may safely assume, therefore, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that where wholesale destruction of progeny by the parents themselves, is looked on as an obligation which has devolved on them in order to save their race from destruction—where in fact, it is largely a work of love—there the act would be performed without needless violence. In those tribes where children are killed in a heartless manner; whether by prolonged neglect or in some actively cruel method, we shall probably not be far wrong in ascribing such action to selfish, ignoble motives.

The following is the interesting evidence of an aged Toda, who speaks of what has been enacted under his own eyes. I give the narration very nearly in his own words;—

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'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan[1] visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children; but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it.

'I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle—putkuli—but formerly there was only one for the whole family, and he who had to go out took the mantle; the rest remaining naked at home: naked all but the loin-cloth—kûvn.

[1] Mentioned in Chapter VIII., Note 3. The English officer who first mounted the Nilagiri plateau, and visited the homes of the Todas. Events of Toda importance all date from the visit of Sulaivan Dore, as we quote the Christian era.

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'We did not kill them to please any God, but because it was our custom.

'The mother never nursed the child—no, never! and the parents did not kill it. How could we do so! Do you think we could kill it ourselves!

'Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the opening of the buffalo pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals![2] We never did such things! and it is all nonsense, that we drowned it in buffalo's milk!'[3]

'Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—*that would be a sin*—papum; but when we had one girl,[4] or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed.

'This is the way it was done. An old woman—kelachi[5]—used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth, with cloth thus'—here pantomimic action. 'It would shortly droop its head and go to sleep. We then *buried* it in the ground.[6] The kelachi got a present of four annas[7] for the deed.

'I don't know if the infants thus killed, go to amnôr. Who can tell such a thing!'

[2] I find the following passage in a letter from the Collector of Coimbatore, dated 25th June, 1856, to the address of the Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, very kindly placed at my disposal by the Revenue Department, Madras; 'The mode of destroying the infant, if a female, is by exposing it the next morning at the door of the cattle kraal; when first opened, the whole herd, half wild, rush over and annihilate the wretched infant—the Todas never lifting their own hand against it.' 195

[3] This response had reference to a report then current, of this second mode of destroying children.

[4] The truth of this statement is confirmed by a letter from Mr. J. Sullivan, Collector of Coimbatore, dated 5th July, 1820, to the Secretary to the Governor of Fort St. George.

[5] Also means 'a female friend.' See Chapter VII., Note 1.

[6] It will be remembered that Todas *burn* their dead. By burying these infants, can it be, that the people thought they had got rid of them *for ever and ever*? Hence my question, to which the next paragraph forms a reply.

[7] Four annas is equal to sixpence of English money.

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847 I am well convinced that the old man spoke the strict truth in describing the practice of infanticide as a thing of the past; basing my belief, on the general appearance of things, rather than on statistics. (1.) If the custom still prevailed, the circumstance could not have remained hidden from the people of neighbouring tribes, with whom a very close degree of intimacy is maintained: and its commission forming a topic of conversation in their bazaars and meetings, the news would in due course certainly have reached our ears. (2.) The people sitting before us, in course of close examination as to the number and condition of their families, would undoubtedly have evinced by manner or voice, if at any time, we were approaching a dreaded and secret subject. (3.) Two, three, and even four living daughters were met with in families: and I may add, the girls looked in very good condition and as well cared for, as the rest of the household.

177 In the year 1822—or 48 years prior to the date of my
847 census—the Government of Madras put a pressure on the Todas, in order to impel them to forsake their murderous
168 practice.* But no statistics exist, and none can now be formed, that will afford us means of judging the actual state of the habit, anterior to that date.

847 In a previous chapter of this book—in that treating on the Census—the average age at which Toda women commence to bear children, is noted as 17 years. Those women therefore, who are 48 + 17 = 65 years old, must be the earliest who show the effect of the Government's repressive action. Hence it is, that we must look to the information regarding births and deaths which has been afforded by the mothers, rating from

* Owing to a deficiency in the records of the Madras Government, we do not know how infanticide was actually stopped; but the orders given in its letter of 21st July, 1820, were to frustrate the practice 'by all means of encouragement and persuasion.' In carrying these orders into effect, I believe that the persuasion employed was of an impressive character.

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TABLE No. VIII.

Compiled from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' Table No. IV., in order to ascertain the progress made towards checking Infanticide. Arranged according to the 'present ages of Wives.'

Present Ages of Wives	No. on the List	Detail						Abstract									Remarks
		Progeny															
		Alive		Dead		Born		Alive		Dead		Born		Proportion of females to 100 males			
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	A.	D.	B.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
65	4	2	2	2	2	4	4										
65	53	2	2	5	1	7	3										
60	5	3	2	0	0	3	2	14	7	9	8	23	15	50	88·9	65·2	
60	6	4	0	0	2	4	2										
60	28	3	1	2	3	5	4										
55	27	1	2	3	0	4	2										
55	43	4	1	2	2	6	3										
55	49	3	1	1	0	4	1	17	9	9	5	26	14	52·9	55·6	53·8	
50	8	3	2	2	2	5	4										
50	21	2	1	1	1	3	2										
50	42	4	2	0	0	4	2										
45	22	3	2	1	2	4	4										
45	36	3	3	1	1	4	4										
45	37	3	3	2	1	5	4										
45	45	1	1	2	0	3	1										
42	23	2	2	2	0	4	2	18	10	12	5	30	25	111·1	41·7	83·3	
42	54	0	1	0	0	0	1										
40	3	3	2	0	0	3	2										
40	15	0	4	2	0	2	4										
40	44	3	2	2	1	5	3										
38	10	5	1	1	0	6	1										
35	18	2	2	0	1	2	3										
30	19	0	3	0	0	0	3										
30	46	4	1	0	0	4	1										
28	35	1	0	0	0	1	0										
28	20	2	0	0	0	2	0										
27	1	2	2	0	0	2	2										
26	52	2	1	0	0	2	1										
25	2	1	2	1	0	2	2	24	17	2	3	26	20	70·8	150	77	
25	38	1	1	0	0	1	1										
25	40	1	1	0	1	1	2										
24	11	0	1	0	0	0	1										
24	29	0	1	0	0	0	1										
22	16	1	0	0	0	1	0										
20	24	1	1	0	0	1	1										
20	55	1	0	0	0	1	0										
18	14	0	0	0	1	0	1										
		73	53	32	21	105	74							72·6	65·6	70·5	

No families have been omitted, in extracting from 'Statistics of Toda Families,' except those whose returns appear to be doubtful, or are rejected to the subject under review.

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65 years down to the youngest married women, if we would trace the abatement of infanticide.

847 It is much to be regretted that the statistics of Table No. 8 162 do not afford a record so complete as could be desired; even 847 to the degree I had fondly calculated on their doing, in the 163 course of our careful enquiries in the field. The instances, though certainly few in number, should distinctly have pointed to the change that was being effected in the course of forty-eight years; by enabling us to trace some sort of declining scale in the contrast of the sexes. The disproportion between males and females is indeed great in the Table, but it neither increases nor lessens in any form of sequence.

I have allowed the Table a place in these pages, despite its acknowledged deficiencies, and notwithstanding that the statistics, taken by themselves, give every appearance of the venerable practice being in full vigour, whilst I am fully convinced by the circumstantial evidences which I have given, that such is not the truth. I have done so, because it thus obtains a value, in showing that *the practice of infanticide may be extinct, whilst statistics indicate its actual prevalence;* that, in fact, the strange numerical difference in the sexes, which the census shows to amount to 25 per cent., implies with certainty, only that infanticide has *lately* been practised. If the custom were in its fullest possible force, consistent with the preservation of the race, the sexual divergence would be as great as 100 to 33·3; a proportion which allows one girl on an average, to every family—with less than which allowance, the race could not survive.

My readers will have noticed in Chapter XI. the suggestion, that a curious result of long continued infanticide, has been to create a male-producing variety of the human race.

165 It will be observed that in the Table[1] the proportion of females who have died, to 100 males, is 65·6: whilst of those alive, it is 72·6. This discrepancy bears evidence to the inaccuracy of the statistics. Judging from the circumstances

[1] [See p. 197, Category 163 -- Analyst]

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compensatory skill of savages, which they owe greatly to their large organ of Weight.

050 In the description of the Toda character, founded on phrenologic basis, which I afforded in previous chapters, I have endeavoured to express, how weak they are in those groups of mental qualities which enable men to surmount difficulties in life by the force of their natural energies; how that their whole nature is built for the maintenance of the existing state of things: how free from cruelty, and how fond of children: how practical their character, though limited in range of vision: and how deficient in tenacity.

I have also tried to enable my readers to realise the early state of things; when the increase of numbers due to the luxurious nature of an equatorial climate had outstepped the supply of food: and the growth of human intellect—giving the ability to augment the supply—had failed to keep pace with the growing density of the population.

● 847 Now, resolve all these forces—the natural tendencies of primitive man, and the circumstances by which surrounded—
168 in such direction as exactly to neutralise one another; and you work out the problem which the Todas had to solve. Only three courses were open to them: (1.) The progressive exercise of combined labour and skill. (2.) Abstinence from marriage. (3.) Destruction of children.

They tried the first, and failed. In regard to the second, Nature, who is ever careful of her own interests, was doubtless altogether too strong for them. We see they adopted the third course, but in such manner as to give their gentle natures—gentle above all to children—the least suffering, by killing the infants without pain, and before the parents had opportunity to love them.

The great similarity in the dispositions of the two sexes assures me that mothers co-operated with fathers willingly in the deed.

000 If the Todas had possessed a large organ of *Acquisitiveness*,

tradition, to retain, in some instances, more than one daughter in a family; thus forming a small reserve of women, with which the vacancies which would arise in other families, from a deficiency in female births, or from girls not having been raised to years of maturity, find a counterpoise. 000

The exceptional practice of polyandry, which had, in an unpremeditated manner, thus grown, merely from the infanticide which had disturbed the natural proportion of the sexes, might be expected to retain something of the promiscuous ways, which for ages had been so much in consonance with gregarious and primitive tastes. Now that the custom of infanticide has been relinquished, and the discrepancy between the sexes, which was its immediate fruit, has become less remarkable—though very far from having vanished—I observe communism still remaining *de facto*, the loved habit of the people, whilst monogamy grows to be the national form of marriage. It may be that the Todas in this process of change, are merely *reverting* to an ancient usage—that prior to infanticide—instigated by the natural predilections of unaltered dispositions. Perhaps their habits are becoming modified by the influence of surrounding monogamic races. 178 595 947

I very much doubt if the custom of polyandry, taken in the ordinary acceptation of that word, viz., the union of brothers only, to one wife, can anywhere be found as the sole national form of marriage; thus assuming the airs of a respectable, even if eccentric custom; for, bearing in mind the extreme gregariousness of their dispositions, and intimacy of their lives: considering, also, the absolute necessity for every soul to marry, it is evident that the actual nature of the tie must very greatly depend on the living ratio of the sexes; which, of course, could not be maintained at one undeviating level. When the proportions balance, the savage prefers a promiscuous style: but as they widen, and the males preponderate, the practice of monogamy is seen, coexistent with that of a polyandry in which the husbands are *so-called* brothers. 000

262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

● 547 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Meta's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

517 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Ildta*, which is
526 played as follows :—

A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Ildta* is a variety of *tipcat*.

Another game is called *Nārthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some mands a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Kāridlapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B.

291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows :—

"The garment* in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, "cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

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* *Toda: Pūthuli.*

[Category 116, pp. 117-123.- - Analysis]

595 among them. When the girl becomes the wife of a boy, it is usually understood that she becomes also the wife of his brothers. In nearly every case at the present time, and in recent generations, the husbands of a woman are own brothers. In a few cases, though not brothers, they are of the same clan. Very rarely do they belong to
595 different clans. One of the most interesting features of
851 Toda polyandry is the method by which it is arranged who shall be regarded as the father of a child. For all social and legal purposes, the father of a child is the man
[843] who performs a certain ceremony about the seventh month of pregnancy, in which an imitation bow and arrow are given to the woman. When the husbands are own brothers, the eldest brother usually gives the bow and arrow, and is the father of the child, though, so long as the brothers live together, the other brothers are also regarded as fathers. It is in the cases in which the husbands are not own brothers that the ceremony becomes of real social importance. In these cases, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall give the bow and arrow, and this man is the father, not only of the child born shortly afterwards, but also of all succeeding children, till another husband performs the essential ceremony. Fatherhood is determined so essentially by this ceremony that a man who has been dead for several years is regarded as the father of any children born by his widow, if no other man has given the bow and arrow.
595 There is no doubt that, in former times, the polyandry
[847] of the Todas was associated with female infanticide, and it is probable that the latter custom still exists to some extent, though strenuously denied. There is reason to
[162] believe that women are now more plentiful than formerly, though they are still in a distinct minority. Any increase, however, in the number of women does not

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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595 when they return to the mand. The time is determined,
851 in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the
842 flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a
[805] garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six
[824] o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may
be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a minia-
[765] ture bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram).

648 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to
585 Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nīlgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best
178 summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulikot bungalow.
† Op. cit.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? 847
Those tell lies who say we laid it down before the open- 178
ing of the buffalo-pen, so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were [732] sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears, and mouth with a cloth thus—here pantomimic action. It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas for the deed." [465] The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance to a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not.* The Missionary Metz † bears out the statement that the Toda babies were killed by suffocation.

At the census, 1901, 453 male and 354 female [162] Todas were returned. In a note on the proportion of the sexes among the Todas, Mr. R. C. Punnett states ‡ that "all who have studied the Todas are agreed upon the frequency of the practice (of infanticide) in earlier times. Marshall, writing in 1872, refers to the large amount of female infanticide in former years, but expresses his conviction that the practice had by that time died out. Marshall's evidence is that of native assurance only. Dr. Rivers, who received the same assurance, is disinclined to place much confidence in

* Ellis. History of Madagascar.
† Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills. By a German missionary, 1856. [113]
‡ Proc. Cambridge Philosoph. Soc., XII, 1904.

847 native veracity with reference to this point, and, in view
178 of the lack of encouragement which the practice receives from the Indian Government, this is not altogether surprising. The supposition of female infanticide, by accounting for the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, brings the Todas into harmony with what is known of the rest of mankind." In summarising his conclusions, Mr. Punnett notes that:—

[162] (1) Among the Todas, males predominate greatly over females.

(2) This preponderance is doubtless due to the practice of female infanticide, which is probably still to some extent prevalent.

(3) The numerical preponderance of the males has been steadily sinking during recent years, owing probably to the check which foreign intercourse has imposed upon female infanticide.

764 In connection with the death ceremonies of the Todas, Dr. Rivers notes that "soon after death the body is burnt, and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is etvainolkedr, the first day funeral. After an interval, which may vary greatly in length, a second [765] ceremony is performed, connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is marvainolkedr, the second day funeral, or 'again which day funeral.' The funeral ceremonies are [574] open to all, and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institu-
764 tion of the Todas, however, they have become known to
192 Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas hase kedu, the fresh or green

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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being with the buffaloes and are usually put in charge of the grazing of the herd. He too is reputed to be "good" with the animals. 159 621

(25) Närshmali: A lively and comely young woman, who keeps her household very tidy. She is always washing herself or doing her hair, in full view of everybody, which she seems to enjoy. She pours water over herself from a pot with her undergarment on, tightly tied under her armpits, it is true, but she very often lets it slip when drying herself, with exclamations of consternation, as if it were an accident. She is [832] quite a flirt at Toda gatherings, and I have seen Pilkhlivowutn have to [837] search for her in the bushes of a *shola* and drive her home again with a stick. Her second husband, Porshwutn, a mere boy, is never much at home. I was amused, however, to see him and his elder brother one day when Närshmali had actually really run away from them, complacently attending to the household chores themselves and, they said, just waiting for the *terershti* buffaloes that were their probable due to be paid to them.

(26) Pufvkiaroz: The only son of the notorious Toda Pebob who spent his time carrying off other men's wives, this man had an unhappy childhood. Both his mother and father died when he was very small, and there was nobody really left to look after him. It is said that sur- [847] viving members of his father's family wanted to drown him as a useless mouth, and that he was saved from this premature death by Miss C. F. [797] Ling of the Church of England's Zenana Mission. She brought him up to be a Christian, but when he came of age he is reported not to have accepted Christianity and to have returned to the Toda religion. He is a weak-chinned, thin man, with a resigned and apathetic look on his face, but recognized by the other Todas as knowing more than they because of his earlier association with the Christian Mission. For this reason, he has been appointed a member of the Collector's Toda Welfare Committee and he does everything that he can to assist his brethren. He also [464] works as a gardener in the Botanical Garden.

(27) Mutmali: After Nalsirwuf, probably the second best-looking Toda girl. She is an inveterate flirt and has run away from her husband [832] many times with other men. Somehow, however, she always returns [837] after some days, without Pufvkiaroz exerting himself in any way. Last time I saw this happen, he simply carried on with the housekeeping himself, while assuring me that it would not be long before Mutmali came back. This proved to be true, and some five days later she was again at Melgarsh, sulking somewhat, and offering no excuse, but already having taken up the household chores again.

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complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by asking me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not accede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even being tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mutnarsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The Todas*, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was unusual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the 845
bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 123
30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was [847]
not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance [743]
of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving [648]
as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put [757]
a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow 845
at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately 763
to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, [614]
and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my [847]
wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the 764
little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*, 588
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stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

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For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

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It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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To 114 reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

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As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162

As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursiitpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursiitpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 181 831

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held. 595 851

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to procreate children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas. [842] [684] [616] [848]

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her. 851 848 836

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation 586 [587]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by 831
overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of
course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined pa- [848]
ternity through the *purstitpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and consequently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it would, I suppose, elsewhere.

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases 833
of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard, but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as contradicting these findings.

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris 114
has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the subject of an addendum.

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in 614
many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to 616
W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe.

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh 614
at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the 554
subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples – such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the *palol*), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *timad* – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a

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222a

To 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any *more jealous than* the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually he is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 586 848 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in

843 the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

[851] The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals [626] in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

[764] Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—*i.e.*, by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

171 Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first
843 pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood
851 of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage
585 ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites. 171 843 851 585

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvatpivi* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery. 844

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi maz vûrnâ; swâmi pâdikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekt*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekkâdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days after delivery. [177]

[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Ind.* IV., p. 187.)

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

595 It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas
578 was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present, and it is perhaps in favour of this possibility that in the instance of polyandry given by Harkness[1] the husbands were obviously not own brothers. It may be remembered, however, that this case came to the notice of Captain Harkness because the polyandry had led to disputes, and, as we shall see shortly, it is in those cases of polyandry in which the husbands are not own brothers that disputes arise.

The arrangement of family life in the case of a polyandrous marriage differs according as the husbands are, or are not, own brothers.

In the former case it seemed that there is never any difficulty, and that disputes never arise. The brothers live together, and my informants seemed to regard it as a ridiculous idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies of the kind that might be expected in such a household.
595 When the wife becomes pregnant, the eldest brother performs
842 the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow, but the brothers are all equally regarded as the fathers of the child. If
851 one of the brothers leaves the rest and sets up an establishment of his own, it appeared, however, that he might lose his right to be regarded as the father of the children.

If a man is asked the name of his father, he usually gives the name of one man only, even when he is the offspring of a polyandrous marriage. I endeavoured to ascertain why the name of one father only should so often be given, and it seemed to me that there is no one reason for the preference. Often one of the fathers is more prominent and influential than the others, and it is natural in such cases that the son should speak of himself as the son of the more important member of the community. Again, if only one of the fathers of a man is alive, the man will always speak of the living person as his father; thus Siriar (20) always spoke of Ircheidi as his father, and even after Ircheidi is dead, it seems probable that he will so have fallen into the custom of speaking of the latter as his father that he will continue to do so, and it will only be when his attention is especially directed

[1] See his account at the end of this chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

to the point that he will say that Madbeithi was also his father. 595

In most of the genealogies, the descent is traced from some one man, but there can be no doubt whatever that this man was usually only one of several brothers, and the probable reason why one name only is remembered is that this name was that of an important member of the community, or of the last surviving of the brother-husbands. 842 851 611

When the husbands are not own brothers, the arrangements become more complicated. When the husbands live together as if they were own brothers there is rarely any difficulty. If, on the other hand, the husbands live at different villages, the usual rule is that the wife shall live with each husband in turn, usually for a month at a time, but there is very considerable elasticity in the arrangement.

It is in respect of the 'fatherhood'[1] of the children in these cases of non-fraternal polyandry that we meet with the most interesting feature of Toda social regulations. When the wife of two or more husbands (not own brothers) becomes pregnant, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall perform the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow. The husband who carries out this ceremony is the father of the child for all social purposes; the child belongs to the clan of this husband if the clans of the husbands differ and to the family of this husband if the families only differ. When the wife again becomes pregnant, another husband may perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and if so, this husband becomes the father of the child; but more commonly the *pursütpimi* ceremony is not performed at all during the second pregnancy, and in this case the second child belongs to the first husband, *i.e.*, to the husband who has already given the bow and arrow. Usually it is arranged that the first two or three children shall belong to the first husband, and that at a succeeding pregnancy (third or fourth), another husband shall give the bow and arrow, and, in consequence, become the father not only of that child, but of all succeeding children till some one else gives the bow and arrow.

[1] I use the term 'fatherhood' instead of 'paternity' because the latter term seems to imply a meaning which does not belong to the Toda notion of 'father.'

595 The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursütpimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as
842 the father of a child if no other man has performed the essen-
851 tial ceremony.[1]

In the only case in the genealogies in which the husbands of a woman were of different clans, it happened there were only two children, and that one father gave the bow and arrow for the first child and the other for the second.

If the husbands separate, each husband takes with him those children who are his by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 There is no doubt whatever as to the close association of
847 the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given
182 up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.

178 It has been stated by most of those who have written about
182 the Todas that the custom of polyandry is dying out, but a glance at the genealogies will show that the institution is in
595 full working order even in the case of the infant marriages which are being contracted at the present time. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is now less frequent for all the brothers of a family to have one wife only in common. A study of the genealogies shows that often each brother has his own wife, or that several brothers have more than one wife between them. It seemed to me, however, almost certain that in these cases the brothers have the wives in common. In compiling the genealogies, one informant would give me the names of two or more brothers each with one wife, while another would give me the name of one brother with two or three wives, and would say that the other brothers had the same wives. When I pointed out the discrepancy and asked which was the true account, they usually said it made no difference and were almost contemptuous because I seemed to think that there was any disagreement

[1] For an instance, see p. 535.

[837] a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the
684 man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort
851 of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitasmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitasmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitasmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

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should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursütpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursütpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *pádmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

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seems to show that colour-blind men, or rather males of colour-blind families, had colour-blind descendants more often than perhaps might have been expected if the Todas are in practice quite as promiscuous as their social regulations allow them to be. The record of the affinity of the colour-blind suggests that in spite of the theoretical promiscuity, the husbands are, in practice, very often the fathers of their children. 143 831

A few histories of individuals may be given as examples of the various marriage customs which have been described in this chapter. One of the most married of Toda women is Puvizveli of Kusharf (65). She was married in infancy to Singudr (55), of the same clan as Sinkòrs, the mother of Puvizveli, and the two were probably the *matchuni* of one another, though only in a distant way. Puvizveli was taken from Singudr by Madsu and Koboners (58), who gave for her three buffaloes. From them she was transferred to Kangudr of Piedr (62), it being arranged that he should pay eleven buffaloes. Soon after joining Kangudr, Puvizveli became ill, and since there is a prohibition of marriages between the clans of Piedr and Kusharf, it was agreed that the pair should separate, and the woman was taken by Tütners and Etamudri (58). The eleven buffaloes had never been paid by Kangudr, so Tütners and his brother gave their buffaloes directly to Madsu and Koboners, but only four instead of eleven. All these transactions took place while Puvizveli was still young, but by her new husbands she had a son who died soon after birth. During her second pregnancy, she was taken by Perpakh and Tebkudr (68), who gave six buffaloes. The transference took place before the *pursütpimi* ceremony had been performed. Perpakh gave the bow and arrow, and the daughter since born is regarded as the child of Perpakh and Tebkudr. Puvizveli has also a Tarthar *mokhthodvaiol*. 159 851 58

Edjog of Kuudr (56) was married in infancy to Nargudr (62), the son of her mother's brothers, and therefore her *matchuni* in the nearest sense. From him Kiudners (70) and his two brothers took her for five buffaloes. Kiudners died

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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before the buffaloes had been paid, and Edjog was taken by Mavòdriners (65), who arranged to pay the five buffaloes to Nargudr. He did not do so, but after having a son by Edjog, he sent her back to the father, paying a *kwadr* of one buffalo. So far, Nargudr had not received his five buffaloes, but he now obtained them from Kaners and Kudrievan (63), who took the woman although she was the granddaughter of their sister Narskuti. The marriage met with disapproval among the Todas on this account, though there does not appear to be any definite regulation against such a marriage; and at the time of my visit Edjog, a young woman of about twenty-seven, was still the wife of the two old men, aged about seventy and sixty-seven respectively.

Kuriolv of Kuudr (52) first married Punaveli (65), by whom he had two children. He then took to live with him Pilimurg (7), a Tarthar woman, giving to Pepners (44), the husband of the woman, fifteen buffaloes. Though Pilimurg is only legally his *sedvaitazmokh*, Kuriolv treats her as a wife. She lives at one of the Kuudr villages, while Punaveli lives at another. Pilimurg has had one son, Meilitars, since she has been living with Kuriolv, and Kuriolv always speaks of the boy as his son, though legally he is the son of Pepners, and his name will be found in the genealogies among the children of this man.

Recently Kuriolv has also married Sintharap (68), sharing her with Ònadj (57), of the same clan as Kuriolv, but belonging to a different family. Sintharap has had three children, for the first of whom Kuriolv performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and since no one has performed this ceremony for the succeeding children, they are also regarded as the children of Kuriolv. One of these children was Sinerani, whose funeral ceremonies have been described.

Kuriolv's son, Kulpakh (52), married Toridz (65), sharing her with Kiladrvan (60), of the same clan as Kulpakh, but of a different family. At the first pregnancy Kulpakh gave the bow and arrow, and was regarded as the father of that child and of two succeeding children who were born while Kulpakh was alive. After the birth of the third child Kulpakh died,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and Toridz has since continued to live with Kiladrvan and has had two more children. Kuriolv, the father of the dead man, succeeded in preventing Kiladrvan from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony before the birth of either of these children, and consequently they are regarded as the children of the dead Kulpakh and belong to Kuriolv's division (*pòlm*) of the clan and not to that of Kiladrvan. Here, by virtue of the *pursütpimi* ceremony, a dead man is the legal father of two children who are known to be really the sons of his fellow-husband.

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In the preceding cases the people belong to the Teivaliol. Among the Tartharol there are similar histories.

Pupidz of Kwòdrdoni (35) was married in infancy to two brothers, Kalgeners and Kinagudr, belonging to the same clan as the mother of Pupidz, so that she would probably have called them *matchuni*, though they were not nearly related. From these boys Pupidz was taken by Patser (26), who gave for her three buffaloes. From Patser she was taken by Siriar (20) for five buffaloes. Some time later Pepob (44) wished to marry Pupidz, but both she and Siriar were unwilling to be separated. Pepob, however, persuaded the council to arrange that he should have the woman for three buffaloes, and soon after five or six men carried off the woman by force, entering Siriar's hut at night. Two of the men held Siriar while the others carried off his wife, who became pregnant by Pepob, but Siriar, who had been trying to get back his wife, succeeded when she was about at the sixth month. The hand-burning ceremony had already been performed, but Siriar gave the bow and arrow, and is therefore the legal father of the boy born afterwards, although Pepob is known to have been the real father. Siriar had to give Pepob eleven buffaloes, though he had only received three, and had given five to the previous husband.

Nanbarvan of Kars (7) first married Pothenir (47), by whom he had one son. Nanbarvan went to England with a party of Todas, and Pothenir then married Kutadri, Nanbarvan's first cousin. On his return from England, Nanbarvan married Sindod (38), by whom he had a second son. Then he fell ill, and in consequence sent Sindod away,

159 and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims
851 that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be
58 no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover the cause of this.

159 A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was
627 on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to
851 Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said
58 to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners, the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pödri*, nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing purposes. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and *pödri* were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45). She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners from infancy, and after having three children, who died young, she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3), while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other husbands.

159 To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional
584 and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda
595 married life, I add one taken from the book published by Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by
851 myself.

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE HISTORY OF PINPURZ KUTAN

"I was not seven years old, when my father, taking a child's garment, in value about a quarter of a rupee, and selecting one of the best of our herd, desired me to accompany him to the morrt[1] of Kinōri. This Kinōri had, a month or two before, a daughter born to him. Soon after we had arrived at the morrt, it being understood that Kinōri gladly consented to the propositions which had been made by my father, I was directed to bow myself down, and in the presence of the whole family to ask his foot. This I did; and touching it with my forehead, the buffalo and the garment were presented him, and I was considered to be affianced to his daughter. We remained there for some days, during which period it was agreed upon, what number of kine I was to receive in dower, on my intended spouse coming of age, and we again set out to return to our own morrt. I had no brothers, or they also would have been affianced to my intended, as this was part of the agreement, in case of my father having any more sons born to him. In this case Kinōri's daughter would have been wife to us in succession as we arrived at manhood, and we should have formed one united family—the supreme authority, however, still resting with me. The next year, my father presented to my intended bride a garment, double in value to the first which he had presented, and in each succeeding year, one proportionately increasing in value. We also sacrificed a buffalo, and presented a kutch[2] on every occasion of a death among any of the relations of my intended's family, and one also at their obsequies. In case of any accident of the kind in our family, we expected the same to be observed towards us, except the presenting of the kutch, from which my bride's father was exempted on account of the dower he had to give with her, which would greatly exceed in amount any expense which I could be

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[1] This is evidently the same word as *marth*, which occurs in Chapter XIV as a word for village.

[2] This is the *kach*. Harkness states that it was generally a piece of dyed or printed cotton as at present.

159 to my father. My father died, and when I had attained
584 man's estate, I was not pleased with my betrothed; and
presenting her father with three kine, the contract was by
595 mutual consent dissolved. Had the reverse been the case,
851 and the bride or her father had declined to allow of con-
sumation, I could have claimed of the latter a fine equal
to fifty kine, and till this fine was paid the former could not marry any other. Freed from my contract with my first bride, I sought to affiance myself in a manner more to my own inclinations, and wishing to be connected with the family of my present wife, Pilluvāni, who was then only six years of age, I spoke to her father, and, obtaining his consent, presented her with a garment in value, according to her age, of about a rupee and a half, and a milch buffalo. I continued to present her with a garment every succeeding year; and on the occurrence of a death among any of the relations of her family, and at the obsequies, I always sacrificed a buffalo, and presented the kutch. Pilluvāni was afterwards betrothed to two others, Khakhood and Tūmbŭt. When she had arrived at a certain age, and had for eight days been living with one of her female friends in a dwelling separate from those of the family,[1] intimation was sent to me, and I went to her father's morrt, that is, Kerjwan's, her second father, the first one being dead. I was feasted and bedded; and after a few days, Kerjwan, laying on his hands, gave us his blessing, and I returned with my wife to my own morrt, receiving with her in dower four buffalo kine; her father also presented to her on this occasion a pair of ear-rings, a pair of armlets, a necklace, a brazen salver, and five rupees.

159 "Now, according to our customs, Pilluvāni was to pass the
first month with me, the second with Khakhood, and the third
595 with Tūmbŭt; and the two latter, waiting in succession on
851 the father-in-law, were to ask his blessing and claim their
privilege in right. I was to give her raiment the first year, Khakhood the second, and Tūmbŭt the third. I had the option of claiming the first three children, Khakhood the second three, and Tūmbŭt the third three; when the option again revolved to me. It was my place to go to her father

[1] This is a custom of which I failed to obtain any account.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

two or three months prior to the birth of a child, and, delivering to him a small piece of wood, which we call a billu,[1] to claim the forthcoming infant, whether male or female, and acknowledge before him and his relations that I would protect and nourish it; and that, whatever might happen, I allowed this to be in satisfaction of one of my claims. On this occasion, also, I was to present him either five or ten rupees, and in return he was to allow me to select, if I presented him five rupees, three; if ten rupees, six of the best kine of his herd. If the child proved a boy he would have to present me with a heifer, and another one also on the birth of each son, but not on the birth of a daughter, as it is supposed that she will soon be betrothed, and that a fortune will accrue to her in that way.

"After the third birth the same observance and privilege would have fallen to Khakhood and Tūmbŭt successively, or if I chose to give up any of my rights the two latter would successively have had choice of adoption, &c., &c. We all three should have been equally bound to protect the whole of the children, to marry, and to give them in marriage; but the superior authority would always have rested with me.

"The case of Pilluvāni and myself, however, was at variance with this custom. We were very fond of one another and determined not to separate. I offered to pay the usual fines, but the other party would not accept of them. I had been unfortunate. A murrain had attacked my herd; the greater part of Korrorr,[2] and which belonged to my fathers, had been forsaken by the Marvs and Cūvs,[3] from the oppression of some of their rulers, and from being a leading man among my own people I was now reduced, but principally by the oppressions of my wife's relations, to comparative poverty."

[1] This is evidently due to misunderstanding of the *pursūtpimi* ceremony. The Tamil word for 'bow' is *vil*.

[2] Probably Keradr.

[3] Badagas and Kotas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 *monegar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in
184 government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council
554 are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and
463 *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavòdiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

Laws of Descent

611 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male
● 851 line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursütpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.[1] I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

[1] Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuh*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

is determined entirely by the *pursütpimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife. 611 851

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütpimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *tereersthi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two *rôles* he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote. 611 604

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *mammokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy 192 593 577

428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends
428 on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known.
851 Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by
428 a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would
611 arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which
671 would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony
183 was performed several generations ago. When the eldest child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

CHAP. XXIV.

183 II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

421 621 III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

618 423 234 IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[5] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

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Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

[5] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

children as his—though each woman is mother only to her own—and each male child is an heir to the property of all of the fathers. CHAP. XXIV.

X. In order to avoid the complications that would arise, in the matter of food and the guardianship of property, from the re-marriage of widows, if they entered other families, taking their children with them; either a brother or other near relation of her deceased husband, takes her to wife. She 'remains in the family.' Such is Toda expression.

The following was early Semitic custom (*see* Deuteronomy xxv. 5): 'If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger; her husband's brother'—or 'next kinsman,' says a marginal note—'shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother[a] unto her.' This practice, is either pure polyandry, or it pertains to that extreme communistic state of society, to which, as I shall shortly demonstrate, polyandry belongs.

I met on one occasion, the instance of a man who had just separated from a very good-looking young wife of about fourteen years of age, in order that he might marry his elder brother's widow. It was looked on as a matter of course that the widow should 'remain in the family:' and the retention of two wives, in a community where the women are considerably in the minority, is out of the question. The girl had immediately espoused another; for until children have been born, the Todas do not mind the marriage of a widow out of the family.

These and other instances of the grave, practical, and undeviating nature of this curious people, made a great impression on me at the time.

Perhaps the feeling which engrosses the Toda mind more

[a] To raise up seed unto the brother.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Toda

of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

5: Emeneau L-5 (1935-37) 1937 Toda

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Enquiry into the details of the moγȯoɪtjt institution (called by Rivers mokhthoditi)[11] supplements Rivers' account in some important details. For all legal purposes, i.e. membership of mod and the consequent relations to the tribe as a whole, Rivers is correct. Children of these unions are legally children of the man who has given the bow to the mother. In investigating restrictions on the freedom to form these unions it was found that there are two classes of union. In one the man who takes the woman gives only a cloak (puɪtγuɟj). Children of this type of union and the man's legal children may form moγȯoɪtjt unions without any restrictions, except that such a union may not be formed while the parents are still living together in a union of this kind. When the union in the earlier generation ceases, a union in the next generation may be formed.

In the other class of union the man gives to the woman jewelry and makes to her male relatives the koɪlmilvuḍθt salutation ("act of falling on leg," i.e. kneeling and putting to one's head the other's feet in turn; of the one who raises his feet it is said, koɪlγoɪtj-, "leg-show"). Children of the union are then in the same relation to the man's legal children as if they were ŭudmortkvædvoj, and the same rules hold for unions between them, and between their descendants as for unions between ŭudmortkvædvoj and their descendants. For example, a half-brother and a half-sister may not form the union; their children may form the union, for they are pseudo-motʃiṇj. Children of half-brothers may not form the union, but their children may. Rivers[12] mentions the union of kŭmɪɪiaɟl of the tŏŭviɟj with piɟj-muɾγ of the toɪrŏas. He insisted on giving ter for her[13] as if she could be his legal wife, and lived with her for many years (which is unusual in these unions), having by her four children, who were regarded by everyone as his own except that they belong legally to the toɪrŏas. This seems to have been the first case in which ter was given in one of these unions, and there have been some later imitations of the precedent. This type of union is merely an extension of the type in which the koɪlmilvuḍθt salutation is performed, and the regulations governing unions of the descendants are the same.

The taboos described above operate also between all those who are in a pseudo-relation of ŭudmortkvædvoj because of a moγȯoɪtjt union. In the first type of union they cease to operate when the union is dissolved, in the second they are permanent in their operation, just as is the prohibition against further unions.

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[11] Described in Rivers, pp. 526-29.

[12] Page 534 *and*.

[13] See Rivers, pp. 523-25.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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595 among them. When the girl becomes the wife of a boy, it is usually understood that she becomes also the wife of his brothers. In nearly every case at the present time, and in recent generations, the husbands of a woman are own brothers. In a few cases, though not brothers, they are of the same clan. Very rarely do they belong to different clans. One of the most interesting features of 595 851 Toda polyandry is the method by which it is arranged who shall be regarded as the father of a child. For all social and legal purposes, the father of a child is the man [843] who performs a certain ceremony about the seventh month of pregnancy, in which an imitation bow and arrow are given to the woman. When the husbands are own brothers, the eldest brother usually gives the bow and arrow, and is the father of the child, though, so long as the brothers live together, the other brothers are also regarded as fathers. It is in the cases in which the husbands are not own brothers that the ceremony becomes of real social importance. In these cases, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall give the bow and arrow, and this man is the father, not only of the child born shortly afterwards, but also of all succeeding children, till another husband performs the essential ceremony. Fatherhood is determined so essentially by this ceremony that a man who has been dead for several years is regarded as the father of any children born by his widow, if no other man has given the bow and arrow. 595 There is no doubt that, in former times, the polyandry [849] of the Todas was associated with female infanticide, and it is probable that the latter custom still exists to some extent, though strenuously denied. There is reason to [162] believe that women are now more plentiful than formerly, though they are still in a distinct minority. Any increase, however, in the number of women does not

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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appear to have led to any great diminution of polyandrous marriages, but polyandry is often combined with polygyny. Two or more brothers may have two or more wives in common. In such marriages, however, it seems to be a growing custom that one brother should give the bow and arrow to one wife, and another brother to another wife." 595

The pregnancy ceremony referred to above is called pursutpimi, or bow (and arrow) we touch. According to the account given to me by several independent witnesses, the woman proceeds, accompanied by members of the tribe, on a new moon-day in the fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy, to a shola, where she sits with the man who is to become the father of her child near a kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*). The man asks the father of the woman if he may bring the bow, and, on obtaining his consent, goes in search of a shrub (*Sophora glauca*), from a twig of which he makes a mimic bow. The arrow is represented by a blade of grass called nark (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*). Meanwhile a triangular niche has been cut in the kiaz tree, in which a lighted lamp is placed. The woman seats herself in front of the lamp, and, on the return of the man, asks thrice "Whose bow is it?" or "What is it?" meaning to whom, or to which mand does the child belong? The bow and arrow are handed to the woman, who raises them to her head, touches her forehead with them, and places them near the tree. From this moment the lawful father of the child is the man from whom she has received the bow and arrow. He places on the ground at the foot of the tree some rice, various kinds of grain, chillies, jaggery (crude sugar), and salt tied in a cloth. All those present then leave, except the man and woman, who remain near the tree till about six o'clock in the evening,

595 851 843 [824]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

595 851 842 [805] [824] when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Onothera tetraptera* (evening primrose), a garden escape called by the Todas āru mani pūv (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.* It may be noted that, at the second funeral of a male, a miniature bow and three arrows are burnt with various other articles within the stone circle (azaram). [765]

648 585 A few years ago (1902), the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation was unnecessary, and that it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nilgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time.

847 198 The practice of infanticide among the Todas is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall.† "I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (putkuli), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did

* I have seen this plant growing on the grass in front of the Pulhān bungalow.
† *Op. cit.*

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɪsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaɪsmonguɪɪʀ] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuɪf] "spiritual power-flower,"[9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuɪʟ] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piɪjiɪʒfuɪf] "silver-flower" and [tyɪjiɪʒfuɪf] (the first member [tyɪj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuaʀoɪn] has a son called [asojxuɪɪrn] from [asojuɪr], the buffaloes of the [tiɪ]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuɪɪʀ] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuɪɪʀ] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuɪɪʀ] "fruit-horn,"[13] the name of a son of [iɪʒxuɪɪʀ] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimising children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 26–8, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iɪʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

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797 has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in
794 the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given
184 is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been
[562] given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social struc-
[851] ture. [alc] (3, Ultz), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

794 Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member
184 of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for
764 example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes
[782] to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the
[797] missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuuɪn] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanus] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfusodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiškeɪn] (14, Kūshkeɪn). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnus] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paɪuɪ:ʒfiɪj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfusodj]. Her brother [noɪnmurj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfusodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnus] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noɪnmurj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfusodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoɪn] (20, son of [teɪpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfusodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noɪnmurj] should pay to [kanfusodj] half the value of the buffalo.

794 Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first mar-
184 riage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes,
585 and five rupees; these are the [kökuulj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [anpum] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

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535 dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such
614 religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-ot/t), the rethatching of a dairy
765 (pol)-ful-fæ:st), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such
[648] unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc.
[616] At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojot/, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 161). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojot/, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojot/ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is
[616] prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he
[837] has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

535 Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are
614 allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person
616 belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard
764 to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person
765 may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of
[837] a member of the tarkitj, nir), and purpoit sibs of the tarθas moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the tôθâ/) moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her
[851] pregnancy to legitimize the child (pœs-ots). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Brine, Agent of the Madras States and author of Chinese Central Asia (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to say how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[621] [17] A mund (Toda word mud) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ter-dræ/-mud) as opposed to other munds (mœs-mud) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101-21, 1938), pp. 113-19.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the tortjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[24] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjoir (Biriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister egog (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offenses as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[25] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[24] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's tortjfojod. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Maknir (Maknor), wife of tuktirtj of the nozj patrilineal sib (Tuktirtj, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The oldest of these, tiffarm (Tevö), looked like his mother's tortjfojod, nobrus of the pitjoj patrilineal sib (Nobrus, 64), also called kwtj (he reared the children after tuktirtj died). In a quarrel tiffarm might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobrus-mun "son of nobrus" or kwtj-mun "son of kwtj," or as nobrus or kwtj.

[25] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chamarajnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannada language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Punisa Dandanayaka, of the Hoysala king Vijayavirabana (Bittiga Hoysala Dêvara). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeveram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

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of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

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595 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized
851 one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically; they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the *pursiitpimi* ceremony.

595 The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place
851 during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman – which appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely
[843] at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives, and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia
[824] Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp,
[354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from *mark* grass (Andropogon schoenanthus).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother (in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying, after the *kwarshm* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, pursvat!* (To Terkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs*
[W4] *iveru?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*, as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsh* name for the bow. Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something

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which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and 595
return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves 851
a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held.

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to pro- [842]
create children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, [684]
so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about [616]
by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would [848]
otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas.

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the 851
legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a 848
man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a 836
pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her.

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to 586
become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently [587]
compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation

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jointly by himself and by his brothers, and founded his own home elsewhere (at Kuudi *mad*, of the Pietarl *modol*). After he had left, the next eldest brother, Keel, went and asked Mab's parents if he and his brother Konokh could marry their daughter. The latter was already married, and so a long discussion ensued about how many buffaloes should be paid in compensation to the husband. Finally an amount of nine buffaloes was decided upon between Mab's father and the *noim*, called together specially to decide the case, (the husband was blissfully oblivious of all this, as is usual; had he discovered what was going on, he could have summoned Keel before the *noim* to explain himself and have asked for him to be fined if he did not really marry his wife Mab). Keel thought this amount of nine buffaloes too much, and departed in a huff, taking the other third plus two of the buffaloes with him. Konokh, more accommodating, however, accepted, and Mab became his.

[623]

Soon after her first pregnancy and before the birth of Marzin (for whom Konokh, the only husband at the time, gave the bow and arrow), Mab's father died. On hearing this, Keel decided to return home, and to share his brother's wife with him. Fortunately he had not married in the meantime, otherwise he would not have been allowed back, it seems. He had first to obtain the consent of Mab, of her mother, of her brothers and of Konokh, and having been given permission, he joined the marriage as a second husband. He brought the buffaloes he had taken away with him back again, gave one to Konokh and one to Mab's brothers, merging the remainder with those of his brother so as to share them jointly as before. He also paid Rs. 3 to the *noim* to regularize his reunion and make it publicly recognized. Montoï, the boy, was born later, the fruit of this polyandrous marriage, but Konokh remained the official father, as he, although the youngest, had performed the *purslitpimi* in the first instance.

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The arrangements about buffaloes as described above are by no means the usual ones with Todas, each man generally owning his own, even in polyandrous arrangements. Contrary to other people who practise polyandry, the Todas do not habitually share their property in common, and do not fear to divide it. Practically their only wealth consists of their herds of buffaloes, and these they distribute among themselves regardless of their family attachments. With the Todas it can definitely be said that polyandry and the ownership of property are in no way related. We shall see some good examples of this when we analyse to whom the buffaloes of Melgarsh individually belong.

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[556]

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
[234] tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
[595] lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation 616 with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be 846 regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas.

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word 171 *pülpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar 846 ceremonies. *Püli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pül* would be used for outskirts in this special sense.

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some 852 time after, the child has its face covered, and no one 854 except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtâr terithti*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtâr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed.

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majvatvaiidru*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p. 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

852 buttermilk from the dairyman, and there the mother uncovers
854 the child's face.

I was not told that the covering of the face is designed to protect the child from the influence of the evil eye, but this is the probable motive. The object of the ceremony is probably to minimise the danger incurred when the covering is removed by putting the child, if a boy, into relation with the three sacred objects, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes, and the sun. If a girl, the child is taken to the spot nearest to the dairy where women are allowed to go.

NAMING THE CHILD

553 The child is named after its face has been uncovered. The ceremony is called *per vasthpimi*, "name we give," and it may
852 take place immediately after the ceremony of uncovering the face, or a few days later. In the former case, the child, if a boy, is taken by his father from the place where the buffaloes are standing to the front of the house, and there the father shaves the middle part of the head of the child. Then the boy's maternal uncle (*mun*) gives the name, and promises a calf, saying, *pòl ud todein*, "calf one I have given," followed by the name of the child,[1] and raises each foot to the head of the boy and touches his forehead, the salutation on this occasion being called *kalkartiti*. Three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the boy and three into his back-hair, and then the grains are thrown away.

There was some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named. It seemed clear that the name is given by a woman, and I was told definitely by some that it is given by the father's sister (*mumi*) of the child. The wife of the *mun* would also be the *mumi* of the child, and it is possible that this relative may give the name. No calf is given to a girl, this being only done when boys are named.

After the naming, the parents of the child may give a feast
[574] if they are rich, but this seems to be now exceptional. After
853 receiving its name, the child is given food for the first time, having been suckled up to this day, but my notes do not

[1] For the nature of the name see Chapter XXVI.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled. 853

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpül* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye. 852 854 751

THE TERSAMPTPIMI CEREMONY

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face. 852 553 765

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmän*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised. [447]

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put 852

[1] *Rosa Lindleyana.* [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

852 round the wrist of the child when it was shaved, is taken off and replaced by a piece of creeper called *peival*.[1] After the ceremony the *peival* is removed.

There was some doubt as to what was done with the lock of hair. Mr. Natesa Sastri states[2] that the hair is carefully preserved, but my informants did not confirm this, and it seemed as if they did not even adopt the precaution of hiding the hair, which is generally practised (see p. 268).

THE EAR-PIERCING CEREMONY

852 The ceremony of piercing the ears is called *kevi kûtiti*, and
574 may be done at any time from infancy up to even twenty
431 years of age. The ceremony is often delayed until it can be performed for several members of a family at the same time in order to avoid the considerable expense connected with it. The ceremony must be done on a Sunday or Wednesday, and there must be no *kedr* in the clan, *i.e.*, it must not be performed if the funeral ceremonies of a member of the clan are still unfinished.

On the day appointed for the ceremony many guests assemble at the village, and the boys whose ears are to be pierced are dressed in their best clothing. The piercing is performed by two men, one for each ear. One is the mother's brother (*mun*) of the boy, while the other is a man of the division to which the boy does not belong—a Teivali man if the boy is one of the Tartharol and *vice versa*.

The piercing is done with a piece of a small ring, so fine that it is like a needle. The ring used in this way may be of silver or gold, the latter only being used by the richer members of the community.

Each boy then salutes (*kalmelpudithti*) all those present older than himself, both male and female. Each man as he raises his foot to the head of the boy says :—

Tânenmâ,	*târmâmâ,*	*pathk mâ,*	*peda mâ,*
May it be well,	may it be well,	may he prosper,	may he prosper,

ir, anûr ôl mâ,	*âr mokh pai mâ.*
buffaloes 100 may he rule,	six sons may he have.

[1] Probably here *pei* = demon (see p. 180).

[2] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Each man also gives four annas to the boy and each chief Toda may give one rupee. 852 574

The salutation of their elders seems to be conditional on this gift of money. One of the most recent cases in which the ceremony has been performed was when the ears of six of the sons of Tikievan of Kuudr and his brothers (56) were pierced. On this occasion Tikievan refused to take any money from those present, and the boys only saluted those men who had celebrated the occasion by giving buffaloes to their father. 431

As the *kalmelpudithti* salutation was omitted, the words given above as usually said by each person were on this occasion said collectively by all present while the six boys bowed down their heads to the ground. The ears of these boys were pierced by Teikudr (63), the first cousin of Sulnir, the mother of the boys, but regarded according to the Toda system as elder brother of the mother.

The representative of the Tartharol who pierced the other ear was Pidrvan (9), probably chosen because he was one of the oldest and most influential of the Todas who lived at Pakhalkudr, not far from Peivòrs, the home of the boys.

After the ceremony all those present receive two balls of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, even a young child receiving his two balls of food. Each person then makes a hole in his food, into which ghi is poured, and all eat, washing their hands afterwards in water brought from the *ars nipa*.

Only the ears of boys are pierced, and a boy may not enter upon the more sacred offices of the dairy till this ceremony has been performed. Among the Teivaliol, he cannot become *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*, but he may be *palikartmokh*. Among the Tartharol, a boy cannot become *palikartmokh* at any kind of dairy till the ear-piercing ceremony has taken place.

In the case of the ceremony for the sons of Tikievan I inquired into the actual expenses of the day. These were as follows :—

grain	17 rupees
jaggery	10 ,,
rice	7 ,,
10½ *kudi* of ghi . .	21 ,,
tobacco and salt . .	2 ,,

amounting to 57 rupees.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

852 431 On the other hand, six buffaloes were given to Tikievan; two by the Badaga Monegar of Tuneri; one each from Perner and Tebner (68), whose daughter Sinmokh had married Piliagar, one of the boys. The other two buffaloes were given by Teikudr, the uncle of the boys who had taken part in the ear-piercing.

Several of these buffaloes were either given in return for buffaloes which Tikievan had previously given, or Tikievan would be expected to give buffaloes in return when any suitable occasion arose in the families of the donors.

302 the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

[765] After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgarsol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi or elsewhere.

[852] The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mithati* (? *marithati*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mithati*.

SKIN-MARKS

304 The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form
751 of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the
755 elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered
304 from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other. 616

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tirsampiyini*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kawad*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali. 796 852 765 769

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *waiwai*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division. 184 846 616

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another [272]

young mother—infanticidal, polyandrous—is sitting on the earthen floor, just within the doorway, enveloped in a mantle of unbleached cotton. On her left arm, snuggling next her bare body, inside the garment, lies something like a comic doll, with long black hair, cream-coloured skin and pink points. The palm of the woman's right hand, uppermost, is directed towards the child. Her body, foreshortened by reason of the lowness of the door. The nut brown gipsy face, all eyes and teeth, just a bit delicate, is upturned towards the visitor: and speaking volumes by look and by attitude of hand, appeals for a present for the one-month-old. The inside of the room—such as remains visible—pitch-dark. There she was, smiling away, little knowing of my groundless suspicions. CHAP. VII. 146

A boy is named—peru or peuru or heuruwa name—and his ears are bored some time within about three months of his birth. 553 552

The child appears to be kept out of sight until the naming day; when the father, unaccompanied by the mother, takes it, hidden in the folds of his mantle, up to one of the sacred buildings of his Clan: and standing in front of the door, but outside of the surrounding wall, salutes the sanctuary with hand to forehead. Then kneeling on the ground, he for the first time opens out the infant's head to vision, and presses its little forehead down till it touches the soil, names the child, reciting the following prayer; 'dâneuma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, âr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama;' the meaning of which is: 'Be beneficent: may it be well with the children, the people, the cattle, the calves, and everyone.'[1] 553 712

I see now before me, a woman who had accompanied her husband till within *sight* of the building, standing on an eminence, witnessing from a distance, with hand shading 553

[1] Strictly speaking, the prayer means, 'May it be well with the male children, the men, the cows, the female calves'—in fact, all that is useful—'and everyone;' in which latter category are probably included the women and girls.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
of *mamegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
648 without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a
[614] whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the
Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe
looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains
first by Pillar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhlod in 1949, as that of
a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the
Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *nsiw*, and
623 smaller *nsiw* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *mondob*, while the great *nsiw* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda
clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Kuub, Norsh and Tarar, and the
chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from
sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
[684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND DOMESTICAL WAYS WITH A READING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either
paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mand* giving the little
girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vanthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
● 852 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes
302 stand at the *mand*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across
the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over
the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mam*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvoinolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the kind called *kwadrikurs*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*achok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatiti*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties. 846

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *terigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol. [431]

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf. 846 234 853 788

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

1 [The ceremony after childbirth. – Analyst.]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

846 suggested is the most probable one; but this can only be con-
234 jecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have
853 now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

788 The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however,
174 has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *ăn*. As we shall see later, the *ăn* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madtuni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *ăn* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

000 A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

852 buttermilk from the dairyman, and there the mother uncovers
854 the child's face.

I was not told that the covering of the face is designed to protect the child from the influence of the evil eye, but this is the probable motive. The object of the ceremony is probably to minimise the danger incurred when the covering is removed by putting the child, if a boy, into relation with the three sacred objects, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes, and the sun. If a girl, the child is taken to the spot nearest to the dairy where women are allowed to go.

Naming the Child

553 The child is named after its face has been uncovered. The ceremony is called *per vasthpimi*, "name we give," and it may
852 take place immediately after the ceremony of uncovering the face, or a few days later. In the former case, the child, if a boy, is taken by his father from the place where the buffaloes are standing to the front of the house, and there the father shaves the middle part of the head of the child. Then the boy's maternal uncle (*mun*) gives the name, and promises a calf, saying, *pöl ud todein*, "calf one I have given," followed by the name of the child,[1] and raises each foot to the head of the boy and touches his forehead, the salutation on this occasion being called *halkastiti*. Three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the boy and three into his back-hair, and then the grains are thrown away.

There was some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named. It seemed clear that the name is given by a woman, and I was told definitely by some that it is given by the father's sister (*mumi*) of the child. The wife of the *mun* would also be the *mumi* of the child, and it is possible that this relative may give the name. No calf is given to a girl, this being only done when boys are named.

After the naming, the parents of the child may give a feast
[574] if they are rich, but this seems to be now exceptional. After
953 receiving its name, the child is given food for the first time, having been suckled up to this day, but my notes do not

[1] For the nature of the name see Chapter XXVI.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled. 853

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpül* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye. 852 854 751

The Tersamptpimi Ceremony

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face. 852 553 765

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmân*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised. [447]

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put 852

[1] Rosa Leschenaultiana. [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

[Melgarsh Village]

264 Mutnarsh and his family in an excellent bowl of rice which had been
123 prepared specially for me. We all ate with our fingers, with the right hand, as is the Indian custom.

In the afternoon, the gardeners would return from their work before
512 5 o'clock, while the women would sit about sewing and embroidering *putkulis*. The children would play, and those men who stayed behind, like Motsod for instance, would either sleep or receive visitors from other *munds*. After 5 p.m. the buffaloes were brought back; they would
[234] be milked again by the *tarvalikartmokh* and then put away in the pen, while Narjilkh would see to it that the calves were in for the night. Kuddhue would churn the milk in the dairy-temple, and the buttermilk and the butter would be brought out by his attendants to be handed over to the women at the precise spot (marked with an upright stone) beyond
[264] which they are not allowed. The evening meal would be eaten and everybody would go to bed early, practically immediately after sunset (7 p.m.).

[123] When I worked only half a day with these people, I would usually stay with them from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. talking and watching what was going on. This seemed to be the best time in which to get information from the Todas.

3. THE POLYANDROUS UNIT

844 Approximately two weeks after I had arrived in the Nilgiris, on the 18th
845 May, 1949, Erzigwuf gave birth to twins for the second time. It was about 8 p.m. when she felt unmistakable pains. She immediately got on to the *kitten* of the room she lived in and assuming a kneeling position,
[606] called for Silidz, her mother-in-law, who came at once to assist her. A first child, a boy, was born without difficulty, and, the pains continuing, half an hour later a little girl also made her appearance, who was taken out, like the first baby, from behind by Silidz. The latter cut the cords with a pair of scissors, tied the remaining stumps tightly with hair and
[278] smeared the wounds with an astringent root from the marshes which the Todas call *poli*; she next went away from the *arsh* and buried the cords and the afterbirth in a hole which she made in the ground. The new-born babies were washed in hot water and with soap (bought in the bazaar), and laid to rest with their mother, who had by now moved back to the *ertilkh* where she was resting on her back. She did not start to
853 feed them before the next day.

845 When I saw her then, in the evening, she was sitting on the *kitten*, naked to the waist, suckling one of the babies from her left breast. She

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not 845
have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite 853
well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by ask-
ing me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not ac- [123]
cede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the [273]
occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the [431]
demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is [846]
impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even be-
ing tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the dif- [847]
ficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mut- 595
narsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children [865]
were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The* 846
Todas, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. 796
Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *putharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silkdz. What was un- [183]
usual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite un-
[865] orthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[788] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quick-
[793] est way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

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as they had given up of their own accord when the taste of Erzigwuf's milk changed, due to her advanced pregnancy. 862

Somewhat incredulous of Erzigwuf's assertions as they were made to me, I questioned the local medical practitioner of Ootacamund, Colonel D'Souza, Indian Medical Service (rtd.) about their veracity. He assured me that it was quite possible. He said, even, that it did not tire the mother, as after some time "it becomes mechanical". Colonel D'Souza also assured me that the contention often heard that prolonged suckling prevents conception was a fallacy completely disproved by facts, "at least in Asia". Erzigwuf also told me that Sodup and Sodam were born after she had not had any menses for eight years; two days after, however, she contradicted herself and said this was not correct (she said she had made "a mistake"). But another time she assured me that Toda women cease having any sort of periods for four months after they have given birth; that is why, she said, they cannot have children earlier – she herself had been like this. Although I do not much believe in this assertion, which is contrary to every ordinary observation anywhere, I give it here for what it is worth. 853 841 842

Small children suck their thumbs very early, Erzigwuf asserted. As a proof, she showed me one of the new-born twins, fast asleep in her lap with its thumb in its mouth. For napkins, she used bits of cloth which she regularly changed and washed. She said that she taught her children to be clean after six months. Before that, she would take them out at regular intervals and hold them in her hands, both boy and girl. Then, after, she would teach them gradually to go out by themselves, punishing them by beating them on the buttocks with a stinging nettle (called *tworkh* in Toda) when they misbehaved in the house, and rewarding them with sweets when they were good and did as they were told. They learned very quickly, in approximately one month. 854 863 [861] [824]

Regarding genital development, Erzigwuf was very outspoken, and I had no difficulty in getting information from her, even in the presence of Narjilkh and Pengelam, who would listen with interest to the conversation through Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, my interpreter. She said that masturbation started very early – at about nine months. They play with their genitals, both boys and girls, but the former more so, all the time; when walking, suckling and lying down, as she put it. When they get older, this play is intensified, and after they have reached the age of one year, she intervenes to stop it. She did so, she said, and not Mutnarsh who "lets the children do anything they want". Asked why she did not allow them to carry on freely, she said, because if she did not forbid 864

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not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mod* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas. 616 846

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word *pülpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar ceremonies. *Püli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pül* would be used for outskirts in this special sense. 171 846

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some time after, the child has its face covered, and no one except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtâr terithti*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtâr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed. 852 854

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majutwaiidrw*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p. 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

852 buttermilk from the dairyman, and there the mother uncovers
854 the child's face.

I was not told that the covering of the face is designed to protect the child from the influence of the evil eye, but this is the probable motive. The object of the ceremony is probably to minimise the danger incurred when the covering is removed by putting the child, if a boy, into relation with the three sacred objects, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes, and the sun. If a girl, the child is taken to the spot nearest to the dairy where women are allowed to go.

NAMING THE CHILD

553 The child is named after its face has been uncovered. The ceremony is called *per vasthpimi*, "name we give," and it may
852 take place immediately after the ceremony of uncovering the face, or a few days later. In the former case, the child, if a boy, is taken by his father from the place where the buffaloes are standing to the front of the house, and there the father shaves the middle part of the head of the child. Then the boy's maternal uncle (*munn*) gives the name, and promises a calf, saying, *pôl nd todein*, "calf one I have given," followed by the name of the child,[1] and raises each foot to the head of the boy and touches his forehead, the salutation on this occasion being called *kalkartiti*. Three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the boy and three into his back-hair, and then the grains are thrown away.

There was some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named. It seemed clear that the name is given by a woman, and I was told definitely by some that it is given by the father's sister (*mumi*) of the child. The wife of the *munn* would also be the *mumi* of the child, and it is possible that this relative may give the name. No calf is given to a girl, this being only done when boys are named.

After the naming, the parents of the child may give a feast
[574] if they are rich, but this seems to be now exceptional. After
853 receiving its name, the child is given food for the first time, having been suckled up to this day, but my notes do not

[1] For the nature of the name see Chapter XXVI.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled. 853

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpül* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutinani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan* = eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye. 852 854 951

The Tersamptpimi Ceremony

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face. 852 553 765

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose[1] called *kadakmân*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,[2] while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised. [442]

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put 852

[1] Rosa [illegible]. [2] Lit. 'eye arrow.'

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[Melgarsh Village]

as they had given up of their own accord when the taste of Erzigwuf's milk changed, due to her advanced pregnancy. 862

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159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Munarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Soup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peteroon from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbekwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said
776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen
[125] such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a *tree*, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amonivuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Ezrigwuf and Amonivuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such evil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mund*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually sniffs at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
159 even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhili*, as some day he will have to be *turvalkartmokh*, *wursol* and even *kulmokh* at the *ti-mund*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his younger father, Munbekwitn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershtirsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be-
[834] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Ezrigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhili*, as she was *obviously* shocked at my suggestion that Mutmall might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhili*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendant of Monikidr of Kiawr (20) and she of Karsar, also of Kiawr, although Ezrigwuf herself is from the Pan *mund* as Mutmall is of Kosorj.

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(11) PERMALKMWUTN, abbreviated to PERMALKM: The eldest boy of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is noticeably proud. He likes to go out to other mands, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mand*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman. 159 621 283

(12) NARJILKMWUTN, abbreviated to NARJILKM: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Mozhekwutn, his youngest father.

(13) PENGALKM: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friendly. She is gay and playful, and is nearly always in the company of Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris. 159 621 [129]

(14) SOKOP: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exceptionally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop. [155]

(15) SODUM: She is as dull and backward as Sodup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) PIRWMKW: Called after me (Rowe being Toda for Raja = Prince) who am his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived [129] [551]

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764 a boy of the Pan model, which made her one of the clan for the after-
511 world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground,
614 with a further display of grief and lamentation.
715

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance, 123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarsh, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me
● 185 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodap, who was really an ex-
159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con-
857 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutsaredi) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up, his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodap, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pangalam, Mutsaredi and Nizabendi. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Bedam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodap indulged in the following action. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the sendff of the ash (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Bagarsh was too often in the bazaar and

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us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite unorthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quickest way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month. The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment. The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poli*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

When the milking is over, the buffaloes are driven to their grazing-ground, where they remain till the afternoon, when they return, often spontaneously, to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. 234 857

While at the pasturage, one or two small boys are often in attendance to keep the buffaloes from straying beyond the proper grazing-ground.

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even
517 little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all thes mes are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

in Torres Straits, where hardly a day would pass without seeing games being played. 517

The chief interest in the case of the Todas is the clear evidence they give of games arising owing to the sportive imitation by children of the more serious occupations of their elders. In some of these cases the games so arising are useful in providing the younger members of the community with practice in feats which they will in later life be called upon to perform. 857

RIDDLES

The Todas are very fond of riddles, which they call *werat*. [517] The following are examples :— 524 539

Mers	*illâth*	*kerthâ,*	*poi*	*illâth*	*âdi?*	*Mâ,*	*nelu.*
Udder	without	milks,	mouth	without	drinks?	Rain,	earth.

I.e., What is it that gives milk without an udder, what is it that drinks without a mouth? Rain, earth.

Urk	*mers*	*illâth,*	*kâdak*	*kal*	*illâth,*	*athinu?*	*Kâdi,*	*pok.*
In (or to) village	udder	without,	in forest	leg	without,	what is it?	Hen,	snake.

Karûd	*mokh*	*perûd*	*aiu,*	*perûd*	*mokh*	*kerûd*	*aiu?*	*Kâdr,*	*kevi.*
Little	son	big	becomes,	big	son	little	becomes?	Horn,	ear.

This riddle depends on a comparison of the horn and ear of the buffalo. The horn of the calf is very small, the ear is relatively large.

Pûv	*pûvadi,*	*kaim*	*kaimadi?*	*Tâf.*
Flower	does not blossom,	berry	does not ripen?	Fern.

Wûrûdr	*nolu,*	*mokh*	*pachtam,*	*ptr*	*drchtam,*	*ithithanithi*	*ank?*	*Pishkimän.*
Whole year	days,	son	begetting,	pregnant,		this is custom	to it?	

Pishkimän is a tree which bears flowers or is giving fruit the whole year round.

but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swâmi![7] Swâmi![7] then places it on the ground as a present to bhumi tai[8] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors. 264 788

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonised the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[9]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffalos, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves, and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere stripling armed with light wands; knowing that the amimals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe. 136 233 857 411

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of 411 224

[7] Swâmi = *lord.*

[8] Bhumi tai = *earth mother.* It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[9] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog.* May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (one)*?

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764 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-
588 world. She consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground,
614 with a further display of grief and lamentation.
775

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance,
123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me
855 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex-
159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con-
857 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Närshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

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not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mud* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 857

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 [124] [831] [853] [861]

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 [751] [126]

CHAP. VII. intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

553 The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

558 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred
562 places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given
946 about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—
551 porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure
463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda,
551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from those ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

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642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
[614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhlud in 1949, as that of a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
[614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans, and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial. Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
[684] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of
[648] deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
858 this is done very simply in the case of girls – the grandmother, either paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little girl her name – it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
[604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

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child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *teraumtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvaiwolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *teraumtpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their

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ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvu* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),

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as they had given up of their own accord when the taste of Erzigwuf's milk changed, due to her advanced pregnancy. 862

Somewhat incredulous of Erzigwuf's assertions as they were made to me, I questioned the local medical practitioner of Ootacamund, Colonel D'Souza, Indian Medical Service (rtd.) about their veracity. He assured me that it was quite possible. He said, even, that it did not tire the mother, as after some time "it becomes mechanical". Colonel D'Souza also assured me that the contention often heard that prolonged suckling prevents conception was a fallacy completely disproved by facts, "at least in Asia". Erzigwuf also told me that Sodup and Sodam were born after she had not had any menses for eight years; two days after, however, she contradicted herself and said this was not correct (she said she had made "a mistake"). But another time she assured me that Toda women cease having any sort of periods for four months after they have given birth; that is why, she said, they cannot have children earlier – she herself had been like this. Although I do not much believe in this assertion, which is contrary to every ordinary observation anywhere, I give it here for what it is worth. 853 841 842

Small children suck their thumbs very early, Erzigwuf asserted. As a proof, she showed me one of the new-born twins, fast asleep in her lap with its thumb in its mouth. For napkins, she used bits of cloth which she regularly changed and washed. She said that she taught her children to be clean after six months. Before that, she would take them out at regular intervals and hold them in her hands, both boy and girl. Then, after, she would teach them gradually to go out by themselves, punishing them by beating them on the buttocks with a stinging nettle (called *nworkh* in Toda) when they misbehaved in the house, and rewarding them with sweets when they were good and did as they were told. They learned very quickly, in approximately one month. 854 863 [861] [824]

Regarding genital development, Erzigwuf was very outspoken, and I had no difficulty in getting information from her, even in the presence of Narjilkh and Pengelam, who would listen with interest to the conversation through Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, my interpreter. She said that masturbation started very early – at about nine months. They play with their genitals, both boys and girls, but the former more so, all the time; when walking, suckling and lying down, as she put it. When they get older, this play is intensified, and after they have reached the age of one year, she intervenes to stop it. She did so, she said, and not Mutnarsh who "lets the children do anything they want". Asked why she did not allow them to carry on freely, she said, because if she did not forbid 864

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864 them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer [861] *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Inci- [824] dentally Erzigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed [861] were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in [828] the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Iangur, the adult [839] son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

836 Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhlicl* and *modol*, but within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuwl* are con- [835] sidered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital relations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

845 Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see 123 them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two new-born twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

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not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mund* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air. 159 837

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karson, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kopidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the onlooking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar. [855]

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthottiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.) 159 124 831 853 861

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me. 123 159 578

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made 159 751 126

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VIII.

137 The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots.
262 They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula—a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit—pôm—and herbs of sorts.

177 Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these
273 people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is
276 still a luxury.

262 Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them
862 to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

252 As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

564 The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

264 Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite unorthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

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In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month. The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment. The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poli*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

as they had given up of their own accord when the taste of Erzigwuf's milk changed, due to her advanced pregnancy. 862

Somewhat incredulous of Erzigwuf's assertions as they were made to me, I questioned the local medical practitioner of Ootacamund, Colonel D'Souza, Indian Medical Service (rtd.) about their veracity. He assured me that it was quite possible. He said, even, that it did not tire the mother, as after some time "it becomes mechanical". Colonel D'Souza also assured me that the contention often heard that prolonged suckling prevents conception was a fallacy completely disproved by facts, "at least in Asia". Erzigwuf also told me that Sodup and Sodam were born after she had not had any menses for eight years; two days after, however, she contradicted herself and said this was not correct (she said she had made "a mistake"). But another time she assured me that Toda women cease having any sort of periods for four months after they have given birth; that is why, she said, they cannot have children earlier – she herself had been like this. Although I do not much believe in this assertion, which is contrary to every ordinary observation anywhere, I give it here for what it is worth. 853 841 842

Small children suck their thumbs very early, Erzigwuf asserted. As a proof, she showed me one of the new-born twins, fast asleep in her lap with its thumb in its mouth. For napkins, she used bits of cloth which she regularly changed and washed. She said that she taught her children to be clean after six months. Before that, she would take them out at regular intervals and hold them in her hands, both boy and girl. Then, after, she would teach them gradually to go out by themselves, punishing them by beating them on the buttocks with a stinging nettle (called *tworkh* in Toda) when they misbehaved in the house, and rewarding them with sweets when they were good and did as they were told. They learned very quickly, in approximately one month. 854 863 [861] [824]

Regarding genital development, Erzigwuf was very outspoken, and I had no difficulty in getting information from her, even in the presence of Narjilkh and Pengelam, who would listen with interest to the conversation through Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, my interpreter. She said that masturbation started very early – at about nine months. They play with their genitals, both boys and girls, but the former more so, all the time; when walking, suckling and lying down, as she put it. When they get older, this play is intensified, and after they have reached the age of one year, she intervenes to stop it. She did so, she said, and not Mutnarsh who "lets the children do anything they want". Asked why she did not allow them to carry on freely, she said, because if she did not forbid 864

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864 them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health
[861] by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer
[824] *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Incidentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed
[861] were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult
[828] son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given
[839] up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

836 Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but
[835] within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are considered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

845 Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see
123 them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very [illegible], while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by asking me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not accede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even being tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mutnarsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The Todas*, p. 324) under the name of *poik potha nit utpimi* took place. Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was unusual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite unorthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

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9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

The adult members of the community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15] there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste, though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their culture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

[15] See *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

124 It was not until my last week on the Nilgiris that I was
754 told of some of the magical rites by Teitnir, who had previously
denied all knowledge, though he was said by others to be a
791 sorcerer, and he knew that I was aware of his reputation. He was not a trustworthy informant, but his account was consistent in itself and was in agreement with fragments which I had picked up elsewhere, and I believe it is correct, though I cannot guarantee its accuracy with the same degree of confidence which I feel in regard to most of my information.

754 The following men were said by various people to be
pilikòren :—
791 Kaners, Kudrievan, and Teikudr (63), Ishkievan (60), Keinkursi (54), Puthion (64), and Teitnir (52), among the Teivaliol; Keitan (6), Mudrigeidi (1), Kiunervan and Usheidi (14), and Karseidi (8), among the Tartharol. Pushteidi, the elder brother of Keitan, was a noted sorcerer who paid for the belief in his magical powers with his life. It will be noted that magical powers appear to be fairly evenly distributed between the two divisions and do not greatly predominate in one as in the case of divination.

[868] The power of sorcery was said to belong to certain families, and I was told that it was inherited. It seemed probable that a sorcerer only communicated his methods to his sons, and usually only to one of his sons, or if he communicated his knowledge to all, it was often one of them only who obtained the credit for magical powers.

754 We have already seen that when a man sustains a mis-
fortune of any kind, he consults the diviners, and they find
787 whether the misfortune is due to a fault committed by the
791 sufferer or whether it is the result of sorcery. In the latter case, they say by whose magic the misfortune has been produced, and the sorcerer is then propitiated and removes the spell, the nature and details of the process varying according to the method of sorcery used and the offence which had led the sorcerer to exert his powers. Thus when Pirsners (9) fell ill, he consulted Midjkudr, who said that Kudrievan had bewitched him. Pirsners went to Kudrievan and gave him food, and asked him to remove the spell, and Pirsners became well soon after.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said
776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen
[125] such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
159 even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikarimokh*, *wursol* and even *kalimokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be-
[834] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Koner).

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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fellow tribesmen. To this man finger-prints came as no novelty, since his impressions were recorded both in England and America.

Writing in 1870,* Colonel W. Ross King stated that the Todas had just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. At the present day, a few write, and many converse fluently in Tamil. The Nilgiri C.M.S. Tamil mission has extended its sphere of work to the Todas, and I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a Toda version of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The English say that once upon a time a rich man and a poor man died. At the funeral of the rich man, there was a great tamāsha (spectacle), and many buffaloes were sacrificed. But, for the funeral of the poor man, neither music nor buffaloes were provided. The English believe that in the next world the poor man was as well off as the rich man; so that, when any one dies, it is of no use spending money on the funeral ceremonies. Two mission schools have been established, one at Ootacamund, the other near Paikāra. At the latter I have seen a number of children of both sexes reading elementary Tamil and English, and doing simple arithmetic.

A few years ago a Toda boy was baptised at Tinnevelly, and remained there for instruction. It was hoped that he would return to the hills as an evangelist among his people.† In 1907, five young Toda women were baptised at the C.M.S. Mission chapel, Ootacamund. "They were clothed in white, with a white cloth over their heads, such as the Native Christians wear. A number of Christian Badagas had assembled to witness the ceremony, and join in the service."

* Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills.
† Madras Diocesan Magazine, November, 1907.

584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panm ûtpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

881 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl
616 reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tâzâr ûtiti*, or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

881 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division and to any clan, except
836 that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night
626 and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,[1] different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

[1] The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madnol* or *palinel*.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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Tarthâl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthâl woman visits at a Têrthâl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in butter-milk. The restrictions which are imposed on Têrthâl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Têrthâl woman, on a visit at a Tarthâl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkûli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthâls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Têrthâl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyâl of Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

564 574 [252] 564 621 [193] 564 614

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikâra bungalow.

881 [123]

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was [837] that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of [684] his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would [623] next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority [115] (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

●881 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, 616 two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by 616 a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by some- 833 body from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked 604 upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has 124 been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about [114] Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

To 595 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the remainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the buttermilk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends smallpox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

173 753 773 776 886

After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

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Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy myself which was correct.

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According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

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[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE TESHERST CEREMONY

234x 261 793 796 887

This qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* is always performed by a number of men at the same time. The number taking part must be three, five, seven or nine. There seemed to be no doubt that it was not permissible for four, six or eight men to perform the ceremony together. One or two Todas told me that an even number of men might do the ceremony, but all the more trustworthy witnesses were agreed that there must be an uneven number, and on all the occasions of which I could obtain records of actual ceremonies, an uneven number of men had done *tesherst* together. The ceremony may not be performed while the funeral ceremonies of any Teivali person are uncompleted.

At the time of my visit there were only nine or ten men who had been through the *tesherst* ceremony, including those who were holding or had held the office of *palol*. It was proposed that a number of the younger men should perform the ceremony about this time, but it had to be delayed till the second funeral ceremonies of two Teivali women had been held.

The *tesherst* ceremony always begins on a Monday after the new moon. It takes place at certain villages where people are living, and in all the cases of which I obtained records it had been done at Kudrnakhum, belonging to the Nòdrsol, or at Pushtar, belonging to the Taradrol. People must be living at the village at the time the ceremony is performed.

The candidates go to the village on Monday evening, accompanied by two or three Nòdrs men. All go to a stream by a wood and the ceremony begins after sunset, when all the candidates throw off their cloaks and stand in a row. A man of the Nòdrs clan has a *tuni* in his hand and each candidate asks three times, "*Tunivatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tuni*?"—and each time the Nòdrs man replies, "*Tunivat!*" The first man in the row touches the *tuni* and then the others in order. The Nòdrs man then gives the *tuni* to the first man who touched it, and he tears it into as many pieces

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

as there are candidates, giving a piece to each man, who puts it in the string of his *kuvn*. All then go in search of the leaves of *muli* and each plucks seven leaves and seven shoots. They go to the stream, one by one, and each drinks and rubs himself with the shoots seven times, as in the ordination ceremony, and puts the shoots in his back hair.

234 x
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While they are doing this, the Nòdrs man will have made fire by friction, using the wood of *muli*, and the men warm themselves at the fire. Each man then goes in search of seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark and carries out the usual purification ceremony once only, drinking out of each of the seven leaves, after which the men take food prepared by another of the Nòdrs men, and all pass the night in the wood. Next morning the men fetch *tudr* bark and leaves and repeat the drinking and rubbing ceremony of the previous evening, but on this occasion each man says "*Tesh-nirò̀dinem*," as he throws the leaf over his head after drinking. All then bathe completely in the stream.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs men have been cooking a large amount of food, more than the candidates can readily eat, and an old woman of the Tartharol who is to take part in the ceremony has bathed and dressed in her best clothes and put on all the ornaments she can procure: gold earrings, necklace, bracelets, and rings. When the men have bathed, they wait till the message comes that the food is ready, and then each man takes off his piece of *tuni* and his *pennar* and his *kuvn*, so that he is completely naked. The Nòdrs man portions out the food and puts it on *tudr* leaves, the portion for each man being more than he can possibly eat at one sitting, and the portions of food are given to the old woman, who sits down with her back to the men. Each man goes up behind the back of the old woman, and she gives him his portion of food by putting her hand behind her back so that she does not look at him, and in doing so she says three times "*Teshtòrtudenk?*"—"*Tesh* food have I not given?" The men take the food, go into the thickest part of the wood and eat it. None of the food prepared on this occasion may be eaten by the Nòdrs men or by the old woman, but though the amount is excessive, the whole of it must be eaten by the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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candidates during the day. After each man has eaten to the full he may put on his cloak. The Nòdrs men and the old woman go back to their villages and they must hold no communication of any kind with the candidates after the food has been given. The men remain in the wood all day, and when it is getting dark they go to the nearest village at which any of them live, taking care that no one sees them on the way.

One of the most remarkable features of this ceremony is the part taken by the old woman. She must be one of the Tartharol; she must be past the age of child-bearing, and she must never have had intercourse with one of her own clan. In the last particular the word of the woman is trusted, for it was said that she would never deceive in such a matter. Every woman believed that if she did not speak the truth she would die, and all those concerned in the ceremony would either die or have serious illness. I was told that it was by no means easy to find a woman who fulfilled this requirement, and in each of the cases of which I have records the same woman officiated—viz. Naspilthi of Taradr (21).

Other remarkable features of this ceremony are that the men should be given more food than they are readily able to eat, as in the ceremony connected with the *kaltmokh* after the migration (p. 139), and that they receive this food in a condition of complete nudity, a condition which only occurs in one other dairy ceremonial.

The *tesherst* ceremony is one in which candidates for the office of *palol* go through certain of the rites which ordinarily form part of the process of ordination, with the addition of special ceremonies, in which a superabundant portion of food is given by a woman who fulfils certain peculiar conditions.

When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the clan to which the *ti* belongs chooses from among those who have been through the *tesherst* ceremony, and the chosen man has then to undergo the ordination ceremonies proper, or *nirròditi*.

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped 582
out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ə- 588
jaɸf's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his 616
children though legally they belong to the other moiety. 178
kum:ɟaɸf, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes 764
at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a 554
spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal 526
all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often [832]
and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with 764
the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch 554
buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their 887
chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who 526
then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels [578]
frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the toufiɟ moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the to:rθaŋ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the to:rθaŋ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti :- dairies, which now belong to the to:rθaŋ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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887 764 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmẹ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumẹjaḷf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by ke:nodz (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund 648 526 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

291 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

modols

10. Melgarsh 614
11. Pam or Pirspurs 616
12. Kidmad 554
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh 564

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition. 173 887 582

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konari, his grandson and great-grandson. 642 614 622 793 114 173 776

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bügwri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 533
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mäv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, Tenure of land.
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirdi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pithkoti*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analysis]

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -küwṭṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in puṭʃofxüwṭṇ (a son of sirjuɪr 20) < puṭʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in tuɪpuɪxüwṭṇ (20; referred in §6) < tuɪpuɪforü, the kogfoʃj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæmxüwṭṇ, son of toiliθj and nertnuɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners) < kæmoʃl, the üuɪsoʃj dairy at the mund korkos. A son of küoroɪn of the puɪrgoɪroʃ (34, Kwodron) is named asojxüwṭṇ < asojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib. köɪkisjxüwṭṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the [177] Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüwṭṇ in table 25) < köɪkisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fun; e.g. in kuroɪfun (21, Karadrvan) < kuroɪfüuṭ, name of a mountain (tuɪṭ) near toɪroɪr; uɪküuɪfun (24, Idrkudrvan) < uɪküuɪfuɪn, a river (puɪn) near Mt. kuroɪ; puṭʃefun (24, Pachievan) < puṭʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. puṭʃofxüwṭṇ in §9); kergæɪrfun (25, Kerskedrvan) < kergæɪrfuɪn, a stream near the mund paʃtuɪr; asojfun < asojuɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the puɪrgoɪroʃ, is another name of poɪtuɪṇ (35, Patirsh; cf. asojxüwṭṇ in §9); mupuɪfun (16, Mopuvan) < mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoʃ or pæɪθoʃfun, kæmodz or kæmodzfun; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is muɪn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word puɪn, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, op. cit., p. 619.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. 831 192 The three meanings given for puɪn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fun derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda